BISMARCK

SOME SECRET PAGES OF HIS HISTORY

BEING A DIARY KEPT BY

DR. MORITZ BUSCH

DURING TWENTY-FIVE YEARS' OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE INTERCOURSE WITH THE GREAT CHANCELLOR

WITH PORTRAITS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

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VOLUME II

BISMARCK

SOME SECRET PAGES OF HIS HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE LAST TWENTY MONTHS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE — DOCUMENTS RECEIVED AND DESPATCHED

July 28th. — Count W. recently sent papers marked "Contracts," adding, "these have been fetched on the instructions of Herr von Duering, and are intended for Herr von Meding in Thun." I suspected immediately that the gentleman referred to was the ex-Government Councillor Meding, formerly in charge of press affairs under the Guelphs at Hanover, the patron of the *Situation* in Paris, who had now given up the cause of George V. in consideration of a respectable *douceur*, or a pension from the Guelph Fund. I thought to myself that it is doubtless to him and to his comrades that von R. referred when he inquired the other day whether he should pay their money to the Hanoverians in Thun.

In this supposition I was on the right track. I see to-day among the latest correspondence received a letter from Government Councillor O. Meding to the Imperial Chancellor, dated from Thun, on the 22nd of July, in which he reports that non-commissioned officers and men of the Hanoverian Legion in Africa, which has now been disbanded by the French Government, have arrived at Geneva in charge of the former Hanoverian Lieutenant Kreiss. According to Meding they wish to go to Austria, in order to take service there, as they were told in France that Austria was preparing for war. Meding further reports that they were employed last year by MM. Malortie and Adelebsen for the formation of a volunteer corps, but were first interned in Rouen by the French Government, and after-

wards shipped on board a vessel for Algeria under an escort of gendarmes.

I here add some extracts from other documents dealing with the same matter. On the 27th of July the same true friend of King George reports that those people are in Zurich, and manifest great bitterness against the King, who—as may well be the case—had not kept his promise to provide for them. Kreiss had received from Hietzing an assurance of a pension of five hundred thalers and an appointment as groom of the stud of the Archduke William, but desires, nevertheless, to remain at Romanshorn for the present. Commissary Ebers has gone to Zurich to collect any documents in the hands of these people respecting their entry into the French service. The communication concludes as follows: "I have given the address of the Hanoverians in Paris, which has been previously mentioned, to Beckmann, the writer, in order that he should hand it over to the Councillor of Embassy von Keudell. The other papers formerly in Paris have been brought here by Commissary Ebers, and I will shortly report on the historic material contained in them, and request your Serene Highness's orders on the subject." Later, on the 16th of September, von R. telegraphed from Berne, asking whether the next quarterly instalment should be paid to the "Hanoverian pensioners in Switzerland." On the 28th of the same month an affirmative answer was sent, signed by Thile, who added, however, that those gentlemen should return to their homes, and assist there in influencing the population in favour of the Government. The Parisian papers have been received. The first contract with them was signed as early as the 24th of September, 1870; von R. should report whether Count Mengerssen was to be included among the pensioners.

Wollmann told me this morning that the widow of the painter Bouterweck, a Prussian lady, has written from Paris to the Foreign Office, stating that several pictures owned by her late husband, which she had had in her house at Bougival, and which did not even belong to her, had been taken away by the Prussian troops. They were paintings by old masters, among them a Hobbema. She had ascertained that a Captain K., of the 47th (doubtless the 46th) regiment, had packed them up and sent them away, and she now requested that they should be

returned to her. They are certainly not in the possession of Captain K., but it may be that First Lieutenant —— has them, as the story goes that he has been sent packing on account of a consignment of flotsam and jetsam in the way of furniture, which he forwarded to his mistress. . . .

August 23rd. — The following suggestions for the semi-official press were sent by the Chief to Thile, who handed them over to me: "The domestic complications in the cisleithan half of Austria-Hungary give rise to frequent misconceptions abroad, too much importance being given to the national aspect. The issue turns upon governmental and constitutional questions, and the relations of the various parties, rather than upon the struggle between the Germans and the Slavs. It is mainly a fight between the Conservative and Liberal elements. The German landed proprietors support the Slavs because they themselves are conservative or reactionary; and among the leaders of the Slav party and those who are promoting the compromise there are a great number of prominent aristocrats who do not understand a word of Bohemian or any other Slav language. Men like Thun and Hohenwart are in the first place conservative, and are only Bohemian in so far as they regard the Slavs as useful tools for advancing the views of the aristocracy and of the Church. That they further the Slav national movement at the same time, and even apparently adopt its principles, is due to the fact that the Slav peoples prove themselves to be more capable and willing instruments of aristocratic, absolutist, and clerical tendencies than the German element. The latter, owing to its entire education and to the circumstance that it includes the real bourgeoisie and prosperous middle classes of Austria, gravitates unmistakably towards Liberalism. It is in this way that the struggle assumes a national character. This condition of affairs will be more readily understood by comparing it with similar occurrences in Germany and elsewhere, where the reactionary as well as the democratic and revolutionary groups, irrespective of nationality, have thrown in their lot with kindred parties in other countries (Poles and Frenchmen) for the purpose of forwarding their party schemes against their opponents at home."

"The Federalist-Conservative party in Austria has selected two other elements as allies and — as it hopes — tools. Both

of these are in themselves equally hostile to Liberalism and Conservatism, and desire for their part to use the Conservatives as instruments, hoping ultimately to out-general them. These elements are Ultramontanism on the one hand, and Socialism on the other. The latter, in the person of the Minister Schaeffle, has been able to extend its ramifications even into the present cisleithan Cabinet, and from that point of vantage democrats like May, Freese, and others, who are opposed to every form of national as well as State organisation, will be utilised for momentary party purposes. From its nature Ultramontanism is equally hostile to every national element, and particularly to the German. The attitude of their organs in Germany and abroad shows clearly that the German nation cannot conclude any honourable peace with them. On the contrary, both elements, the Ultramontane and the Socialist, are the born foes of Germany."

August 30th. — Abeken, under instructions from the Chancellor, has sent Thile a *résumé*, dated the 20th inst., of the conversation that took place between the Emperor William and the Emperor Francis Joseph on their journey between Welk and Ischl, from the particulars furnished by the former. The abstract runs as follows: —

"When their Majesties had taken their seats in the carriage, the Emperor of Austria began immediately by expressing the satisfaction with which he followed the great and successful achievements of his Majesty the Emperor and King of his armies. The conversation then turned on the distracted internal condition of France, and from that to the danger with which all governments were threatened by the international and by the communistic and socialistic movements with which it was associated. His Majesty mentioned the last communication on this subject from the French Government, dated the 16th day of July, with which the Emperor of Austria also seemed to be acquainted. When his Majesty remarked that in addition to a number of fine phrases it also contained one practical suggestion, namely, that the Powers should if possible meet in conference to consider the causes of, and come to an understanding as to the means for averting the threatening danger, the Emperor of Austria replied that this was a good idea, which must be carried into effect. The Emperor Francis Joseph re-

ferred to the domestic difficulties with which he was confronted, but expressed the hope that he would be able to overcome them. He hoped shortly to be able to bring about a compromise with the Czechs. Everything was ready, and the proclamation was to be made on his birthday, the 18th of August, which it was hoped would satisfy Bohemia. He did not give any further particulars of the measure.

"The Emperor Francis Joseph observed that the excessive demands of the Germans in his Empire gave him a great deal of trouble. Towards the close of the conversation the Emperor William took an opportunity of telling him that if he succeeded in meeting the legitimate demands of his German subjects, their thoughts would certainly not turn away from Austria towards Germany. He had made a similar remark to the Emperor of Russia with respect to the Baltic Provinces. The Emperor of Austria considered that his Majesty had every cause to be satisfied with the attitude of the Imperial and State Diets in recent times, to which his Majesty assented in general, although some few differences had arisen. His Majesty then recalled the circumstance that the Emperor Francis Joseph had once said to him at Teplitz that in twenty years' time Constitutions would be things of the past. Ten years had now passed by, and it did not look as if his prophecy would be realised within the next decade.

"The question of the Roman Church was also incidentally referred to. The Emperor Francis Joseph said it was to be regretted that the Pope had brought the question of infallibility before the Council, whereupon his Majesty replied that if a Catholic Sovereign expressed himself in that sense it was all the easier for himself, from his own standpoint, to agree with him. The Austrian Emperor did not say what his Government proposed to do in the matter."

His Majesty was highly pleased with the cordiality of his reception by the Emperor Francis Joseph. The Archduchess Sophia had previously left Ischl, as had also the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who, as his Majesty remarked, had just completed her cure.

August 31st. — At noon to-day, Aegidi handed me the following, as coming direct from the Chief, who urgently desired its publication in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. "In the vehement

attacks to which General von Manteuffel was formerly subjected, and even in the articles first published by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, it was possible to credit the writers, although partisan and hostile, with honest conviction. It is obvious, however, that in the latest attack (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 214) we have to deal with an absolutely unprincipled calumniator, who knows nothing whatever either of General von Manteuffel, or of any of the facts at issue. Nor can it be any longer supposed to have emanated from some malcontent officer with an official or personal grudge against General von Manteuffel, after the writer has made himself ridiculous by the puerile insinuation that the attraction of oysters or women induced the general to undertake his expedition to Dieppe. Every one who has even a slight knowledge of the general knows that he is, we might almost say, lamentably ignorant of the pleasures of the table, and that so far as the fair sex is concerned, even before marriage his conduct was always of such an ascetic character as to render suspicion ridiculous. From the latest article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* it would seem probable that the writer belongs to a class which does little credit to the press, namely, the broken-down officers who had to be cashiered during the 1848 period. His judgment in military affairs is no better than his knowledge of oysters; for, with regard to the latter, he is not even aware that among gourmets the Dieppe oyster is known as the poorest of European crustaceans — big, leathery, and bitter, like the brazen audacity of his own calumnies."

September 8th. — According to a report from London, —— are very much annoyed that the visit of the Crown Prince has taken place in London, and during the London season, and especially that his reception was marked by such unmistakable signs of good will on the part of the population. Even society and the press recognised the importance of the Prince. The Crown Princess also made a preëminently favourable impression. . . . The Prince of Wales and his Danish consort were themselves more civil this time, and even put in an appearance at the German Legation. . . . The Royal Family is once more beginning to be afraid of France, and inclines towards Napoleon, who has always been "England's friend," whereas the House of Orleans for some unknown reason is looked upon as hostile.

September 21st. — Aegidi said to-day he understood that

Waldersee had been "blundering," having accepted from the French bills of exchange as of equal value to ready money in the payment of the war indemnity. He added: "We have lost in this way more than a hundred thousand thalers. That comes of entrusting such high posts to military men." This piece of wisdom probably comes from Keudell. A short time ago, under instructions from the Chief, I announced that Waldersee's recall was not due to any dissatisfaction with his management of affairs, but only to the more peaceful relations between Germany and France, which no longer required the services of a military representative.

September 22nd.—This afternoon Bucher told me that Arnim had shown great want of skill in negotiating the arrangement with regard to the Customs of Alsace-Lorraine. He went to work as if he were empowered to act on his own account, without reference to Berlin. It was a piece of good luck that the French took it upon themselves to insert an extra paragraph, or we might have fallen into the trap. Arnim is incapable, as are also his attachés, Holstein and the lieutenants of Hussars, Dönhoff and Stumm. Holstein is otherwise quite a capable man, but he has no real knowledge of State affairs. Bucher concluded: "I have had to give Arnim clearly to understand his position."

September 25th.—Eichmann, our Minister in Dresden (who, by the way, is, according to Bucher, a vain, self-satisfied, and rather insignificant gentleman), reported the day before yesterday that Friesen had told him that Beust, in speaking to Von Bose, the Saxon Minister in Vienna, about his interview with Bismarck at Gastein, said that the political views of our Chief fitted in with his own as did the key to the keyhole, and that the Emperor Francis Joseph had observed to Count Bray that his views had met those of the Emperor William half-way, and that a complete understanding had been arrived at between them.

A despatch given in Benedetti's book, *Ma Mission en Prusse*, forms a companion piece to Rasch's mission to Garibaldi. From this despatch, which was sent to Paris on the 10th of November, 1867, therefore not long after the battle of Mentana, we obtain the following information. When Garibaldi was about to invade the States of the Church, he wrote a letter to Bismarck, in which he begged for substantial assistance for his enterprise both in

the way of money and arms. For safety's sake he had sent the letter by a confidential messenger, who handed it over to the Chief. The latter appeared to entertain some mistrust, as Garibaldi's handwriting was easily imitated. Anyhow, he informed the messenger that he had at his disposal no money for which he was not bound to render an account to the Diet, and made several other remarks to the effect that of course France could not permit an incursion into the States of the Church, and that he regarded the enterprise as hopeless. Benedetti's disclosure was immediately followed by one emanating from the Chief. As soon as France set about its preparations for an armed intervention in Italy, the Cabinet in Florence telegraphed to its representative in Berlin, instructing him to ask Count Bismarck if, and to what extent, Italy might reckon upon the support of Prussia. This was done; and the answer was that in coming to the assistance of the Pope France had a just cause for intervention, and that Prussia could not be expected to lend its support to an incursion into the territory of a Sovereign with whom she entertained friendly relations.

September 29th. — On the 26th instant, the Bavarian Minister, H., told W. that the time had arrived to think about introducing obligatory civil marriage. According to the Council of Trent the sacramental element in marriage consisted in the declaration of the bride and bridegroom before the priest and witnesses, that they desired henceforth to live together as man and wife. How would it be, however, if the Pope, who has now become infallible, were induced to declare that the sacramental element consists in the performance of the marriage rites by the priest? In reply to the inquiry whether he was aware that something of the kind had been proposed at Bonn, he said no, but that the idea was in the air. According to W., Professor Schulte, who has been fully initiated into the former Austrian Concordat negotiations, stated that the Emperor Francis Joseph could easily be induced to agree to the dissolution of any religious order in Austria, with the single exception of the Jesuits, to which he would certainly not consent.

October 17th. — Aegidi brought instructions from the Chief that in future Austrian affairs were to be treated differently in the press. In the official newspapers, as also in those that are regarded as having a remote connection with us, the greatest

consideration must be shown towards the Hohenwart Ministry, while in the others all the concrete measures taken by it against the German element must be criticised and condemned in the sharpest possible terms.

October 15th. — A report from Stuttgart of the 12th instant states that the Baden Legation there has been abolished, and that Herr von Dusch, who is very popular at the Court of King Charles on account of his conciliatory character, has already presented his letters of recall. Von Bauer, the Würtemberg attaché at Carlsruhe, has also been recalled, and the Würtemberg Legations in Paris and Berne will likewise be done away with. Probably the Italian envoy to the Court at Stuttgart will also be withdrawn, and henceforth England will only be represented there by a Chargé d'Affaires. "What Frenchman will come?" asks the report in conclusion; and answers, "Certainly not St. Vallier. Grammont's communications in *l'Ordre* have made a very painful impression at Friedrichshafen."

October 22nd. — Stieber sends the Chief a report, dated the 20th instant, which begins:— "In accordance with your Serene Highness's verbal permission I beg to submit the following particulars respecting the Vienna *Vaterland*, Obermueller, and the party connected with that paper. It was founded by Count Leo Thun, and was taken over from him in 1870 by Dr. Puffka of Posen and Heinrich von Huster. Thun now subscribes and writes very little for the paper. It has, on the other hand, many contributors in Westphalia. The present editor, Obermueller (a Hessian, who formerly edited the fanatically particularist *Saechsische Zeitung*, in Leipzig, and at the same time gained for himself a not very enviable reputation as the author of some extraordinary works on the Celts) has stated in letters (which Stieber appears to have seen and made extracts from): 'The Saxon Federalist nobility has, up to the present, been far less generous towards the newspaper than the Bohemians, notwithstanding the fact that the sole salvation of the former lies exclusively in a *rapprochement* with the Czechish-Polish-French party, which is in process of formation. A meeting of the Saxon Federalist nobles has therefore been convened at Bautzen for the 16th of October, in order to raise the annual subvention from 800 thalers to at least 1,200.' Obermueller writes further: 'It is quite clear to every one, friend as well as foe, that Beust

is now entirely on the Prussian side. . . . Beust has lost all credit with the Emperor, and is now trying to maintain his position with the assistance of Prussia, which will be of little use to him in the long run. Here they desire first of all to remain on tolerably good terms with Prussia, and for that reason Beust is retained, in order to mask the situation.'" Stieber thinks the writer is not badly informed, as Clam-Martinitz and Co., who used his office as their rendezvous, have doubtless given him the necessary information.

According to a report from Stieber of yesterday's date the "meeting of nobles" at Bautzen has taken place. The only persons who put in an appearance were Stolle, the (Catholic) Councillor of Consistory, as the representative of the Dresden Patriotic Society, and the lawyer Fischer, as the delegate of the Leipzig Patriotic Association, which sent the *Vaterland* a contribution of 300 thalers for the current quarter, in support of its efforts in favour of a Federal policy in Germany.

In the evening saw an announcement from Munich, dated the 13th of October, and the draft of a reply, which I noted for future use. Lutz expressed his anxiety that "the Government may after all be unable to hold its own against the ultramontane party." The Minister's opinion and desire is therefore that the ecclesiastical questions should be brought up for discussion in the Imperial Diet also, and that in existing circumstances the Imperial Government should adopt an attitude which would support and strengthen the Bavarian Ministry in its struggle with the Ultramontanes. The Chief replied that he approved the cautious tone maintained by the writer of the report, and instructed him, in case the Bavarian Ministers should again reopen the subject in the same sense as Herr von Lutz, to point out that the Federal Council was the proper place for the discussion of that question, and that we should be most willing to consider any proposals which the Bavarian Government might have to submit there.

It would appear from a draft which I have read that Beust has sent in a memorial on the International and the measures to be taken in connection therewith, and that this has been submitted by the Chief to the Minister of the Interior.

October 30th. — G. writes on the 25th instant from Lisbon that he is assured by one of the foreign Ministers accredited

there, that Count Silvas, the diplomatic representative of Portugal in Berlin, in the spring of 1870 telegraphed to Lisbon the news of the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern, and that it was in this way the French Government first became acquainted with the affair. According to reports of the 21st and 22nd instant Andrassy has set forth to the Emperor Francis Joseph in the course of a long audience the dangers to which he would expose himself if he were to take the anti-German side, "as was done in the unfortunate rescript." "The genuine loyalty of which the German Government now gives such clear proof would," said the Count, "be then unable to stay the course of events. The Austrian Germans would turn to the German democrats, and these would tear the national banner out of the hands of Prince Bismarck, and carry it forward until the whole German race was united." Furthermore, the Austrian Envoy at the Court of Baden reported that Prince Gortchakoff had not concealed at Baden-Baden his satisfaction at the concessions promised to the Czechs, and had in general expressed sympathy with the demands of the Austrian Slavs.

To-day on my pointing to the article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in which the Radical journal calls attention to the services of Count Solms, who was formerly attached to the German Embassy in Paris, and complains of the neglect to which he is now subjected, Bucher said that certainly before the outbreak of the war Solms had formed a much sounder opinion of the situation and sent better reports than Werther, but that the Chief was indisposed to believe him, being of opinion that he was a man of no judgment. He afterwards fell into complete disgrace for having accepted, during the campaign, a position in the Crown Prince's suite, instead of acting upon the suggestion of the Minister that he should work with us.

November 2nd. — Count Bismarck-Bohlen came into the Bureau to-day to take leave of us. He is going to Venice, and then probably further on into Italy, where he will remain until July. He told me that he had tendered his resignation, but had only received — six months' leave. He will therefore continue to draw his salary in return for laborious idleness. Bucher says he wanted to retire because his request for a higher official title had been refused.

November 8th. — This morning Wollmann showed me a letter

of the 6th instant from W., stating that in pursuance of a rescript of the 2nd instant, the *Süddeutsche Presse* was henceforth not to receive any subvention. Froebel, the editor of the paper, is, however, to get further sums of 2,000 and 7,000 florins for the year 1872, in all 9,000 florins, as compensation.

Aegidi told me to-day that the article "From German Austria," in the *Preussische Jahrbeucher* was written by him, and was "almost entirely from notes dictated upstairs." What constant cackling over every egg! The little man with the swelled head then called my attention to a report by the Consul in Rio Janeiro on the slave law, which is printed in the *Reichsanzeiger*, to which he had sent it. He then observed that he would continue to supply them with such matter, and thus develop the journal into a "great political organ." I said to him in that case he would perform a miracle, as it was like calling upon the lame to rise and walk. I did not believe, however, that miracles took place in our day. He replied: "Oh yes, I know it will be a hard job, and indeed I have already had trouble enough with an article which I dated from Constantinople. But I shall manage it." I said nothing, but thought to myself, "Much good may it do you, little coxcomb!" I heard afterwards that he complained to Abeken that in the *Provinzial Correspondenz* Hahn had expressed satisfaction at the decline of anti-German feeling in Paris. "He should leave foreign politics alone," he said. He evidently did not know that Abeken himself had inspired the article. An hour later, when he brought me his *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* article against the *Provinzial Correspondenz*, he insisted that Abeken had intentionally brought the matter up. *Vanitas vanitatum, vanitas!* But ludicrous at the same time, most ludicrous!

November 9th. — In reply to my inquiry, Aegidi admitted that he had sent the *Sternsche Correspondenz* the contents of a report by Balan on the Brussels Ministry and the "Roi Jésuite," asserting at the same time that the Chief had said it should appear in a paper which was not regarded as semi-official. But the clever little man had carefully selected a news agency which is universally regarded here as of an exceptionally official character, and which competes with the Literary Bureau, to Doerr's serious discomfort.

November 13th. — A report from St. Petersburg, addressed

to the Emperor William and dated the 8th instant, which reached here yesterday, through safe hands, states:—"His Majesty the Emperor graciously communicated to me the letter which your Imperial Majesty sent through Prince Frederick Charles. The passage respecting the meeting at Salzburg was specially emphasised by the Emperor, who remarked that what your Majesty had said as to the efforts of the press to represent the good understanding between the two Powers as being at an end was unfortunately too true; but that this, as I knew, could exercise no influence upon his sentiments. The Emperor also gave me the memoir of the Grand Duchess Marie on the negotiations with Count Fleury to read. This document, which is probably the work of M. Duvernois, and was handed to the Grand Duchess by Fleury for her use, the Tsar considers to have been skilfully drawn up. The advocate of the dethroned Emperor pleads his case cleverly in trying to convince the German Emperor that the indemnity is in danger so long as the present state of things continues in France, and that Germany should, therefore, strongly urge a *plebiscite* as the sole remedy. He then went on to say that Fleury constantly spoke of a strong Government, which was only to be had under the Empire. But who would guarantee that, with the return of the Empire, it would be possible once more to find the strong hand to which Europe certainly had reason to be grateful at the beginning of the fifties? If the French wished to hold another general election in order to decide upon a definitive form of government, by all means let them do so. That was their affair, and not that of foreign Powers, who had nothing to do in the matter.

"It was in this sense that the Emperor spoke with regard to Fleury's proposals. In my opinion his Majesty will pay very little heed to proposals for a Bonapartist restoration. The trouble taken by his illustrious sister to interest him in this, her favourite scheme, is likely to be wasted."

November 16th.—We hear from a well-informed source at Lemberg that the society "Opielka Narodowa" (National Protection), which has undertaken to establish and maintain the connection between the numerous emigrants from Poland and their old homes, under the control of Valerian Podlewski, is constantly increasing in numbers and influence. A branch

society for Eastern Galicia has been founded in Crakau under the leadership of Byglewski, the president of the so-called Siberian Committee, which provides for the Poles who return from Siberia, and which is now to be affiliated to the Opielka. The society has already established branches in twenty-six districts. The Opielka Narodowa exercises strict supervision over the emigrants resident in Galicia, and is in direct communication with all the emigrant committees in England, France, Belgium, and Switzerland, thus forming a connecting link between them.

November 19th. — It is reported from Munich that Prince Otto's health is going from bad to worse; that it is, therefore, doubtful whether he will be fit to succeed, and that consequently the King has again made approaches to the family of Prince Luitpold, having twice paid them a visit in the evening, an unusual thing for him to do. Abeken's draft of a report respecting the dismissal of Beust, which was despatched to P. on the 13th instant, says that the Chief had not expected it from the impression he had derived during the interviews at Salzburg. "For the present he can only attribute the turn affairs have now taken — the resignation of the Austrian Chancellor following upon the real victory which he had just won — to that 'Father Confessor' policy (*Beichtvater Politik*) which has always been powerful in Austria, and he must take it that the influence of the confessional upon the Catholic monarch, rather than considerations of a political nature, led him to sacrifice his Protestant Minister to the Clerical party, as a compensation for the defeat which they suffered through the dismissal of the Hohenwart Ministry." A communication forwarded to R. yesterday speaks in the same sense, and then adds: "Probably Councillor von Braun has also been active in this direction. I have previously mentioned to you that he was well known to me at Frankfort as an accommodating and active instrument of the Clerical party."

November 30th. — Arnim was instructed in a despatch of the 27th instant to secure redress in Paris for the impertinence of which the French representative in Rome was guilty towards the Bavarian envoy there. This despatch runs: "According to a report from Count Tauffkirchen the French Ambassador in Rome and his wife have been so impolite to him and his

attachés that Tauffkirchen has asked to be allowed to call Harcourt personally to account. Before I grant him permission to do so I would ask you to secure the despatch of the enclosed instructions to Harcourt. Failing that, we will revenge ourselves upon the innocent Gabriac, and let Tauffkirchen loose on Harcourt." A telegram from Rome of yesterday's date reported that the Frenchman (doubtless under pressure from Versailles) had apologised for his rudeness to Tauffkirchen.

December 7th.—Von R., writing from Berne on the 4th instant, sent in the autograph answers of the "Hanoverian pensioners" to a circular of the 10th of October, in which they were called upon to make a declaration respecting the place of residence which they would select for the future.

December 9th.—Among the documents received is an exceptionally interesting communication from Vienna respecting an interview with Andrassy. The following is an extract:—"The Count called upon me yesterday shortly after his return from Pesth. He is highly pleased. Up to the present, he said, as Hungarian Premier, he had only the support of the Deák party. Now that he is Minister for Foreign Affairs the whole country is on his side. I observed that certainly he was supported by the whole power of Hungary, but that on the other hand he would be influenced by the wishes of Hungary. Count Andrassy replied that even the Left, with the exception of a few followers of Kossuth, were in agreement with his policy of peace. I reminded him of the traditional friendship of Hungary for the Poles, but he strongly contested the existence of any dangerous tendencies in this direction. Returning to the subject of previous conversations I acknowledged that the Polish idea, as expounded by Count Andrassy, seemed to me legitimate, namely, severance from France and the abandonment of the agitation against Russia, in order to stay the process of extirpation—in short, a conservation of the Polish nationality as a means of counterbalancing future Panslavist tendencies. At the same time, however, I again expressed my doubts as to whether the Poles would be sensible enough to accept these views, and asked whether it was not a fact that they were only entertained by a few Polish emigrants. He replied in the affirmative, and then informed me that although Prince S. Czartoryski had been betrothed to a Princess of the

House of Orleans (the twenty-six-year-old daughter of the Duc de Nemours), he had received concurrently with this news an assurance that the projected union would not affect his policy. Passing to the Danubian Principalities the Minister said he had received trustworthy reports from Bucharest and elsewhere to the effect that Cousa, Bratiano, Ghika, and Cogalniceano had combined to bring about the fall of Prince Charles. The *Prince étranger* was to be deposed, and Cousa reinstated, and with him French influence. The railway affair, and the pressure exercised at our instance from Constantinople, increased the difficulties of Prince Charles, whom he, Count Andrassy, desired to support. I repeated that we did not ask Austria to exercise any pressure on the Prince, but only to use its influence with the Ministry and the Chamber."

A report addressed to the Chief from Paris on the 7th of December contains the following particulars respecting Beust's visit and the French *revanche* idea:—"Count Beust called upon me on his way to London, having first had an interview with M. Thiers. His impression of the Government here was that, even in foreign affairs, it was not so judicious as was generally believed. I did not conceal from the Count the view which I have already expressed to your Serene Highness, namely, that the President of the Republic wishes, above everything else, to avoid all foreign complications. Count Beust, with whom M. Thiers seems to have talked a great deal of hypothetical politics, maintains his opinion that at Versailles there was too much disposition to seek out all sorts of complications. I refrain for the moment from commenting upon this statement, which was obviously made with a purpose. I have to-day received a communication of a similar kind from a French source, that is to say, from the Vicomte de Calonne, who formerly served our interests, though with little success. He is doubtless in possession of a great deal of information with which I am not yet acquainted. Possibly his present move is intended to reopen the old relations. The Vicomte asserts that Thiers has one idea which governs his whole policy, namely, that of the *revanche*. Although he may not show it, it is firmly rooted in his mind. M. Thiers has inaugurated—not unskilfully—a press campaign which is to keep the *revanche* idea alive. I do not deny that, from my own observations made

some days before I had seen M. de Calonne, a distinction should be drawn between the utterances of the President and the language of his journals. While M. Thiers and M. Casimir-Périer expressed themselves grateful for the recognition of their loyalty contained in Herr Delbrück's speech, the official papers assumed an offended air, and journals, apparently of a more independent character, but also possibly influenced from Versailles, represented the Minister's speech as a proof that Germany had not ceased her provocations to war. To this extent M. de Calonne's communication is in harmony with other indications. He, however, somewhat diminished the value of his information by disclosing himself as a voluntary agent of the Legitimists. He expressed a wish that we should give the latter our moral support, as without a restoration neither peace nor order could be reckoned upon in France. I was able to point out to M. de Calonne that, next to the Bonapartist journals, the Legitimist press was the most violent in its crusade against Germany, and that the restoration of internal order was France's own affair. Our interest in the matter was purely selfish, the only consideration for us being how best to *tirer notre épingle du jeu.* He could, therefore, see for himself what was our attitude towards internal questions, which, moreover, were still very unripe. M. de Calonne was not very pleased with these remarks, and expressed himself to the effect that we were on the eve of great crises, that France would fall to pieces, and that Thiers would by his policy prepare for a revolutionary war, if a definitive government, the traditional monarchy, were not speedily reëstablished.

"I have not considered myself justified in withholding the statements of Count Beust and the overtures of M. de Calonne, whom I had hitherto hesitated to receive. It is not impossible that M. Thiers may have spoken to Count Beust in a sense different from his remarks to me. M. de Calonne, whatever his personal significance may be, is in any case a confidant of the monarchist circles, and an organ of their public opinion. The views of both gentlemen are confirmed by the circumstance that M. Thiers is raising a larger army than that maintained by the Empire. Casimir-Périer, indeed, assures me that the Government cannot dispense with this strong force if it is to maintain public order. But even if that be so, who can guaran-

tee that a gendarmerie of over 500,000 men may not suddenly become a field force, when circumstances permit?

"All these considerations might lead me to apprehend that I have reposed too much confidence in the intentions of the President of the Republic. Nevertheless, I do not consider myself to have any reason for in any way altering my previous view of the situation. Even if M. Thiers should permit himself to entertain vindictive combinations, and even if he thought of ultimately employing this great army to some other purpose than the war against the International, none of these dreams could take a definite shape before the year 1874. We, as well as M. Thiers, are for the moment only concerned with the next six months; and for these six months, and indeed for his whole lifetime, M. Thiers cannot desire warlike complications, because in spite of all his frivolity he cannot doubt that the first cannon shot fired would put an end to his own Government. What would happen afterwards is another question, the decision of which would probably no longer lie in the hands of the present President.

"It has become quite clear why Count Beust took Paris on his way, while every political consideration should have induced him to avoid this city. M. de Rémusat, speaking of his interview with Count Beust, said to me: '*Il a commencé par dire le plus grand bien du Comte Andrassy; il a fini par en dire tout le mal possible.*' Herr von Beust spoke of his own experiences as if he himself did not rightly know why he had been dismissed. The first consequence of his dismissal and of the idle talk to which it had given rise was that it became necessary to lean much more towards the Left than would have been the case had he remained. It appears to me that the fallen Austrian statesman has in general *not* made a very good impression here. He is thought to have affected too much unconcern with regard to all those questions with which he was officially connected. I first learnt from Herr von Beust that Prince Metternich, after all delicate hints had proved fruitless, was recalled at the express desire of M. Thiers. Nothing has yet been decided as to his successor; and Count Beust is of opinion that the appointment will be postponed for some time, as a means of marking the dissatisfaction felt at the course adopted towards Prince Metternich. The departure of Prince Metternich (whose sole merit

consisted in the possession of a singular sort of wife, for whom Paris no longer offers a sphere of activity) is not regretted here."

December 16th. — With reference to the foregoing the Chief considers Beust's visit to Paris "a further characteristic symptom, affording fresh grounds for a grateful appreciation of the value of the official changes that have in the meantime taken place in Vienna. In the present circumstances it should have been evident to him and to every other statesman who regarded the matter from an impartial standpoint, that the right course was to take the shortest and straightest route to his new post, and rather to avoid such meetings as Count Beust had sought. Only the desire to get himself talked of and to pose before the world even in the smallest personal concerns could have misled an otherwise intelligent man to attract so much attention, and secure so much publicity to his movements. It is impossible to foresee into what courses an influential Minister may not be betrayed by such weaknesses, which destroy all confidence in his trustworthiness. Count Beust has once more proved what good reason we have to be satisfied with the change that has taken place in the control of political affairs in Vienna, a change which gives promise of a more business-like and less personal, and therefore steadier and more serious policy."

December 25th. — To-day sent an article to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which was based on a despatch of Arnim's of the 17th instant. Arnim wrote: — "According to private accounts, which have reached here from Stuttgart, the Würtemberg Court intends to appoint a Chargé d'Affaires in the person of Herr von Maucler. Improbable as this news appears to me, I cannot but point out how very regrettable such a decision on the part of King Charles would be. Of course at a decisive moment the presence of a Würtemberg Chargé d'Affaires would make no difference, but it would unquestionably increase the disposition of the French towards a new war by at least two per cent. Then there is the further consideration that a Würtemberg Chargé d'Affaires would lead to the appointment of a French envoy at Stuttgart, who would find it easy to discover people who are dissatisfied with the new order of things in Germany. Estimating the total loss of the German army in the last war at 100,000, and supposing that a new war were to cost only 50,000 men, the Würtemberg Government would thus be making itself

responsible for the loss of 1,000, if it unwittingly contributed to encourage a French renewal of hostilities. Similar reflections should be made in Munich. Rudhard, the Chargé d'Affaires accredited here, whose attitude is perfectly modest and correct, gives no ground for complaint. The fact, however, that he and I meet in M. de Rémusat's ante-chamber is sufficient to give rise to false notions. The attention with which the French follow the symptoms of Particularism in the South German Chambers shows what great hopes they repose in the possibility of dissensions in the German Empire. The French cannot be judged by the same standard as other nations. They have no sense of proportion, and attach importance to matters that in reality have no significance. In a madhouse the merest trifles may lead to a revolt, and even if it be suppressed it may first cost the lives of many honest people. The small German Courts should think of this, before they, for vanity's sake, send agents to Paris."

Evening. — Read a report of the 14th instant from Berne respecting the impressions gathered by Colonel Ruestow (the well-known writer and Red Democrat) during his recent stay in Paris, as communicated by him to an intimate friend. He declares that he also conferred with the French Minister of War and with several officers of high rank. According to him, the *revanche*, and — however absurd that may sound — a speedy one, has been firmly resolved upon. Not only the army but all classes and sections of the population are filled with this idea and imbued with this spirit. Their reckoning is made for the year 1873 or 1874. The condition of the army, of which Ruestow closely inspected five corps, he declares to be worse than he had ever known it. Drunkenness and indiscipline, as well as socialistic tendencies, were universal, while, on the other hand, Bonapartist sympathies were far more widespread than was to be reasonably expected. The army and the people agreed in a common and equal dissatisfaction with Thiers and the present Government. R. thinks Ruestow's views are not without interest, as "that renegade" is well known in Paris, and familiar with circles which give some insight, both political and military, into the real condition of French affairs. R. himself, who is a vain visionary, cannot be regarded as a good observer.

December 26th. — To-day read two St. Petersburg reports of

the second week of the present month, and partially utilised them for the press. It is stated in one of these that on the occasion of a gala dinner at the Festival of St. George on the 8th inst., when the Emperor Alexander strongly emphasised his friendship for Prussia, and expressed a hope that later generations would also entertain that feeling, the heir to the throne observed to his neighbour at table, "*Dieu veuille que cela se fasse!*" A second passage runs: "I was anxious to hear what Gortchakoff would say to me respecting the speech made by the Emperor on the 8th inst. It confirmed what I knew already, namely that the Emperor had not taken any one into his confidence beforehand. He asked Gortchakoff if he was satisfied, and the Imperial Chancellor replied that he was pleased to observe the words 'ordre légal' in the speech. If the Emperor had previously asked his advice on the matter, he would have urged the insertion of these words, as it would be of advantage that Europe should know that both Powers were at one respecting the maintenance of law and order." The report then continues: "The Chancellor never likes the Emperor to deal with politics in an extempore fashion, and without consulting him. In the present instance, this feeling was again perceptible; but he had no option in speaking to me but to express his great satisfaction at the Imperial utterances. He added that the Russian press already commented upon his Majesty's words with approval, and hoped they would be well received in Berlin, which has been the case. At the same time, so far as I can ascertain, opinion here in St. Petersburg is very much divided on the subject. Our friends applaud. Others, who, since the war, have been oppressed with the foolish apprehension that victorious Germany would soon fall upon Russia, now breathe more freely. Yet another section pull wry faces at this formal proclamation of Russo-German friendship. A serious blow has been dealt at all the attempts of this party to disturb the friendship by exciting mutual suspicion. After such words as those we heard on the 8th of December, the reading public will no longer credit what they say, as such a frank statement by the Sovereign cannot be without influence in Russia. They now seek to indemnify themselves by turning the Tsar's friendship for Prussia into ridicule. The visit of the Prussians is referred to as the German 'butter week'; exception is taken

to the presentation to Count Moltke of the general staff's map of Poland on the occasion of his visit to the general staff; the Field Marshal and the officers who accompanied him, although they were very careful in what they said, are accused of having betrayed their contempt for the Russian military organisation, and further rubbish of the same kind. These malicious stories may doubtless, here and there, fall upon fruitful soil; but, in my opinion, they will not succeed in effacing the good impression made by the Prussian visitors."

What is here said of the Russian press was confirmed by a series of cuttings, probably emanating from Julius Eckart, of Hamburg. These were handed to me by Bucher on the 15th of December, under instructions from the Chief, and an abstract was sent by me to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

In the meantime I had begun to prepare my article on the International. Bucher called my attention to the volumes of documents in the Central Bureau which contained useful material for this purpose, and instructed the Secretary to place them at my disposal. Here I also came across Beust's memorandum which is mentioned in my diary under the date of the 22nd of October, and extracted the most important passages. From the style it would appear to be written by Beust himself, or, at least, to have been revised by him. Notwithstanding its somewhat florid phraseology, it is a document of unusual interest, particularly in view of the Constitutionalism which it affects. I was unable to discover in it any great ideas or new methods.

The Austrian memorandum was followed by a Prussian one (see diary under 14th of April, 1872); and, to my knowledge, preparations were made for a commission, composed of the representatives of both Governments, which was to discuss the question. I am not aware what further steps were taken in the matter.

January 2nd. — According to a report from London, Beust had an audience of Napoleon at Chislehurst on the 23rd of last month (December), and afterwards said to Bernstorff that the Emperor had not by any means given up the hope of returning to France. In reply to Beust's question whether he entertained this hope for himself personally or only for his dynasty, the answer was that he himself expected to ascend the throne again.

January 5th. — Werther reports from Munich that Howard, the strongly anti-Prussian English Minister at the Bavarian Court, has been recalled, and on taking leave had an interview of three-quarters of an hour with King Lewis, the length of which was all the more striking as the Italian representative, Greppi, had remained with his Majesty only a quarter of an hour. That the Minister for Foreign Affairs only heard of this audience after it had taken place is significant of the condition of affairs in Munich. Howard is succeeded by Morier, former Chargé d'Affaires at the Darmstadt Court, with whom our Werther is on a friendly footing. I may add that a short time ago Bucher brought me some ideas from the Chief for a Munich letter, which was to be inserted in a "non-official newspaper," and which, if I am not mistaken, appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. It ran as follows: "Sir Henry Howard, the English Envoy here, who, if I am rightly informed, usually devotes his leisure to diplomatic chatter of an anti-Prussian description, is now charged with the doubtless very welcome duty of representing French subjects in Bavaria. His first act in this new capacity was to invest M. Hory, the former Chancelier of the French Legation, who had remained behind for the purpose of spying, with the character of Chancelier of the English Legation. This conduct on the part of the representative of generous Albion has aroused great indignation here. Sir Henry, the representative of the Queen of England, who bears the title of Defender of the Faith, is moreover strongly Catholic."

January 8th. — A report addressed to the Chief from Berne, dated the 6th instant, states that Rohrschuetz, the Würtemberg Consul in that town, under instructions from his Government, asked Welti, the President of the Confederation, whether Switzerland would be disposed to enter into a convention with Würtemberg for the mutual care of the sick Welti replied that it would be more in accordance with the general interest to avoid Particularist treaties, and that Switzerland would therefore prefer to conclude such an arrangement with the German Empire. It would be more advisable for the Consul to submit his suggestion in the first place to the German Minister. The report concludes as follows: "The official communication made to me by the President of the Confederation characterises suf-

ficiently the petty efforts of certain circles in Stuttgart, and tends to show the expediency of defining my relations here, so far as Würtemberg is concerned, with unmistakable precision."

A characteristic article written by me on the instructions of the Chancellor and based upon his suggestions, which was sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, appears to belong to this or the following week. It was based upon an official communication from the Chief, intended — after certain excesses of anti-German feeling — to call the attention of the French to the real significance of the situation. It says, *inter alia:* "Two peoples dwell in France, the French and the Parisians. The former loves peace. The latter writes the newspapers, and seeks to pick a quarrel, which the other then has to fight out. Both, however, should clearly remember how near the German army is at Chateau-Thierry.

"If the Parisian moral code culminates in the categorical imperative of revenge, the nation cannot be too strongly reminded how speedily the Germans could reach Paris from Reims, now that Metz, Strasburg, Verdun, and Toul no longer stand in their way. It would also be well if the various French Pretenders would bear in mind the position and treaty rights of Germany. The Government in office will in the circumstances save itself from disappointment by not counting upon any special consideration at the hands of Germany. It is entirely in the interest of peace that countries and peoples should know exactly how they stand with each other. The occupation of the French departments, conceded to us by treaty, is for us a defensive position from which we can only retire, in so far as we are obliged to do so by treaty, when we are perfectly satisfied respecting the sentiments and intentions of France. The policy and disposition of France since the conclusion of peace does not inspire that confidence which would justify us in renouncing any advantage of our present strong defensive position. In France a war of revenge is being incessantly preached from the house-tops, and a Government which has added to the military budget eighty to a hundred millions more than it reached under the Emperor Napoleon can lay no claim to a reputation for peacefulness. If France maintains that the war indemnity is excessive, and at the same time displays lavish extravagance in preparing for another war, it

may be fairly said that the despatch of the 7th instant, with its expression of regret that the German hopes for the reëstablishment of more peaceful relations should have proved premature, was a moderately worded intimation, and that its publication was a well-meant measure of precaution."

January 17th. — Wrote the following article for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, from the Chief's instructions as transmitted to me by Bucher: "Professor Friederich, writing on the 2nd of May, 1870, in the much talked-of diary which he kept during the Vatican Council, that is to say, a considerable time before the outbreak of the war, and while not a soul here (in Berlin) thought of an approaching disturbance of the peace, says: 'I have it from one who is in a position to know that there will be a war between Prussia and France in 1871. There are whispers of an understanding between the Curia, the Jesuits, and the Tuileries.' Permit me to add a few observations that are taken from a trustworthy source. There was no 'whispering' about that understanding here, because people were perfectly certain of it. It was no secret, but a notorious fact, that Eugénie, the bigoted Spaniard, was quite in the hands of the Jesuits and in active correspondence with the Curia, and that in contradistinction to the apathetic Emperor she promoted this war (which she repeatedly described as *ma guerre*) with so much zeal because it bore the character of a crusade, and because she and her clerical advisers, who may be absolutely regarded as an agency of the governing party in Rome, hoped to promote the objects which were pursued by that party in the Vatican Council and the Syllabus that preceded it. The father confessor played the part of intermediary between the Empress, who was made Regent with full powers on the departure of the Emperor for the Army, and the directors of the Papal policy. The assistance of other father confessors was also counted upon in this connection, Vienna for example, and even Italy being influenced in the same way. If the victories of Weissenburg, Wörth, and Spicheren had not followed in such rapid succession, it is probable that the event would have borne out the calculations of the Vatican and the Tuileries in regard to a coalition of the Catholic Powers against Germany, which was equally hated in both quarters. There is, therefore, no doubt that the Empress worked hand in hand with the Roman Ultramontanes in pro-

moting the war. On the contrary she prided herself on it. It was her heart's desire. In judging political situations and events people frequently fall into the error of forgetting that the course of affairs is often abnormal, and that one very frequent cause of such departures from the regular order is the influence of women upon rulers. Where women have a free hand, however, there Jesuitism and its aims will speedily flourish."

January 21st. — Werther has addressed the following complaint direct to the Emperor: He had been instructed to hand over the chain of the Order of the Black Eagle to the King of Bavaria. As the King had returned from Hohenschwangau on the 15th instant, he applied on the 16th to Hegnenberg to procure him an audience, but was referred by the latter to the Royal Household. He immediately called upon Eisenhart and explained to him the importance which the Emperor attached to the presentation of the chain on the 18th of January, the anniversary of two important events in the history of his House, and requested to be informed of the decision of the King by 1 o'clock. Not having received it, however, up to 3 o'clock, he called upon Eisenhart again and ascertained that the latter had not yet been able to lay the matter before the King. He now urgently renewed his request and pointed out "how opposed it would be to the intentions of his Imperial and Royal Majesty if the day passed without his instructions being carried into effect." Finally, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the dejected and anxious Minister received a letter to the effect that the announcement was a source of surprise and pleasure to the King, who would have been very glad to receive at once the Emperor's letter and the insignia if he had not been fatigued by night work and detained by visits to the Royal family. He would take an early opportunity of fixing a day for the purpose. Werther ascribes this more to the awkwardness of Eisenhart than to the shyness of the King. Hesse remarked: "Werther will get a sharp reprimand over this. Just look here!" The Chief had underlined the passage referring to the second visit to Eisenhart, and to the "urgency" of Werther's representations, adding a large note of exclamation on the margin opposite the latter.

Since the great "Orders day" these button-hole decorations

and higher felicities form almost the sole subject of conversation in the office. "Second class," "with the ribbon," "on the ring," "with the oak leaves," and similar dainties have been discussed with more or less knowledge and gusto—Abeken, with a play of gesture and a flow of eloquence that is all his own, manifesting the finest discrimination, while Roland and Alvensleben very nearly approached his level.

January 25th.—The Clerical party has tried to refute the article of the 18th, and the Chief wishes to have a reply prepared. For this purpose Bucher brings me a sketch of the Prince's ideas on the matter. The article written on this information, which was again to be sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, ran as follows: "My letter on the relations of the Tuileries and Rome before the outbreak of the war would seem to have hit the Ultramontanes in a tender place. They reply to-day through their Bonn organ in a tone of great irritation, and somewhat in the temper (here I used the Chief's own words) of a man at the dentist's when the forceps closes on his bad tooth. Their anger leads them so far astray that they sometimes lose both memory and judgment. In the article in question we read, *inter alia:* 'Ollivier was a declared Gallican, therefore an opponent of the Pope and the Jesuits. His colleagues were almost all liberal Catholics. . . . Accordingly, one of the first steps taken by Count Daru was to send to Rome a menacing Note with regard to the Council, such as no other Government had ventured to despatch. He did everything in his power to promote a decision in accordance with the views of the minority, threatening even that, in the event of the Papal infallibility being proclaimed, France would be compelled to withdraw the protection which she had hitherto accorded to the Pope.' The first thing to be said in reply to this is that Ollivier was *not* a declared Gallican, and indeed nothing whatever except a vain place-hunter who could not resist the influences brought to bear upon him by Eugénie. Furthermore, when the war broke out Daru was no longer one of Ollivier's colleagues, and his Note to the Curia had been dropped by his successor, a striking proof in support of our contention. The Ultramontane tendencies of the Empress had in the meantime won the upper hand, and no one will be misled by the Bonn newspaper's attempt to represent the withdrawal of the French troops from the States of the Church

as the execution of Daru's threat. That measure was a military necessity to which Eugénie was forced much against her will. The manner in which the Empress is treated in the Ultramontane *pseudo-démenti* is both interesting and instructive. For the writer Eugénie is now 'pious' only within quotation marks, and she is said to have taken her nieces to anti-Christian and decidedly immoral and irreligious lectures, &c. The good lady has really not deserved such treatment, and it would have been much more becoming for the Ultramontanes to place on her head the martyr's crown, which she has richly earned in their service through her bitter hatred of Prussia. When, on the contrary, they now insult and disavow her, they display not only ingratitude, but stupidity, a circumstance only to be explained by the confusion of ideas to which men are so frequently liable when unpleasant truths are sprung upon them. For after such treatment of their former patroness by the Jesuits, will not others in future think twice before entering into any understanding with them? and besides, can any one say positively that a Napoleonic restoration is out of the question? Furthermore, it is quite irrelevant for the Bonn Jesuit organ to appeal to certain regulations against the Order which it serves, to the difficulty which the Jesuits often had in obtaining permission to preach in Paris, and to the prohibition of new educational establishments controlled by them. In the first place these regulations were for the most part issued by Archbishop Darboy, who energetically opposed the intrigues of the Ultramontanes in the Council. Then again, the Tuileries were obliged to reckon with the unpopularity of the followers of Loyola and with the Voltairian section of the French people. On the other hand, one must bear in mind the way in which the great majority of the French bishoprics have been filled since 1852, to the almost complete exclusion of Gallicanism. But it is chiefly in Alsace, where we now have a clearer insight into affairs, that we find the consequences of these mutual relations between the former French Government and the Ultramontanes. When the advocate of the Ultramontane cause wishes to make us believe that the war with Germany was mainly intended by Napoleon and Eugénie to curb the Pope's temporal and spiritual power, one involuntarily rubs his eyes, reads the absurdity over again, and asks: But in the name of

common sense if Napoleon had any such designs against the Holy Father, had he not, in the summer of 1870, more than sufficient power to carry them into effect, and did he require for that purpose a victory over Germany? We have reason to be thankful that the writer has given us an opportunity of saying a good word for him in conclusion. Towards the close of his article he says that the German victory in the last war had been of immense service to the Catholic Church. 'Immense service!' Let us note that. Up to the present we have heard these gentlemen almost always maintain the contrary. Nevertheless we thankfully accept the present declaration, and in return beg to offer a piece of good advice. If the victory be of advantage to you, then, gentlemen, cease to declaim against New Germany, which is the fruit of that victory, and show more gratitude towards its founder than you have towards poor Eugénie. It will then no longer be said of your *Deutsche Reichszeitung* that — like the old saw, *Lucus a non lucendo* — its name has been selected because it is neither German nor Imperial."

January 26th. — A report from Lemberg, dated the 21st instant, on the secret agitation of the Galician Poles, says: "The National Committee here, of which Prince Sapieha is the President, has three political news agencies — one for Hungary, one for Posen and Bohemia, and one for the Kingdom of Poland. Prince Czartoryski is at the head of the Hungarian agency and Dr. Smolka of the agency for Bohemia and Posen, while in the Kingdom of Poland it is controlled by Ignatius Lemwitz, who is giving the young Poles a military training."

February 2nd. — In connection with Arnim's communication respecting certain correspondents of the *Kreuzzeitung* who had made themselves obnoxious, the Chief reported to the Emperor through Abeken that the newspaper in question would be warned to be more careful. It was, however, hardly to be expected that this would lead to any improvement, as the *Kreuzzeitung* is in general not easily influenced by the Government, while in this instance the person indicated by Count Arnim as the writer of the objectionable article has been closely connected with the paper for nearly twenty years, and has considerable influence on its Paris intelligence, although he is known to the Chief from previous personal intercourse as of very moderate political ability.

February 7th. — R. in St. Petersburg writes that he recently had a conversation with M. de Strenavoukoff, the Director of the Asiatic Department, in the course of which the latter went so far as to assert that the only way of dealing with Rumania would be — after a preliminary understanding between the neighbouring Powers, such as was usual in similar cases — for one of them to receive a mandate to occupy the country. R. continues as follows: "On my pointing out to him that he proposed to do exactly that which he had always so strongly urged us to avoid, namely, to break the Treaty of Paris, he replied that such a measure could only be adopted as a last resource. France no longer existed, and if Germany, Russia, and Austria were united, England would raise no objections." The letter describes this as a "gushing outburst of the Director of the Asiatic Department." The Emperor Alexander has expressed his approval of the course taken by the Berlin Government in the matter of the Inspection of Schools Bill, regretting, however, that it should have fallen out with the Conservative party over this measure.

February 9th. — Aegidi told me yesterday that the Chief desires to see Mittnacht and Lutz praised in the newspapers for being, like himself, defenders of the Empire. To-day I accordingly wrote the following article for the *Koelnische Zeitung*, which was based upon a despatch from our representative at Stuttgart: ". . . There is no doubt that the latter (the tame variety of Particularism) is largely represented at Court, but it is equally unquestionable that the present Ministry, Mittnacht included, is thoroughly loyal to the Empire. The *Grenzboten* was therefore not justified in recently opening its columns to an attack upon Mittnacht, in which, in addition to other unfounded charges such as nepotism, &c., his national sentiments were called in question, it being asserted that in the summer of 1870 he and his colleagues only supported the national idea because Gortchakoff had warned Varnbüler to do so on the occasion of their interview at Wildbach, and because the patriotic attitude of the Bavarian Government had brought pressure to bear upon Würtemberg. I believe I am justified in giving a positive assurance that both statements are untrue; that Bavaria was about to make the performance of its obligations towards North Germany dependent upon certain guarantees for its own sover-

eignty, to be given in Berlin, and that thereupon the Ministers at Stuttgart decided in favour of unconditional coöperation with the North, this being done before Varnbüler had spoken to the Russian Imperial Chancellor. These few facts for the sake of truth. They deserve to be emphasised all the more, as successful attacks upon the present Cabinet would benefit, not the supporters of the national cause, but the Court party, on whose behalf Chief Burgomaster Sick is intriguing."

February 12th.—Wrote an article for the *Koelnische Zeitung* from the instructions of the Chief, which reached me through Aegidi. It contains several of the Prince's ideas almost in his own words as communicated to me. The article runs as follows: "The Parliamentary struggles of the past few weeks have been of the highest significance for our Parliamentary life. Two factors which have been in course of development for some time past have taken positive form. These are: a homogeneous Ministry is supported on an important question by a Parliamentary majority, which includes even the 'resolute Progressives'; and a new Opposition, formed by the fusion of all the elements which are on the most various grounds hostile to New Prussia and New Germany, together with the group of 'resolute Reactionaries.' The nucleus of this Opposition, which represents reaction in the fullest sense of the word, is the Centre Party, quite incorrectly designated the Catholic Party. We consider it to be rather a Theocratic Party, and as such to be treated not as a denominational, but as a political group. With these are associated the liegemen of the Guelphs, whose able advocate,—the Member for Meppen,—as an Ultramontane, has one foot in that party, and therefore serves as a suitable intermediary, his efforts being also directed towards restoring the old order of things at the expense of the new. A third contingent of this reactionary coalition consists of the Poles, or rather the Polish nobility, with their longing to revive the Jesuit and aristocratic rule which existed before the partition, and their inexplicable hatred of the German character. In this instance again the Ultramontane sentiments of most of the Polish representatives promote fusion.

"Finally, this alliance of different elements bound together only by their apprehensions, their aversions, and their reactionary sentiments and aspirations are now joined by the residuum

of the Conservative party, represented in the press by the present *Kreuzzeitung*, the hostile attitude of which has long foreshadowed the change that has now taken place. The departure of this last body of troops to join the mobilised Ultramontanes will not signify very much, as the Conservatives have long since surrendered to the Government and to the Free Conservative fraction whatever they possessed in the way of talent, and can now only reinforce the opposition with their votes. Through them, however, the united opposition has acquired no little significance, for its relations now extend into very exalted circles, where endeavours are made to inspire suspicion and dissatisfaction in competent quarters, and the influences in question—*feminine influences* are spoken of in particular—are understood to be very active, and to have already produced dangerous friction in other matters. The statesman who stands above all parties, and who by his genius and energy has hitherto overcome these difficulties, will, we hope, in the public interest be able to continue his work unhampered by such opposition. We must not, however, be blind to the fact that the situation is serious and strained."

February 18th.—Bucher brings me instructions from the Chief for a long article on the anti-German attitude of the King of Sweden, together with material in the shape of despatches. This is to appear in a non-official paper. I sent it to the *Grenzboten*, which published it in No. 10 of the current year under the title "Stockholmer Velleitäten." After an introduction in which the great European Powers, with the exception of France, were represented as tolerably satisfied with the establishment of the German Empire, and therefore favourable to us, or at least not exactly hostile, the article went on to say: "On the other hand Prussia and New Germany have in some of the small States neighbours at whose Courts there prevails an obstinate ill-humour, not to say a bitter and lasting hatred, which, of course, is not openly manifested, but is for that reason none the less cordial. Among these neighbours we may mention, for example, the Queen of Holland and Prince Henry, who, as the representative of the Grand Duke, governs Luxemburg in a sense as hostile to Germany as possible. We must also include in this number his Majesty of Sweden and Norway, Charles XV., with whose position as regards Germany and

France we now propose to deal, giving merely a few general indications, as it would not be desirable to speak more plainly, our intention being not to cause irritation, but only to give a useful hint.

"Considered from a political standpoint it is not easy to discover the cause of that exalted gentleman's aversion to Germany. The interests of Sweden and Norway are in no way opposed to ours. On the contrary, what benefits us Germans is almost invariably of advantage to our two neighbours in the north. A powerful Germany does not threaten the free development of the Scandinavian peoples, nor for the matter of that, any other of her neighbours. The German Empire is the great universal preserver of peace, the protector of international independence, armed only for defence; and whether, remembering old, half-forgotten quarrels, they like to hear it or not, it is and remains connected with them by ties of close racial kinship. Nor can public opinion in Sweden be held responsible for royal prejudices, which would even go to the length of making military preparations against us in view of possible contingencies. The Schleswig-Holstein question at one time caused a great deal of anti-Prussian feeling, but to our knowledge that agitation was not so deep-seated as might have been inferred from a section of the Swedish press, and anyhow it has long since subsided, except in a few newspaper offices. It broke out once more in Stockholm and other large towns during our war with France, but in the newspapers rather than among the public, of whom the more thoughtful section soon realised which side was in the right and by whose victory those not immediately concerned would be the gainers. It may be safely asserted that only a small minority in Sweden now regrets the triumph of Germany.

"From this it would seem to follow that sentiment can alone explain the hostile sentiments of King Charles. His aversion to New Germany may probably be chiefly the corollary of his sympathies for France, which again may doubtless be traced to the recollection that the Bernadotte dynasty sprang from a French lawyer, a recollection which would, however, assume a questionable complexion if it were to lead the King to forget that his first duty is to consider the interests of the countries over which he now rules. But perhaps there may have been also another recollection, namely that there was once in Sweden,

years ago, a Charles XII. But it would be a pity for such memories to cause forgetfulness of the changes produced by time.

"We can find no other explanation, and that which we have ventured to give is the more probable, as it is stated that his Swedish Majesty has up to a short time ago been addicted to habits better calculated at times to stimulate feelings, for instance, of vainglory than to sharpen the judgment, and that under such influences he has sometimes made statements which it would have been better to have left unmade. Be that as it may, the unfriendly sentiments of the King towards Germany are a fact, and if Sweden were still the dreaded power that enforced the Peace of Altranstaldt, if she were still in a position to compel obedience to the pair of top-boots that Charles XII. once set up in the Prime Minister's chair, it would be possible to conceive situations in which one would have good ground for regarding the north with anxiety, while the main front faced towards the west. As things have turned out, however, this is happily not the case. The top-boots of the last century have given way to a constitutional *régime*, and the Swedes have become peaceful agriculturists, sailors, and tradespeople, who would not plunge into a ruinous conflict for the sake of anybody's French sympathies or longings for military glory, and who would know how to protect themselves, by constitutional methods, if any attempt were made to translate such dangerous sympathies and longings into action. Let us consider the present Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose appointment to that post might be quoted in refutation of our complaint if it had not been mainly a necessary satisfaction given to the peaceful disposition of the Swedish people, the majority of whom are friendly to Germany. Count Platen, who has been in office since last autumn, was born at Stralsund, where his father was Governor in the time of the Swedes, and has been many years at sea. He is a man of frank and straightforward character, very popular in the country, in which he is one of the largest landed proprietors. He entertains no hostile feelings whatever towards Germany, but is, on the contrary, very well disposed towards us.

"The King, on the other hand, holds different views, and has frequently felt impelled to give expression to them. This

is done in the first place by displaying so marked a partiality for the representatives of France accredited to the Court at Stockholm over all other diplomatists, that it has not even escaped public notice. The intercourse of these gentlemen — Count Montholon, the Chargé d'Affaires, and the Attachés Benedetti and Hauterive — with the King is like that of intimate friends. At balls and soirées they are distinguished by him in every possible way. The monarch converses with them almost exclusively at every opportunity, withdrawing with them from the remainder of the company. A few weeks ago, at a ball given by Prince Oscar, one of the Attachés appeared in the uniform of a Parisian *garde mobile*, and it is presumed, doubtless not without reason, that this was done with the approval, if not at the express desire, of his Majesty.

"During the last few weeks of the Franco-German war reports were circulated in the German and Swedish press that King Charles had written a letter to one of the French prisoners of war containing expressions not particularly favourable to us. Denials of the existence of this letter were received from Sweden, and among others a Stockholm correspondent of the *National Zeitung* wrote that the story was apocryphal, and had given much offence to the King. Our information from Sweden is very different, so different indeed that we do not hesitate for a moment to quote, and to lay special stress upon, this "apocryphal" letter, as evidence of the anti-German sentiments of the King, and of his ardent sympathy for France, to which he is only too anxious to give tangible expression.

"One last proof will be conclusive. The King sometimes writes poems, which he does not withhold from publication, and which he is accustomed to sign with the initial letter of his name. Over the same signature he not infrequently writes and publishes military and other articles. Everybody in Stockholm knows this *nom de plume*. Now a few weeks ago, shortly after the scheme of army reorganisation was rejected by the Swedish Diet, the *Aftonblad*, a journal which is generally known to have intimate relations with the Court, and which is perhaps the most zealous and vehement preacher of the anti-German crusade in the Swedish press, published three articles under the title of 'After-Considerations.' These consisted of arguments by 'C,' in defence of the rejected Bill, together with sallies against

Prussia, from which — if, as is generally assumed, they were the product of the Royal pen — we must naturally infer that King Charles regretted the failure of his favourite scheme, principally because it deprived him of the opportunity of preparing for a future attack upon Germany. It is true that the articles tried to repudiate the aggressive ideas concealed behind the Bill. But this certainly did not convince the party which, in the Diet and in the press, rejected the reorganisation scheme, principally on the ground of such aggressive tendencies.

"And now, in order to give some idea of the tenor and tone of this remarkable piece of military penmanship, so far as it affects us Germans, we here reproduce a few of the sallies referred to. 'C.' says, *inter alia*, 'Just as we condemn all partisan misrepresentations of the history and position of our native land, however eloquent these may be, whether they be intended either to excite arrogance or to produce a sluggish sense of security, instead of a noble patriotism and an active spirit of independence, we also denounce the cowardice which shrinks from every danger, the lack of enterprise and endurance which will not struggle to overcome difficulties, the selfishness which will not submit to any sacrifice.'

"Mention is then made of Xerxes, who scourged the waves of the Hellespont, of Napoleon's painful reflections at St. Helena, and of the fearful awakening of France in 1870–71. 'C.' then proceeds: —

"'In like manner the Prussian policy of conquest and its sanguinary ambition will pave the way for its fall, and bring about its own punishment when peoples recognise that community of language does not form a common nationality, and that the yoke may prove a heavy one, even to those who speak the same tongue. At the present moment, however, Prussia is a source of apprehension for all those who are not prepared to be enslaved, and who are not willing to be made subjects, either direct or indirect, of the King of Prussia. Russia shows that she has a mission, while England has betrayed us with a selfishness as inhuman as it is sordid. Russia will certainly have a great future. Russia, hated and despised at the bidding of England, may one day become a necessary bulwark against the arrogance of Western Europe or the covetousness of a certain Great Power. England, on the contrary, already reaps, in the

mistrust and contempt of other nations, the fruit of its hypocritical love of Liberty, its calculating policy of peace, and its too successful efforts to tear open the wounds of Poland, in order to distract attention from its greed of conquest in India and its oppression of Ireland.

"'The Emperor William has recently shown not only how to establish oneself in a conquered country, but at the same time how to fill up deficiencies in the Treasury with German blood.

"'If we consider the magnitude of the forces that are now being armed to sow and manure the battlefields, and compare them with those of former times, taking also into account the enormous resources of the present day, and the five milliards which Prussia demanded as compensation for her trouble in maintaining the balance of power in Europe, it becomes evident that Prussia, working indefatigably and ruthlessly to assure her military ascendency, will only too soon be able to throw hundreds of thousands of soldiers on our coasts with ease, rapidity, and certainty.

"'The world desires to be deceived. Bismarck has known how to take advantage of this fact. Peoples and Governments have spared no trouble gradually to augment the power of Prussia and their own danger. Austria helped Prussia against Denmark, and was rewarded with Sadowa and an impotence that makes her now powerless before the minority of her own population. France, or rather Napoleon III., at that time reckoned on being paid for his neutrality. The payment consisted in Sedan, the Paris Commune, and the International. England and Russia permitted the dismemberment of France. The former performs an act of penance in the Alabama affair, bows down before the ex-Emperor, and, placing herself under the orders of Prussia, sulkily pockets or hides under her petticoat (a delicate reference to the circumstance that a lady sits upon the throne of Great Britain) her defeat in the Black Sea question. Russia, by her readiness to fall in with the views of Prussia, has either dealt a deadly wound to the Slavonic cause, or incurred the necessity of an ultimate war to the knife in its defence.'

"We do not propose to gather all the flowers in this garden for the delectation of our readers. Those already submitted

will suffice. It was thought in Sweden that the King, even if he were really not the author of this article, at least shared the views to which it gave expression, and therefore took no steps against the abuse of his *nom de plume*. This opinion has never been contradicted. It is true that about a week after the 7th of December, when the first article from 'C.' appeared, the Swedish newspapers denied that it had been written by the King; and on the 20th of December the correspondent of the *National Zeitung* (who is, of course, semi-official) mentioned that a man so well informed on military affairs, and doubtless also on the military constitution of Germany, as King Charles XV., could not have written such nonsense. But for a whole fortnight there was no official *démenti*, and even then, so far as we are aware, it only appeared in England. It was only on the 16th of January in the present year that Baron Hochschild, the Swedish Minister in London, declared that the statement of a correspondent of the *Times*, to the effect that the article in question emanated from the King of Sweden, was entirely unfounded. . . . We, of course, accept the *démenti*, as we know that diplomatists never lie, but we are none the less glad to think that Sweden is no longer an absolute monarchy."

February 20th. — In the morning again read despatches and made extracts for future use. Queen Olga, who was in Berlin about eight days ago, on her way to St. Petersburg, in writing to her consort, said she was very pleased with the political interview which she had had with the Imperial Chancellor, and with the reception given to her in Berlin, which was as cordial as it was brilliant. A letter from Paris of the 9th instant states that General Fleury has had an interview with Orloff, speaking to him exactly in the sense of the well-known memorandum (previously mentioned). Thiers must be called upon to summon the nation to a *plébiscite*, as Europe was interested in seeing the monarchical system firmly reëstablished in France. At the same time General Fleury did not conceal from the Prince that Napoleon was much pained to see Russia accredit an Ambassador to the Republican Government. It would almost seem as if the Imperial Government regarded President Thiers as the definitive ruler. Prince Orloff surprised the general by replying that Russia certainly regarded every Government in France as definitive so long as it existed. Fleury, in taking

leave of the Prince, was disappointed, if not piqued. A report of the 13th instant from Rome states that the health of the Crown Princess is a source of anxiety to her immediate *entourage*. She is understood to be in the first stage of disease of the chest, against which the old school can do nothing. Furthermore that next summer she will perhaps visit Germany with her consort; and that a personage occupying a prominent position in Roman society had remarked confidentially: "In case the Crown Princess, the Pearl of the House of Savoy, should be lost to the country, it may be confidently expected that the Orleans family will strain every effort to place a Princess of their House upon the Italian throne. It would therefore be desirable to at once take that eventuality into consideration, and in order to prevent the success of a plan which would be most prejudicial to Italy, a Princess should be sought in Germany who, at least politically, might compensate such a loss."

The conflict between the *Kreuzzeitung* party and the Chief is now a matter of public notoriety. For some time past these gentlemen have opposed the Prince, sharing Herr Windthorst's views as to the necessity for a staunch opposition, and choosing for their watchwords the "vindication of the monarchical principle against the rule of a Parliamentary majority," and "the defence of the Christian character of our State." According to their organ the Prince, in his speech of the 30th of January, deliberately attacked or abandoned the principle which the Conservative party in Prussia had constantly proclaimed and defended during twenty years as one of the fundamental articles of their programme. The passage which led to this discovery runs as follows: "But as things stand at the present moment we, the Ministry in a Constitutional State, require a majority which is in agreement with the general direction of our policy." This is represented as a "frank recognition of that Constitutionalism which the *Kreuzzeitung* has opposed with success, on the ground that it is not in harmony with the Prussian Constitution." In a double article drafted by Aegidi, with liberal corrections and additions by the Chief, and which was published in the *Spenersche Zeitung* after it had been declined by the *National Zeitung*, the following considerations were very justly urged in reply: "Not Constitutional? Are

we then not living in a Constitutional State? Have we not a popular representation? Do not our laws to be valid require its consent? Is not that consent given by a majority? Surely then it follows inexorably that the Counsellors of the Throne must seek a majority for their measures, so far at least that if it does not approve of every Bill, it shall at least support the general line of policy adopted by the Ministry. The man whom the *Kreuzzeitung* criticises with such an air of superiority has proved in times of storm and stress that he is willing to sacrifice a Parliamentary majority for what he recognises to be essential. But the same statesman once said that conflict cannot be made a regular part of the machinery of State. Where popular representation exists, and there is no desire to see conflicts become a permanent feature of public life, it will be necessary to secure a Parliamentary majority. If those on the Right refuse their support, the Government, whose duty it is to keep the machine working, may have to look further to the Left for a Government majority whose support may be relied upon. The Prime Minister has already called the attention of the Right to the fact that their wanton opposition must forcibly transfer the centre of gravity to the other side. This warning has lost nothing of its significance. The majority can be regarded with indifference only in those countries where the approval of the popular representatives is not required for the validity of the laws, that is to say, in those States that are governed on absolutist principles."

February 24th. — Read a variety of documents received. It is reported from Brussels, on the 22nd instant, that the Comte de Chambord desired to go to Malines, but that the Archbishop advised him not, as public opinion was suspicious of religious motives. The Pretender has therefore remained at the Hôtel St. Antoine, in Antwerp, whither the King sent his greetings through the Chief Chamberlain. He will shortly pay the King a visit at Brussels, as he did last year. Great influx of Legitimists, who did not, however, remain long. Chambord entirely avoids publicity, and only goes out to hear Mass. The *Précurseur*, the most widely circulated newspaper in Antwerp, welcomed him on the 19th instant with a leading article which betrayed very little sympathy for him.

A fruitseller at Versailles had addressed a letter to the

Empress Augusta, in which she asserts that the Marquise de la Torre (previously mentioned) had, during the occupation of that town by the Prussians, frequently ordered fruit from her which was intended for the Crown Prince — pour le Prince Fritz. This was not paid for, however, and she now begs the Empress to settle the account on behalf of her son. The enclosed account amounted to 75 francs. Probably the fruit was sent to the Coburger, but Wollmann declares that Bohlen also received some of it, including the beautiful grapes and pears which we had once or twice as dessert.

Bucher says he has ascertained that it is proposed to remove Abeken to the Chamber of Peers, "together with other deserving statesmen like Roon and Moltke." (Surely not by the Chief.) This is an arrangement intended to compensate him for having been disappointed of the grant which was originally contemplated. He is therefore to be "Lord Abeken" in future.

Evening. — Read further documents received and despatched. On the 17th of February the Chancellor sent the Emperor an abstract of a letter addressed by Count Ladislaus Plater, a leader of the emigrant Poles who is residing in Zurich, to the editor of the *Dzennik Poznanski* (the Polish Journal), urging the most active agitation possible. This abstract, which the Chancellor received from a Polish agent, states, *inter alia:* "Germany, whose unification is hardly yet complete, is undermined by two very determined parties, the Catholics and the Socialists, neither of which will abate one jot of its demand, nor shrink from any means to promote its cause." The Count goes on to say that it is the sacred duty of the Poles to support both parties in word and deed. Should a Socialist revolution break out in Germany, which may very shortly be expected with tolerable certainty, the Poles must assist it with all their might. Writing on the 20th Arnim reports various particulars with regard to parties in the National Assembly at Versailles, and adds: "The President considers the Monarchists to be powerless, and said to me yesterday that he had no anxiety on that ground. He at the same time clearly manifested his intention to establish the Republic as the definitive form of French Government."

February 26th. — Bucher brought me instructions from the Chief to write an article for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which was to

be based on a report of the 17th instant on the anti-German agitation carried on by certain Orleanist officials of the French Embassy at Brussels. This was immediately done. . . .

Addendum. — Yesterday morning Doerr brought the news that Dr. Beuthner, the chief editor of the *Kreuzzeitung*, was so greatly affected by the thunderbolt hurled at his party in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the charge of incapacity levelled at him personally, that it brought on an attack of apoplexy. That is the inevitable fate of such stupid conceit as he showed last spring, when he declined in the following words to accede to a desire of the Chancellor which I communicated to him: "We will not do that, and we shall see who will prove to be right in the end. The *Kreuzzeitung* party is older than Bismarck, and it will last longer than his Government." The article in question, which is certainly very strongly written, was in great part the work of the Chief himself.

Bucher informed me that the article in No. 41 of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, on the concessions made to the Poles in Galicia, also emanated from the Minister himself.

February 27th. — Bucher told me this evening that since yesterday the Chief has been "exceptionally irritable," and treated Roland Bölsing and, again, to-day, Alvensleben (who has now taken Bohlen's place and does all sorts of subordinate work for him) with the greatest harshness. His irritation is no doubt due to the circumstance that Camphausen did not wish to draw up the Taxation Bill for which the Chief was most anxious, and that the latter had no power to enforce his views upon his colleague.

February 29th. — Read and noted the principal points of three documents received on the 26th. A report from Stockholm states that King Charles is still very weak, and that his doctors have ordered him "six weeks' retirement for the purpose of undergoing special treatment as a measure of precaution against the increasing induration of the internal organs." The Russian General Lewascheff, who was recently in Paris, is understood to have said to certain Galician Poles that a scheme was under consideration at St. Petersburg for reviving the Wielopolski system, and granting Poland a larger measure of independence. Orloff, on being questioned upon the subject, said it was a misunderstanding on the part of the Poles. On the

26th instant Abeken prepared for the Chief an abstract of a report from Pera dated the 14th of February. It states that "Russia favours the aspirations of the Bulgarians, and General Ignatieff has actively promoted them." The Greeks, whose influence in the Balkan Peninsula will be seriously diminished thereby, are greatly embittered against Russia. Herr von Radowitz himself considers it "an extraordinary change that Russia should have for the first time sacrificed the Greek element to the slaves." Russia had previously relied chiefly upon the Greek element, and the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey had received its death-blow from the new measure, the Patriarch of Constantinople being deprived of almost all his former influence.

Subsequently read another St. Petersburg report of the 22nd instant, which says: "Thiers has informed Prince Orloff that Casimir-Perier would submit to the National Assembly a proposal, the object of which would be to confirm the Republican form of Government, and he, the President, would support the motion, and stand or fall with Perier. Orloff believes that the Bonapartists have a better prospect of success than any of the other parties. Fleury has been to see him and repeated to him almost literally the statements contained in the memorandum of the Grand Duchess Marie on the Bonapartist cause. He had asked at the same time whether Russia could do nothing to induce M. Thiers to have a *plébiscite*. On his replying that he had instructions to maintain the best relations with France and to avoid all interference in party politics, the general remarked in a tone of pique that they were less scrupulous in that respect in Berlin than at St. Petersburg." (Hardly in Berlin, I fancy, but rather at Arnim's.)

March 3rd.—Bucher brings me from upstairs instructions and material for a Rome despatch for the *Kölnische Zeitung*. It runs as follows: "Rumours have already been circulated on various occasions to the effect that the Pope intends to leave Rome. According to the latest of these the Council, which was adjourned in the summer, will be reopened at another place, some persons mentioning Malta and others Trient. This report has now assumed a more positive form, and it is asserted that the departure of the Holy Father is near at hand. From what we hear there would appear to be something in this report,

although the question of the convoking the Council afresh may not yet be ripe for decision. It is understood on good authority that the idea is mooted and recommended by a priest named Mermillod, who has come here from Geneva. He is a Savoyard by birth, and recently occupied the position of Suffragan Bishop in Calvin's city. He is one of the most active agents in promoting the recognition of the doctrine of infallibility, and the restoration of the temporal power of the Roman Pontiff. For this purpose he has recently paid numerous visits to France and Belgium, and—as others assert—to Germany also. He has returned with the results of his observations and an account of the recruits he has been able to raise. It appears that his report has determined the Pope, or those who exercise a decisive influence upon him, no longer to hesitate between the party which is for remaining in Rome and that which urges his departure, and that it is now resolved to proceed either to Malta or Trient for the purpose of summoning the Council to meet there in April or May. Doubtless the main object of this gathering will be to elicit from the assembled fathers a strong declaration in favour of the necessity of the Temporal Power. Obviously a secondary object of this Parliament of Bishops, convoked away from Rome, would be to demonstrate to Europe that the Vatican does not enjoy the necessary liberty, although the Act of Guarantee proves that the Italian Government, in its desire for a reconciliation and its readiness to meet the wishes of the Curia, has actually done everything that lies in its power. The twenty Italian bishops nominated by the Pope on the 23rd of February, as well as the mitred abbots, were instructed not to submit the Bulls containing the nominations to the Italian Government, and were assured of compensation should they be deprived of their temporalities. This shows that if the Pope has really, and not merely nominally, less liberty than he requires, he at least has money enough."

March 5th.—Bucher brings me the following instruction from the Chief for an article which is to be inserted in a South German newspaper, or in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, in connection with the debate on the vote for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which has just taken place in the Würtemberg Diet. Under the Imperial Constitution Würtemberg has the right to maintain legations abroad. It is questionable, however, whether it

is in the interest of the Empire or of advantage for Würtemberg that this right should be exercised. The presence of several German representatives in Paris, for instance, would be a constant temptation to the French Government to try to sow discord. It is necessary in this connection to recall the ignorance of the French respecting foreign countries and their old idea that the German States have conflicting interests. The presence of a French Minister at Stuttgart, or indeed anywhere in Germany except in Berlin, is even more to be deprecated, as he may be easily induced by expressions of party feeling to try to enter into conspiracies with individual Governments. If the false reports of French diplomatists had not led their Government to reckon upon dissensions in Germany, we might perhaps have been spared a great war. Ministers who have little to do make work for themselves in order not to appear superfluous, in this respect resembling police agents, who do the same. That is particularly disquieting at Stuttgart, where St. Vallier had the hardihood, after he had failed with the Government, to apply direct to the Sovereign. It is true, indeed, that the King also was forced to decline his overtures. But, after all, it is better for the Sovereign not to be subjected to such pressure.

March 7th. — According to a report from Stuttgart of the 3rd instant, the King a few days ago invited his Ministers to dinner, and said openly at table that the Queen had written to him that Prince Bismarck had, in conversation with her, expressed himself in favour of the maintenance of the Würtemberg legations. He asked, therefore, why the Paris post should not be kept up. The King assumed, therefore, that there was no objection on the part of Prussia to the renewal of diplomatic relations between Würtemberg and France, and that he also would now receive a French envoy. Suckow described this as a misunderstanding. The Chief, however, said to-day with reference to his interview with Queen Olga, which, he said, had lasted for hours, that "she finally asked if the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Stuttgart should be maintained. I contented myself with replying that Würtemberg, under the Imperial Constitution, had both active and passive rights with respect to diplomatic representation, and that we could not attempt to interfere with them. It was not a fitting opportunity to enter into the question whether it was in the interest of the Empire and of Würtemberg to exer-

cise those rights, particularly as Her Majesty did not mention diplomatic intercourse with France, which must form the main consideration in any such discussion. Paris was not mentioned in the course of the conversation."

A St. Petersburg report of the 29th of February informs the Chief that "a correspondence is being kept up with Munich, and indeed with the Royal residence itself, through Richard Wagner, the composer, who is living in Switzerland." This correspondence referred to the connection between the International and the Russian Nihilists. General Lewascheff, who was entrusted with the task of following up this connection in Paris and elsewhere, described Wagner as being altogether a very dangerous man, who made the worst possible use of his relations with King Lewis. The correspondence in question went by way of Berlin. The information was given as "very secret" by the Emperor Alexander. It is doubtless a mare's nest, like much more that is related of the International, or still more probably an invention of the Russian police, the object of these weighty discoveries being gold snuff-boxes, decorations, and such-like *douceurs*.

The weekly paper, *Im Neuen Reich*, publishes a reply to an article in the *Kreuzzeitung* pleading in favour of the Palais Radziwill. "No doubt it is a splendid and hospitable house worthy of a Polish *grand seigneur* who holds his Court in Berlin, and those who have had access to it — amongst them evidently the contributor to the *Kreuzzeitung* — appreciate it. But we should advise the latter to make his inquiries about the characteristic feature of the Palais Radziwill not in the house itself, but on Prussian soil, and he may learn that the vast capital represented by its luxury and refinement, although acquired by bourgeois investments, yields its dividends only for the benefit of a certain form of Catholicism, which is Polish rather than German."

Bucher called my attention to this article and added the following commentary: "The article in the *Kreuzzeitung* is written by no other than our mutual friend Abeken, while the answer has come from the Chief. Abeken undertook the defence of the Radziwills against the charge that their palace has become the centre of Berlin Ultramontanism owing to the fact that he is accustomed to visit them, and because they are

related to the Court and therefore sacred in his eyes."[1] . . . Doubtless the idea of raising Abeken to a seat in Olympus, or the Chamber of Peers, will now come to nothing, as the Chief has discovered his intrigues with the Ultramontanes. So it will not be "Lord Abeken," after all.

March 8th. — To-day wrote the following article for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, from the Chief's instructions as communicated to me by Bucher: "In the speech made by the Imperial Chancellor in the Upper House the day before yesterday, he spoke of petitions in favour of the Pope which, during the session of the Reichstag, were ordered or countermanded just as the members of the Centre Party found convenient. Then proceeding to the seizures of papers by the police authorities in Posen, the Prince said that among these he had seen certain letters 'which the police considered it necessary to bring to the knowledge of the highest authorities in order to put them on the right track with a view to subsequent investigations in another direction.' The speaker further remarked that one of these letters was from a prominent member of the Centre Party to a priest of high position, a canon in Posen who has recently been much talked of. If I rightly remember, it said, 'Do not send us any more petitions to the Reichstag.' A similar instruction, in the French language, was despatched at the same time to the Province of Posen by a well-known German Bishop, who also said: 'Stop sending petitions for the present. They do no good in the Reichstag, and only lead to unpleasant discussions.' 'But,' continues the former writer, 'do not fail to forward these petitions later on at regular intervals, only address them not to the Reichstag but to the Sovereigns direct, upon whom they will in any case produce a greater impression. Although we may have nothing to hope for from the German Princes, it is nevertheless certain that sooner or later the Catholic Powers will intervene on behalf of his Holiness, and such intervention the German Princes will not venture to oppose if these petitions impress them with the idea that opposition would cause serious dissatisfaction among the Catholic population.' The eventu-

[1] It may here be mentioned, for the benefit of the uninitiated in these matters, that the family in question is related to the Hohenzollerns through the marriage of Prince Anton Heinrich Radziwill in 1796 to Friederike Dorothée Louise, daughter of Prince Ferdinand of Prussia.

ality which the two gentlemen, whose statements I here intentionally reproduce in full, have in view is a French crusade against Italy, in expectation of which Germany must be rendered powerless. It is understood on good authority that the writers referred to by the Chancellor are Herr Windthorst and Bishop von Ketteler; while the canon to whom Windthorst communicated his plan for intimidating the German Princes is, as will have been surmised, the Polish prelate Kozmian."

March 10th. — Yesterday Bucher brought me down the outline of an article which I am to get Rössler to write for the *Grenzboten*, whose editor must then arrange for its reproduction by Biedermann in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Bucher's shorthand notes ran as follows: "One of the newspapers has expressed the opinion that Windthorst would appear from his letter to Kozmian to expect an intervention by France on behalf of the Pope. The member for Meppen, however, is doubtless more far-seeing, and recognises that if France were to take such a course the natural ally of the French and Ultramontane policy would be found in Vienna. An Ultramontane-French-Austrian alliance would, of course, be directed chiefly against Germany, but would also find it an exceptionally easy task to revolutionise Poland in the direction desired by the Pope — if an inference is to be drawn from the concessions which it is proposed to make in Galicia. At present the relations between Germany and Austria are good, but mainly owing to the personality of the Sovereign. Nevertheless, there is danger under a Hohenwart Ministry of a return to the so-called 'Father Confessor' policy. That would also entirely paralyse free development of every kind in Austria. This is to be first inserted in a weekly paper and then circulated further."

Hints of a similar effect to the remarks here made respecting the Poles were already given by the Chief in Brass's paper on the 17th of February. The article caused a great sensation in Vienna, and afterwards formed the subject of despatches between Schweinitz and our Chancellor.

March 13th. — This morning Bucher handed me a copy of Windthorst's letter to Kozmian, with the remark that the Chief wished "it to appear in the press as coming from Parliamentary circles." I sent the document, with a few words of suitable introduction, to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, from which it was copied into all the other papers.

This publication of Windthorst's letter produced an immense sensation. The Liberal organs condemned the letter, while the Clericals poured out the vials of their wrath upon those to whom they ascribed "the outrage" of its publication. One of the most amusing features of the whole affair was the manner in which they vented their anger upon the "learned dwarf," as the *Germania* was accustomed to call our little Aegidi, who was as innocent as a new-born babe of any share in our stratagem.

March 22nd. — R. reports under date of the 17th instant: "The Polish emigrants are making great efforts to bring about a reconciliation with Russia. . . . Reports to this effect are received not only from the Russian Ministers abroad, but also from the Governors-General of Wilna, Warsaw, Kieff, and Odessa. . . . At the command of the Emperor the most positive instructions have been sent to the Imperial officials to avoid everything that would look like negotiations with the emigrants. The Imperial Government can in no circumstances negotiate with the latter. It must also be positively declared everywhere that the Imperial Government will have nothing to do with pan-Slavism, but on the contrary regards it as one of the greatest dangers for Russia. His Majesty, the Emperor, appears to hold immutably to this opinion."

March 24th. — Among the documents received is a report from Darmstadt, giving particulars of an interview with the Grand Duke, which is worth noting. It took place at a dinner which was given in honour of the Emperor's birthday. In the course of conversation the Grand Duke had expressed himself strongly on the anti-national attitude, and almost exclusively selfish aims, of the Ultramontane party, and upon the untrustworthiness and Jesuitism of Bishop von Ketteler in particular.

April 2nd. — This evening between 8 and 9 o'clock the Secretary of State came to my desk. He first asked if I was always obliged to remain so late in order to see if anything was wanted upstairs. I replied in the affirmative, explaining at the same time that Bucher conveyed the Chief's orders to me, and supplied me with material. He then observed: "He has stated to diplomatists that he wishes the war to be waged in a milder form. The English representative told me so, and I should be glad to know if any instructions to this effect have been received

here. Has anything of the kind been done? . . . After all he cannot mean to go so far as the papers say. Why, that would amount to a Thirty Years' War." I said that would hardly be possible, and the Chief would scarcely think of going beyond a certain point. "I do not believe it either," he said; "but in that case the semi-official journals should not give rise to such apprehensions as seem to be entertained by the other papers; and he should not have given such directions. If you should happen to hear that a milder tone is to be adopted, please let me know, so that I may be informed when the diplomatists question me on the subject."

During this conversation I remembered a letter which I had seen on the floor of his room the day before yesterday, which was dated from Brussels, and would appear from the handwriting to have come from Balan. It contained the following passage: "It would seem as if the ecclesiastical question would more and more dominate all other relations with us, and in this respect as well as in many others would postpone for a long time to come the return of that idyllic peace of former times which we were accustomed to in our youth. . . . The main difficulties have scarcely begun. In my opinion they will inevitably arise when it becomes necessary to check the fanatics of the movement that has now been started."

April 3rd. — Bucher dictated to me to-day the following ideas for an article for the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which he had taken down in shorthand from the Chief: "Naturally very many persons in Alsace-Lorraine wish to remain French citizens, through fear of the conscription and for other similar reasons. That was clearly foreseen by us, but we were obliged to keep that strip of land as military cover against new filibustering raids such as the French have attempted fifty to sixty times during the past two centuries. It is obvious that we could not permit those who elected for the French nationality to continue to reside in Alsace-Lorraine, as possibly the majority would then adopt that course. As to the threat of expelling the Germans from France, all those who are not absolutely necessary for the maintenance of industry and commerce in France are already being driven away. Life is made so unendurable to the others that they leave of their own accord."

April 6th. — At midday to-day Bucher brought me instructions and material from the Chief for a long article on the Bohemian party of autonomy, which was to be dated from Prague and sent to the *Grenzboten.* It was afterwards reproduced in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* at the instance of the Chief. It ran as follows, the portions within brackets being a literal reproduction of the Prince's own words: "I take the liberty to return once more to a subject which it is desirable should be clearly understood in Germany, namely, the character of our great landed proprietors, an important element in the opposition to the Cisleithan Constitution. In this respect many organs of the German press give expression again and again to erroneous views, although the gentlemen in question have been repeatedly exposed in their true colours in this as well as in other journals. At the decisive moment our great Bohemian landowners will play the principal part. It is now asserted that the voting in both electoral sections may be expected to be in favour of the Government and the Constitutional party. Nevertheless, we think it best not to shout before we are out of the wood. At all events, a few weeks ago the landed aristocracy of Bohemia still belonged to the party which declared in favour of a Federal and anti-constitutional policy. It would be a great mistake, however, to confound these magnates with the bulk of the nationalists and to fancy that they support the agitation of the Czechs from a genuine enthusiasm for the Crown of St. Wenceslas, and an autonomous kingdom of Bohemia.

"Who are these gentlemen that assume such a Bohemian air? A national nobility of Czech blood? By no means, or, at least, not in the great majority of cases. They are, on the contrary, an element which by birth and descent are not only foreign, but even hostile to the Czechs. (Precisely the most active members of their party are the descendants of the generals and statesmen who during the first decade of the Thirty Years' War were most energetic in suppressing and destroying the national state, and in exterminating the native nobility of Bohemia and confiscating their lands. They are the grandchildren and heirs of those who, in return for the services they rendered to Father Lamormain's imperial penitent, and for their assistance in suppressing the Bohemian nationality on the one hand and Protestantism on the other, were rewarded by the Jesuitic policy of the Hapsburgs

with the estates of the national Czech nobles who had been sent to the scaffold or banished from the country.)

"The representatives of our landed aristocracy who now vie with the rabid Czech nationalists in their enthusiasm for Bohemian autonomy are almost without exception Germans. (In thus assuming the part of Czechs they make themselves as ridiculous as the gallant Junker von Krauthofer from the banks of the Vistula when he dons the embroidered Pekesche of the Poles with their white or red 'Confederatka' cap, and christens himself pan-Krutowski. Not one of them uses the Bohemian language in speaking to his equals; indeed, few of them are able to read or understand it at all, while hardly a couple out of the whole lot could stand the test of pronouncing the famous vowelless shibboleth, 'Strcz prst skrz krk.' [These words signify: Put your thumb down your throat.] They speak as their mothers, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers spoke; they think and feel as their grandfathers and great-grandfathers thought and felt, that is to say, neither German nor Bohemian, but rather in as un-national and anti-national a spirit as their most intimate friends and allies, the Clericals and Ultramontanes.)

"This history of Bohemia shortly before and after the battle of the White Mountain is well known, and so are the statesmen and military commanders who lent their aid to the Emperor and his Jesuits in the destruction of Bohemian independence and in the sanguinary 'Reformation' that followed, as well as the intrigues of the centralistic-Ultramontane Court party in Vienna, and in the vengeance which they wreaked and the rewards which they received. People remember the wholesale executions of those who were the guardians and administrators of Bohemian autonomy, the dragonades under the guidance of the Jesuits which were intended to drive the Czechs, aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and peasantry within the pale of the One True Church, and, finally, the enormous confiscations by which the Imperial Treasury acquired 642 estates during the year in which the battle occurred. The Emperor, it is true, had occasional intervals of a milder temper, but was again and again persuaded to take violent measures by the bigoted hatred of his Jesuit confessor and of the Papal Legate, and to at least an equal degree by the covetousness of officials of high position,

who were actually promised a large share of the confiscated property. Even Czechs who had been guilty of no offence were robbed of their estates on all sorts of pretexts. Almost all the landed aristocracy lost half their property, and many, including the wealthiest, their entire estates through the Commissions that were appointed by the Emperor in 1622 to raise the amount that had been expended in consequence of the insurrection.

"It would be well one day to give statistical details of the share which fell to the assistants in this great work of oppression and revenge, and of the portion that still remains in the hands of the families of those who were then rewarded, and with these details — for the sake of comparison — a statement of the political views of the present holders of those confiscated estates. It would be a very singular picture to see people who have grown rich and powerful through the destruction of Bohemian autonomy now promoting its restoration.

"That would in truth be a most extraordinary reaction. But one should be very cautious in crediting the sincerity of our large landowners who make common cause with the Czechs in opposing the Constitution, and in the aspirations and efforts that are ostensibly directed towards that end. Their reactionary aspirations do not extend so far back. They would be satisfied with a return to the conditions of the period immediately preceding 1849, to the Austria which flourished under Schwarzenberg and Bach. They and the Ultramontanes have allied themselves with the Czech Federalists in order to prepare for this reaction and to undermine and weaken the present political system of the Empire, reducing it to a state of permanent instability. Like their fathers, who once worked from Vienna against Prague, so do they now from Prague oppose the political and religious influence of the Austrian capital.

"Our Ultramontane Princes of the Church, who now join with the remainder of the reactionary mob in attacking the Constitution, were formerly by no means in favour of Federalism or autonomy. The same bishops who are to-day fanatical supporters of the Czech demands declared at the time when the Concordat was under discussion that the variety of languages was one of the evil consequences of the building of the tower of Babel which should be abolished, and emphasised the

necessity of a centralised State. Even now they are not irreconcilable opponents of centralisation, but what they desire is to see Rome made the centre for all affairs of importance. For them a centralised Austria, under its present constitution, is an abomination. But a centralised Austria held together by Ultramontanism and thoroughly permeated with it, with a Vienna Star Chamber policy, like that of Metternich, coercing, in coöperation with Rome and the old nobility, all the contending nationalities and utilising them for their own ends and those of the Pope, far from being repugnant to them, would be the realisation of their ideal. And the members of our landed aristocracy who have fallen into line with these ecclesiastical allies of the Czechs have exactly the same ideas on the subject.

"I repeat, the Czech sentiment of these nobles is a mere pretence. It is as false as the zeal which they manifest for Bohemian autonomy. Two and a half centuries ago, their forefathers, as the servants of ecclesiastical and political reaction, and as tools of the Jesuits, opposed Bohemian autonomy with their whole might, and were rewarded by being put into possession of the estates of the Bohemian nobility. (The Schwarzenbergs could tell a tale on that subject. They have taken over the views of their ancestors with the estates which they have inherited. They will only support the Slav agitation for a time, and with the secret intention of dropping it at a suitable opportunity. In their hands the Czech peasant serves merely as the instrument for his own better subjection. He was chosen for that purpose solely because the Germans were not sufficiently gullible, and were too independent of character, to serve these gentlemen's purposes, viz., the fusion of Ultramontanism and Absolutism which was established in Austria from 1661, and which the Jesuits and their lay and Clerical allies are now promoting with all their might in Germany also.)"

April 8th. — According to a telegram from Rosen, our representative at Belgrade reports the Secretary of the Russian Consulate had boasted that it was Russia who had put the Servian Government up to refusing to pay the Zvornik tribute. The Chief made the following marginal note: "Herr R. must be told to drop the habit of telegraphing every boastful utterance in which Consular officials may indulge."

In consequence of the difficulties respecting Zvornik and

Sakar, despatches have been written to S. and R., informing them that R. has been instructed to act with the greatest prudence and reserve in this matter, which clearly betrays a divergency of views between Austria and Russia, in order not to prejudice our relations with St. Petersburg or Vienna. Consul-General Rosen has, however, long since received instructions to unhesitatingly subordinate our interests in Servian affairs to the considerations imposed upon us by our intimate and friendly relations with Russia and Austria, and to avoid everything that could lead to misunderstandings or complaints on either side.

April 10th. — According to a report addressed by the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Count Apponyi, to Andrassy, which was shown by the latter to S., Thiers, speaking to Apponyi, said: "*Les sentiments hostiles de Bismarck contre le parti catholique lui inspirent de la sympathie pour la gouvernement de Victor Emanuel.*" In other respects, Thiers still maintains his optimistic view of the situation in France. He said the country had never been so tranquil, and the South was no more to be feared than Paris. He further observed that the good understanding between Prussia and Russia was based more upon family relations than upon the common interests and sympathies of the peoples.

April 14th. — Andrassy has again raised, through the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin, the question of taking action against the International, remarking incidentally that although at the interview in Gastein nothing positive had been settled with regard to the measures to be taken, yet there was every reason to believe that both sides were in agreement, and that the German Government wished to take the initiative in the matter. The communication of the Spanish Government now afforded an opportunity of returning to the subject. It was known through Schweinitz that the German Government was not prepared to let the matter drop, but, on the contrary, intended to take it into serious consideration, and that it was disposed in particular to complete the existing extradition treaties by adding provisions respecting the International. It is then suggested that a conference of Austro-Hungarian and German authorities on the subject should take place in Berlin, the results of which might be submitted to both Governments. The document goes on to say:—

"The following measures might be recommended to the technical authorities on both sides as likely to be effective: The prohibition of labour congresses in which were represented associations belonging to different countries; the prohibition of all foreign control over labour societies at home; and, finally, the definition under treaty of those precautionary measures that require a common understanding between the European States and those which every State should be left to promote under its own laws. Those points once settled by arrangement between the two Governments, they might then proceed to consider whether in addition to repressive measures it would not be possible to discuss others of a remedial nature, to meet the legitimate demands of the working classes, and thus counteract the Socialist propaganda."

I may add here that on the 27th of April the Chancellor instructed Bucher to write to Itzenplitz, requesting him to have the materials collected in November last embodied in a memorandum, and to nominate for this purpose on behalf of his Ministry a representative acquainted with the subject. A similar request was addressed to the Ministers of the Interior and of Justice.

Evening. — Bucher brings me an article from the *Pester Lloyd* of the 11th instant and says: "The blue pencil mark, and the query 'Surely to be laid before the Chancellor?' are by Aegidi. He thinks it will be something new for the Chief. I am, however, pretty certain that the article has been written at his suggestion. I myself have on one occasion launched something of the kind against Augusta. Just see that the article or the best passages of it are reproduced in some low outside print (*irgend ein entferntes Schandblatt*). I do not wish to give the black fellow my views on the origin of the article, because, as you know, I do not trust him. Keudell has also connections in Augusta's circles." The "best passages" from the article, which began by describing the Emperor's speech from the throne as dry and temperate, but free from phrase-mongering, and typical of the "practical character of Prussian policy," are the following: "Although the statements contained in the speech from the throne afford little ground for comment, yet the omissions point to another aspect of the question. For some days past a singular rumour has been cir-

culating in the newspapers to the effect that the arm which has seemed on the point of crushing the intrigues of the zealots is felt in Berlin to be already unnerved, and that an armistice is impending with the reactionary party which Prince Bismarck has just branded as the arch-enemy of the German Empire. The sudden and unexpected arrival of the Chancellor from Varzin is regarded as an indication that something is pending in the capital which renders his presence there indispensable. Others assert that the threatened expulsion from Germany of the order of Jesus has excited such serious apprehensions in Rome that the Holy Father himself directed the Episcopacy to observe a prudent and moderate attitude in order to avert the execution of that measure, thus paving the way for a *modus vivendi*, negotiations for which had been already entered upon with every prospect of success. As it is well known how unwillingly the Emperor William entered upon that campaign, and what difficulties Bismarck had with the Conservative Junkers and Pietists, the ominous silence on this point of the speech from the throne may be taken as a confirmation of the foregoing rumours.

"Moreover, another dark rumour is gaining more form and consistence from day to day, and cannot be ignored much longer. We regret to say authentic reports agree in representing the Empress Augusta as the centre of that coalition which desires to stay the hand that Bismarck has raised to strike. We grant that the rumour sounds ludicrously improbaable, yet in presence of the letters that represent the facts as fully authenticated, we have no alternative but to set aside all such denials as futile, and — taking the matter as it stands, for good or for evil — endeavour to explain it and to consider its consequences. We must confess that we have only two very commonplace explanations to offer, which may nevertheless suffice. These are the spiritual requirements of increasing piety, so common in energetic women who are advancing in years (the Empress will soon have completed her sixty-first year) and the desire to play a political part, which likewise grows upon them with age. It is scarcely necessary to recall special instances in history to show how easily and frequently these tendencies have combined, and how ladies of the highest station have thereby become the most convenient and effective instru-

ments of pietistic schemes. The Empress, who has been at all times of an aspiring and ambitious mind, but who has never exercised much political influence over her consort, was obliged to seek a lever elsewhere. That is the simple solution of the problem, but it must not be dismissed merely because of its simplicity. Other ladies in a similar position follow the dictates of their hearts when, influenced by their innate piety, they devote their whole energy to promoting the interests of the Church.

"In the case of the Weimar Princess, the daughter of Charles Augustus, whose friends were Schiller and Goethe, and the pupil of Alexander von Humboldt, the connection between these two factors is reversed. The splendour to which her pride has always led her to aspire has now fallen abundantly to her lot. When it is remembered that the magnificent coronation festivities, ten years ago, at Königsberg and Berlin, were principally her work (it is well known that she begged the Empress Eugénie to lend her her hairdresser for the occasion), she must be fully satisfied in that respect, since the imperial crown has been added to the royal diadem. But, in addition to this outward pomp, Augusta now wishes to enjoy the sense of real power. Indications of this tendency were evident so long ago as 1866, when Vogel von Falkenstein received orders from Berlin in a feminine hand to proceed with leniency in South Germany, and was suddenly removed from the command of the army on the Main, because his anger at this interference found expression in the words, 'When petticoats are to the front, the d——l take a Prussian general!' In order not to sink into insignificance beside Bismarck, the Empress required a party, and she was obliged to take it wherever it was to be found. In this way, the illustrious lady, who once prided herself on being the patron of the freethinking cream of the scientific and literary world in Berlin, has come to find herself presiding over a conventicle.

"The turn things have taken remains none the less extraordinary because we have tried to explain it. The Empress Augusta is the leader of the pietistic Junker clique, which, under Frederick William IV., did everything in its power to humiliate her, at a time when she, as Princess of Prussia, lived on the Rhine in a kind of honourable exile, because she was not prepared to humour the romantic visions of her royal brother-in-law. It is still related in Coblenz that a favourite amusement

of the wife of that arch-Junker Kleist-Retzow, who is now leading the opposition against Bismarck in the Upper House, and who was then Governor of the Rhine Province, was to hang out her wet linen in the garden in such a way as to cut off the Princess's view. Berliners still remember the article in the *Kreuzzeitung* which actually denounced the 'democrats' for an ovation that once took place in the fifties, outside the Palace of the Prince of Prussia, because he and his consort had regained their popularity by opposing the pietistic clique. And yet to-day the Empress is working hand in hand with Kleist-Retzow and Senfft-Pilsach, with Lippe and Gerlach! The unnatural character of this alliance is the best guarantee for its short duration. The Empress, who is a clever woman, will grow tired of the adventure as soon as she discovers that, instead of influencing others, she is herself being used as a tool. Bismarck, however, must now prove the truth of what he once said to Bamberger in Paris: 'I am much more of a courtier than of a statesman.'"

April 15th.—Read two reports of the 11th instant from St. Petersburg. One states that a copy of the *Kozmian Documents* has been handed to Prince Gortchakoff, and that the Russian Chancellor has declared his readiness to join with us in protesting against the appointment of Ledochowski as Primate of Poland. The report goes on to say: "Prince Gortchakoff formerly complained that we intended to throw Russia alone into the breach, and yet it would now seem as if it was he who wished to throw himself into it, or rather had already done so, as M. K. has made representations in Rome, although only in a confidential form." The other document reports: "Prince Gortchakoff told me to-day that a few weeks ago General —— showed him a private letter from M. Thiers which contained a reference to the German occupation. The Chancellor had replied that if the President of the French Republic wished to communicate to him a financial scheme, giving adequate security for the payment of the war indemnity, the Russian Government would willingly commend such a plan to favourable consideration in Berlin. Beyond that he could promise nothing. The French Ambassador returned to the subject a few days ago and again asked if the Imperial Government would not use its influence in Berlin to hasten the withdrawal of the German troops. The Prince replied that he

would not weary General —— with repetitions, but would relate to him an anecdote out of his own experience. On one occasion, at the conclusion of a game, the loser went on bewailing his bad luck, thus unnecessarily delaying the other players. At length one of the latter exclaimed impatiently, '*Payez d'abord et lamentez après!*' The Ambassador took the hint and did not press the matter further."

April 17th. — To-day towards noon Aegidi came to my desk and said he wished to ask me a question. Hallberger, of Stuttgart, intended to found a great review, jointly with another gentleman whose name he could not mention as yet. Now it had occurred to him, Aegidi, that Professor Roessler might be willing to accept the editorship, for which he would be highly suitable. The Chief knew and approved of the scheme. I replied that Roessler did not appear to me to be fitted for it, as, although he was certainly able, he was nebulous, unpractical, and rather indolent, so that he would constantly require to be roused and kept up to the mark. Aegidi then said that there was plenty of capital behind the scheme, and that Roessler would have an excellent position. "But," he continued, "the main point is this. The Review would publish a fortnightly survey of the situation from here, similar to that in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Would you be prepared to write it? Of course you must demand very high remuneration. All your terms will be agreed to." I said I would consider the matter, particularly if the Prince appeared to desire it. "Yes," he said, "and you shall have whatever you ask. But there is another point which may cause you some hesitation — the gentleman with whom Hallberger proposes to carry on the work is Meding." I was thoroughly astounded, and felt the blood rush to my head. "Meding!" I exclaimed; "on no consideration whatever! That would be to roll myself in the mud of my own free will. I beg of you most earnestly not to propose anything of the kind to Roessler either, as he would regard it as an insult to suppose that he would have anything to do with such a double-dyed traitor." Aegidi was highly surprised, and — with bated breath — supposed I would not be prepared to see Meding, who intended to call upon me at 2 o'clock. "Heaven forfend!" I replied; "I do not wish to hear his name or to have anything to do with him." "Well," he added, "I myself should really

not have taken up the matter but for Keudell. You can see from this what an easy-going, unsuspicious man he is." (As if one did not know better!)

Later in the day I returned to this outrageous proposal, and told Aegidi once more that I did not understand how such an individual could imagine that a respectable literary man would have any connection with a periodical edited by him. Roessler would be beside himself if such a thing were suggested to him, and I really had good reason to be angry at such a proposal being made to me. "You are right," replied Aegidi, "and I beg your pardon for having done so. I really did not know at first that he was the same Oscar Meding.[1] (Stinking fish!) I cannot understand how Keudell could have recommended him to me."

April 20th. — In a report from Pesth, dated the 17th instant, I find that Andrassy fancies, from various symptoms, that dissatisfaction is felt at St. Petersburg at Austria's disposition to enter into more intimate relations with us. This does not apply, however, to the Emperor Alexander himself. It would appear that the symptoms referred to are to be found in communications from Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Bechtoldsheim, the Austrian Military Attaché at St. Petersburg, and from Lieutenant-General von Tornau, the Russian Military Agent in Vienna. The latter, a meritorious old soldier, belongs to that class of Russian politicians who look upon the Prussian conquest of the Baltic Provinces as inevitable. During the war of 1870, General Tornau was so *francophil* that it was impossible to comply with the wish of the Emperor Alexander, that full information should be given to his military agent concerning Austrian armaments.

The same writer reports, under the same address and date: "I again called Andrassy's attention to the principle that has repeatedly been laid down before as one of the preliminary con-

[1] Meding, a born Prussian, had originally been in the Prussian service, but subsequently went over into the Hanoverian service, and was employed by King George, whose confidence he won by the violence of his anti-Prussian sentiments in connection with the official press. . . . After the war of 1866 he accompanied the ex-King of Hanover to Vienna, and then acted until 1870 as a Guelph agent in Paris. He then made his peace with the Prussian Government and received a pension. . . . He published, under the pseudonym of George Samarow, several so-called historical romances. . . .

ditions of our mutual *rapprochement* — namely, that it must not in the slightest degree impair the relations between Germany and Russia. In addition to the reasons already mentioned, I gave the following. In political affairs national and revolutionary passions have now associated themselves more closely than ever before with sectarian feeling. This circumstance increases the value of our orthodox friend. Andrassy took this opportunity to give me the grounds on which he bases his conviction that any action on behalf of Rome was an impossibility in Austria-Hungary. . . . Not only there (in Hungary), but also in Cisleithania, a Papal policy could not be carried into effect. 'Even the Thuns, and the members of their party,' continued the Count, in allusion to the notorious Clerical deputation, 'entertain no such hope, and no thought of it exists in those quarters with whom the decision must lie.' Therefore, if in the next war between Germany and France, the latter seeks to secure allies on a Catholic basis, she will have nothing to hope for here in Austria-Hungary. It is more probable, added Andrassy, that she would turn to the Slavs, who form the majority of the Austro-Hungarian population, and are connected with kindred races on the southern and eastern frontiers of the Empire."

April 21st. — Brass to-day publishes an article (the greater part of which was dictated by the Chief to Bucher) on the language used by the Pope in bestowing his benediction upon a large deputation of Catholics last Saturday. I quote the following passages: "Until we are assured of the contrary on more definite information, we are disposed to think that those four hundred persons did not all come to Rome from their different countries merely to deliver the address, but rather that those who have charge of the Vatican policy considered it desirable to give the Pope an opportunity of expressing his views, and that the real pilgrims were reinforced with contingents from the tourists and foreign residents who are always to be found in Rome and the other Italian cities. We shall hardly do the Papal advisers an injustice in crediting them with this little stratagem, when the Pope's own speech proves that they did not hesitate to impose upon him with the grossest inaccuracies, and when they induced so truth-loving a man to say that a spirit of hostility to the Church had provoked the struggle in Germany. The Pope does not understand the German lan-

guage, and the Germans who encompass him are no friends of Germany. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is unable to control the statements made to him by his counsellors. Are we not, indeed, accustomed to find the grossest errors respecting Germany prevalent in leading circles in France, a neighbouring country which is in active, personal, and literary intercourse with us? Every one in Germany who is capable of forming an independent opinion knows, and every one, with the exception of the party of the *Germania*, will acknowledge, that it was the Catholic reaction which began the quarrel with a Government whose dispositions towards the Catholic Church were most friendly. Every Government, including those of Catholic countries like Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Italy, and France, must defend itself against a reactionary movement which now, through the mouth of the Pope, summons to its assistance the elements of opposition in Ireland, Poland, and Holland, in the same way as it must defend itself against the revolutionary democracy. This is confirmed by the Pope himself, so far as France is concerned; as the 'party' which fears the Pope so much must, we presume, be held to include the Government that has curbed the zeal of the Ultramontane deputies. For the Papal politicians even France is not sufficiently Catholic: France, where for centuries the keenest Papal propaganda has been carried on, where Roman discipline has been maintained by the St. Bartholomew massacres, the dragonades, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and whose first care, after stealing Strasburg from us, was to hand over the Protestant Cathedral to the Catholic bishops. The Pope admonishes the party which in France fears him to cultivate a humble spirit. If he knew the real condition of affairs there, as in all other Christian countries, he would rather have addressed that admonition to the arrogant priests who, unlike the Protestant clergy, instead of being the servants of the community, desire to become its masters; and to those members of the laity who, for the purposes of their own ambition, abuse the prestige which he rightly enjoys, who terrify him with the lie that the Catholic Church in Germany will undergo similar material losses to those which it has suffered in Italy, who take allies wherever they are to be found, and who — as in certain election addresses — instigate the spoliation of the rich in the name of a religion of love."

Bucher, who called my attention to this article, told me the Chief desired the whole official press to speak in this tone of the Pope — a good old gentleman who does not understand German, and who has fallen into bad hands. He at the same time gave the following notes, requesting me to "smuggle them into the press somewhere": "In the course of the debate in the Reichstag on the Statistical Bureau, the Federal Commissioner, Privy Councillor Michaelis, asserted that under the new order of things the Foreign Office had become entirely superfluous for Prussia. That is an extraordinary statement, which calls for rectification. The debate on the Budget in the Prussian Diet showed that there are still in existence eight Royal Prussian Legations, and that for the transaction of the business connected with them the Foreign Office is still designated the Prussian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and appears as such in the Prussian Budget, the title of its officials to be regarded as Prussian officials having been expressly vindicated. It is an open secret that the opposition to the Prussian Statistical Bureau is due to other causes. This institute has done its work, and submitted its results without considering whether the latter harmonise with this or that theory — in other words, it has acted in a scientific spirit. Now, for a considerable time past, it has been observed with disfavour in certain quarters that the results obtained by the Statistical Bureau do not always tally with the infallible and all-saving doctrines of Free Trade. The opinion is indeed gaining ground in ever-widening circles that the preachers of economic infallibility would do well to test and amend their teachings by the light of such facts as are now being collected in Berlin, instead of emulating their ecclesiastical colleagues, the Jesuits, by calmly putting every heretic out of the way."

April 22nd. — Aegidi told me this morning that the Chief wished to see the following subject discussed in the press. Prince Leopold of Bavaria, in consequence of his betrothal to the Austrian Archduchess Gisela, was to enter the Austrian army. During the war with France, he had distinguished himself by his gallantry and other high qualities. Therefore, in spite of the pleasure caused in Germany by his betrothal, it would be a matter for regret if he were to be lost to the German, and particularly to the Bavarian, army. Up to the present,

there had not been any such intimate personal connection between the Bavarian army and the dynasty as existed for instance in Prussia and Saxony, and it must therefore be hoped that the rumour would not be confirmed, or that the decision might still be altered.

Aegidi added that he had just sent a paragraph to this effect to Zabel (then chief editor of the *National Zeitung*), but that he had declined to publish it. . . .

May 4th. — Aegidi assures me that an article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, written by himself, reproduces the ideas of the Prince, in several places "almost literally." After alluding to the nomination of Cardinal Hohenlohe as German Ambassador to the Curia, and with the erroneous interpretation placed upon it by certain newspapers, the article goes on to say: "It is not the business of a diplomatic agent to have his own plans of campaign, to deliver battle or gain victories, nor to exercise influence through threats, stratagems, or persuasion. He is only the intermediary between the Governments and Courts that hold intercourse through him, the mouthpiece of his Government, whose instructions he must carry out skilfully and conscientiously. In the present instance, the aim of the German representative at the Vatican cannot for a moment be to persuade or win over the head of the Catholic Church, and still less to bring the great struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical powers to an issue by diplomatic talent and resolution. The first task of the representative of Germany at the Vatican would doubtless be to prevent the Pope from being misled with regard to German affairs. Were such a representative — thoroughly acquainted with the questions at issue, and well informed both as to persons and things — to succeed in this respect, it would be a great gain. It must not be forgotten that such subjects as are generally included in foreign politics do not come in any way within the province of his diplomatic mission. The envoy to the Papal See has nothing whatever to do with territorial questions or other worldly interests, but only with affairs of Church and State. Nor can these be settled in Rome, or be dependent upon any decisions arrived at there. They must, on the contrary, be regulated by legislation, with the coöperation of Parliament; and it is in that way that they will be regulated. It is none the less desirable to prevent

numerous conceivable misunderstandings which may arise in connection with such important matters, and in particular to forestall wilful misrepresentations, thus averting unnecessary friction. These considerations will doubtless have exercised a decisive influence in the choice of an intermediary, exceptionally suited for the post. The Pope, however, did not approve. As reported yesterday, in reply to the official communication announcing that Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe had been selected for the post of Ambassador of the German Empire, and inquiring whether the appointment would be agreeable to the Pope, the Cardinal Secretary of State declared that His Holiness could not allow a Cardinal to undertake such an office."

May 5th. — The following paragraph appears to-day in the *Magdeburger Zeitung*, the *Weser Zeitung*, and the *Hamburger Correspondenz:* "St. Petersburg, April 29th. It will be remembered that M. Kapnist, the Russian agent to the Curia, was some time ago invested by the Pope with the Order of Pius. It is now reported from Rome that the cross of the Order is set in brilliants of exceptionally high value — the estimate varies between fifty and a hundred thousand francs. Such a distinction excites all the more surprise as M. Kapnist's mission is by no means concluded." This was probably written by Aegidi, who asked me yesterday to have the news circulated in papers to which I have access, but in such a way that the source of the paragraph should not be recognised. I wonder what object the Chief, from whom he received this instruction, can have in view in circulating this report. In a letter written by D. on the 27th of April, which reached here on the 30th, it is stated that the story circulated by the *Italie*, as to Kapnist's Order being set with brilliants, was unfounded, and that altogether he had received no distinction greater than was due to his rank. And yet four days later the above instructions are given! . . .

May 9th. — A communication was yesterday despatched to S., which contains the following passage: "You will have seen from the ciphered despatch of Consul-General Rosen, dated the 21st of April, and forwarded *via* Vienna, that M. de Kallay in Belgrade denies being the author of the report of our alleged intervention on behalf of Servia, in the Zvornik question. Different versions of his communications seem to have

reached Vienna and Constantinople, as would appear from the statements made by Count Andrassy to your Excellency, and by Count Ludolf to Herr von Radowitz. Similarly, the false reports that have reached the newspapers can be traced to the same source. As they are obstinately maintained, it has been necessary to publish the following *démenti* in the *Staatsanzeiger*. An instruction has been issued from the Foreign Office, to contradict a report from Belgrade, dated the 28th ultimo, and published in the *Ausburger Allgemeine Zeitung* of the 2nd instant, which is in every respect unfounded. The report in question maintains, in opposition to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, that the Berlin Cabinet intends to intervene in the Zvornik question on behalf of Servia. The correspondent observes: 'I am informed on an authority which it is impossible to doubt that Prince Bismarck, in the last Note sent by him to Herr von Radowitz, expressly directed him to support the Servian demands.' This statement is wilfully false in every particular. No Note, no instruction, no communication, of this or a similar kind has been sent. When this audacious invention was first circulated, an official inquiry which was instituted into the affair showed that its author, whom we shall not name for the present, was closely connected with certain non-German official circles. Doubtless the correspondent knows the source of the rumour, and will be able to judge for himself what he should think of its trustworthiness."

May 10th.—I noted down the following from a despatch sent to Rosen yesterday: "Count Andrassy tells me that M. de Kallay (the Austro-Hungarian agent to the Servian Government) has reported from Belgrade that the Regents give it to be understood that the German Consul-General has said that Servia would ultimately get Zvornik, but must avoid any step that would cause uneasiness."

Read two reports from Paris, both dated the 6th instant. The following is an extract from the first: "As I have already stated on a former occasion, we ought not to decline off-hand the proffered understanding with the Bonapartists, especially as, on the one hand, they have no intention of intriguing against the present Government, and, on the other, they are the only party which openly seeks our support and includes reconciliation with Germany in its programme, while all the other groups and

sections avoid every intercourse with us, and inscribe *la revanche* on their banners. I consider the candidature of the Duc d'Aumale to be as great a danger as that of Gambetta, and the so-called respectable Republic, which would be represented by Casimir-Perier and Grévy, would form only a transitional stage to Gambetta. Therefore the most desirable development of the political situation appears to me one which would, on the one hand, leave us time to come to an understanding with the Government as to the speedy payment of, and security for, the three milliards, and, on the other hand, hasten as much as possible the inevitable change of system, so that the presence of our troops in the country might afford us an opportunity of exercising a decisive influence upon the crisis." The following passage from the other report is of importance: "M. Thiers then explained to me the general outline of his scheme for the payment of the war indemnity. He wishes to raise a loan of three milliards. Of that amount not more than one hundred millions per month can be called up without placing too great a strain upon the Money Market. Those sums would be paid direct into the German Treasury by the banks entrusted with the operation. The payments could begin in the summer of the present year. The greater part of the first milliard, which is due on the 1st of March, would therefore be paid over before that date. This payment in advance should therefore be met on our side by a corresponding evacuation of French territory. I forbear to enter into the objections which I raised to M. Thiers' proposals, as they are too obvious to be overlooked."

May 16th. — This afternoon Bucher, under instructions from the Chief, handed me the following sketch for an article which was to be dated from Vienna: "I do not know whether the little flirtations of the authorities here with the Poles have been noticed abroad. The summons to the recalcitrant Galician members, calling upon them to appear in the Reichstag within fourteen days under pain of losing their seats, was sent so late that the interval covered the marriage festivities, and these gentlemen were able to take part in them as members of Parliament. On the 21st of April, the day on which they were declared to have lost their seats, the Emperor nominated Dr. Ziemialkowski, the Burgomaster of Lemberg, whose revolutionary past is well known, as Minister without a portfolio, and in the Speech

from the Throne referred to this appointment as evidence of his constant consideration for Galicia. Shortly before this the Archbishop of Lemberg and the Bishops of Tarnau and Przemysl thought good to send an address to the 'Primate,' Count Ledochowski. It will be remembered that at the time when Poland was still a kingdom the Primate sometimes acted as Interrex. The ceremony of inauguration of the Cracow Academy, which was founded by the Hohenwart Ministry, took place on the 7th of May, and was attended by the Archduke Karl Ludwig, the Patron of the Institution. The festivities and speeches on this occasion were of such a demonstrative character that the local journals, notwithstanding the full reports which they published, omitted a number of exceptionally piquant details, particularly in a speech of the new Minister Ziemialkowski. We may perhaps form some idea of that speech from the following passage in an election address which he delivered in 1870: 'Very soon,' he said, 'the civilisation of Europe must measure swords with Asiatic barbarism. From this struggle Poland will arise once more like the Phœnix from its ashes. It is true, indeed, that in the present formation of Europe Poland, with a population of sixteen millions, situated between the German Empire with forty millions and Russia with sixty millions, could not maintain herself alone. She, therefore, must unite with Hungary and Austria and form a federation which would justify us in claiming that it had its origin in a political necessity.' In Polish affairs one is thoroughly accustomed to these castles in the air, but it would really seem as if Prussia and Germany ought to keep a sharp lookout."

May 19th.—A report from St. Petersburg, dated the 14th instant, says: "The news that Count Schuvaloff has been to Berlin, and was received by your Serene Highness, has not failed to cause some surprise here. It was reported immediately that Schuvaloff had been sent to Berlin with a special mission and, as I learn from a well-informed source, even Prince Gortchakoff's own mind was not quite at rest with regard to this rumour. The explanation is that the varying influence of the Chief of the Third Department is unpleasant to the Chancellor, all the more so as Prince Gortchakoff is aware that Schuvaloff dislikes him, and the two Ministers are not always in agreement on questions of principle."

May 21st. — We hear from St. Petersburg: "Prince Gortchakoff hopes soon to receive communications respecting the International. . . . The *tête-à-tête* with Austria is certainly the best means of proceeding in the matter. At this time of day a repressive treatment of the disease is not in itself enough. The origin of the evil must be discovered, and with it the antidote. Russia has resolved to suppress with the utmost energy all disorders in which this dangerous association is involved. The further communications to be made by me on the result of the conference proposed by Count Andrassy are awaited here with interest."

Bucher has left here to-day to join the Prince at Varzin.

May 26th. — The following very academic, but none the less noteworthy, dissertation written by Aegidi, as he says on instructions from Varzin, may be read in to-day's *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung:* "The attitude of the Conservative element in a country is of the greatest consequence for its sound development. If there be no party which can adopt into its programme the demands and requirements of a new period, the altered conditions and principles of the present time, then the two conceptions, conservative and reactionary, must be fatally confounded together. The friends of the new order of things, whose aims have been to a certain extent achieved, and who would therefore be glad to make common cause with Conservatives in securing and consolidating the existing order, cannot go hand in hand with reaction. They therefore occupy an unstable position between the reactionary element and those who want to go still further; but they remain at all times in closer sympathy with the latter than with the former. Thus the State at every new stage is deprived of the requisite steadying influences, and drifts into a current which can only favour a determined reaction.

"Who will deny that the forces which promote change gave a salutary and necessary impulse to public life? It is, however, an old political axiom that the State also requires, and to as great an extent, those forces that tend towards permanence and moderation. As a rule, however, their chief service is considered to be to oppose change, and such opposition is, indeed, frequently beneficial; but their most useful work should be an entirely different character. The true strength of the con-

servative element in a State is to recognise at the proper moment the essential features of the situation, to exercise its judgment with an open mind and absolute freedom from visionary aspirations, to acknowledge the rights and the true inwardness of the living present, to keep immediately practical objects in view, and, as a party devoted to the maintenance of what exists, to secure for every stage of development a period of consolidation. Not in opposition to the new era, but rather in union with its moral and positive forces, can Conservatism find its true mission. By counteracting vain tendencies to return towards the past, as well as to anticipate the future, the Conservatives should consider themselves as the party of the immediate present, and endeavour to secure for it the fulness of its rights."

Bucher, writing under yesterday's date, requests me to secure the insertion in one of the papers of a paragraph stating that he is engaged with the Prince at Varzin, as he has been on similar occasions during the past three years. He added: "This has been ignored on the present occasion by the tame press, doubtless not unintentionally." (This, no doubt, means at the instance of Aegidi, who would like to replace Bucher at Varzin.) Bucher reports that the Chief is in "very good humour, rides a great deal, and enjoys his plantations."

June 16th.—A despatch addressed to the Imperial Chancellor from St. Petersburg on the 10th instant says: "I have only been able to have a very short conversation with Count P. Schuvaloff since his return from Karlsbad. He thanked me once more for having been the means of obtaining for him the very interesting interview which he had with your Serene Highness. According to what he said on this subject, he received the impression that your Serene Highness quite dissociated the labour question from the treatment of the international. The former should be thoroughly studied, and regulated as far as possible by legislative action. At the same time, he did not think your Serene Highness considered it desirable to take energetic measures against the latter just now. Your whole attention was absorbed in the struggle with the Catholic Church, and it appeared to him that your Serene Highness did not wish unnecessarily to turn against the Government so useful a weapon as the Socialist movement might ultimately prove to be against

clerical encroachments. Count Schuvaloff found no confirmation whatever in the conversation which he had with your Serene Highness for the supposition circulated here by Prince Gortchakoff that your Serene Highness was opposed to a friendly understanding between Rome and Russia."

According to another report of the same date, "Gortchakoff had accepted Antonelli's assurances (see above), and had not signed the protest proposed by Prussia against the title of Primate" (Ledochowski's), Tolstoi, the Minister of Education, had "remonstrated" with him for not doing so, and "most strongly urged him to act in concert with Prussia."

July 10th. — Bucher sends me from Varzin the following sketch of an article: "A South German newspaper recently called attention to the expediency, in view of the Pope's state of health, of an understanding between the Governments to promote the election of a successor of moderate views. We hear that a suggestion to this effect has been made by the German Imperial Government, but that it has up to the present been received with favour by only two of the great Powers. The reserve manifested by the others may in several cases be explained by the circumstance that they consider their relations with the Catholic Church to be so settled and assured by law that they may regard the action of the Curia with indifference, while others, perhaps, believe Germany to be in greater difficulties than themselves. This view is only so far correct that the *ecclesia militans*, which is in a latent state of war against every country with a regular system of government, is engaged at the present moment in attacking Germany with exceptional fury. But Germany, even if left isolated, would be able to repel these attacks, and would be in no embarrassment if it became necessary to put an end to the intimate relations which have hitherto existed between Church and State, and to substitute for them the relations which obtain in England and the United States. Pessimists might even say that it would be all the better if the present Pope, who chastises with rods, were followed by one who would scourge us with scorpions. The German Government, however, desires to be at peace with the Catholics, and desires the Catholics to be at peace among themselves."

This sketch, "which is the result of this morning's conver-

sation at the breakfast-table," is to be used for an article in the *Weser* or the *Magdeburger Zeitung*. For the rest there will not be much journalistic work just now, as the Prince is displaying a rather marked indifference to newspaper business. Aegidi has been at Varzin for a few days, and expressed a strong desire to relieve Bucher there. The Princess, however, does not like him, and he therefore left on the 8th instant for his father-in-law's, without having improved his opportunities for spying and eavesdropping on behalf of Keudell.

July 11th.—This afternoon received two communications from Bucher. (1) A suggestion for an article referring to that of Bamberger, "The Genius of the Imperial Chancellor and the Genius of the Imperial Diet" (Lindau's *Gegenwart*, No. 24). It must be pointed out (1) that "probably the reason why the Jews, the former Jewish members of the Reichstag, Lasker, Bamberger, Friedenthal, the representatives of Hamburg, and perhaps a few more have spoken and voted against the Jesuit laws was because they felt a dim presentiment that, in an outburst of general indignation against themselves and their race, a demand may be made for exceptional measures against them and their tactics." (2) "The Prince is now held responsible for the weakness of the Jesuit Bill, but very unjustly. He only demanded the introduction of such a Bill, but had nothing to do with the drafting of it. The first draft, which was made in the Imperial Chancellerie, was modified and weakened in the Ministry of State, and we believe we are correct in saying that the Chancellor was by no means pleased with it, and made no secret of his displeasure during Herr Wagner's visit to Varzin after the Cabinet Council. The Chancellor, however, declined to prepare a draft himself, on the ground that at Varzin he had neither the necessary materials nor the opportunity of personal communication with his colleagues, and also because he relied upon the Reichstag to put backbone into it. The result proved that he was right in his calculations." Sent No. 1 to the *Weser Zeitung*, and No. 2 to the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The former was not printed, which is not to be wondered at, considering the influence of the Jews in the journalistic world.

July 13th.—Sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung* the following letter, based upon a report from Paris: "Hopes are entertained in the Orleanist camp that, after the indirect abdication con-

tained in the manifesto of the Comte de Chambord, they will be able to proclaim the Comte de Paris as King. This hope is not, however, shared by the more thoughtful members of the party, although MacMahon is understood to show a leaning towards the Duc d'Aumale, and many persons are even of opinion that when Thiers hands over the reins of power his successor will not be an Orleans, but some one very different — namely, Léon Gambetta. If all signs are not deceptive, the cause of the sons of Louis Philippe is just as certainly lost as that of the Comte de Chambord. They can make no further progress by legal means in presence of the very considerable accession of strength which the Republican minority in the National Assembly obtained at the elections, and they have hardly courage enough for an attempt to use force, which might, perhaps, have succeeded two months ago. The centre of gravity now lies in the Republican party, with whose assistance Thiers has hitherto held his ground, and which the recent elections have further strengthened, as against the monarchical parties. But Thiers' position is very seriously menaced by the reappearance on the scene of Gambetta, who will probably in a short time induce the Left to desert him. Gambetta's first object would then be to form a purely Republican Cabinet, and that may be expected to develop into a Grévy *régime*, which would one day suddenly give place to a Gambetta dictatorship. Such a turn of affairs would not be favourable for German interests. Thiers and Favre (of whom the latter would be the first to fall a victim to the Parliamentary Left) are unquestionably the statesmen who now and in the future would suit us best. As to Gambetta, we know that he observed recently to an acquaintance that the Republic would enable France to prosecute a successful war of revenge against the Germans, and that he intended to promote this end by every means in his power, and that even to-day France was in a position to wage such a war if it were conducted in a more revolutionary spirit. Of course he will not immediately proclaim such views and intentions in the National Assembly. On the other hand, it is expected that his support of the income tax will win for him the gratitude of the poorer classes, the artisans, the small bourgeoisie, and the peasants, amongst all of whom he has even now a large following. By such means he and his friends will

find their way into the Paris Municipal Council which is to be elected on the 23rd instant. He has also no little influence with the army. In the first place, the leading officers, like Faidherbe, are on his side; while all those who were appointed by him during the war regard him as their natural champion against the reductions in rank which the Government contemplates; and, finally, he must have numerous friends among the soldiers themselves, to judge from the voting of the troops stationed in Paris at the last elections, when he received 1700 of their votes, while Cissey, the Minister of War, who had formerly been in command of an army corps, got no more than 1200 to 1300."

Bucher sends me the following paragraph from Varzin for circulation in the press: "It is stated in a quarter which, from its proximity, might be expected to know better, that the domains granted to Prince Bismarck in the Duchy of Lauenburg now return an annual income of 40,000 thalers, which may be easily increased to three times that amount, when the leases fall in. The truth is that the domains in question now yield an annual return of 34,016 thalers, inclusive of 3,500 thalers for the rent of some shooting, and over 2,000 thalers for the rent of certain manorial privileges which will lapse later on; and that there is absolutely no land from which an important increase of returns is to be expected, as the whole estate consists of forest, which, after the deductions to be made on the cessation of the rights above mentioned, will yield only an annual income of about 28,000 thalers."

July 18th. — R. had a conversation with Schuvaloff on the 30th ultimo, respecting the social question, and is to continue the discussion of the subject. The Chief has made marginal notes on several of the Count's observations, and amongst other things he calls attention to the fact that savings banks founded by employers have existed for a long time past in Germany, those established by Krupp and other large manufacturers being particularly worthy of note. The Government would be glad to do everything in its power to promote such institutions, which indeed have already occupied the attention of the Legislature. It is true that these savings banks are not a preventive against strikes. They exercise, however, a very beneficial influence on the more sensible section of the labouring classes.

Courts of arbitration were also useful. Finally, the Government has long had the intention of supplementing the criminal law, particularly with respect to associations under foreign control, and to the intimidation of workers who do not wish to join a strike. These questions must, however, be treated in a systematic way, which has been impossible up to the present, owing to the protracted illness of the Minister of Justice. The Prince himself does not wish to enter upon this task in the amateur fashion common in Russia. . . . A thorough preliminary study on the part of the various Ministries concerned will also be necessary in connection with the proposed conference between ourselves and Austria, if they are to lead to any practical result. The Ministries in question include that of Justice, as well as those of the Interior, of Commerce and Industry, and of Public Works. The latter has already discussed the social-political question with certain authorities on the basis that the State can only undertake to deal with the labour difficulty so far as it may be rightly considered to come within its province. Questions that lie within the competency of the Legislature are first to be considered in the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice. The position of the preliminary inquiries renders it impossible to fix a date for the meeting of the German and Austrian Commissioners, although there is every desire to hasten it. For the rest, the Prussian Legislature has already adopted various measures for the better maintenance and regulation of the institutions and funds for the relief of the working classes. Tribunals of commerce and arbitration for settling differences between employers and employed are also under consideration, and indeed have been provided in certain instances by means, in particular, of the Prussian Trade Regulations and the other laws extending the same, such as the Mines Act and the Roads and Canals Construction Act.

July 19th. — Received the following letter from Bucher: —

"Verehrtester Herr Doctor. — No chance for you up to the present. (I had asked for more work.) He reads the newspapers with the impartiality of a *rentier*, amuses himself and sometimes gets a little angry, but does not show the slightest inclination to interfere. (A circumstance which does not worry me.) When the Karlsbad cure is finished, and I am relieved by Wartensleben on the 1st of August, the prospect will improve.

The letters are becoming intolerable, and he is thinking of issuing a sort of proclamation against them. Perhaps you could spare him that trouble if you could secure the insertion in some remote but widely circulated paper of a communication to the following effect, which should be dated from Stolp:—

"'Notwithstanding the notice in the *N. A. Z.* that, &c., there is a rapid increase in the number of private letters addressed to Prince B. with requests for assistance, loans, appointments, purchases of estates, redemption of pawned goods, recommendations of all descriptions and proposals of the most various kinds for the improvement of the world, together with offers of manuscripts for which it has been impossible to find a publisher, &c. Attempts are made to force the Imperial Chancellor to open and read these letters himself by registering them, or marking the envelopes "Private," "Important," "Please to read personally," or by claiming special introductions. Others address themselves to the Councillor of Embassy Bucher, and expect him to disturb the repose which is so necessary for the cure by communicating the contents of epistles, which usually begin with the stereotyped formula: "Although I know that you have little time and the Prince still less, I trust it will nevertheless be possible to make an exception in the present instance." The Prince has therefore given instructions recently that no letters addressed to him privately are to be taken in, unless they can be recognised as coming from relations or friends.'

"The communication should be given as if coming from an inhabitant of Stolp who had been here on a visit, but without exactly saying this. Yours very truly." (In English.) This was immediately prepared for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, in which it appeared a few days later.

July 29th. — A report of the 27th instant contains the following passage: "Count Tauffkirchen, who recently arrived at Munich on leave from Rome, gave W. some particulars of what he had ascertained shortly before his departure respecting the alleged Bull 'Præsenti cadavere.' As already known, a Bull of Pius VI. of the year 1797 prescribes a term of ten days which must elapse before the election of a new Pope can be proceeded with. On the other hand, the *Bullarium Romanum*, volume xiii., page 92, contains a Bull of Pius VII., dated the 6th of

February, 1807, which modifies this provision and prescribes formalities to be observed in the election of a Pope in case of political disturbances. It provides that the interval of ten days need *not* be kept if more than half the Cardinals (that is, at the present time, 125) decide otherwise. It is not necessary to wait for the foreign Cardinals, although they must be invited. The Cardinal Dean (Patrizzi), the *Capi d' Ordini* (de Angelis and Antonelli), as well as the *Camerlengo*, have to decide where the election is to be held. It is probable that the next election will take place in accordance with these directions."

August 10*th.* — Sent the *Kölnische Zeitung* the following letter, dated from Rome, which I wrote from information contained in a despatch: "The *Nazione* publishes a series of articles entitled 'L'Esclusiva al conclave,' which proves that the civil powers — and not only Austria, France, Spain, and Portugal as hitherto, but also the King of Italy and the German Emperor, have an unquestionable right to enter an effective protest against the election of candidates for the Papal dignity who do not appear to them to be suitable. In the course of this argument, the journal in question alluded to the Emperor William as follows: The creed professed by the bearer of the supreme authority in a State can exercise no influence upon the relations of that State, or upon his own relations with the Church. The Emperor is a Protestant, but as the ruler of several millions of Catholics, and as their lawful representative, he would be perfectly within his right if he desired to exercise his influence on the election of a new Pope. It would be unnatural to deny him this right while not contesting it to the King of Spain, whose rule does not extend over a larger number of Catholic subjects; or to the King of Portugal, who has much fewer Catholic subjects than the German Emperor. The latter's position does not involve any sacramental or dogmatic question, but simply and solely a civil and legal relation, namely, the representation of his Catholic subjects. Besides, after the Reformation, the electors who took part in the election of the Catholic German Emperor included three Protestant princes. On the consecration of the Emperor by the Bishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, the Protestant electoral princes joined in the symbolic rites. Indeed, the Bishops received from their hands the crown which they placed upon the Emper-

or's head, and those princes attended the Catholic Mass on the occasion. They thus took part with the Catholic Bishops in Catholic rites. Every one must recognise that the German Emperor, in exercising by means of his veto an indirect influence upon the election of the Pope by the Conclave, performs an act which has far less of a spiritual character than the direct coöperation of the Protestant electors in the coronation of the old Catholic emperors. Towards the end of the article, the writer says that Pius IX. has already repeatedly violated ancient and venerable principles of the Church. If he questions the right to reject unpopular candidates, which is based upon the fundamental laws of the Church, he runs the risk of his successor not being recognised, and of thus giving rise to a ruinous schism. So far the Italian organ. It is quite another matter whether the German Emperor and his counsellors propose to take advantage of the *Esclusiva* in question."

August 15th.—On the 12th instant Eckart, of Hamburg, again sent the Foreign Office a report of the contents of some of the Russian periodicals. This includes a reference to an article by an "American," or, more correctly, an Englishman, named Dixon, who indulges in a number of silly statements as to the intentions of Germany respecting the Baltic Provinces of Russia. These are to be refuted, and I am doing so in a communication to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which runs as follows: "In the July number of the Russian monthly *Besseda*, we find an article by the much-talked-of and prolific writer Hepworth Dixon, in which the Russians are urgently warned against the German agitation for the Baltic Provinces, which must necessarily lead to the next European war. According to Dixon it resembles the former agitation for the separation of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, which after modest beginnings ultimately swept German Statesmen forward in spite of themselves. It is true that up to the present the more sensible section of the German people will not hear of it. The leading statesmen in particular, including Prince Bismarck, are thoroughly and in principle opposed to it. Experience teaches, however, that fanatics are always more energetic and active than those who weigh the consequences of their acts, and it may therefore be regarded as certain that the agitation in Germany, which is maintained by skilful agents from the Baltic, will continue to

spread and lead finally to a war with Russia. The *Golos* finds it incumbent to commend to the consideration of the Russian public these silly lucubrations of a writer who obviously knows still less of Germany, its requirements and aspirations, than he does of Switzerland, upon which he recently published some few hundred pages of moonshine. That is really quite unnecessary. The only grain of truth in Mr. Dixon's wisdom is that no leading German statesmen and no sensible people in Germany give a moment's thought to Curland and Livonia in the same sense as they once did to Schleswig-Holstein. The agitation, which was not initiated with much skill, and was from the very beginning hollow, has not increased, but on the contrary has long since died out, with the exception of some faint echoes in opposition newspapers, whose faith in the cause they plead is itself slender. Every one with the least insight into the facts knows that 'German' Russia, with its one German to every ten inhabitants, cannot for an instant be assimilated to Schleswig-Holstein, nor Russia herself to Denmark; and furthermore, that we have not the least right to interfere in the administration of those provinces, not the slightest interest in their conquest, which would only extend our straggling eastern frontier, and render it less capable of defence. We have entirely omitted from our consideration the circumstance that we have in Russia a friendly neighbour, whose good will, which has been of great advantage to us in a recent very critical period, we desire to cultivate further. It might, however, have occurred to Mr. Dixon, if he were not a lightning thinker of superficial judgment and meagre knowledge."

August 18th.—A few days ago Balan, who now performs the functions of Secretary of State, wrote to Prince Reuss, who is at present staying at Nordernay, respecting the approaching visit to Berlin of the Emperors Alexander and Francis Joseph. "As Prince Bismarck had let him know that he considered it desirable to ascertain the views of the German Ambassadors to both Courts, respecting the manner in which the question of precedence was regarded by the Courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna," he begged Prince Reuss to inform him. Reuss replied as follows under yesterday's date: "As your Excellency is aware, the Emperor Alexander had at first fixed upon the 6th of September as the date of his arrival. This plan was altered,

and the Emperor told me that if it were agreeable to his Majesty he would arrive in Berlin on the evening of the 5th. Count Schuvaloff explained to me that the motive of this alteration was the desire of the Emperor to arrive somewhat earlier than the Emperor Francis Joseph. That the question of precedence was involved was evident from the statement of the Count that whilst he was at Stuttgart the Emperor Alexander had also arrived somewhat earlier, in order to secure precedence of the Emperor Napoleon. I also gather that the Emperor Alexander attributes a certain importance to his earlier appearance, as indicating that he is the older friend. I do not believe, however, that he would be inclined to insist upon having precedence during the whole period of his visit."

A letter of the 16th instant from Berne says: "My assumption that the appointment of Herr von Niethhammer as (Bavarian) Envoy to Switzerland may be regarded as a kind of demonstration against the Imperial Government seems to be confirmed. That gentleman hopes for a Gasser Ministry, and in competent quarters here he praises the King of Bavaria, who is not disposed to sink to the level of the small Princes who come to Berlin. Moreover, he expresses views of such an absurdly Particularist and Ultramontane character that he frequently excites somewhat contemptuous surprise, and gets snubbed for his pains. As to Prince Gortchakoff, who has been elsewhere described as the 'garrulous' Chancellor, he gives it to be understood everywhere that he considers it desirable for Russia to draw nearer to the Vatican in the same measure as others draw away from it, and that he seems to have already succeeded in this policy."

Bucher, writing from Varzin, sends me the following paragraph for Brass: "In case the Prince's health permits him to travel, he will proceed to Berlin at the beginning of September, going from there to Marienburg, and returning thence to Varzin."

August 27th. — This evening read the answer of the Emperor Alexander to the invitation to meet the German and Austrian Emperors in Berlin. It is written in very cordial terms, and runs as follows: —

"MON CHER ONCLE, — Votre lettre si amicale du 16/28 juillet, pour laquelle je Vous ai déja remercié par telegraphe,

m'a fait un plaisir véritable. J'avais effectivement l'intention d'employer la fin du mois d'août à des courses d'inspection dans la midi de la Russie, mais ayant appris par le Prince Reuss, que ma présence à Berlin, simultanée avec celle de l'Empereur d'Autriche, était désirée par Vous, je me suis empressé de m'arranger de façon à pouvoir me rendre à Votre aimable invitation.

"Je pense comme Vous, mon cher Oncle, que notre entrevue à trois pourra avoir une importance fort grave pour l'interêt du bien-être de Nos états et de la paix du monde. Que Dieu nous vienne en aide!

"Quant à la joie immense de Vous revoir je crois n'avoir besoin de vous en parler, car l'affection que je Vous porte n'est pas chose nouvelle pour Vous.

"Je me fais aussi une véritable fête de revoir Votre brave et belle garde à laquelle je suis fier d'appartenir grâce à Votre constante amitié, dont Vous m'avez donné une si belle preuve sous les murs mêmes de Paris.

"Je Vous demande la permission d'amener avec moi mes fils Alexandre et Wladimir, car je tiens, comme Vous le savez, à ce que les sentiments qui nous unissent et que nous avons hérités de Nos Parents puissent se conserver et se perpétuer aussi dans la nouvelle génération.

"Le Prince Reuss ayant communiqué Votre gracieuse invitation à mon frère Nicolas, il en a été trés heureux et me précédera à Berlin de quelques jours, si Vous le permettez.

"La présence de Vos officiers distingués à nos occupations, en camp de Krasnoe-Selo, fût une grande satisfaction pour moi, et j'espère qu'ils en auront emporté un aussi bon souvenir que celui qu'ils ont laissé parmi nous.

"Oh! que je me réjouis de la perspective de Vous répéter de vive voix l'assurance de l'amitié sincère avec laquelle je suis, mon cher Oncle, Votre tout dévoué neveu et ami

"ALEXANDRE."

September 8th. — To-day the Chief gave a great diplomatic dinner in honour of the members of the suites accompanying the Russian and Austrian Emperors. Of our people, Von Thile, Von Keudell, Von Bülow, Philippsborn, and Bucher were present. The latter, with whom I had a long *tête-à-tête* in the evening, said: "I have seldom seen such a collection of

weird faces as those Russians. The Hamburger is a regular Stock Exchange Jew. Jomini looks like a professor — you know there are professors who understand how to make themselves agreeable to ladies. There were also some strange specimens among the Austrians. I said so afterwards to the son, Herbert (so I understood him, but Bucher always speaks in a whisper, and not very clearly), and he replied: 'Yes, you are right, although many people would not trust themselves to say it aloud — but it is true all the same.' "

This evening we remained till 11 o'clock at the Ministry, where I had to write another article for the *Kölnische Zeitung* on the election of the Pope, which was directed, amongst other things, against the assertion of the *Catholique* that this election was of world-wide significance. Afterwards Bucher and I had a bottle of red wine at Friedrich's, when he gave me a great deal of interesting news. Keudell, he said, had long been on the lookout for a substantial embassy, and the Chief has now given him Constantinople. He, Bucher, fancied that this was done because Keudell was of little further use to the Prince, as he was taking leave at every moment — town leave while the Reichstag was sitting. Constantinople was selected because a great luminary was not required there. Keudell would not do much as an Ambassador, as he had no ideas of his own. Here he frequently borrowed one from the Chief, and made use of it for his own purposes, but on the Bosphorus, far away from the Wilhelmstrasse, he would have to stand on his own legs, and, in any emergency, he would hardly be equal to it. He could hold his tongue, and that was of some value, but his political acumen was confined to his own personal affairs, in regard to which he always knew how to improve his opportunities. I then mentioned that on one occasion when I was speaking of the East Prussians, Keudell's fellow-countrymen, and said that all those with whom I had had any dealings were thoroughly selfish, the Chancellor tersely added: "Jewish horse dealers" (Pferde Juden). Referring to Aegidi, Bucher repeated what he had formerly said, namely, that he was brought to us by Keudell in order to act as his correspondent, spy, and intermediary after his departure, keeping him posted in current affairs, and in the ideas of the Chief, and getting his praises sung in the newspapers as often as possible.

Bucher then mentioned that during the last week at Varzin the Chief had almost given up riding, but had, on the other hand, driven about the country a great deal, and that, too, in a basket carriage without springs, a very unpleasant conveyance when it bumped over the roots of fir-trees which project across the paths. He had never seen the Prince look so cheerful as on the day of his silver wedding. In the morning, as they were about to go to church, they could not find a dress-coat for his Highness, but, just as he was preparing good-humouredly to submit to his fate, they discovered a very ancient garment of the kind required in some forgotten wardrobe, which he then donned for the festive occasion. Finally, in the evening, he brewed for himself and the company a potent beverage, composed of two bottles of port, one of old arack, and one of champagne, which he quaffed gaily long after Bucher had had more than enough, and gone off to bed. After the second glass the Countess fell so fast asleep in her rocking-chair that she could be heard — breathing aloud.

September 15th. — A Ministerial crisis has been in progress in Munich for weeks past, and it is said that Gasser has a fair prospect of becoming Premier. His wife, a Von Radowitz and a friend of the King with whom his Majesty is in constant correspondence, is credited in a report of the 1st instant with "no inconsiderable share in the Cabinet crisis which the sovereign has provoked." According to a report from B. of about the same date, Von Daxenberger, the Councillor of State, is disposed to support Gasser's candidature. At least it is said there that "he is in closer agreement both in political and religious questions with Bray than with the present Minister"; that in speaking to B. he had "endeavoured to represent Gasser as a man of moderate views, whilst he was inclined to depreciate Lutz."

To-day I forwarded to the *Kölnische Zeitung* a letter dated from Munich for which Bucher conveyed to me the Chief's instructions. It stated that the Ministerial crisis was not yet at an end, and asserted positively that the Secretary of State, Von Lobkowitz, the prospective Minister of Finance, was especially active in promoting a Gasser Cabinet. "On the other hand, the report that the Councillor of State, Von Daxenberger, is also working in the same direction seems less worthy of

credence." "No argument on the subject," were the Chief's instructions.

October 10*th.* — Arnim recently (date not noted) sent the Chancellor a rather lengthy statement of his opinion that Thiers should not be supported any longer, as he was only strengthening France for the benefit of Gambetta. He also hinted that we might give our support to others, in which case there would be plenty to make overtures to us. The Ambassador said he had severed his connection with B., who had shown himself quite incapable, but he was now employing another agent of the same description, who seemed in general to justify the confidence placed in his cleverness and powers of hearing. Prince Czartoryski had recommended to his political friends in the province of Posen, as Parliamentary candidate, the parish priest of Zduny, a man of strong clerical and nationalist sentiments, and a friend of Kozmian. Further, a French political agent named Orlowski was stationed at Dantzig, where he passed himself off as a commercial traveller. Samuel, the Chief of the French Secret Police, was now staying at Lunéville. Ladislaus Witkowski, a Jesuit, who spent several years in Rome, and who was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour on Czartoryski's recommendation, had been sent by the Prince to the Grand Duchy of Posen, in order to promote an agitation among the peasantry. Witkowski was thirty-eight years of age, tall and stout, grows a beard, and wears plain clothes. He would probably put up at Kozmian's. In Paris, he resided with the Jesuit, Jelowicki, who has recently paid several visits to Posen, and appeared to act as a channel for communication between Rome and the Grand Duchy. Witkowski might also have instructions from Samuel.

November 8*th.* — This evening received from Bucher, who has returned to Varzin with the Chief, the outline of a communication to be dated from Stolp, and sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and which should run somewhat as follows: "Permit me to constitute myself 'An Occasional Correspondent' from Pomerania, as I have accidentally come into possession of more detailed information than the professional correspondents seem to possess. There are no indications at Varzin of an approaching departure. I cannot say whether a very active correspondence is maintained with Berlin; but when the Prince, in speaking

at his own fireside of a reform of the Upper Chamber, declares it to be of necessity for our public life, it is hardly likely that his colleagues will be unacquainted with his views in this respect. Furthermore, if one bears in mind certain conversations which are understood to have taken place, at the Parliamentary *soirées*, during the debate on the Inspection of Schools Bill, some idea can be formed of the direction of the intended changes. It may therefore be assumed that, as the Upper Chamber is only a poor imitation of the English House of Lords, for which neither our history nor the position of our landed aristocracy affords any justification, its future character will have to be rather that of a Senate or Council of State combining greater intelligence and usefulness."

November 22nd. — Last week a local paper, — I think it was Glasbrenner's *Montagszeitung*, — and the *Deutsche Presse* of Frankfort, published a paragraph, which was in all probability inspired by Aegidi, stating on good authority that Herr von Keudell would shortly be recalled from Constantinople in order to take over the post of Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, as Herr von Balan must sooner or later return to Brussels. I sent this to Bucher, who would seem to have laid it before the Prince, as Aegidi said to me to-day that the Chief had asked for information respecting its origin. He added: "I will write to the *Montagszeitung*, but I have little hope of ascertaining anything." At that moment I had in my pocket the following rough draft of a paragraph which I had received from Bucher: "The long absence of the Prince from Berlin, and the unfavourable reports as to his health that have been circulated by enemies of his, and also under the cloak of regret by certain friends who hanker after his inheritance, have encouraged the hopes of those who desire a change, which it is well known would not be unwelcome to a certain *exalted lady*." Bucher added: "If you cannot get this into a (non-official) paper, you may perhaps mention it unintentionally as it were to some one who will circulate it in the Press." I secured its insertion, expanded to a somewhat greater length, in the *Hannoverscher Courier*, from which it was copied by other newspapers, such as the *Schwaebischer Mercur* (of the 16th inst.).

December 16th. — During the past few weeks wrote a number of minor newspaper paragraphs upon the Chief's instructions, as

transmitted to me by Bucher from Varzin, and latterly from here. To-day again I wrote a somewhat longer article for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, for which Bucher brought me down directions. It ran as follows: "Last week a number of obscure and confused reports were circulated in a portion of the press respecting the intentions of the Imperial Chancellor on his return from Varzin. According to one of these rumours, Prince Bismarck proposes to resign the office of President of the Ministry of State, and, of course, also that of Minister for Foreign Affairs. Another declares that he is thinking of withdrawing from all coöperation in Prussian internal affairs. It should be pointed out in reply that the foregoing 'of course' is in direct contradiction to the facts. We have it on the best authority that the Prince has no idea of resigning the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs, and, consequently, does not intend to retire from the Prussian Ministry of State. In view of the close connection existing between Prussia and Germany, such a course would be inconceivable, unless he were at the same time to give up the Chancellorship of the Empire. On the other hand, the rumour in question is correct to the extent that the Prince desires to be relieved of the Presidency of the Prussian Council of Ministers. Therefore, in future, if the Emperor approves, the Prince will hold the positions, first of German Imperial Chancellor, together with that of Chief Prussian Representative in the Federal Council, and will remain Minister for Foreign Affairs, and as such retain his seat in the Prussian Ministry. The Prince's reasons for resigning the Presidency of the Prussian Council of Ministers and restricting his share in the administration of Prussia are, in the first place, the absolute impossibility of continuing to devote the necessary energy to the duties of the various offices which he has hitherto held without danger to his health, which, by the way, is now happily restored. Under the 'collegial' system which prevails in the Prussian Ministry, the Presidency requires the undivided attention of a statesman in robust health. The same applies equally to the office of Foreign Minister for the Empire, as well as to the other duties devolving upon the Prince as Imperial Chancellor. As it is, it will be a severe effort for him to perform the duties of those offices which he proposes to retain, and he could scarcely continue to do so in a satisfactory manner if he were not so ably assisted and represented, as he

has hitherto been, by the leading officials of the Empire. Another reason, which may have decided the Prince to ask to be relieved of the Presidency of the Prussian Council of Ministers, may be the desire to bear, in future, a smaller share of responsibility than he has hitherto done, for the policy and decisions of the departmental Ministers, who, in consequence of the collegial system[1] above mentioned, are very largely independent of the President. The Mühler Ministry may be remembered as illustrating the drawbacks of this system. It allowed an official department to be utilised for the furtherance of Ultramontane interests, and its real character was only detected by the Minister President after it had placed all sorts of difficulties in the way of his policy. The relations between Prussia and Germany will not be rendered less intimate by the alteration which the Prince has in view. As Foreign Minister, he has hitherto been the intermediary between Prussia and the rest of Germany. In that capacity, he has held direct communication with the King as German Emperor and has instructed the Prussian representatives in the Federal Council. All these duties and powers must unquestionably, and will, therefore, continue to be performed and exercised by him after his resignation of the Presidency of the Prussian Council of Ministers."

December 18th. — According to a letter from a trustworthy source in Munich, King Lewis recently sent Prince Adalbert a note, of which the following is the substance: The Prince had taken the initiative in the matter of the Gasser Ministry, therefore the discredit attaching to the failure of that attempt must fall upon him. Consequently, his Majesty must in future imperatively forbid all interference by the Prince in State affairs.

January 1st. — I note the following from a communication from Stuttgart, based upon a conversation with Mittnacht respecting the cause of the dismissal of Baron von Egloffstein (till recently President of King Charles' Cabinet), and the situation created thereby. The King is determined to fulfil his duties towards the Empire, but Egloffstein had constantly endeavoured to influence him in a Particularist direction. Since 1870 Queen Olga has been apprehensive for the existence of Würtemberg, and is confirmed in these apprehensions by the

[1] Under this system the Ministers are on a footing of equality, and independent of each other.

ladies of her *entourage*, and in particular by the Baroness von Massenbach as well as by Von Egloffstein, who, at the instance of the Queen, has also been endeavouring to influence the King. The Ministry was therefore obliged to demand the removal of Egloffstein from his post, and to this the King at once consented.

January 21st. — An instructive and entertaining dissertation on the "history of a semi-official newspaper article" might be written from the following entries in my diary. I content myself with providing the material for it, and adding a few words calculated to give a true idea of the origin and value of this much debated work. Rumour had already been busy for a considerable time when the *Kölnische Zeitung* on the 10th instant published the following "disclosures":—

"When the Upper Chamber resumed the consideration of the District Regulations last autumn, the necessity of the reform was so fully recognised in the highest quarters that not only Count Eulenburg, the Minister of the Interior, but the sovereign also had committed himself to that measure. As far back as February, 1872, the Ministry, in view of the attitude of the Upper House, passed a resolution declaring its approval in principle of a reform of the Chamber — a reform which was, indeed, to be based solely on the idea of a Council of State, and not on that of a real Chamber of Peers in the English sense.[1] Naturally such a radical change found many opponents in exalted circles, and even the Liberal party received the proposed reform with relative coolness, being much more interested in an energetic handling of the District Regulations question. At this juncture they regarded the District Regulations as the 'bird in the hand,' and showed little appreciation for the reform of the Upper Chamber, which they looked upon rather as the 'two in the bush.'

"The leading statesman thought differently. He was of opinion that if one secured a twenty mark piece (the reform of the Upper House), it would be an easy matter to get change for it and secure also the thaler (the District Regulations). When, therefore, in the autumn the Upper House again showed itself recalcitrant, its attitude was by no means unwelcome at Varzin, though there was no particular enthusiasm for a creation of peers. In fact something more was desired. Hence the hints

[1] Compare with entry for the 8th of November, 1872.

given to individual members of the Upper House that the Prince, who was then away on leave, was not at all keen about the District Regulations. In short, it looked as if the then President of the Prussian Council of Ministers had no objection to an amendment of the Bill in the direction proposed by the Upper House, and did not want any secret made of his views to certain of his colleagues who were members of that Chamber. If this is an accurate statement of facts, it is easy to conjecture what plans were being laid. The Prince would have had an opportunity of intervening, and ultimately the Upper House would have been confined to that consultative position which he regards as indispensable, if it is to be retained as a living factor in the State. It will be remembered that this scheme was frustrated by a creation of peers. The latter measure was opposed in a memorandum from Varzin, which declared in favour of an immediate reform of the House of Peers. But this proposal was supported only by one member of the Ministry, namely, Count Roon. Count Eulenburg carried the day with the majority of the Cabinet, the hints given to certain members of the Upper House with regard to amendments of the District Regulations Bill having in the meantime reached the ears of the sovereign.

"Prince Bismarck and Count Roon were therefore left together in the minority, although the former, as Minister President, still bore in the eyes of the public the responsibility for a policy which he had expressly opposed within the Cabinet. This was very little to the taste of the Imperial Chancellor, for whom it was a fresh illustration of the drawbacks of the collegial system obtaining in the Prussian Council of Ministers.

"Here, therefore, he hoped to find an opportunity for intervention and reform, while taking up once more the question of reorganising the Upper House, which always occupied the first place in his thoughts. When he left Varzin he was already preceded by a swarm of rumours, all of which turned upon his relations with the Prussian Ministry and an extension of the Imperial Ministries. It almost appeared as if henceforth Prussia's task was to be confined to her domestic affairs. Like the navy, the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Communications, the army seemed fated to fall within the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chancellor, so that the head of the War Office would, as

a Minister of State, occupy about the same position towards the Imperial Chancellor as General Stosch in his capacity of chief of the Admiralty, and Herr Delbrück as President of the Federal Chancellerie. The Emperor's decrees on military matters would never again be countersigned by the Prussian Minister of War, but by the Imperial Chancellor, &c. Concurrently with these changes the Constitution would become more homogeneous, and the formation of a real Cabinet would ensue, with a chief who would be able to pursue an independent and, indeed, a personal policy, and, through the members of the Cabinet, extend it even beyond the limits of that body.

"This plan, however, seems to have never yet been developed officially to its full extent. When it became known in exalted quarters (where the remembrance was still fresh of the hints conveyed to the Upper House respecting the District Regulations) that, in existing circumstances, the Minister President was as such no longer disposed to allow himself to be outvoted and saddled with a policy which was not his own, the question of filling the gap was bound to arise. Count Eulenburg, who had just carried off the victory, and who once before, within the last year, had been selected for a similar position, was naturally one of the first to be considered in the Royal deliberations. At the same time it was beyond doubt that, under the Presidency of Count Eulenburg, who had just secured a victory over Prince Bismarck in the Cabinet on the question of the creation of peers, further coöperation on the part of the Minister for Foreign Affairs in matters of specifically Prussian interest could not be expected. Count Roon's position was different. He had also tendered his resignation on the ground that he had been outvoted, and the sovereign was strongly indisposed to part from him. His appointment as President of the Council of Ministers in succession to the Prince would by no means constitute a disavowal by the King of the Chancellor's views with regard to the reform of the Upper House, as Count Roon had gone hand in hand with Prince Bismarck in this respect. Both men, who had had intimate personal relations with each other for years, speedily came to an understanding. Count Roon, notwithstanding his Conservative leanings, had long since frankly adopted the policy of the Imperial Chancellor. He had already proved his determination in the struggle with

the clergy over the Old Catholic army chaplaincies and the encroachments of the military Bishop, Nanczonowski, and he now made no difficulty about adopting in every particular the programme of the retiring Prussian Prime Minister with regard to the fight against Rome. Both statesmen were in the most perfect agreement in the question of the Upper House. The Civil Marriage Bill had to be set aside for a time without going into its merits, as the Ministers had not yet decided what compensation should be given to the Evangelical clergy in return for the perquisites and fees which they would lose. On the other hand, the Imperial Chancellor was in a position to promise his support for an ultimate increase in the demands made upon the Reichstag for the Army Budget of the Empire, in the event of a second chief of the military administration, whom it was proposed to appoint, being more closely connected as Minister of State with the Imperial Chancellor. In short, an intimate alliance and a cordial understanding were arrived at, by which part of Bismarck's original programme was immediately realised, the rest being postponed, without prejudice, to a future time."

This article was followed on the 14th of January by the following explanation, which appeared in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*:—

"The *Kölnische Zeitung* of the 10th instant contains an article on the secret history of the Prussian crisis, which it prefaces with the assurance that it has been derived from trustworthy sources. We are unable to say how far this assurance is justified in every particular, but we must contradict the statement that the Imperial Chancellor ever encouraged the opposition against the District Regulations in the Upper House, or that any attempt whatever was made from Varzin to open up communications with the existing Opposition.

"After the Upper House had amended certain paragraphs in contradiction to the spirit of the Bill, and to the report of the Lower House, the Prince gave it to be understood that the constitutional procedure should be followed, namely, that the amendments of the Upper House should be dealt with once more in the Lower House, and opposed the idea of closing the session of the Diet after this first hostile vote of the Upper House, and forcing the position by a creation of peers.

"It is true that, on the unexpected resolution of the Upper House rescinding its own amendments, the Prince urged strongly that the reform of the Upper Chamber should be taken in hand at once, before proceeding further with the District Regulations Bill, and he still considers this reform to be one of pressing necessity, though it should not take the form of a consultative Council of State, but rather that of a two-chamber system, under which the Upper House, however, must strike root and carry weight in the country."

On the 20th of January the same organ went still farther in its comments on the disclosures of the *Kölnische Zeitung:* —

"We have already specified some inaccuracies in this article without entering into a complete contradiction of it. We are now in a position to assert that, in our humble opinion, this article contains about a dozen statements of very doubtful accuracy. . . . As, however, the Minister President has expressed in the Diet a wish that the discussion of this subject in the press should be brought to a close, and as we do not intend to run counter to a desire uttered in such a quarter, nor care to enter into a polemic with the Rhenish organ, which usually obtains its information from better sources, we forego all further correction of the contents of the article, to which — as we are in a position to state — official circles are entirely foreign."

And now, what was the real truth of the matter? Let the reader form his own opinion from the following diary entries, remembering, in addition, that Aegidi was intimately connected with the journal last mentioned through Eckart: "*January 12th.* — This evening Bucher told me in reply to my question that the disclosures of the *Kölnische Zeitung* were correct, and that he had himself prepared the memorandum referred to therein." "*January 15th.* — Wollmann informed me this evening that Aegidi had sent the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of the 10th instant to the Prince at Friedrichsruh, adding that he was aware who the author was and giving an assurance that he had had no part in it." "*January 21st.* — Bucher told me this morning that the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* was written by Kruse, the chief editor of the paper, who is now in Berlin, from information given to him by Aegidi, and contains only a few unimportant errors. He, Bucher, had, under instructions from the Chief, written the mild *démenti* published by the

Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung on the 14th instant. The sharper *démenti* that followed, calling the attention of the *Kölnische Zeitung* to the fact that no people had a right to demand a *chronique scandaleuse* from their journals was dictated by the Chief and written by Aegidi, who was thus obliged to ply the rod on his own back."

On reading these various communications, one can hardly help agreeing in some measure with the *National Zeitung*, which wrote as follows on the 20th of January: "We would strongly urge upon the Government the desirability of accepting the advice which we tendered to them recently, namely, that, instead of blaming the press, Ministers should keep their own motley throng of Privy Councillors and semi-official satellites in order. It is notorious that some of our Ministers are at loggerheads, and desire each other's overthrow, and no denials will persuade people of the contrary. They may fight out their battles within the Ministry and in the proper place, but they should not bring their quarrels under the notice of the general public by mysterious insinuations, conveyed through persons who are dependent upon them, and whom they disavow at every opportunity. Altogether we would urgently request the Government to exercise a closer supervision over their semi-official mouthpieces, and not permit them to convert the performance of their official duties into a public nuisance which is steadily growing worse."

February 15th. — Among the documents which I read to-day I found one of last month that was of exceptional interest, as Bucher had added a number of marginal notes, obviously for the purposes of the Chief's reply. It was a despatch from Arnim, excusing himself to the Chancellor, who had charged him with giving utterance in his communications to opinions at variance with the fundamental principles of German policy. The Ambassador asserted that no divergency of views existed between them. The Prince had laid it down that the first task of Germany in connection with France was to prevent the latter being in a position to form alliances, and "he (Arnim) had also kept that end constantly in view." It was only with respect to the means towards that end that he had expressed an opinion differing from the views of the Chief (who regards the maintenance of the Republic and of Thiers as the best course).

The quotations from previous despatches show that there is as little truth in this statement as there was in the assertion that on his return to Paris in October last he had "found the President's position strengthened to a greater degree than was desirable." In reply to this assertion Bucher quotes the following sentences: "It is even now questionable whether Thiers, who imagines that he has come to terms with the agitator (Gambetta), is still a match for him" (Report of the 3rd of October), and "the continuance of the present *régime* only benefits the radical extremists, in whose programme the *revanche* goes hand in hand with their campaign against the monarchies and the entire social system of Europe." (Report of the 13th of November.) Finally, in his present defence, Arnim tries to show that he had formerly "observed, not without uneasiness, that Thiers was making arrangements intended to secure his own power for a number of years." Thereupon the Chief had remarked: "He can hardly have observed that," and Bucher quoted the following passage from a despatch of the Ambassador's, dated the 30th of November: "The power which he is accumulating will pass into other hands (Gambetta's)." Finally, the Count now asserts that he had only recommended "that M. Thiers' prestige should no longer be promoted through the inspired German press." In his report of the 29th of November the Ambassador persists in his opinion that "the President's Government must be regarded as a source of serious anxiety for monarchical Europe." In the despatch of the 30th of November Count Arnim recommends that we should bring about a crisis which should result in bringing either Gambetta to power or a Government which would seek support from Germany. We should then be justified in overthrowing Gambetta, and indeed obliged to do so (according to Arnim's view of the case, on account of his propaganda). He would advise us to withdraw our support from Thiers. In conclusion, according to Bucher's notes, Arnim says, in a report of the 6th of December: "It may be taken for granted that the President will find it very difficult to govern, if he does not make up his mind to lean on the Conservative majority."

February 20th. — It appears from a report of Arnim's of the 17th of last month that he has engaged a certain Lindau[1] to

[1] Brother of the dramatist and critic, afterwards Councillor of Embassy in Berlin.

furnish him with detailed reports from the French press. In a despatch of the 8th instant, the Ambassador states that Lindau has asked not to be deprived of the assistance of Beckmann (who was probably objected to as a suspicious character, or otherwise unsuitable). Arnim strongly supported this request, "in the interests of the service." Lindau must have some one at his disposal who would undertake the more compromising portion of the whole arrangement. . . . Besides, neither Herr Lindau, nor any other official at the Embassy, was in a position to deal with all the material and to furnish full and satisfactory reports on the press, and at the same time to write articles himself for German, Italian, and Russian newspapers. According to Arnim, Lindau also proposed to start a publication for Russia, probably a news agency.

March 3rd. — All these suggestions were rejected by the Chief in a despatch of yesterday's date. He will have no formal Press Bureau, no Russian news agency, and no influence exercised upon the German papers by the Paris Embassy.

I closed my diary at the last-mentioned date, to let it rest for some years. The period which I had set myself, on the cessation of my *direct* intercourse with the Prince, for my further continuance at the Foreign Office, was at an end; and this intercourse had not been renewed. I therefore, on the 28th of February, wrote to the Chief, as follows: —

"MOST NOBLE PRINCE, MOST MIGHTY CHANCELLOR, MOST GRACIOUS CHIEF AND MASTER.

"A few days ago I completed my third year of service at the Foreign Office. In connection therewith I venture dutifully to beg that your Serene Highness will allow me to retire from that service at the end of March, and to return, at first, to Leipzig; and at the same time to take into consideration the concluding sentence in the order of the 15th of March, 1870. The sentence in question says: 'I would add that, in case your present occupation should sooner or later cease, you will be granted an annuity of 1,200 thalers, on condition that you still devote your literary activity to the support of our policy, as you have done during recent years.'

"The employment for which I was engaged here, according

to your Serene Highness' verbal instructions on my presentation to your Serene Highness on the 24th of February, 1870, ceased on the 1st of July, 1871, and with it, gradually, everything in the way of duty that was associated therewith. Notwithstanding this, I have honestly endeavoured to make myself useful; but I must confess to myself that these endeavours would be more fruitful in a different position to that which I now hold.

"In view of the circumstances, I ought perhaps to have sent in the foregoing dutiful petition immediately after the change which deprived me of the honour of direct intercourse with your Serene Highness. Had I taken such a step at that time, however, it might have been misunderstood; and I moreover had still to inform myself fully as to the purport of the instruction to 'support our policy,' in order to avoid possible mistakes; and, furthermore, I was anxious to be able to bequeath to future generations a picture of your Serene Highness' life, painted not only with affection but also with knowledge. The latter has been for years past, and will remain, my sole ambition. It will at the same time afford me compensation for the loss of personal intercourse with your Serene Highness to renew it more actively in the spirit.

"Although during the three years which I have spent here I have certainly not acquired nearly sufficient positive information, I hope I have made considerable progress in freeing myself from political prejudices, as well as in *matter-of-factness*. One can, moreover, never leave off learning, although in other studies a triennium is considered sufficient.

"I may, therefore, confidently hope that your Serene Highness will kindly grant my dutiful petition; and perhaps I may not be disappointed if I add the fainter hope that when I begin the larger biography which I have in view, your Serene Highness will give me assistance similar to that which others would appear to have had before me.

"However that may be, I shall leave here with the same deep sense of veneration for the regenerator of our nation with which I came, and will act accordingly. With this feeling will always be associated a grateful recollection of the days, so happy for me, when I was permitted to have personal intercourse with your Serene Highness, and particularly of the

seven months of the great war, when that intercourse was most direct, and when I sometimes believed myself justified in thinking that I enjoyed your Serene Highness' good will.

"Your Serene Highness'

"Dutiful and devoted

"DR. MORITZ BUSCH."

I read over this paper first of all to Bucher, who approved of it as being "perfectly dignified," and who, on his own suggestion, laid it before the Chief in an open envelope. The Prince read it through carefully, and then said, "I suppose he cannot get on with Aegidi." Bucher replied that he was not acquainted with our relations, and only knew that I was not satisfied with my present position. The Chief then finally ordered: "Do not let it go through the office, but hand it direct to Bülow, who should see me about it."

No reply was received for nearly three weeks. Finally, on the 20th of March, Aegidi informed me that he was instructed by the Prince to say that he wished to speak to me, and that he had fixed 2 P.M. on the 21st for that purpose. When I went upstairs to the Chief's residence at the hour named, I had to wait for about ten minutes in the Chinese salon while Bülow was with him. (The following was written down immediately after this audience, and gives a literal reproduction of all that was said by the Imperial Chancellor.) Mantey, the Chancery attendant, then announced me. As I entered, the Prince, who looked very well and greeted me with a friendly smile, was seated at his writing-table, dressed in his blue silk dressing-gown. He shook hands, and invited me to take a seat opposite him, the same place which I occupied at my first interview in February, 1870. The following conversation then began: —

He: "So you wish to leave? You have written me a letter. (He opened out the letter which lay before him, and I saw that he had marked one passage in blue pencil.) Excuse me for not answering it sooner. You referred to an arrangement which I could not recall to mind. I therefore had the letter sent to Keudell on the subject, and his answer only arrived yesterday. From that it appears that you are within your rights, and I have instructed Bülow to arrange the matter accordingly. You will receive what has been promised to you,

but, according to the understanding, the services to be rendered by you in return will be slight and purely voluntary."

I replied that I would nevertheless be as diligent as possible. I was chiefly taken up with politics, and in supporting *his* policy I should only be obeying a moral imperative. I could not possibly act otherwise, had written in support of his views long before I was paid for it, and so forth. I not only wished to be, but should be soon, in a position to serve him, as in a few months I should take over the chief editorship of the *Hannoverscher Courier*, a newspaper with a circulation of about 10,000. I would only ask for good information.

He: "You will doubtless not wish to receive it through Aegidi, yet it must be so. There must be only one source from which information goes forth."

I: "Well, there is another man here who, if I may take the liberty to express an opinion, is the best of all those who work under you, in character, ability, and knowledge."

He: "And who might that be?"

I: "Bucher. If your Serene Highness would only sometimes let me know through him what you desire and intend. One is accustomed to some extent to your Serene Highness' way of thinking, and can guess a great deal; nevertheless, new and unexpected ideas may frequently arise of which some indication should be given me."

He: "Yes, Bucher. A real pearl! Well, put yourself in communication with him. A very able man, if I can only keep him; but he seems to me to be in anything but good health."

I said that was certainly true, but when he was exhausted he was always able to recuperate by sleep, so that in spite of his hard work he could keep up to the mark. The Prince then continued:—

"But now to come to the second point. You have said in your letter that you wish to write my biography. I have nothing to say against that, and it may even prove very useful. It is not a matter of indifference to me who writes it. A great deal has already been written, but it includes a lot of rubbish. I will assist you in it, although it will not be easy. I am ready to answer all the questions you put to me and to give you every possible information. But first read what has already been written on the subject, and then send me a sheet or two of

questions. Or, better still, write the history of the headquarters in France. You were there. That may prove very useful to me, and also to history. I will give you every possible information. You can also question my sons, and my cousin Charles, whom you know. By the way, an attempt has been already made to levy blackmail upon me. A Leipzig bookseller wrote me that you had kept a diary in which you had written down everything that I had said about the King. Five copies of it were deposited in five different places, and would be published unless I sent him a hundred thousand thalers. I considered you to be a man of honour incapable of that kind of thing, so I wrote: 'Not five groschen!' nor would I set a single policeman in motion on that account. It would certainly not be a matter of indifference to me if it were printed and published, and if all that I had said in my own way about the King and other exalted personages when I was excited and indignant — rightly indignant — were to become known. But the King knows that I had already said much worse things of him. Besides, now that I have resigned the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, I am on a much better footing with him. He thinks now that I can no longer stand in his way and prevent him carrying out his wishes when he has some unpractical idea in his head, or when prejudice makes him reluctant to sanction some necessary measure. But my influence over the other Ministers has only increased with the change. I have never had so much influence upon them as now, and since then I have been able to carry through much more. My health, however, is not good. I was almost six months away last year, and it was not of the least benefit. I am no longer what I was — only a Ziska drum,[1] you know, nothing but the skin."

He paused for a moment, and then returning to the attempt at blackmail, said: "The bookseller wrote once more on the subject, and this time he said he would be satisfied with fifty thousand thalers. I kept to my former decision, however. 'Not five groschen, and not a single policeman.'" With the exception of my own family and a few old friends, I had spoken to no one about the diary I kept during the war, and least of all to a bookseller, at Leipzig or elsewhere. I was quite certain of that; it

[1] A reference to the drum which Ziska, the Hussite commander, ordered his followers to make of his skin, so that he might still terrify the enemy after his death.

was utterly impossible; and I was, therefore, absolutely dumbfounded at these remarks. This, then, was obviously the reason — which I had so long sought vainly to discover — why he had broken off all direct intercourse with me. I had been calumniated, and he mistrusted me. I was more than once on the point of saying that this bookseller was a myth, and, what was more, a gross and palpable invention by some malignant fellow, who found me in his way because he could not use me for the advancement of his own selfish ambition. I checked myself, however, and only said I was thankful to him for his confidence. It was not unjustified. The diary certainly existed, but I had never intended to publish it. It was only for myself, and it by no means consisted merely of what he had said respecting the King and other Princes. "And besides," I concluded, "it was no secret for the Foreign Office. At Versailles Abeken had called attention to it at table, and you observed that it would one day be quoted, '*Conferas Buschii*,' &c."

"Yes," he observed, "that is quite right. I remember now. By the way, you will hardly have cared much for Abeken either."

I replied: "Well, not very much."

"Nor did I," he added. "He was only happy in the atmosphere of the Court and at the Radziwills; and when he had his nephews with him, 'my nephews, the Counts York,' he was quite beside himself with delight. He was useful, however, in his own red-tape fashion. He had such a sackful of phrases that, when I wanted some, he had only to shake it out, and there I had a whole pile."

He then referred for the third time to the fabulous bookseller, who still seemed to cause him some anxiety; and I again assured him that I had no idea of publishing my notes. "After my death," I said, "some fifty years hence, perhaps." "It need not be so long," he replied. "You may even now write on the subject; and, indeed, I should be pleased if you did. And just ask me when there is anything you do not know, or are in doubt about. It should be my epitaph. I should not like to have it done by Hesekiel, though. But you will proceed with tact and discrimination, and in this respect I must trust entirely to you. But you must not let Decker publish it, but some other publisher, or people will notice that I have had a hand in it."

I again observed that the matter was not so simple, as all the material had to be properly collected, sifted, and arranged if it were to be done as it ought to be, and that in the immediate future I should not have the necessary leisure for this purpose. Besides, when I wrote the book I would beg leave to submit the proofs to him sheet by sheet for revision and correction. He agreed, imposing one condition — that I should observe silence respecting his collaboration, "for, of course, that would be to collaborate." I called his attention to the fact that letters with questions and envelopes with proofs would be opened in the Central Bureau downstairs. "Register them, then; writing 'Personal' on the cover, and in that way they will reach me unopened," he replied. With these words he stood up and gave me his hand, said he had been glad to see me again, hoped I would visit him later when I came to Berlin, and repeated that I was right in what I said respecting my promised pension, which I should receive. He then shook hands with me once more, and I took leave, delighted with his amiability, and determined to do everything possible to please him. In the evening I gave Bucher an account of my interview, and on the following Monday I dined with him at a restaurant in Unter den Linden, when we made all the necessary arrangements for the supply of information to me. He had as little faith as myself in the mythical bookseller, but thought it quite possible that some one had tried to palm off that fiction on the Chief, and imagined that in that case it was probably Keudell who had instigated the intrigue.

A day or two later Balan came to my desk, and said: "I congratulate you, Herr Doctor. A pension of 1,200 thalers, and thanks for your services in addition. That is a great deal." Thanking him for his congratulation, I replied that the amount was payable under an old contract, and that if I had not earned it up to the present I should try to do so in the future. A few hours later I received the order, signed by the Imperial Chancellor; and on my going again to the Ministry next morning to take leave of my colleagues, I found the following letter on my writing-table: "The Imperial Chancellor and Princess Bismarck request the honour of Dr. Busch's company on Saturday, the 29th of March, at 9 P.M." Of course I accepted the invitation. It was one of the Chief's Parliamentary evenings, which I had

never yet attended. Next day, at noon, I left Berlin, half sad, half glad. Sad because I was leaving him in whom all my thoughts were centred, and glad because I had recovered my liberty, and should henceforth no longer pace those floors where intrigue crawls at the feet of the honest and unsuspecting, causing them, by knavish and underhand trickery, to stumble and to fall.

CHAPTER II

HERR VON KEUDELL IN THE PRESS AND IN REALITY

THE chief reason why I have not modelled the bust or, now that he is an ambassador, the statue of Herr von Keudell, which I announced in a preceding chapter, is that I have no taste for such work. It may, however, suffice if I arrange the necessary material for this purpose in proper order. Deficiencies can mostly be supplied from the entries in my diary already, or still to be, quoted. With the exception of a few comments, I refrain from expressing any opinion, and allow others to speak — first the press, which entertained friendly relations with him, and then such persons as appear to me to be impartial and well informed.

In October, 1872, the German *Reichscorrespondenz*, the organ of the Aegidi group, published the following sapient commentary on Herr von Keudell's mission to Stamboul: "It is well known that Herr von Keudell is one of Bismarck's most intimate and confidential friends. He always has the entrée to that statesman's inner circle, which he enlivens with his exceptional musical talent. When such a man (such a talented musician!) is appointed Envoy to Turkey, it may be fairly concluded that at this moment we have most important interests there, which can best be safeguarded by one who has been allowed to obtain an insight into Prince Bismarck's masterly plans. In a word, the present political situation offers a good opportunity for preparing an energetic solution of the Eastern question. The wounds received by Russia in the Crimean War have long since healed, France has suffered such military, political, and financial disaster that she cannot realise her aspirations to the possession of Egypt, and the conflicting interests of Austria and Russia in the East have been reconciled by the meeting of the three Emperors. If, therefore, Germany, Russia, and Austria are now prepared to solve the Eastern question, there can

hardly be a single statesman in Europe capable of preventing them. If war be ever justifiable, surely it is when it opens up a new field for civilisation. The Turks, in their manners, customs, and religious views, have remained hostile to modern civilisation, and it would therefore be an important gain for the progress of civilising influences towards the East if they were to be expelled from Europe and driven back into Asia. It would therefore almost seem as if an Eastern war were impending, and as soon as the Sick Man's heirs had entered upon their inheritance the time might be at hand for the countries which now bristle with military preparations to disarm and enjoy an era of peace. The recent hostilities between Montenegro and the Turks were the flaming beacons, heralding an Oriental war. Russia, bearing in mind the (apocryphal) will of Peter the Great, was already endeavouring to induce the Powers with which she stood in a friendly relation to join in a collective note against the Sublime Porte. Thanks to her inborn tenacity in political affairs, she will not rest until she has attained her ends in the East, where presumably she will be found ready to divide the anticipated spoils with her allies. Our present envoy (this is the real gist of this shockingly written and almost idiotic lucubration) is one of Prince Bismarck's most trusted assistants, and he must be regarded as specially suited for the task of securing our interests in the impending division of the inheritance."

At that time a similar opinion of the importance of the gentleman in question was expressed in most of the German newspapers, which I happened to see, those that had no opinions of their own adopting the high estimate contained in the other papers. Foreign journals also, and in particular those of Vienna and Paris, and indeed even the President of the French Republic, regarded Keudell's mission as an event. Gambetta's organ, the *République Française*, wrote: "We announced a few days ago that it was probable Herr von Keudell, Councillor of Embassy, would be nominated to the post of German Envoy at Constantinople, and we called attention at the same time to the great political significance of this appointment. A Berlin correspondent of the Vienna *Fremden-Blatt* confirms the importance of this news. The selection of Herr von Keudell for the post in question, and its acceptance by such a person-

age, is in fact regarded in Berlin as a political event. Doubts were entertained whether Herr von Keudell would accept this post, which had been frequently offered to him, but which he had always declined. The fact of his now accepting it at the urgent desire of the Imperial Chancellor, proves that he must in this instance have yielded solely to considerations of duty of the highest moment. The importance which is generally ascribed to this incident is due to the circumstance that Herr von Keudell is the statesman who has perhaps most frankly supported the policy of a good understanding between Germany and Austria-Hungary in all great questions, and furthermore that he considers every danger to which Turkey is exposed at the hands of Russia as being not only a danger for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but also for Germany, her commerce and her future. He is therefore of opinion that Austria has to keep watch on the Danube, and Germany on the Rhine and Moselle. The *Fremden-Blatt* correspondent adds: 'The choice by Prince Bismarck of this particular diplomatist for Constantinople is a clear indication that he intends to pursue the same policy in the East as Austria-Hungary, and that in view of a conflict he considers an understanding with the Austrian Empire to be necessary for Germany and in harmony with her interests.' "

Arnim, in a despatch dated from Paris on the 9th of January, 1873, writes: "M. Thiers, with whom I was talking a few days ago of the importance of the Constantinople post in the days of M. de Varennes, compared to the present time, observed, '*Maintenant c'est vous qui rendez ce poste important.*' " The Ambassador had no doubt that this observation was made under the impression that German policy in the East had entered upon a more active phase, and added, "It is impossible to decide whether this impression has been gathered from certain mysterious utterances in the press (respecting Keudell's importance and his mission) or from the reports of the French Ambassadors in St. Petersburg, Vienna, and elsewhere."

It was little more than a month after Keudell's departure for Constantinople before the press, doubtless inspired by Aegidi, struck up a new tune in Keudell's honour, which was intended also to promote certain aspirations of a more practical character.

On the 22nd of November, 1872, I sent the following note to Bucher at Varzin: "The *Deutsche Presse* of Frankfort-on-the-Main publishes, in its issue of the 20th instant, the following paragraph: 'Berlin, November 18. It is understood here that it has now been decided to recall Herr von Keudell shortly from Constantinople, in order that he should take up the position of Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, as Herr von Balan is believed to have been again selected for the Brussels Legation.' To my certain knowledge, Engelmann, the editor of this paper, used to receive a subvention from us when he was in Stuttgart, and was up to a few months ago in communication with Aegidi, and visited him in Berlin."

I replied as follows, in the *Hannoverscher Courier*, upon information received from Bucher: "Fresh rumours of an alleged aggravation of the Imperial Chancellor's condition are constantly circulated in the press. I am assured on good authority that the Prince's health is by no means worse, but on the contrary much better than it was some months ago, although in order to complete his recovery he must still rest for some time to come, and avoid the overwork which may await him in Berlin. In the meantime, as I learn from another quarter, the long absence of the Chancellor from the Ministry in the Wilhelmstrasse, and the unfavourable reports respecting his health, which are spread not only by his enemies, but also by certain friends who, whilst affecting regret, are longing for his inheritance, encourage the hopes of those who desire to see a change, which, as is doubtless well known, would not be unwelcome to a certain exalted lady. I have reason to believe that this statement also comes from a trustworthy source. At the same time the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* denied the report of Balan's impending return to Brussels, and of Keudell's intended appointment in terms which were to make it appear that the question was still under consideration. The *Deutsche Zeitung* of Vienna on the 25th of November called attention to this circumstance, observing that the language used amounted to a partial confirmation of the rumour. This was probably written by Aegidi, or suggested by him to one of his journalistic hacks. A more positive statement was now issued from Varzin. On the 21st of December I received from Bucher, through the Central Bureau, the following explanation, which was not to be published in the

Kölnische Zeitung; and which appeared in the *Hannoverscher Courier,* whence it was copied by other papers: "Herr von Keudell has experienced in his own person the truth of the proverb respecting over-zealous friends. In the Casino (in Berlin) it is well known that he regards the next stage in his career to be the Secretaryship of State in the Foreign Office, and that he has retained his residence here. It will hardly have been in accordance with his wishes, however, that a weekly newspaper should have circulated a report, afterwards widely reproduced in usually well-informed papers, that he is to be the successor of Herr von Thile, and that Vienna papers should declare the *démenti* of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* to be a partial confirmation of this report. In view of the trustworthy source from which that *démenti* is understood to have come (for your information, from the Chief), the terms in which it was drafted may be held rather to indicate a desire to contradict, in the friendliest form possible, a rumour, which bore the appearance of an advertisement. Outsiders are the less called upon to busy themselves with the interests of the statesman in question, as the position he occupied at the Foreign Office for many years must have provided him with sufficient connections in the home and foreign press to secure the publication of anything which he himself considers useful."

This was sufficiently plain for those who knew how to read between the lines. Nevertheless fresh indications appeared from time to time in the papers, even late in the year 1873, that Herr von Keudell had renounced none of his aspirations and endeavours in this direction.

So far the materials for an estimate of the statesman in question are furnished by his friends. Let us now hear some of the opinions held in other quarters, and in connection therewith a few facts respecting his diplomatic achievements. They are diary entries reserved for this purpose, which, however, only reach up to March, 1873. Some other particulars will be found in the subsequent chapters.

On the 25th of October, 1872, after 6 o'clock in the evening, in Hepke's room, Bucher told me that Keudell (through his *protégés* in the press, whose number was legion, particularly in South German and Austrian newspapers) gave it to be understood that he was a man of great diplomatic talent, and was

designated to succeed the Imperial Chancellor. I gave vent to surprise at such boundless self-esteem. "No," replied Bucher, "it is after all not quite impossible—in the future. He has cast his lines in the Court of the Crown Prince, and no one knows what she (the Crown Princess) may not be able to do some day. When Thile resigned, he (Keudell) greatly regretted having taken the post at Constantinople. He might have become Secretary of State. Moreover, it was not family considerations that induced Thile to go. Keudell induced him to sign something he had written which offended the Chief, so that Thile was sharply reprimanded. Keudell was the real instigator of the incident which it seems tripped up the future Secretary of State. It would be well to call the Chief's attention to such manœuvres through the press. Nothing of the kind appears in the newspapers which he usually reads, nor in the extracts laid before him. Aegidi takes care of that. You know that he has been brought here in order to direct the press in Keudell's interest, and to prevent anything that might damage him becoming known upstairs. But there is one paper which the Chief reads carefully, and which Aegidi has not yet gathered into his net. That is the *Figaro* (he referred to the Berlin journal). If one were to send to that paper one or other of those articles, such as that of the *République Française*, for instance! It would be well to bring such things to the Chief's notice, as I am afraid he does not yet quite understand our esteemed friend. He does, no doubt, so far as his ability is concerned, but not, I think, his ambition and capacity for intrigue; and he believes in his devotion. He has obviously given him the Constantinople post, which is not very important now, because he was no longer of any use to him here. Some years ago, when he applied for an embassy and his request was refused, he got himself elected to Parliament, and since then he has had one leave of absence after another. His mother-in-law has also said, 'What good is it for them to make permanent arrangements now? He will soon be an ambassador.' He has no political ideas, and, I fancy, not the necessary knowledge or adroitness to carry out the more brilliant ideas of others. He has now secured Radowitz to supply him with the ideas for his Oriental reports. But, in spite of that, I am afraid they will not amount to much."

On Thursday, the 21st of November, I wrote as follows in my diary: This morning Wollmann came to me and read a passage from a letter which he had received from Count von der Goltz, Attaché to the Embassy at Constantinople, to whom he had formerly given lessons. The Count informed him that his chief, Keudell, had instructed him to prepare a memorandum on Turkish finances, and in particular on the tobacco monopoly, within two months. He, Goltz, however, had not the slightest information on the subject. Could Wollmann not send him something of the kind? That doubtless means that our Ambassador at Stamboul wishes to send a report to the Chief in Berlin, probably as his own work. He then orders it from a young, inexperienced attaché, who again requests a subordinate official in the office of the Imperial Chancellor to help him out of his difficulty, and to give information on the matters in question; which will then — as the production of the Ambassador — be returned to its place of origin, Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, ten weeks after the newspapers here had already published all that was wanted on the subject.

On the 21st of December, I wrote as follows: This evening about 8 o'clock Bucher communicated to me . . . the welcome news that the Chief has at length had his eyes opened to the manner in which Keudell managed the press. When Bülow, who has now taken over the administration of the secret service fund in succession to Keudell, reported to the Minister on the condition in which he found it, the latter's "hair almost stood on end with fright." "No detailed accounts whatever," he continued. "Everything jotted down in the loosest way. People with whom the Chief had expressly desired to break off all relations continued to receive their money, five or six hundred thalers a year, indeed often more than that, or they got a lump sum, up to three thousand thalers, in settlement. The deficit which arose in this way amounts to about eighteen thousand thalers.[1] Several of these fellows are not known to any one. Aegidi was questioned, but he declares he does not know them either. They must have been Keudell's own secret and semi-official mouthpieces, whose sole and only business was to promote his private interests by dirty press intrigues."

On the morning of the 15th of January, Bucher showed me

[1] So I understood him to say, but it must have been very much more. See later.

the *Spenersche Zeitung*, with Lasker's speech on the trade done by Wagner and certain noblemen in railway concessions. In the conversation that followed Bucher observed that Keudell, like other members of our nobility, such as Prince Biron and Prince Putbus, speculated in railways, and that the direct line between —— (I could not catch the name) and Stargard was generally called the Keudell railway.

On the 7th of March Bucher again mentioned "our former esteemed friend and colleague," Keudell, he said, wanted by hook or by crook to get away from Constantinople and take Balan's place. That, however, "now seemed to have been averted, as the Chief had said he was not a suitable man for the post, and he would also be unwelcome to the higher officials in the office. He would, however, probably be removed to Rome. Furthermore, Keudell had boasted to a landed proprietor in Neumark, where his wife has an estate, that he would one day be Minister or even Imperial Chancellor. (I am inclined to doubt this, as he is not the kind of man to talk about his plans and hopes.) Recently in a circle which included none of the Foreign Office officials, but a number of other officials, amongst others a Councillor of Finance, Aegidi was bragging about his patron's prospects of obtaining the Secretaryship of State, and prophesied the creation of an Imperial Ministry in which Keudell would have a post. The Financial Councillor shook his head, however, and as Aegidi went on in the same boastful tone, told him plainly that Keudell was not fit for the position of Secretary of State, as he had no political judgment; that he was still less suitable for the Imperial Chancellorship, in which position he would within a month "drive the cart into the ditch"; and that he was about equally unsuitable for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as there he would intrigue with all his might against the Prince. "Aegidi, it seems, was astounded at hearing these views," said Bucher, in concluding his report.

I should observe that Bucher had no reason personally to dislike Keudell. He had suffered nothing at his hands, and had nothing to apprehend from him. He simply loathed his selfishness and love of intrigue, and the impotent conceit with which he flattered himself that he might one day become Imperial Chancellor, whereas he had none of the necessary qualifications for the post.

CHAPTER III

ARNIM'S HAND — VISIT TO THE PRINCE in BERLIN — THE "FRICTION" ARTICLES IN THE *GRENZBOTEN* — VISITS AT VARZIN, SCHOENHAUSEN AND FRIEDRICHSRUH

DURING the years 1873 to 1875 I edited the *Hannoverscher Courier*. I then returned to Leipzig, where I was chiefly engaged on the *Grenzboten*, which was published there. At first my connection with the Foreign Office was not very close, and I only occasionally applied to it for information, which always reached me through Bucher, as arranged. At the end of May or the beginning of June, 1873, the latter wrote me that MacMahon was causing a great deal of work, so that he had been engaged until late at night on the three holidays. A few weeks later it seemed to me that there were signs of an approaching crisis, and I accordingly begged him to let me know how I could best serve the Chief in my paper. On the 27th of June I received the following answer: —

"HONOURED FRIEND, — I have succeeded, during the last half hour before the departure for Varzin, in smuggling your letter of the 25th into the Chief's hands. Here is his answer: —

"'The most timely topic is the friction to which I am subjected, and which has undermined my health. We have the traditions of absolutism existing side by side with the constitutional machine, and, since 1866, in duplicate. The absolute King has the will, or at least imagines that he has, to decide everything for himself. He was formerly, and still is, however, practically restricted by the lack of indispensable knowledge, and the consequent independence of the departments which sometimes takes the shape of passive resistance (to the Chancellor). The State and Imperial Diets also want to determine what is to

be done. And then there are Court influences. The members of the Reichstag are utterly exhausted, and yet they call upon the Ministers, who are no less exhausted than themselves, to immediately set about preparing Bills for the next Session. In the last resort, all the friction arising from this complicated machinery falls upon the main wheel, the Prime Minister, the Chancellor.'

"So far the Chief. I venture to add a few ideas which I imagine will be in accordance with his views. In order to avoid irritating the King, it would be wise to speak of the 'absolute *monarchy*,' and to add a few words in recognition of his former services, suggesting that the old gentleman, who, from the traditions of his whole life, and from his military training, is thoroughly devoted to his duty, and very strict in the transaction of business, will not give his approval until he has thoroughly mastered the subject under consideration. As to Parliament you might say that it contains no stable majority upon which a Government could rely or which could furnish a Ministry. The reasons are: the immaturity of our Parliamentary life; the after effects of a merely theoretical knowledge of politics; conflicting elements produced by the course of events — the Guelphs, Particularism, Ultramontanism; the influence of the University Students' Associations; consequently a crumbling into fractions — a Holy Roman Empire split up into three hundred territories. Perhaps a reference to England. There are some points in my pamphlet on Parliamentarism which deal with Ireland. Conclusion, perhaps: That we have to make up in a few years the leeway lost by our forefathers during centuries.

"If you like, I will look through the manuscript. Please in that case to send it to the Wilhelmstrasse.

"With friendly greetings,

"BUCHER."

"P.S. — I have thought of another conclusion, and would suggest the following: What is to be done? The public calls for Imperial Ministers. They will doubtless come in time, but it is very questionable whether, *Cæteris paribus*, the friction will be less when the Chairman and the Directors of the Imperial Chancellerie are more independent of each other. Two or three people are under the impression that everything would go on

better if they were to succeed the Prince. It is true that nobody believes it except themselves. Therefore, long live the Chief! The Pretenders are Keudell and Arnim. The first bides his time; the second is engaged in active intrigues."

In 1874, when the differences broke out between the Prince and Arnim, I immediately applied to Bucher, and asked for directions as to the way in which I could make myself most useful. I received an answer without delay, and during the month of May various communications reached me. On the 3rd of May, for instance, I received the following sketch of an article for the *Courier:* —

"The opposition of Count Arnim, whom many newspapers puff by heading their articles, 'Arnim and Bismarck,' recalls the condition of things which prevailed under Frederick William III. and Frederick William IV., and which was believed to have entirely passed away to the great benefit of the country. Although it is a popular error to think that the title of Minister Plenipotentiary, which is borne by our Ambassadors, puts them on an equality with the Minister of State, yet, as a matter of fact, Prussian diplomatists have in the past not infrequently behaved as if they were the colleagues of their Chief, and carried on discussions with him such as take place between two Councillors of a Government or members of the bench of Judges. Prussian diplomacy was noted for its lack of discipline. Cases are known in which an envoy returned to Berlin without asking leave, in order to advocate his own views at Court, and to secure support for them in the newspapers. It was not his love of power which led the Imperial Chancellor to set aside a number of Excellencies of that old school, but rather the recognition that such a method of doing business might have suited a time when Prussia was a fifth wheel to the coach of European politics, but was entirely incompatible with the execution of the programme which Herr von Bismarck brought with him in 1862, and has already carried out in a way that will immortalise him long after the names of the malcontent Excellencies may have ceased to figure even in an encyclopædia. It is said that Herr von Blankenburg, a military writer, descended from a Pomeranian family with which Count Arnim is related on the mother's side, makes insinuations in the *Schlesische Zeitung* against Bismarck's

character as a colleague. Our representatives abroad are not the colleagues of the Minister, but rather his agents. In their reports they have sufficient opportunity for expressing their views, but when a decision has been arrived at they have to carry out their instructions in a willing spirit. In a Cabinet (Collegium) any differences can be easily settled without damage to the interests of the country by putting the question to the vote. But when a difference arises between a Minister in authority and a subordinate who does not follow the instructions of his departmental chief, it is difficult to find any other solution in a well-ordered State than the retirement of one or other of them from the service. This may possibly now be the case, and in the interests of the service it may be regretted that it did not occur before."

Shortly afterwards followed a translation of the final passage of an article in the *Hour*, which it may be taken for granted was either written by Bucher or at least inspired by him. It ran: —

"The fact that the Imperial Chancellor has so long tolerated such a censorious and contumacious attitude on the part of a subordinate shows with what serious internal difficulties this statesman has had to contend during his whole career, difficulties which in their full extent will never become known to the public. These were the consequences of a transition from an absolute to a constitutional system of government. Even after the Constitution had been proclaimed under Frederick William IV., many diplomatists continued to follow the traditions of the former absolute régime, opposing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and endeavouring to obtain the approval of the King for their own policy. Such a condition of affairs, which brought Prussian diplomacy into disrepute, so far as its discipline and success were concerned, could not possibly be tolerated by a Minister who entered office with such far-reaching plans as those of Prince Bismarck. Behaviour of this description is also little calculated to succeed with a man of such a straightforward and resolute character as the Emperor William. The efforts made by Count Goltz, and others whom we will not here specify, as they are still living, to play the part of Ministers, met with no success. There is every reason to hope that Count Arnim's endeavours will be equally unsuccessful, even if they be fa-

voured by certain influences at Court, as thus only can the Minister's policy overcome the machinations of ambitious and self-seeking intriguers. It is in the interest not only of Germany, but of all Europe, that this consummation should be achieved, and we have good reason to hope that it will be."

On the 29th of May I received from Bucher the following short letter of the previous day's date: —

"HONOURED FRIEND, — A little piece of news that will give you pleasure. I said to the Chief to-day, 'Busch has reported himself, and wishes to join in the fray. I have gladly taken advantage of this offer, and here are two extracts from his newspaper.' Answer: 'Ah, our little Saxon! Leave the extracts here.'

"When I find any more material I will send it to you, of course, *salva redactione*.

"I am not going to Varzin this time, and with such abominable weather as we are having now I am not at all sorry. Besides, it will do no harm if some of the young bloods who have an ambition to go there try it for once.

"Yours ever."

A few months later I received the following from Bucher: "Harry (Count Arnim) has taken away with him from Paris a number of Foreign Office despatches, and asserts that they are private letters. In the spring the Berlin semi-official journals hinted that he had *become* a rich man."

On the 28th of August Bucher wrote me from Varzin: "The Chief has received diplomas of honorary membership from two Italian lodges, and instructed me to ascertain from some trustworthy person acquainted with the subject what sort of connection he would enter into by a tacit acceptance (he will not send an answer), and what future obligations he might be considered to have assumed. I mentioned you, and received his permission to ask you. Please, therefore, to inform us. The Chief is better than he has been for ten years."

I gave the desired information, and on the 16th of September received the following answer: —

"The Chief desires me to thank you for your prompt reply, which has induced him to pigeon-hole the hocus-pocus" (from

Livorno and some little place, the name of which I have forgotten). "The news about my eyes was something more than mere newspaper gossip. It was part of the press campaign which Delponte (Delbrück), the statesman with the youthful knee-breeches, organised and set in motion in the spring. In 1873 I underwent treatment for the purpose of relieving the pressure of blood to the eyes. There is nothing the matter with me now, thank goodness! but last year's cure is worked up again as they would like to get rid of me. I do not hold with the Manchester principles that have made England so wonderfully prosperous, I do not sniff the Court atmosphere, have no aspirations, and will not join the Camorra of Ministers and Privy Councillors who are constantly engaged in conspiracy against the Chief, but am on the contrary content to serve him. But it is exactly because I have no aspirations that I can say, '*Je m'en fiche.*' Auf Wiedersehen in Berlin in October.

"With best greetings, &c."

The visit here referred to was postponed till the 3rd of November, when I called upon Bucher at his lodgings, No. 39 Lutzowstrasse. I made the following notes at the time of what I considered the interesting parts of our conversation. (. . .) Bucher further remarked . . . that the Imperial Chancellor now appears to have also seen through Delbrück. He now takes into his own hands much that was formerly left to him. In the same way the Chief has for some time past taken Keudell's measure. In his departmental connection with press affairs, Keudell had left a deficit not of 18,000, thalers as he had formerly told me, but of 80,000[1] through the payment of remuneration and pensions to writers of all sorts, in some cases without the knowledge, and in one instance (Bucher mentioned an Englishman named —— as the person in question) against the express instructions of the Prince. This deficit is now being made good by the suspension of similar subsidies for a period of two years. He was not much of a success in Rome either. He had, together with Lonyay, the Austro-Hungarian envoy in Rome, started the project of a visit to be paid by the Emperor William to the Italian Court, by announcing that

[1] I should not be disposed to take the responsibility for this 80,000 without good evidence in support of the statement.

Francis Joseph intended to visit Victor Emmanuel. Bucher added: "Both gentlemen hoped in this way to obtain the rank of Ambassador. But when inquiries were made into the matter in Vienna, it was ascertained that Francis Joseph did not dream of such a thing, and so the plan was dropped in Berlin." I also now obtained a further explanation of Thile's retirement. This was due to an intrigue of Keudell's. According to Bucher the facts were as follows: On the occasion of the meeting of the three Emperors in 1872, Gortchakoff and Andrassy gave Keudell to understand that they would like to receive the Order of the Black Eagle. The Chief, however, was opposed to this, partly on the ground that he did not wish to diminish the value of this high Order by conferring it too frequently, and partly because he wanted to save it up as a reward for future services on the part of those statesmen. Notwithstanding this Keudell used his influence in favour of its immediate bestowal; and when the Emperor had issued the patent or decree to that effect he induced Thile to countersign it. When Keudell afterwards reported this to the Chief, the latter fell into a fearful rage and indulged in violent language against the unsuspecting Secretary of State. Keudell then let Thile know what had been said, with the remark that it was quite impossible for him to repeat some of the worst expressions. Thile thereupon immediately tendered his resignation to the Emperor. Bucher added: "When it was now suggested that Thile should be summoned as an expert in the Arnim trial, I pointed out that he bore the Prince a grudge." The Chief replied: "He has no reason to be angry with me, although he may well be with Keudell. In spite of this and other instances, however, Keudell will still be maintained by the ladies."

On my removal from Hanover to Leipzig in October, 1875, the correspondence between Bucher and myself gradually increased in frequency. In reply to a request of mine for particulars respecting the Prince's family, which I required for an article that the editors of the *Illustrirte Zeitung* wished me to supply, Bucher wrote as follows from Varzin on the 31st of October:—

"It is very possible that your pen can do welcome service. Further particulars when you are in Berlin. Even now it would be very useful and agreeable to Gamaliel (this was the name

under which, as a measure of precaution, we referred in our correspondence to the Chief, at whose feet we had studied politics), if you were to show up the manœuvre of representing Camphausen as the leader and the chief sinner, and Delbrück as following or being influenced by him, while the contrary is, and must be, the case, in view of the character of the two men. D. is cunning, C. blunt. Delbrück allows his bosom friend to be sacrificed as a scapegoat, in order to propitiate the raging waters." And in a letter of the 7th of November, also dated from Varzin, Bucher suggested the following: "A newspaper chorus is trying to make Herr Camphausen responsible for the financial policy of the German Empire. We fancy, however, that Herr Delbrück is both Minister of Finance and Minister of Commerce for the German Empire, and that in these departments he has been given a free hand by the Imperial Chancellor. He, too, has invariably had all the laurels so long as there were any to be plucked. Herr Camphausen has enough to bear in his responsibility for the financial policy of Prussia."

Shortly after I had fulfilled these instructions, the publication of Arnim's pamphlet, "Pro Nihilo," afforded an opportunity for unmasking its author in the *Grenzboten.*

My relations with the Prince assumed a still more satisfactory form in 1877. Keil of the *Gartenlaube* wished to publish a large portrait of the Chancellor, and I was to supply the text. I therefore applied direct to the Prince in a letter, in the course of which I said: "It is not to be a biography, but only one side of your Serene Highness' life and character, treated in a bright, sketchy style. I have asked for time to consider the proposal, and was at first indisposed to undertake the work. But then the following considerations occurred to me. The *Gartenlaube* has at present 300,000 subscribers, and therefore at least a million and a half of readers; and if your Serene Highness should have any idea which you might think it desirable to launch into the world, or anything in the past which you might wish to recall to memory, this periodical would serve as a capital hoarding for purposes of advertisement, particularly as it is not a daily paper, but remains for permanent reference. And then there was another point which seemed to me worthy of consideration, namely, that if I declined the proposal, Herr Keil would probably instruct some one else to prepare the article

who might be less devoted to your Serene Highness. Finally, to meet the wishes of the publisher of the *Gartenlaube* in this respect would confirm the good sentiments which he now entertains, and enable me to gain influence with him for future contingencies.

"If these considerations meet with your Serene Highness' approval, I may, perhaps, hope that you will have a hint conveyed to me as to the treatment of the subject, and at the same time assist me with some materials for my work.

"I did not wish to apply to your Serene Highness before, as I took it for granted that it would be only in Varzin, if anywhere, that you would have leisure to give any serious attention to such matters. If your Serene Highness has no purpose in view which might be promoted by such an undertaking, I shall let it drop, as my only desire in the matter is to meet your wishes, and advance your interests."

I then went on to say that Keil would probably be prepared to accept a series of sketches of the houses and estates occupied by the Prince in the course of the year, and one might combine various political matters with the descriptive part.

Nothing came of the article to accompany the portrait. On the other hand, the series last mentioned was carried out, although in a different form to that which was at first intended. In the meantime, however, I had something more important to occupy me.

On the 4th of April Bucher wrote: "Your request was received in a very friendly way by the Chief, who will give the necessary instructions and see you when you are here. *He is going.* It is not a question of leave of absence, but a peremptory demand to be allowed to retire. The reason: Augusta, who influences her aging consort and conspires with Victoria (the Crown Princess), works up the priests through the Radziwills and others, travels *incognito* from Baden-Baden to Switzerland in order to have tête-à-têtes with Mermillod and other rabid Ultramontanes — an incident which is discussed in every tap-room in Switzerland, and which we know from other sources to be a fact. The successor who seems to have the best prospect, because Augusta desires his appointment, is Schleinitz, the Minister of the Household. You can make use of this, but with that prudence which is imposed by the press laws."

Of course I wrote to Bucher by return of post that in these circumstances I held myself at the Prince's disposal to do everything and anything which lay in my power, and that I would proceed to Berlin within the next few days. At the same time I wrote the first of the so-called "Friction Articles" of the *Grenzboten*. Advance copies were sent to the principal Berlin papers, and were reproduced by them. They caused a general sensation, and excited much discussion and comment, favourable and otherwise, even in the foreign press. This first article ran:—

"THE RESIGNATION OF THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR

"BERLIN, *April 7th.*

"The following sets forth the present position of affairs in the Wilhelmstrasse. It is not possible to say whether it will be the same when your next issue leaves the press a week hence, as it lies solely with the highest authority in the land to modify it.

"The only point that is quite certain is that it is not a question of a longer or shorter leave of absence of our Imperial Chancellor, but rather of his actual retirement from the chief control both of Imperial and Prussian affairs, of a resignation of all his offices which has long been under consideration by the Prince, and has finally been tendered in unmistakable terms. All other accounts of the affair are mere myths and baseless conjectures. The Imperial Chancellor leaves, not, as people say, for a longer holiday than usual, not for a year, but for ever. The only hope, therefore, is that the cause of this decision may yet be removed.

"That cause is not the Prince's condition of health, which might certainly be better than it is, but cannot at least be regarded as worse than it has generally been during recent years. Furthermore, it was not in consequence of the Stosch affair that he tendered his resignation, though it can hardly have been a matter of particular satisfaction to him. Finally —and this ought to be understood as a matter of course— Prince Bismarck does not surrender the helm in order to retire from politics and to devote himself to the occupations and pleasures of a country life, although he thoroughly appreciates

them, and has during recent years sought to enjoy them as frequently as State affairs permitted. A man of his character and his past knows that he cannot follow his own inclinations, but belongs to his country and his people as long as he has the strength and the untrammelled opportunity to serve them.

"These last words give a clue to the true and only cause which induced the Chancellor to ask for his release from office. It consists in the 'friction'—emphasised by him on several occasions, both in public and in private—which has arisen out of the efforts of certain Court circles to use their influence in supporting the Ultramontanes and others, to the grave embarrassment of the Chancellor's policy and action. This friction, exhausting as it is, could and would have been borne, were it not that it threatens from year to year to become a greater hindrance, and that it has already on several occasions prevented the Chancellor from using, as he considers essential, the authority vested in him for the welfare of the country, and in particular for the necessary measures of defence against the pretensions and intrigues of Rome. If the Prince retires, it is the Ultramontanes who will triumph most. Their success will be for us a national misfortune. I shall certainly be in agreement with all true and enlightened patriots in describing as I have the resignation of the statesman who has called New Germany into existence, and who alone appears fitted to complete the edifice he has founded. It will also be due in the main to the influence of a certain exalted lady and of certain circles with which she has so willingly allied herself for years past.

"The Press Law stays my pen. Perhaps you would at some future time accept an article on Petticoat Politics, a subject which, I am sorry to say, is no laughing matter, but deals, on the contrary, with influences more or less successfully active in every Court. Before 1870 people spoke of certain Rhenish influences; during the war there were rumours of communications with a French Monsignor; and meetings with a Prince of the Roman Church, who is one of the leaders of the Ultramontanes in West Switzerland, are discussed by people who must have received their information on the subject from sources other than Swiss tap-rooms. Finally, every one knows the influence exercised, even in the highest circles in the capital, by a distinguished Polish family in Berlin, whose palace is

the rallying point for all the aspirations of the Church Militant.

"But enough for the present. Perhaps even too much. God grant that there may be an improvement! Prince Bismarck goes, if, during this week, things do not take a turn for the better, — a change that does not lie in his hands, and which is hardly to be expected. Prince Bismarck retires to Varzin because he cannot prevent, and does not wish to witness, the preparations that are being slowly made for a pilgrimage to Canossa. What has public opinion, what have the parliamentary representatives of the nation, to say on this subject?"

On Wednesday, the 11th April, I left Leipzig for Berlin by the first train in the morning. I put up at Toepfer's Hotel in the Karl Strasse, and proceeded to Bucher's at 9.30 A.M. At the corner of Dorotheen Strasse, while on my way thither, some one tapped me on the shoulder. Turning round I saw it was Wollmann, who was greatly surprised at meeting me there. . . . I ascertained from him that the crisis on the first floor of No. 76 Wilhelmstrasse was at an end, and that the Chief would remain and only take a long holiday.

We then took a glance in passing at the now-completed Column of Victory, whereupon I took leave of Wollmann, saying that I had to visit a friend, and went on to Bucher's. He was as usual friendly and communicative. His view of the situation differed from that of Wollmann, however. According to him the crisis was only postponed. The Prince had for the present yielded to the desire of the Emperor that he should continue to hold the offices of Chancellor and Minister, and had only requested leave of absence for an indefinite period. He had been quite serious in wishing to resign all his offices, and it was doubtful whether he would return. Count Stolberg had been selected by him as his successor, as he is a distinguished and independent man, who enjoys a certain authority at Court. Bülow, the Mecklenburger, and Hoffmann have been selected as the representatives of the Chief during his absence.

Bucher further related that the condition of affairs at the Baden Court was also "rotten." The Grand Duke, well meaning, but of somewhat limited intelligence, had, during his Italian journey, "fallen under the influence of some of the shrewdest of the Cardinals, and had allowed himself almost

to be persuaded into perpetrating a huge blunder by visiting Pio Nono." The Grand Duchess held with the priests in Alsace, and with orthodox place-hunters like Geffken and Max Müller, and was disposed to conclude peace with the Ultramontanes. This was one of the causes of Jolly's retirement. Bucher went on to say: "The Grand Duchess has also written a letter to papa (the Emperor William), in which she begged that the alleged oppression of the Catholics in Alsace should be stopped. This suggestion was, however, declined."

He confirmed what he had said in this letter respecting the Empress, and added: "In the spring of 1871 our troops should have returned much sooner, but Augusta wished to be present at their entry, and yet to complete her course of baths before she came back. So there was a postponement of four or five weeks, which cost the Treasury nine millions in hard cash. The losses suffered by agriculture in consequence of this delay are incalculable. The promotion of Gruner as Wirklicher Geheimrath ('Real' Privy Councillor), which was given by the old Emperor in a note written in his own hand, without counter signature, was also her work. Gruner is quite incapable, but is a member of the Bonbonnière Fronde.[1] It is just the same with Schleinitz, who is also quite devoid of talent and smartness, and of whom she was thinking as successor to the Chief."

According to Bucher, the Prince's health was again anything but satisfactory. When Bucher told the Chief that if he retired he himself would not remain, the Prince replied that that was a matter he should first consider well, but if he nevertheless decided to resign he should come to him at Varzin. With regard to my visit to the Chief, he feared nothing would come of it at present, as to-day was his wife's birthday, and he would perhaps leave to-morrow evening. At the same time he wanted to report my arrival, even if he were not summoned to the Chief.

I returned to my hotel at 3 o'clock. Leverstroem and his black horse were standing at the door. He handed me a card from Bucher, with the words, "The Prince expects you at 4 o'clock." I hastily donned evening dress and white gloves,

[1] The "Bonbonnière" was a nickname for the Opposition, composed of the favourites of the Empress Augusta.

and, jumping into a cab, drove to 76 Wilhelmstrasse. Then upstairs and through the old familiar rooms. I had to wait about five minutes in the billiard-room, where the billiard-table was quite covered with huge bouquets of flowers. Then into his chamber. He came forward a few paces to meet me, with a most friendly smile, shook hands, and said he was glad to see his "old war comrade" once more. I had then to take a seat opposite him, while he sat with his back to the first window. Our conversation lasted till 5.30, that is to say, nearly an hour and a half.

He first thanked me for the *Grenzboten* article, and then said: "It would be well, however, if such communications were repeated, and the origin of the crisis discussed at length."

I replied: "That is my chief reason for coming here — to get materials and information for such articles. The more I get the better. The *Grenzboten* is absolutely and unconditionally at the disposal of your Serene Highness."

He then gave me various particulars concerning the Court clique and its aristocratic followers in the *Kreuzzeitung*, and among the high officials who had been shelved as well as others who were still in office, and their manifold machinations, intrigues, and cabals against him, at the same time giving me an account of his own measures. He drew a detailed picture of the Empress, who opposed him not only in his struggle with the Clericals, but also in purely political questions. "She has always desired to play a part," he said, "first with the Liberals and the friends of enlightenment, now with the Ultramontanes and the orthodox Court preachers. She has become pious now that she is growing old, and has in consequence taken up with the Clerical circles on the Rhine. If she is not already a Catholic, she will be so very soon. We know that she has negotiated with Mermillod in person, and formerly — during the war — with Dupanloup by letter. She has written to Catholic associations that she disapproves of the ecclesiastical laws, and these letters have been published. And then the defence of the Ursulines. Like Eugen, *i.e.*, in 1870, she has, as I subsequently ascertained, issued direct instructions to officials. The Emperor is old, and allows himself to be influenced by her more and more. He has never had that strength of character with which many people credit him. I remember in the period of

conflict when things were at the worst that he returned once from a summer resort, where his wife had been frightening him about the Opposition. I went to meet him at Jueterbogk, joining him there in his carriage. He was very depressed, was thinking of the scaffold, and wanted to abdicate. I told him I did not believe things were so bad. Prussians were not Frenchmen, and instead of thinking of Louis XVI. he should remember Charles I., who died for his honour and his rights. If he were to be beheaded, he would also die for his honour and his rights. So far as I was concerned I too would willingly suffer death in case it were necessary. There I had caught him by the sword-knot and appealed to him as to a King and an officer. He became more cheerful, and by the time we reached Berlin he was again quite reasonable. In the evening he joined a large company, and was in excellent spirits. This time when I asked to resign he did not wish me to do so. But in acting in this way he only pities himself — what should he do then? — and has no pity for me. I have yielded, — for the present, — but before I come back I will put my conditions."

I said: "And they must agree to them. They cannot get on without you. That would only lead to follies and blunders and misfortunes, and they would have to crawl to you on their knees to beg you to return."

He then came back to the subject of the Empress, and said: "She also interferes in foreign politics, having taken it into her head that it is her vocation to plead everywhere in favour of peace — to be an Angel of Peace. She therefore writes letters to foreign Sovereigns, to the Queen of England for instance, which she afterwards mentions to her consort, who, however, says nothing about them to me. Part of this correspondence is carried on through one of the minor officials of the household. Schleinitz, the Minister of the Household, after having proved his utter incapacity in foreign affairs, has obtained his present post through her Majesty's favour. But there, also, his success leaves much to be desired. As he knows nothing of the administration of property, he only manages to secure very insignificant revenues from the Royal estates. But as he has always been a member of the Court opposition, of the *Boubonnière*, he is in high favour with Augusta. In 1866 his salon was the gathering place of the Austrians, and in 1870 the French

were constantly at his house, and made it their rendezvous. Whenever an intrigue against me was on foot, he was certain to be in it. Gruner is another member of the clique, a man who is not only incapable but passionate. She obtained his promotion on the Emperor's birthday by a mere written note without the counter-signature of a Minister, as a reward for his hostility to me. Then we have Stillfried, Count Goltz, and Nesselrode, who all belong to the *Bonbonnière*, and intrigue with Augusta against me and my policy, and seek to turn our Most Gracious against me. Goltz, a general of cavalry, is a brother of the former Prussian Minister in Paris, whose legacy of hatred he has entered upon without any *beneficium inventarii*. Nesselrode, the Master of the Household, is a well-known Ultramontane, whose relations with Gehlsen's *Reichsglocke* came to light on the prosecution of the latter, and who had a seat and a vote at the editorial conferences held at Olbrich's.[1] Immediately after that miserable scandal he received one of the highest Orders, thus confirming the fact that that disreputable sheet was favoured by the palace. Stillfried, the great authority on heraldic and ceremonial matters, also a Catholic, was at first moderate, but later — probably in consequence of the Empress's lectures — went over to the fanatics. And finally, you should not forget the two Radziwills, the former secretary to Ledochowski, and the chaplain. Both belong to the Centre party, and both are welcome guests at the *Bonbonnière*. The newspaper in which they now deposit their poison — I mean the Evangelical section of the clique — is the *Kreuzzeitung*. Nathusius, the editor, who for a long time past has tried to turn his readers against the Government and the Emperor, has at length been condemned for libel against Ministers.[2] He has been pardoned by his Majesty on the intervention of the offended parties — certainly in consequence of the Empress's intercession. You can say that in view of these facts it may be taken for granted that I actually made the statement attributed to me, namely, that my greatest difficulties have

[1] Olbrich's was a Berlin beerhouse, where the editors of the *Reichsglocke* and their distinguished patrons were accustomed to meet for the purpose of preparing their articles against Bismarck.

[2] An error on the part of the Chief, as I subsequently learned. The offence in question was not the libelling of Ministers, but insults to a Consistory.

arisen from having to undertake a diplomatic mission to our own Court. And you may add that Prince Charles is not well disposed towards me, and exercises an unfavourable influence upon his brother. When you speak of the Evangelical section of the *Bonbonnière* you may use the expression: 'The dregs of the *Kreuzzeitung* faction and of the irreconcilable Opposition in the Upper House.'" We went on to discuss his opponents, and in particular the Privy Councillors and diplomatists who had been retired. In the course of conversation he dealt fully with Arnim, his opinion of him being very similar to that expressed by Bucher.

At this moment his wife entered the room and handed him some medicine in a cup which she held in her hand. He introduced me as a "fellow-campaigner at Versailles."

When she had gone he continued his explanation: "Then in addition to the Court there are other causes of friction that hamper and worry me. The Ministers will not modify their views in harmony with my plans, — in matters affecting customs and taxation, and in the railway question, — particularly Camphausen and Delbrück. They will not take up my ideas, but twist and turn and procrastinate. I must, forsooth, draw up Bills for them and the Reichstag to criticise. Let them do it; in the first place it is their business, and they have the necessary technical knowledge, so they should show what they are capable of. There is in this respect a great deal to be altered, which has been postponed up to now, as other matters took precedence."

Finally he mentioned the Reichstag as a source of friction. The National Liberals, he said, meant well, and in this connection he mentioned Wehrenpfenig, but they could never forego criticism.

I said everything he had told me would be carefully stored in my retentive memory, and gradually made public in an explicit, vigorous, and prudent way. I then put forward my plan for a sketch of his houses and estates for the *Gartenlaube*, begging permission to inspect Varzin, Schoenhausen, and Friedrichsruh, and requesting introductions to the Prince's officials at those places. He consented to everything, and said: "You must come to Varzin when I am there myself. I will there give you letters for Schoenhausen, and Friedrichsruh, and also for Kniephof, to my cousin who now owns the place, as you should see it too."

I remarked that he looked in better health than I had expected. "Yes," he replied, "others think so, too. People misjudge me in three respects: they consider me healthier, wealthier, and more powerful than I really am, — particularly more powerful; but you know how much truth, or rather how little truth, there is in that." He seemed to have exhausted all the necessary topics, so I rose to take leave, when he accompanied me through the two salons to the room occupied by the attendants, who must have been surprised at seeing this. At least that was the effect made upon good old Theiss, who was on duty there, and who whispered as he helped me on with my overcoat: "Good Heavens, Doctor, an hour and a half with his Serene Highness, who then sees you as far as the door of the antechamber!"

Next morning I paid a visit to the Central Bureau, where my acquaintances were exceptionally friendly — of course I again enjoyed the Prince's favour. Holstein begged me to come to him, and had a long conversation with me. He said I had been quite different to Aegidi; every one had read about me; and yet I had never pushed myself forward. Little influence was exercised over the press now. In the long run, however, that would not do, and it had already occurred to him whether I might not return. But Bucher was of opinion that I should not be willing to do so. I replied that, as a matter of fact, I did not wish to; but if the Prince desired it I would regard that as a command. Finally, he was good enough to give me a "partout" card of admission to the Reichstag. I went there, heard Haenel and Bennigsen speak on the crisis, and then strolled off to Ritter Schulze's, where I took lunch. On returning to my hotel, the porter handed me a note from the Prince, inviting me to dine with him at 6 P.M. Went there in a frock coat, as requested in the note, but wearing a smart white tie and white gloves, while etiquette prescribed a black tie and coloured gloves with a frock coat. I was soon to be reminded of this breach of propriety.

The table was laid in the first of the two back rooms. When I entered only the Princess, Countess Marie, Count Bill, and a lady with a Polish name were present. The Russian General Erkert came afterwards. The Princess, noticing my white necktie, exclaimed, "Herr Doctor, how smart you have made

yourself!" I do not remember what I said in reply, as I suddenly became conscious of my sin and felt somewhat out of countenance. Luckily the Prince soon appeared, and we went to table, the general taking in the lady of the house, while I had the honour to give my arm to the daughter. A beautiful silver vase set with old and new silver coins stood in the centre of the round table. I sat between the Princess and the Countess, the Russian being on the other side of the Princess, while the Prince sat opposite me. Then came the dainty little Polish lady and Count Bill, next his sister. We drank Bordeaux, Burgundy, Rhine wine, champagne, beer, and finally chartreuse, which the Prince praised as being very wholesome. The conversation was lively and unconstrained. The general related some pretty stories of the simplicity of the Russian soldiers. The subject of the last war then came up, and I reminded the Chancellor of Herny, where he was quartered in the garret of a farmhouse; of Clermont, where in the absence of a bedstead he was obliged to sleep on the floor; of Madame Jesse's house, the goblin clock and the historical table. He related a number of anecdotes on the same subject, among other things his interview with madame, and the way in which Hatzfeld had "rescued" the table, replacing it by one exactly similar.

The Prince then turned the conversation upon Kings and Princes, and the way in which they regarded the world.

"They live above the clouds," I said.

"How do you mean?" he asked.

"Above the clouds of courtiers and other menials," I replied, "separated by them from the ideas and feelings of other mortals, whose wishes and opinions only reach them in a mutilated or adapted form, and sometimes not at all."

"The comparison is a good one," said the Prince. "Gods, and yet very human. They ought to be better educated, so that they should know how things look here below, how they really are. Not appearances, but truth. The great Kings have always clung to truth, and yet have suffered no loss of dignity."

Education in general was then discussed, and the Prince observed, *inter alia:* "I was not properly educated. My mother was fond of society, and did not trouble much about me. Afterwards I was sent to an educational establishment, where

too severe a system prevailed, insufficient and poor food, plenty of hardening, thin jackets in the winter, too much compulsion and routine, and unnatural training." I said that too much severity in schools was not good, as after the restraint was removed young people were apt to abuse their liberty, and even while the restraint lasted nature sought relief in underhand ways. The Saxon Fuerstenschulen were an example of this, their pupils turning out the wildest of all University students. He replied that was so; it had been the case with him too, when he went to the University at the age of seventeen. "It was different," he continued, "with my sons. They, on the contrary, have had too good a time. They were too well fed, as is customary in the houses of diplomatists, Herbert also afterwards, as he spent his apprenticeship in such houses." Herbert had, in the meantime, joined the party, when his father introduced me to him; he remembered very well having met me at Pont-à-Mousson and Versailles.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock the Princess, the Countess, and Count Herbert retired, returning after a while, the ladies in evening toilette and the Count in a dragoon uniform, as they were going to a Court soirée. The Polish lady disappeared with them. At the desire of the Prince the rest of us remained and continued the conversation, smoking the while, the Chancellor using a long pipe, while another waited ready filled alongside his chair.

At 10 o'clock the general rose, and I followed his example. When we had reached the door, however, the Chief said: "Please wait for a minute, doctor, there is something more I would like to tell you." He then added a few particulars to what he had said on the previous afternoon respecting the Empress and her *Bonbonnière*. I asked, "How has Thile acted in this affair? I have always considered him a decent sort of man." He replied: "That is not quite the case. He did not behave very well in the Diest-Daber matter," which he then proceeded to explain. I again promised to make diligent use of what he had communicated to me on the previous day. It would be necessary to keep on constantly repeating it, and not to let it drop too soon — it should have young ones, as he had said formerly to me respecting one of my articles. "I shall be very grateful to you for doing so," he added. I then thanked him once more

for his confidence, and said I would let myself be cut to pieces for his sake, as for me he was like one of God's prophets upon earth. He pressed my hand, and dismissed me with the words, "Auf Wiedersehen in Varzin!" Blessings on his head!

Immediately on my return to Leipzig I wrote the second "friction article," based on the information I had received in Berlin.

"THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR ON LEAVE

"BERLIN, *April 19th.*

"The Imperial Chancellor has taken leave of absence. His resignation has not been accepted, and he has not insisted upon it. The crisis is, therefore, at an end. The Prince will return, although probably somewhat later than usual. Restored by his course of baths, country air, and release from current affairs, he will again take the helm, and all will be as it was before. Let us be thankful that it is so!

"The foregoing is roughly the view of the situation which finds expression in the press. Permit me to submit another view. The crisis is not at an end, but only postponed. The question whether Prince Bismarck is to retire from the service of Prussia and the Empire has, to the relief of all who wished well to both, been answered in the negative, but that answer is only for the time being. Those who are acquainted with the situation still regard the future with anxiety. It is by no means certain that the Imperial Chancellor will return in that capacity, and if he does it may be taken as certain that things will not remain as they were before. In other words, the Prince will lay down his conditions before he resumes his official duties, with their aims and burdens, and these conditions must be agreed to if we are to see him again at work as of old.

"Public opinion can render some assistance here. It will do well not to rest content with the present situation, but, on the contrary, to show a clearer perception than it has hitherto done of the grave causes which have mainly produced this lingering and protracted crisis, and to give it unremitting and persistent expression in the press, at the same time urging the removal of those strangely abnormal conditions under which even a Bismarck cannot work effectively, much less any such successor as has been suggested within the past few weeks,

however distinguished, independent, and tactful he may be. The press may do good service if it will pay attention to the following hints, and give them the widest possible publicity.

"Erroneous views are held of the Chancellor's position in many respects. Just as he is considered from his appearance to be more healthy, and from his extensive estates to be more wealthy, than he is in reality, so there is a widespread misconception as to the influence which he exercises, inasmuch as it is usually thought to be unlimited. That is not at all the case. The Prince has to reckon with the Ministers, over whom he has not the authority which he ought to enjoy as their Chief, and whose opposition has already on several occasions hampered his schemes. It has also happened that high officials in his own department have entertained entirely conflicting views, and have both openly and secretly opposed him, and indeed even tried to undermine his authority. Count Arnim, who, after having shunned his earthly judge, seems to have suddenly fallen under the judgment of God (he was already suffering severely from diabetes, of which he died in 1881), was the worst of this melancholy species of diplomatists, but was by no means the only specimen of his class. A whole series of Excellencies and others who had been shelved owing to incapacity or some other failing, or for reactionary or Ultramontane leanings, &c., made opposition, conspired and intrigued, always zealously, often with the foulest weapons, and sometimes in combination with the lowest associates, against the greatness which overshadowed them. They attempted to cross the Chancellor's plans and to blacken his character, or, at least, to irritate him, and thus to injure his health. A section of the party in the Reichstag, upon which the Prince relies to support his measures, made difficulties and curtailed his influence inasmuch as — certainly with the best intentions — they regarded criticism as the pride and first duty of a popular representative. But the main obstacle is that which I pointed out a fortnight ago, and it will perhaps remain the Prince's chief difficulty, unless public opinion opens its eyes and takes more vigorous and persistent action. That obstacle is the anomalous condition of affairs at Court, where, in a certain exalted quarter, the dregs of the *Kreuzzeitung* clique, and the irreconcilable opposition in the Upper House, have combined with Ultramontane poison out of the sewers of Rome.

There fresh troubles are constantly being prepared for the Chancellor, fresh difficulties are being placed in his path, now at one point and then at another, and the constant encouragement given to his opponents retards the victory which otherwise would doubtless have been his before now.

"We must forego for the present a more minute description of this *Bonbonnière* full of *Kreuzzeitung* comfits and Jesuit sweetmeats. Nevertheless attentive newspaper readers may be reminded by a few instances (which shall be indicated with as much indulgence as possible) of the manner in which the forces, aims, and intrigues of this Court faction have made themselves felt during the last few months. It should be mentioned, by the way, that its mines have been laid for a considerable time past. The chief editor of an important reactionary paper, which has endeavoured for many years to alienate public opinion from the Government and the Emperor, was at length prosecuted and condemned for libel against Ministers. (Incorrect. See last note.) This man has been pardoned on the petition of the offended Ministers, owing to the intercession — well, let us say — of an exalted lady. (According to another version, at least released.) The same exalted lady wrote letters to Catholic associations, which were afterwards published, in disapproval of the ecclesiastical laws. Two members of the distinguished Polish family recently mentioned, both belonging to the Centre fraction, one a former secretary to Ledochowski, and the other a priest who was engaged in the notorious Marping farce, are welcome guests in the circles that gather around this lady. According to all appearances direct instructions were issued by her to the authorities in the affair of the Ursulines. This may perhaps recall to many of your readers Eugénie's action during the war. A Count and Master of the Household who is known as a zealous Ultramontane, whose relations to the *Reichsglocke*[1] were disclosed during the prosecution of that paper, and who took part in the conferences of the editorial staff at Olbrich's, received immediately after that scandal one of the highest Prussian Orders — a recognition which few can explain, and which, of course, no loyal reader can account for, except by sup-

[1] A newspaper edited by Joachim Gehlsen, a decayed journalist, in coöperation with certain distinguished reactionaries. Its main object was to lampoon and calumniate the Imperial Chancellor.

posing that the achievements of the *Reichsglocke* were regarded with extreme favour in certain circles.

"How does the reader like these incidents, to which many others equally striking might be added? That they were distasteful to the Imperial Chancellor must, of course, be obvious. It is, indeed, quite possible that he may have made use of the expression attributed to him, namely, that his greatest difficulties arise out of his having to undertake a diplomatic mission to our own Court."

On the 21st of April Bucher, to whom I had communicated an outline of this article, wrote as follows respecting the former article: —

"In the opinion of the prescribing physician all the ingredients should not be administered in one dose. I fear the elixir may be too potent, and would suggest, if it is still possible, that two doses should be made of it, and that a different medicine should be given in the interval. The latter could be prepared from the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of the 15th ('Plans of Reform') which was written by Camphausen, and the answer in the *Post*, which I wrote from instructions received upstairs. Camphausen, it may be mentioned, is a very many-sided man. He not only belongs to the Manchester School, but has relations with the Castle at Coblenz, and is at the same time in high favour with a Liberal and enlightened circle (that of the Crown Princess Victoria), where he is regarded as a corner-stone of Constitutionalism and a sound Protestant. You will shortly receive the flaying (of Schleinitz) and the paragraphs on the branch (of the Berlin *Bonbonnière*) at Karlsruhe. P.S. — Speaking in the Reichstag two years ago, Camphausen said, 'The word *impossible* is printed in very small characters in my dictionary.'"

I based the third article of our series upon this and another letter from Bucher of the 26th of April. This article, which appeared in No. 19 of the *Grenzboten*, ran as follows: —

"FURTHER FRICTION

"BERLIN, *April 26th*.

"In the article 'The Imperial Chancellor on Leave' attention was called to the fact that besides the opposition of the

Court there were other sources of friction that worried and wearied the Prince, exhausting his powers, hampering his work, and thus stimulating his anxiety to be released from office. We select for consideration to-day those that lie in the attitude of certain authorities working immediately under him, or more correctly associated with his work, in respect of various important reforms which the Prince has greatly at heart, but which are making no progress towards fulfilment. In other words the Imperial Chancellor when he sought to resign had been disappointed of the coöperation and support which he had expected from one of his colleagues (Camphausen was meant) in connection with some measures affecting the Customs and commercial policy and taxation — measures which he regards as indispensable, but which have hitherto not been dealt with.

"'When a sportsman becomes faint and weary,' said the Prince a few months ago, in conversation with a party of friends, 'and is about to go home, he will not alter his mind because he is told there is a covey of partridges near at hand. It would perhaps be different if he were told that there were some pig in the next glen. The chance of a boar hunt would revive his strength and courage.' So goes the story (not quite accurately, by the way), according to an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, written apparently by a member of the Minister's immediate *entourage*, and certainly emphasised by the sarcastic tone in which it frequently deals with the difficulties in the way of reform. The simile is so far to the point that the wild boar referred to represented certain reforms in the Customs, and in the fiscal and railway system. But the correspondent omitted the real moral of the story. When he says, 'As soon as Prince Bismarck is in a position to submit complete and well-founded schemes calculated to withstand criticism, there will be no longer in our opinion any difficulty in finding in the Reichstag a large and resolute party in favour of such reforms of our commercial policy'; and when he makes a similar assertion respecting the taxation laws and the railway system, he transposes the actual relations of things and circumstances. There is no question of the Imperial Chancellor submitting measures which would have to run the gauntlet, first, of the Minister to whose department they properly belong, and then, of the Reichstag. The Prince has no intention of preparing such measures himself.

He is anxious for these reforms, but he has no idea of embodying them himself in Parliamentary measures to be submitted to the Legislature. He expects his colleagues to undertake that work, and has informed them so. That he has failed to induce them to take any such initiative is, as the *Post* of the 19th assures us — we believe on the best authority — one of the reasons that have led the Chancellor to send in his resignation.

"According to the *Post*, the true moral of the above story is to be found in the words which the Prince added on that occasion: 'He could only remain in office if his colleagues took up the reforms in question of their own motion, and independently.' Otherwise, he wished to retire, as he did not feel strong enough to bear the strain of Ministerial crises, together with a breach with his old colleagues, and the necessity of accustoming himself to new men. It was unfair to ask him to do all the work, and submit it to the criticism of a departmental chief bent on another course. (The 'other course' referred to was doubtless that of the Manchester School.) He had laid his own course in the railway question, and had ostensibly received the approval of all his colleagues. When it came, however, to the carrying out of his proposals he met with the customary passive resistance, and the usual refusal — just like the Progressive party, whose invariable reply was, 'No, not in that way, but in another way' — that is to say, in some way that would never work. On that occasion the Chancellor said: 'What I have to do is to ascertain whether my present colleagues will, of their own initiative and free conviction, carry out those reforms which I regard as indispensable, in such a manner that they will take the responsibility for me, and not I for them. If they would only do so, I would willingly continue my credit and my name to the firm, in order to carry through these reforms.'

"The writer in the *Kölnische Zeitung* has expressed himself so confident with regard to the reforms desired by the Prince, that one may perhaps inquire why the same success which he promises if the Chancellor submits them to the criticism of Ministers and of the parties in the Reichstag should not attend them if the colleagues, whose business it is, were to draft these measures and recommend them to the acceptance of the Legislature. The particular colleague who, as already observed, had

no small share in preparing the article in question, is as self-confident as he is many-sided. He seems to possess power and influence. Two years ago he said in the Reichstag: 'The word *impossible* is printed in very small characters in my dictionary.' He has connections with the Castle at Coblenz, and is at the same time highly appreciated in certain exalted circles in Berlin, where people are most liberal and enlightened, as a corner-stone of Constitutionalism and a pillar of Protestantism. Why does a man of so much importance and ability decline to take the initiative of the reforms which the Chancellor has at heart? Is it, perhaps, that he fears to jeopardise one side of his many-sidedness, or to renounce thereby his past, his principles, and his connections as a member of the Manchester School?

"And now to another point, which requires refutation, viz., the rumour mentioned in a leading Berlin paper of friction with another department. The *National Zeitung* of yesterday, in an article on Moltke's speech, says it doubtless referred to a conflict between considerations of military and political necessity. It might be inferred from this insinuation that the Imperial Chancellor was opposed to the strengthening of the German garrisons in the neighbourhood of Metz. Such a supposition would, however, be erroneous. On the contrary, the Prince has, in this respect, not only been in complete agreement with the highest military authorities, but has done everything in his power to support and promote their views. For years past they have asked for better railway communications with Lorraine and more troops in that part of the Empire. It was impossible to do anything in the former direction until the Chancellor had exercised sufficient pressure to overcome the obstruction of the Ministry of Commerce, and compelled the Minister to proceed with the construction of the line between St. Ingbert and Saarbruecken, a connection which the *spiritus rector* of the Prussian railway system had postponed for years out of consideration for petty trading interests. The Prince has also done all he could to secure an increase of the garrison in Lorraine. This increase is, however, understood to have remained in abeyance, as it still does, because in a non-official, but exalted and influential quarter, it is feared that the French might feel hurt or offended — *i.e.*, the gentlemen who speak that language so fluently, who for the most part wear beautiful black whiskers and profess the

Catholic religion, which, of course, is much more distinguished than the Evangelical!

"P.S.—A member of the Reichstag, who is at the same time an intimate friend of the Imperial Chancellor, has felt constrained to issue a warning in the *Magdeburger Zeitung*. against our articles. He would be surprised if he knew with what composure we have read his communication. Of course, ignoring all further contradictions of this kind, we shall continue to say what we *know*, and *we shall obtain credence for it.*"

I may add that the member of the Reichstag and friend of the Prince here referred to was Amtsrath Dietze (Barby), and that he certainly issued his warning against the friction articles without previous communication with the Chief. Of course he acted in good faith.

A few days after the publication of the *Grenzboten* article Bucher wrote me:—

"Exception has been taken in a quarter upon whose approval everything depends to the closing words of the 'P.S.' It is thought that they sound as if the Chancellor had spoken through the writer of the article. It would be well to avoid such an authoritative tone. Thus far the message I have to deliver. I fancy such an impression would not have been made if the *Magdeburger Zeitung* could have been read at the same time, but I could not lay my hands upon it. Of course it would not be desirable to state expressly that such an impression is incorrect. Perhaps it may be possible to efface it indirectly by saying something to the following effect." He then gave me a recipe, in accordance with which I prepared as follows the fourth article of our series, which appeared in the next number of the *Grenzboten*:—

"IN EXPLANATION

"BERLIN, *May 6th.*

"We observe that the second of our articles on the Chancellor crisis has been judged in very different ways by the press. The *Germania* has discovered amongst other things that it is directed against the Empress Eugénie. Other papers were astounded at information which they received from us for the first time. Others, again, considered themselves so fully acquainted with the truth, which is generally known to lie at the

bottom of a deep well, that they declare the contents of the article to be untrue, or — as some with discourteous indignation chose to express themselves — invented. Finally, another section of the press, including the chief organ of public opinion in a small German capital (this referred to the *Weimar Zeitung*), found that the bulk of what we had stated was long since known. In spite of its unfriendly tone towards us, we must do that organ the justice of acknowledging that its statement is correct. In other words, we do not enjoy the power of slipping through keyholes, we cannot make ourselves invisible in order to spy out what happens in otherwise inaccessible spheres, and finally we have no devil upon two sticks at our disposal to remove for us the roofs of palaces and clubs. We have nothing more than a tolerably good memory and the habit of collecting material. In dealing with what we have read in the press and heard in conversation, we act pretty much as the botanist does when collecting specimens in upland meadows and lowland marshes — we place carefully side by side the specimens we have found scattered in various directions and examine their affinities, noting how they complement each other. To our great surprise we now find that the result of this surely very simple process has produced here and there the impression that we possess magical powers, and that we had brought profound secrets to light. It is certainly quite true, however, that we have said nothing that attentive readers with a certain capacity for comparative analysis and sound deductions have not been long ago aware of. Why, then, all this excitement?

"In conclusion, if we trusted too much to our memory in some details of minor importance, and misunderstood insult for libel or Ministers for members of a High Consistory, we must in future be more careful to label correctly the various specimens in our collection."

During this week I received from Bucher nearly a dozen letters with suggestions, warnings, explanations, and supplementary matter, but principally with raw material for further articles connected with the three subjects treated above. On the 27th of April he sent me over two sheets of material for the article, "A Branch of the *Bonbonnière*, or the Causes of the Change at Baden." He added: "I can only give you the ideas without any indication of the style in which they should be

expressed. I feel that it will be difficult to put it into proper shape." On the 30th I received from him the warning: "Do not on any account take up with the *Post*. It is intimately connected with R. D. Z. (Radowitz), one of the *Bonbonnière* circle." On the 3rd of May he presented me in the person of the widowed Queen of Bavaria with "still another flower to be added to your garland of ladies." On the 6th he wrote: "I would strongly advise you not to publish the article ('The Angel of Peace') in the next number, 1. Gamaliel (the Chief) will be here on the 10th, and will stay for some days, and he would thus find himself right in the heart of the excitement which it is sure to cause, and that would certainly be unpleasant for him. From here he will proceed to his watering place, where he will be quite out of touch with the world. 2. In a few days an incident will become known which seems as if it were specially made to account for the publication of such an article, and which will surprise many who might otherwise feel disposed to criticise it. Perhaps in the meantime as a stopgap you can use the suggestions in my last letter and some older materials. Or it might be better still to have a pause. One should not spoil the public, or it may easily grow too exacting and look for the same spicy fare every week, which you would not be able to provide." On the 13th he reported: "The patient (he meant the Chief) proposes to go direct to the watering place without touching at B. (Berlin). This I consider to be certain. He thinks of starting on Thursday, but that is uncertain. If I ascertain any change by Tuesday I will telegraph to your wife: 'Fritz better, is to go out on such and such a day for the first time. Anna' — or, 'Fritz must remain here during his holidays.'"

The *Grenzboten* now published the fifth friction article, which ran as follows: —

"THE ANGEL OF PEACE

"We learn for the first time through an Austrian journal that the *Czas* (which is known to be the organ of the Polish aristocratic Ultramontane party, and which occasionally, through its patrons the Radziwills, the Czartoryskis, &c., receives very good information indeed respecting sentiments, intentions, and occurrences in Court circles and in the upper regions of society)

has published the following comparatively colourless statement respecting the Chancellor crisis in Berlin. Some time ago Queen Victoria wrote direct to Prince Bismarck, urging upon him to prevent the war between Russia and the Porte. The answer was evasive. Then followed a second letter from her Britannic Majesty to the Imperial Chancellor, repeating her request more urgently. This time the reply was somewhat more positive in form, but was still not to the taste of the Queen, who then turned to the Emperor, and made him and Germany responsible for the outbreak of war.

"We do not know what truth there is in this report, but we do not consider it incredible. Moreover, this remarkable suggestion that it is our duty to compel our faithful neighbour Russia to maintain peace, not because we have any special cause or reason to do so, but solely to oblige the English by relieving them from all anxiety as to their interests on the Bosphorus, and by enabling them to continue their huckstering in all tranquillity of mind, has, we believe, reached the Emperor through another channel (which the readers of these articles will be able to guess), and has received warm support here. It must be borne in mind that his Majesty is thoroughly devoted to peace, and sincerely desires that he himself, the German people, and the whole world, may be saved from fresh wars. These being his sentiments, he is disposed to consider the wishes and counsels which, in the opinion of those who submitted them to him, are calculated to serve the cause of peace. But such counsels, if they do not emanate from a great and far-seeing mind, which takes all the circumstances and possibilities into account, may lead to the exact contrary of what is desired, that is to say to war. In January the *Times* implored the Imperial Chancellor to give orders for the maintenance of peace. Somewhat later it addressed a similar affecting appeal to the Emperor, and we may take it for certain that Queen Victoria was induced by her cunning Semitic adviser to use her influence in the same direction through the channel indicated above.

"Let us suppose that Germany had allowed herself to be 'nobbled'—indeed, it is hardly possible to use any other expression—had struck an attitude, and shouted 'Peace in Europe!' and that Russia had not halted at the word of com-

mand, but let her troops advance — what would have happened then? Why, we should then, for the maintenance of peace, have been obliged to wage war against Russia, which at the best would serve to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for magnanimous Albion, or our word of command would have proved to be impotent, and we should have made ourselves ridiculous — and ridiculous merely in the service of England, a Power that has never honestly wished us well, and has only accepted our position in Europe in the hope that it may some day be utilised for the furtherance of its own mercenary policy.

"The case of the Paris Exhibition is quite similar. This affair also excited warm sympathy in the quarter which we have in view, where it has become a second nature to 'work for peace.' When the Government, in spite of all such representations and appeals, declined to take part in the Exhibition, MacMahon sent the Marquis d'Abzac, an amiable gentleman upon whom exalted eyes had rested with special favour on a former occasion, to Berlin in order to make a last attempt. The marquis sung a hymn to peace in the most melting accents. We can hear him whisper with a winning smile that in this invitation France reached out her hand to Germany in reconciliation, that the Exhibition would be at the same time a peace congress. Why rudely reject the proffered hand of a former opponent who had now become a friend? How wonderfully an olive wreath would adorn the brow of a certain august lady! And other graceful speeches calculated to flatter and to touch the feelings. Then another appeal in the highest quarter on behalf of France, so unsuspicious, so well-meaning, so prettily persuasive, warmer and more urgent than before, and, at last, offensively persistent. It was all to no purpose. M. le Marquis did not, after all, succeed in securing anything more than one of the highest Orders for himself.

"But let us again in this instance suppose that the affair had been decided differently, and that, in spite of wiser counsels and a truer insight into the nature of the circumstances, the messenger sent by the President of the French Republic had returned to Paris with the acceptance of the invitation to the would-be festival of peace, what would the probable consequences have been? Germany would have coöperated in the Exhibition, and her exhibitors would have found themselves, to say the least,

in an exceedingly uncomfortable position. They would have been exposed to dangers of all kinds — we have had ample experience of what the vindictiveness of French Chauvinism means, even in more harmless circumstances — and incidents might and probably would have occurred, resulting at least in irritation, perhaps in an exchange of hostile notes, and conceivably even in something worse.

"The same idea of a special mission to maintain and promote peace — our readers will, of course, read between the lines — governs similar relations with the Ultramontanes, and has, together with other motives, led to advances which would be otherwise inexplicable. After having opposed the Government during the elections with almost unexampled violence, and indulged in the vilest slanders and the most malignant intrigues against all loyal candidates, these worthy people hide the cloven hoof in patent leather shoes, and join the circles to which we have referred with an air of innocent cheerfulness as if butter would not melt in their mouth, and sun themselves in the radiance of the most exalted graciousness and favour. Indeed it is even said that in the council which is usually held to consider the lists of invitations, the faithful adherents of Rome who condescend to come — this is not done by all of them — are never omitted, but those who are loyal to the King are generally struck out.

"It may be permitted, perhaps, to draw the moral of these communications as follows: —

"In itself a love of peace is always a becoming feature, and particularly in a woman. But in our humble opinion such love of peace should not lead to a desire to play the part of 'Angel of Peace,' to take pleasure in hearing one's self so styled, and to act up to it by thwarting the Chancellor's plans, opposing wise counsels, and persistently promoting a course calculated to bring on war, and to perpetuate existing feuds, inasmuch as it encourages the enemy to regard the 'Angel of Peace' as an ally and to construe her efforts as a fresh stimulus to resistance.

"Heaven is the true home of such angels of peace, and there doubtless their sentimental politics will afford them a plentiful supply of beautiful emotions. We, however, live upon the earth, and the hard necessities of this life can only be properly estimated and dealt with by the understanding."

On the 21st of May Bucher wrote respecting this article: — "The doctor considers that the medicine prescribed is too strong and has been administered too rapidly. The patient will now require a *longer* rest. I should like to see the next prescription before it is sent to the apothecary's."

In my reply, I asked what the Foreign Office thought of the new Cabinet in Paris, and whether anything should be said on the subject. Bucher answered on the 23rd: — "I have nothing to say with regard to the new French Ministry except what the entire press says: that we view it with mistrust. It might be mentioned in rectification, that though the statement that Jules Simon's fall has been promoted from Berlin is quite incorrect, this does not exclude the coöperation of G. B. (Gontaut-Biron) in the matter, which is indeed very probable."

On the 25th of May Bucher sent various supplementary items for the article dealing with Baden which I had forwarded to him for inspection previous to sending it to the press. On the 11th of June he sent me a sketch of another prominent member of the *Bonbonnière*, in an article in which I found little to alter, and which therefore appeared in the *Grenzboten* in all important particulars, both of form and substance, as it left his hands. It ran as follows: —

"A MINISTER *in partibus*

"BERLIN, *June 9th.*

"A few weeks ago a Berlin local newspaper (he was thinking of the *Tribune*) published a statement that Baron von Schleinitz, the Minister of the Royal Household, has felt it his duty to submit the notorious *Grenzboten* articles — it is not said where or to whom — and to propose that an inquiry should be instituted with the object of ascertaining whether they issued from the Press Bureau — which Press Bureau is not specified. The business of the Minister in question, apart from Court functions with which we are not very well acquainted, consists in the administration of the property of the Royal House. According to Rönne members of the Ministry of the Household are not State officials, and questions affecting the press and the administration of the laws do not in any way fall within their jurisdiction. Perhaps this piece of news is only meant as a humorous

reminder to us that one portrait was missing from the little gallery we recently presented of persons whom the achievements of the Chancellor have had the misfortune to displease. We certainly passed over the gentleman in question, but had by no means forgotten him, — any more than many others; but we thought that to each day sufficed the evil thereof. Herr von Schleinitz, when he held the seals of the Foreign Office, certainly pursued quite a different policy to that of Prince Bismarck, and, therefore, it is after all small blame to him that he does not approve of the Bismarckian policy. We refrain from an analysis and discussion of the nature and success of the Schleinitz method, which was known in its time as the policy of *moral* conquests. We leave that task to history, where we are inclined to believe the name of Schleinitz will hardly figure except in a parenthesis descriptive of Court life. We take the liberty, however, of asserting openly that he has had no luck as a diplomatist.

"We hear it said that the property of the Royal House would yield a considerably larger income if it were differently administered. That may be the case, and yet we should not blame Herr von Schleinitz. A diplomat is not called upon to understand the administration of great estates and forests, and if he has no knowledge of the subject he may regard it as a misfortune that he should have been appointed to such duties.

"That is not the only misfortune which has befallen Herr von Schleinitz. Diest-Daber heard, and related at the trial, that the *Reichsglocke* had been sent to the Emperor by a lady named Schleinitz. Herr von Schleinitz has denied this statement in the *Reichsanzeiger*, but malicious journalists are now asking whether the evidence of a husband in favour of his wife is conclusive. A contributor to another paper (the *Tribune*) comes to his rescue with another supposition. The gossip might have originated in the circumstance that a former subordinate of the Minister of the Household, who is still frequently to be seen at his residence, the Geheimer Rechnungsrath Bernhardt (who had been mentioned by the Chief as the channel through which the Empress corresponded with certain foreign Sovereigns) took in ten copies of the *Reichsglocke*. Certainly Herr von Schleinitz has good reason to exclaim, 'Heaven defend me from my friends!'

"He has reasons for this prayer in other respects also.

When the war between ourselves and Austria was at hand the Austrians selected his residence as their rendezvous, as did the French at a later period, after they had waged against us a war which they have not yet forgotten. And in that quarter — our readers know the place — where every form of hostility to Prince Bismarck centres, Herr von Schleinitz has always been regarded as the future Chancellor or Minister for Foreign Affairs, or, to express it more suitably in a phrase borrowed from the Curia, as Minister *in partibus*. We credit his Excellency with too much self-knowledge to believe that he personally entertained the hope of being Prince Bismarck's successor. And now he is understood to have actually received no other than Herr von Gruner as coadjutor designate! Surely the man may bewail his misfortunes!"

The information contained in the seventh and last friction article was supplied exclusively by Bucher, who also wrote the greater part of it. It was as follows, published on the 28th of June in No. 27 of the *Grenzboten*: —

"CAUSES OF THE CHANGE AT BADEN

"STRASBURG, *June 24th*.

"A Baden correspondent of your journal has repeatedly expressed his anxiety at the attitude towards the struggle between the State and the Ultramontanes which the ruling circles at Karlsruhe have for some time past shown a disposition to adopt, and indeed, which they have actually begun to adopt, since the change of Ministry last September. This attitude, although for the present it is manifested rather in desire than in deed, means a retreat before Rome and her allies. The last time such indications became evident was some two months ago. I immediately made inquiries as to what truth was in them. It is only now, however, that I have received trustworthy explanations. It requires a closer knowledge of those circles than can be obtained here to say exactly in what way the change of sentiment referred to has come about, whether through influences that have gradually insinuated themselves there, or in consequence of tendencies which already existed and which those influences divined and afterwards developed. It is regarded as certain, however, by persons who are in a position to know, that the

change of weather in the upper regions is associated with certain influences proceeding from Strasburg.

"Frequent visits are paid to Karlsruhe, among others by a gentleman of this city who has lately received an appointment at our University — experts assert less for his scientific attainments than through the recommendations of a coterie whose ramifications extend across the Channel. The following may serve to identify him. M. (I mention no name) formerly had charge of the interests of certain small Republics as Minister Resident in Berlin. There was not much work for him to do there, and as he was of an enterprising turn of mind and felt the necessity of playing a part in the world, he was impelled to dabble in politics more or less openly on his own account. He acted chiefly as letter-carrier and newsmonger to the diplomacy of the smaller States (this refers to Professor Geffken, who was associated with the Coburger, Samwer, and Freytag), and endeavoured to promote the ends of the clique which he had joined by means of articles in the newspapers. As a matter of course, he was a zealous free-trader, and equally of course he was strongly in favour of the Augustenburger, at the time when the Schleswig-Holstein question was approaching its final solution. If things had followed the course he desired, Hamburg would have taken the field against Prussia in 1866, and would to-day be a Prussian city. People ought, therefore, to have been thankful to him in Berlin, but were not, and on the contrary refused to have anything to do with him. The Senate then sent him as Minister Resident to London, where many doors were opened for him by his enthusiasm for the House of Augustenburg. (It will be remembered that Queen Victoria is the mother-in-law of a brother of the Hereditary Prince of that day, now Duke of Augustenburg.) He therefore always had news to send, but the Senate ultimately found that it cost them too dear, and abolished the post. M. thereupon took a position in the administration of his native State, but seems to have himself soon realised that his work was not quite up to his pretensions. It was, therefore, necessary to devise ways and means in some other direction, and this was done. His Manchester principles recommended him to the official then at the head of the Imperial Chancellerie (Delbrück), who appointed him his assistant (miracles, you see, still happen!), and his friends converted the unsuccessful diplomatist into a

Professor in Ordinary at the High School of the Reichsland. In 1875 he launched a book entitled 'State and Church,' which is almost as thick as the Bible. The bulky proportions so essential to a professorial production were attained by a superficial historical compilation of some six hundred pages. The last chapter contained an unfavourable criticism of the Falk laws, written — to put it politely — in a very popular style, somewhat as if it were intended to be read by ladies. The real significance of the work — of course not expressed in so many words, but clearly to be read between the lines — is: 'I am a model Minister of Public Worship!' It is said that the author received further recommendations from Baden, which, however, failed to produce the intended effect in official circles, owing to a knowledge of his past, and to the accurate estimate formed of the same. Since then, M. has been delivering public lectures on all sorts of subjects, some with a political flavour, so much to the taste of the Francophil Philistines that they flock to hear the professor.

"Another professor found his way across the Kehl Bridge, and to the district which may be described as the handle of the Karlsruhe Fan.[1] I also forbear to give his name. (Max Müller is the professor here alluded to.) For the moment I will merely mention that he belongs to the Bunsen Club, and that — as far as I know — he is one of those German savants who are most indebted to an energetic and persistent system of advertisement. He is a member of the Berlin Academy of Science, and also of the French Institute, and is understood to be a capable Sanscrit scholar, which I do not question, although I certainly question the good taste of his friends in the *Augsburger Zeitung*, who seldom mention his name without describing him as 'our celebrated countryman.' The publication of Indian texts, in which one of the Orleans is interested, and for which he pays, has brought him into communication with that interesting family. In addition to his lectures at Oxford he occasionally delivers others in London, where he holds forth before a fashionable and feminine audience upon the growth of language, the origin of religion, and similar subjects. His numerous admirers in Germany announced a few years ago that he had

[1] Karlsruhe is laid out somewhat in the form of a fan, the streets radiating from the "handle," which is occupied by the palace.

been induced to deliver lectures here in Strasburg also. It is true that his friends in England put a different complexion on the affair. They say that his stay on British soil has commenced to grow uncomfortable for him, or, as they express it, England has become too hot for him. Be that as it may, he put in occasional appearances here, and read lectures. It is asserted that he was at the same time occupied with other matters also, great expectations and desires, which I will now merely indicate. Notwithstanding the skill which he displayed in his lectures on the origin of religion, in harmonising the demands of science with the devout respectability which is indispensable in England, he did not consider himself qualified for the post of Prussian Minister of Public Worship. But, after all, it is no new idea that Falk's inheritance might be divided between two individuals, and he would probably not consider it beneath his dignity to accept the Department of Education (first, perhaps, at Karlsruhe, and then in Berlin). But for this purpose, of course, Falk must first be got rid of. *Hereditas viventis non datur.*

"A reaction from the East upon the West, from the right bank of the Rhine upon the left, is understood to have taken place since the winter of 1874–75. This is said to be manifested in the lively interest taken in the rights of the French language, which are alleged to be infringed in the teaching of French and in the teaching of religious and theological instruction at the girls' schools in Alsace-Lorraine. It is related in official circles that in this matter there has been developed a sort of voluntary system reaching up to the most exalted authority in the State, and down again to the lowest. It is true that all these endeavours have, fortunately, been fruitless so far as my information goes.

"Finally, a journey was made to Rome. Between this incident and the commencement of the change at Karlsruhe, there must have been a number of connecting links which I cannot specify. Possibly, although it may not seem quite credible, one may be allowed to associate with this change a certain exalted lady, a widow of ripe years, who allowed herself to be converted to the only True Church by a fascinating priest, and who now, with the customary zeal of converts, considers it her duty to promote the restoration of peace with Rome, ignorant

of the fact that Rome will never hear of peace, but only of complete subjection or of a truce. It may be taken as tolerably certain that bodily and mental conditions, a feeling of discontent, and numerous other more interesting visits than those of the two professors, have helped to place a noble nature in the service of schemes the significance of which such a nature is less able to appreciate than others. Those who are acquainted with the circumstances and persons concerned can easily imagine that in this instance Rome has exercised its influence, not as in the case of Luther, but rather as in that of Mortimer, although not with such striking effect, and that its acute Monsignors knew how to take advantage of their opportunity, even had no Vienna newspaper given a hint of a similar occurrence in that capital. It is perhaps fortunate that the peaceful assurances of 'persons of high position at the Vatican' were illustrated on the 12th of March by the allocution of the Holy Father in favour of a crusade.

"All this is very sad for men of patriotic sentiment, but it will be all the more welcome in another quarter where similar views have been entertained and a like influence has been exerted for years past, and where such assistance 'in the cause of peace' will be utilised to the utmost."

CHAPTER IV

AT VARZIN AND FRIEDRICHSRUH

At the beginning of June, 1877, I had completed my plans for the *Gartenlaube* article. These had, in the interval, undergone a considerable change, inasmuch as I now proposed to give reminiscences from my diary during the campaign, and then to add a description of the houses and estates belonging to the Prince. I wrote to Bucher in Berlin respecting the visits I proposed to pay to the latter, and on the 6th of July received from him the following answer: "At the beginning of August the Prince will go to a watering place for about six weeks. Your visit should therefore be arranged for the latter half of the month of September. It would not be advisable to mention the matter now. Report yourself about a week in advance, addressing yourself not to the amanuensis who may happen to be at Varzin, but to the Chief personally."

Seeing from the newspapers in the early part of October that the Chancellor had returned from Gastein to Varzin, I wrote to him and begged to be informed whether and when my visit would be agreeable. By return of post I received the following, dated Varzin, October 11th:—

"Dear Sir, — My father has received your friendly letter of the 10th, for which he returns his best thanks. He has instructed me to inform you in reply that he will be pleased to see you here in the course of next week. He begs of you to let him know the time of your arrival, if possible, on the previous day, as otherwise we may not be at home. Next Sunday or Monday, for example, we propose to drive out to one of my father's farms about four (German) miles from here, which will occupy the whole day.

"With the most profound esteem,

"your devoted

"Count Herbert Bismarck."

I acted on these suggestions. Before my departure, however, I requested Bucher to make an appointment for me to see him in Berlin, so that he might explain to me the customs of the house at Varzin, and the proper way of behaving there. He replied on the 14th of October: "Owing to the absence of the Secretary of State I must spend practically the whole day at No. 76. A meeting there would, however, not be desirable. As you may perhaps bring back instructions from Varzin, it will be better that your journey thither should not be known. I will be at the confectioner's at the corner of the Leipzigerstrasse and Wilhelmstrasse on Monday at 4 o'clock." He had not arrived, however, when I went to meet him, having been detained by business; but I was able to obtain from him later on the necessary information.

On the 16th of October, shortly before 1 P.M., I started from Berlin, first to Stettin, and from there to the little town of Schlawe, in Further Pomerania, whence at that time one proceeded in the post cart or in a private conveyance, whereas later on a connection was established by railway *via* Stolp.

In the period of nine years from the autumn of 1867 to spring 1877 the Imperial Chancellor spent the greater part of his time at Varzin, from the budding of the leaves until their fall, and sometimes well into the winter. It was, therefore, a celebrated place to which the eyes of the whole nation were directed. It was also to be expected that later on the Prince would seldom, if ever, go there, as Friedrichsruh, his estate in the Sachsenwald, was more convenient as a summer resort.

Varzin may accordingly undergo considerable change, and it therefore seemed to me that it would be well to draw of it, for future generations, a picture as it then appeared.

On the way to Schlawe, which I reached at 10 o'clock at night, there was little to note, as I only proposed to occupy myself with the Chancellor and his immediate surroundings. All that I found worth recording were some pretty anecdotes. They belonged to Bismarck's Storm and Stress period, myths that had gathered in Pomerania about the Kniephof estate and the "mad squire" who lived there from 1838 on. The young Fräuleins and their mothers and cousins at the neighbouring country seats shuddered, while their fathers and uncles shook their heads and prophesied a horrible end, as they heard of ex-

travagant drinking bouts, of floods of champagne and porter mixed in "war bowls," of furious rides as if the wild huntsman were tearing past, of the routing up of guests by pistol shots in the middle of the night, and of all kinds of mischief and wantonness perpetrated in audacious mockery of traditional usage. The old manor house of Kniephof, not inappropriately rechristened "Kneiphof" by the boon companions, as well as by the censors of the Junker (it has long ago been replaced by a more elegant structure), could doubtless bear witness that a great many of these stories were true, but also that many of them were largely the product of imaginative neighbours. The misfortunes predicted by staid folks have also remained mere fancy. As the world knows, in spite of all the froth and foam of that period of ferment, the young wine cleared itself in due time.

The old legends of the "wild Junker," however, still wander up and down the country, and one of them took a seat by me in the railway carriage at a station between Koeslin and Schlawe, in the form of a sturdy peasant. Among various other stories he told me that Bismarck, on one occasion, instead of having a rickety old building at Kniephof removed in the ordinary way, brought it down with cannon shot. A reader of a critical turn will probably inquire where he could have obtained possession of this piece of ordinance. I reply with the counter-question: Whether my honest peasant has not merely heard the sound though he did not see the shot fired? and whether the popular legend which speaks through him has not, in the obscure impulses of its creative activity, confounded the Minister Bismarck with the Junker? We all dwelt with the latter in an old and rickety house known as the "Germanic Confederation," and that, indeed, as it could not be removed otherwise, he was forced to bring down with the cannon of Königgrätz (Sadowa).

On the 17th of October, at 9.30 A.M., a cold, wet morning, which afterwards cleared up, I continued my journey to Varzin in a hired conveyance. We reached the village in about three hours and another few hundred yards along the paved road brought us to the centre of a group of buildings which formed the principal courtyard of the Varzin country seat. The postilion wished to stop here. I told him, however, to drive further on to the inn, in order that I might change my clothes and send word of my arrival. I found quartered in this miserable hut

some Berlin policemen, who kindly vacated their room for me, and reported my advent. After a while, their chief, a man with a long beard, whom I had met at Versailles, came back and said: "His Serene Highness begs you to come." I had in the meantime pulled on a dress coat which I had brought with me, and now drove back to the door of the house, where I was received by two servants, who took me and my travelling bag to a room on the first floor. It was a large and handsome chamber, divided into a sitting- and bed-room by a curtain which reached to the ceiling.

In a quarter of an hour I was called to lunch, which was laid in a salon downstairs. Here I met, at first, only Count Herbert, General Erkert, Geheimer-Regierungsrath Tiedemann, and a Miss Jenny Fatio, a Frenchwoman from Orb, in West Switzerland, who had been for years in the Prince's service, and who now managed the house in the absence of his wife, who was taking the waters at Toelz.

After a few minutes he himself came, having just returned from his morning walk. He wore plain clothes, in which I had not previously seen him — black coat, waistcoat, and trousers, and a white necktie with blue and red spots. He shook hands, and was very friendly. After he had sat down and eaten a few mouthfuls he observed: "As I was walking in the wood and heard your horn, Doctor, I thought to myself, that is certainly some Croatian or Magyar who wishes to discuss politics with me, and come to my assistance with his advice. I was just on the point of making myself scarce when I remembered that you had written from Leipzig that you were coming. Once a man came to see me who sent word that if I would not receive him he would hang himself. My reply was that if he must needs do so, I would have the newest and strongest rope brought down from the garret for his use. He did not get to see me all the same, and went off again without, so far as I am aware, doing himself any harm."

While he drank his milk and black coffee he read the letters, reports, and telegrams received that morning, and instructed his son as to the replies, at the same time discussing matters with Tiedemann, who, as I afterwards learned, acted as kind of second amanuensis, principally in administrative affairs. The Prince looked fresh and strong, and seemed also to be in good

humour. In reply to my question how Gastein had agreed with him, he said that up to the present it was highly satisfactory, and in particular that he slept better than formerly. "It would have been still better," he continued, "if a great deal had not happened between Gastein and here. The next time I have to go to Gastein, I shall let the King do what he likes afterwards, and come straight back here, where I have no need to worry myself over preconceived notions that cannot be altered." As we stood up, observing that I was in evening dress, he smiled and said, "Dress clothes!" and then invited me to accompany him to the new wing that had been added to the house, and in which he had taken up his own residence. After he had shown me those rooms, I asked if he had received the friction articles in the *Grenzboten*, and if he was satisfied with them. He replied: "Yes; only they followed each other too rapidly, and in one of them you allowed it to be seen too clearly in what quarter you had received your information." I expressed my regret, excusing myself by stating that Dietze's communication in the *Magdeburger Zeitung* would have considerably weakened their effect upon the public if I had passed it over in silence.

In the afternoon Erkert started for St. Petersburg. After he had gone the Prince asked me, "Do you ride, Doctor?" "I do not fall off, your Serene Highness," I said, "and in the East I have repeatedly, for a fortnight at a time, spent eight to ten hours daily on horseback; but I am afraid I should not cut too good a figure, and I should not like to make an exhibition of myself before you." He then gave orders that I should be taken over part of his estate in a carriage. He himself and Count Herbert proceeded on horseback in another direction, the Prince wearing a soft green-grey felt hat with a very broad brim, a grey jacket lined with fur, which made him look stouter than he really is, and a quilted silk vest.

We went to dinner between five and six, and were afterwards joined by the Councillor of Embassy, Von Holstein. The Chief was in high good humour and very talkative. He first spoke about Moritz von Blankenburg, whom he described as "my oldest and dearest friend" (I now forget how his name came up), asserting that he had "acted very imprudently in the affair with that shabby Diest." "I had told him," he said, "in

the course of conversation on the Bodencredit shares, that possibly Bleichröder, who had the administration of my money, might have bought some such securities for me on one occasion. I could not really know, however, as all my surplus income went to Bleichröder, who made all large payments on my behalf, and acted on his own discretion in these matters. There would therefore be nothing wrong in it if he made some money for me without my knowledge in securities of this kind. Blankenburg had related what I had said as a fact, and Diest made use of this in Court. Bleichröder ultimately proved from his books that no such purchase was ever made. That was of course very satisfactory, but in the meantime Blankenburg's clumsiness had thrown a temporary slur upon my good name, and that led to our falling out."

This reminded him of an attempt that had been made by one Löwenstein to bribe him after he had been appointed Minister at St. Petersburg and was about to start for his post. The Prince said: "He was an agent who worked at the same time for Buol and Manteuffel, spying, carrying out commissions, &c. He came to me with a letter of introduction from Buol. On my asking what I could do for him, he said he had come to tell me how I could do a good business whereby I might make 20,000 thalers or even more. I replied that I did not speculate, and, moreover, had no money for that purpose. Oh! I did not need any, I could manage it in another way. I said I could not follow him — what was I to do? If I would use my influence in St. Petersburg to bring about good relations between Russia and Austria. I pretended that I wished to consider the proposal, but did not trust him. Löwenstein pointed to his letter of introduction. I considered that insufficient, and wished to have a promise in writing. The Jew, however, was too sharp for that, and said the letter was a sufficient guarantee. I then turned rough, and as he was leaving told him the truth, viz., that I never dreamt of accepting his offer, and threatened to pitch him down the stairs. He thereupon took himself off, but not before he had threatened me with the anger of Austria. His proposal was better appreciated by Manteuffel and Schleinitz, who doubtless may still be receiving subventions from Vienna."

There was then some question of telegraphing to the Crown

Prince, congratulating him on his birthday, the Chief being in favour of doing so "for form's sake." He then added, "I purposely omitted to do that in his mother's case—from a feeling of what is due to my personal honour—(turning to me, who sat at his right) for Augusta's intrigues against me still continue, and that is one of the reasons why I have no wish to return to Berlin."

Afterwards, at tea, we were joined by the Prince, who spoke on a variety of subjects, and particularly of his estates and their relatively poor returns. Apart from the mills, Varzin brought him in nothing. It was hardly possible to dispose of the grain, as the railway tariffs for foreign corn were too low. It was just the same with timber, which realised very little, owing to competition, and even the neighbourhood of Hamburg to the Sachsenwald was of little use to him at present. He then spoke about the powder factory which a Würtemberger had established on a piece of ground belonging to him on the banks of the Elbe, describing it and the manner in which it was worked. He said that the Würtemberger paid him an annual rent of 12,000 marks, and that after a certain number of years the factory would become his, the Prince's, property. The lessee was doing a very good business during the present war, as he was earning 150 per cent.

The time passed in this way up to 11 o'clock, when the Prince, looking at his watch, said, "The gentlemen will excuse a sleepy man," and went off to bed. Count Herbert, Holstein, and I remained sitting for some time longer over a glass of grog; and I handed the Count, for his father, Nos. 1 and 2 of the "Reminiscences," which had in the meantime appeared in the *Gartenlaube*, after the Chief had seen them in proof, made a few alterations, and struck out about a dozen lines.

On Thursday, the 18th of October, we had bright sunshine in the morning, then rain, and finally, towards 10 o'clock, a heavy fall of snow, which came down in thick flakes, covering the ground three inches deep in less than half an hour. I thus had an opportunity of seeing Varzin in its winter dress.

When the snow had stopped I inspected the exterior of the house and the buildings annexed to it, taking a walk round the whole premises.

Internally as well as externally, there is no pretension, no

love of luxury about the residence of the Chancellor and his family, though it is at the same time pleasant and comfortable throughout. It is the house of a prosperous country gentleman, rather than the chateau of a Prince. The floors, it is true, are almost all inlaid, but the ceilings of the smaller rooms are simply whitewashed. There are no luxurious carpets, portières or curtains, or artistic carving, or clocks of great value. Gilt chairs covered with silk, marble tables and consoles, are only to be found in the reception rooms and in the apartment of the Princess. There are very few oil paintings, but on the other hand, there are numerous comfortable niches affording a pleasant prospect from the windows. Nearly all the sitting-rooms are well supplied with cushioned seats, rocking-chairs, divans and sofas, and all have earthenware stoves with chimney-pieces. These are heated on the first approach of even moderately cool weather, as the Prince — like all nervous people — is fond of warmth, which is probably necessary for his health. The autumn here is also considerably colder than in Central Germany.

Having returned to the ground floor, let us first visit the dining-room. This is of medium size. The wall-paper shows a design in brown and dark blue arabesques on a grey-blue ground. The furniture consists of a yellow table over which hangs a lamp with a shade and globe in opalescent glass; a carpet with a design in black and red; a leather armchair, in which the Prince presides at dinner; about a dozen plain yellow cane-bottom chairs; two ancient-looking cupboards in dark oak, and a buffet of the same material. An owl perched on the corner of one cupboard, and another bird of prey that occupies a similar position on the second, watch the guests at the table with their glassy eyes. On the wall opposite the two windows hang a number of framed lithographs of scenes in the North American prairies.

Dinner was served here at 5 to 6 o'clock in the evening, and during my stay at Varzin it usually lasted till after 7, the conversation being for the most part very lively, and sometimes of memorable interest. At the end of the dinner the Prince used to feed his dogs with his own hands, giving them cooked meat from a plate. If I confess that the tall figure in the armchair at the head of the table and the two big dogs on the right and

left with their eyes fixed upon his face recalled to my mind pictures which I had seen of the god Odin and his two wolves, I shall possibly incur the censure of severe critics with "masculine souls" and hyper-serious (or hyper-comical) self-conceit, who are accustomed to fling about such polite terms as "flunkeyism" and so forth. Their disapproval will disturb or affect me as little as the chatter of our literary financiers in the less distinguished organs of the daily press about my views of the Chancellor. First plunder, and then abuse — such is their wont. Let them clap their hands or hiss, it will always remain a matter of complete indifference to me!

So far as possible nothing was consumed at table that was not bred, grown, or shot on the property. The Prince himself said to me one evening: "Almost everything that is eaten here comes from my estates, including Schönhausen — meat, fowl, game, and fish, the vegetables, the artichokes, which of course do not thrive so well here as in the south, the peaches, the walnuts, and the hazelnuts. But I must occasionally buy a sheep from the farmers, and my household is not large enough for me to kill an ox. It is only Dietze who can do that, as he employs so many people in his distillery and sugar factory, and feeds them." It is scarcely necessary to add that the cellar at Varzin is well stocked.

We now continue our stroll through the house. Passing through the folding doors in the wall with the pictures of prairie life we enter the drawing-room, which is about the same size as the dining-room. The wall-paper, which is surrounded by a narrow gold border, shows a flowered design of a conventional pattern, in reddish-brown and gold upon a fawn-coloured ground. The furniture consists of tables with marble tops and gilt legs, cushioned chairs and divans covered in bright red silk, a large mirror in a gold frame, and a marble console. On the latter stands a lamp with a bronze figure of one of the soldiers that stormed the Danish redoubts at Düppel in Schleswig, a present from the King, and two rose-coloured porcelain vases encircled by white serpents. In a corner stands a large vase in blue and gold porcelain, with a half-length picture of the Emperor William, who presented it to the Prince on the occasion of his silver wedding. In another corner there is a terra-cotta statue of the Emperor. On the walls are a few oil paintings,

a woodland scene from the Varzin district, a view of Gastein, two ideal female portraits, an incident of the battle of Mars la Tour, and near it a full-length figure of a soldier of the last century, in a yellowish-white uniform, cuirass, three-cornered hat, and jack-boots, holding a musket in his hand. If I rightly understood, this is a great-grandfather of the Chancellor's, who met his death at Czaslau as a colonel of dragoons. In the corner of the breakfast- and billiard-room, where the conservatory joins on to the verandah, there is a bronze statue, a copy of Rand's goddess of victory, also presented by the old Emperor.

I do not know how it came to pass that on seeing this statue I thought less of its beauty than of an instance of the Prince's graciousness. In the summer of 1871, when the triumphal procession of the German army passed the stand that had been erected in the Königgrätzer Strasse against the wall of the garden attached to the Foreign Office for the officials of the Ministry, the Imperial Chancellor looked up to us as he was riding by, and taking one of three laurel wreaths that were hanging on the pommel of his saddle, threw it across to us.

Another work of art in the room also evoked strange memories. On the wall opposite the windows in a niche between the two stoves, a bright-coloured porcelain vase on a pedestal draped in red attracts the eye. It is about four or five feet high. The front shows a seated female figure, a Germania, perhaps, and the back some trophies in gold. As the Prince himself explained, this figure has a history with a certain symbolic significance. It was presented to the Chancellor in 1870, having been at first intended for Hardenberg, but for some reason or through some dispensation of fate was never given to him. Looked at more closely, the trophies turned out to be French arms captured in the war of liberation from 1813 to 1815. The female figure at that time represented Borussia.

Near the second stove against the wall by which this historic vase stands, and opposite one end of the billiard table, begins a large recess, three sides of which are occupied by a rather lengthy divan, while opposite to it stands a piano of the Princess', who has the reputation of being an excellent player. During my stay the Chancellor was accustomed to seat himself

in a large easy chair when taking his coffee, which was served immediately after dinner, and lighting one of his long student's pipes, while another was held ready in reserve, he smoked and conversed with his guests, making — as was almost always the case on such occasions — many memorable remarks and statements. I will here reproduce some of these which I noted down before going to bed on the evenings upon which they were made.

On the 18th of October, on my remarking that one of his first services had been to keep the King from attending the Congress of Princes at Frankfort, the Chancellor's reply agreed in all important particulars with the statement he made to us during the campaign in France. "Yes," he said, "that was a difficult task. The Most Gracious insisted on going (to Frankfort) at any cost; a crowned head, the King of Saxony, had come to him as a messenger, and there was now no help for it. I managed to talk him out of the idea, but with the greatest difficulty, and he was quite nervous about it. I said to Beust, however, 'If you do not leave us in peace now, I will send to Rastatt for a detachment and post a sentry outside the King's door, who will let no one in.'"

I then turned the conversation to the portraits in the Chief's study in Berlin, and he related first how he came into possession of that of King Victor Emmanuel. When the latter visited Berlin he brought as a present for him, the Chancellor, a snuff-box set with diamonds, but first made inquiry as to whether he would be prepared to accept it. "Of course I declined," he continued, "as if it had become known it would have looked like bribery. The snuff-box, with the brilliants, was believed to be worth about fifty thousand francs. He then merely gave me a small picture, writing his name and a few friendly words under it. The King of Bavaria, however, is grateful to me for having saved him from a loss of territory in 1866. Our most gracious master would insist upon having Ansbach and Bayreuth, because they had been in the possession of his ancestors. I said to him that the people there had long since forgotten that, and had grown accustomed to the union with Bavaria. The King wished that each (of the defeated German Princes) should cede a slice of territory — as a punishment. He wanted to play the part of divine justice. I remarked to him that that

would not do, it must be left to God, and that no more territory should be taken than was required. He then wanted to take Northern Bohemia — Reichenberg — Karlsbad — or Austrian Silesia from Austria, and, on military grounds, to take Lausitz from Saxony. I said, however, that either the whole country should be kept, or, if that was impossible, none of it. For a long time he was not at all disposed to agree to this. Saxony owes her preservation to the Austrians, who for once behaved in a decent way. The Ultramontane sentiments at Court, and the friendship between the Emperor Francis Joseph and the then Crown Prince Albert doubtless also contributed to this result. But I am not to blame for the terms of peace. At that time I lay dangerously ill at Putbus. Savigny is responsible, having, as an Ultramontane, spared the Ultramontane Dresden Court as much as he possibly could, and in particular allowed them more military independence than was desirable. When I heard roughly what had been agreed I offered him my congratulations, but when I read the paragraphs more closely I withdrew them."

We then spoke of the Bohemian campaign, and in the course of the conversation the Chief, among other things, recalled the following characteristic episodes: "In the council of war at Nikolsburg, which was held in my room, the others wished to continue the campaign, proceeding right into Hungary. I was, however, against this. The cholera, the Hungarian steppes, the questionable change of front, as well as political and other considerations, gave me pause. But they held to their plan, and it was in vain that I spoke once more against it. I then left them and went into the bedroom, which was only divided from where they sat by a wooden partition, closed the door and threw myself on the bed, where I sobbed aloud from nervous excitement. After a while they became quite silent in the other room, and their plan was subsequently dropped. When it was feared that the French would intervene, Moltke wished to retire to the Elbe, let the Austrians be, and turn upon the French, who were then weak. I convinced him, however, that that would be a mistake, as 100,000 South Germans, with at least 25,000 red-breeches, might prove extremely inconvenient to us."

The Imperial Chancellor is regarded as a man of iron char-

acter, whose self-confidence never fails. Many will think that he must look back upon his deeds and creations with something of the feeling with which God the Father on the seventh day regarded the world He had made. I am not disposed to question that. But he has also softer moments — moments of apparent or real dissatisfaction with his achievements and his fate — a vein of melancholy or, perhaps we should say, pensive sentiment, that finds expression as *Weltschmerz*. He sometimes recalls Achilles in his tent, sometimes Solomon, exclaiming: "Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do: and, behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun." Many of these expressions also recall the spirit in which Hamlet sadly meditates: —

> "How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
> Seem to me all the uses of this world!
> Fie on't! O fie! 'Tis an unweeded garden
> That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
> Possess it merely."

Perhaps it is some mystic change in his spirit, or possibly it may be an affection of the nerves, arising from bodily conditions such as over-excitement and fatigue.

Thus on Sunday, the 21st of October, while seated in the position I have already described, and after gazing for a while into space, he complained to us that he had had little pleasure or satisfaction from his political life. He had made no one happy thereby, neither himself, nor his family, nor others. We protested, but he continued as follows: —

"There is no doubt, however, that I have caused unhappiness to great numbers. But for me three great wars would not have taken place, eighty thousand men would not have been killed and would not now be mourned by parents, brothers, sisters, and widows." "And sweethearts," I added, somewhat prosaically and inconsiderately. "And sweethearts," he repeated. "I have settled that with God, however. But I have had little if any pleasure from all that I have done, while on the other hand I have had a great deal of worry, anxiety, and trouble," a theme upon which he then dwelt at some length.

We kept silent, and I was greatly surprised. I afterwards

heard from Holstein and Bucher that during the last few years he frequently expressed himself in a similar strain. But I would repeat that such utterances can surely be but symptoms of a temporary and sentimental estimate of his mission and success. He is nevertheless a man of deep feeling, as Fräulein Jenny told me on the morning after this outburst that the "tears ran down his cheeks" when he first spoke of his falling out with Moritz von Blankenburg. . . . The principal room in the new building is a large hexagonal chamber, used by the Chancellor when he is working by himself. Here also the prevailing characteristic of the arrangements is a refined simplicity. The most prominent object in the room is a huge fireplace, nearly four metres in width and about five in height. It consists of green glazed earthenware, and, according to the Prince, was manufactured at the Friedenthal Pottery Works at Gussmansdorf in Silesia. It is adorned on both sides with fluted columns, over which two small coats of arms have been placed. In the middle of the chimney-piece appears the motto: "In trinitate robur"; and over this, in a yellow field, the eagle of the new German Empire; while the whole is surmounted by a white plaster bust of the Emperor William. The cornice upon which it rests is supported upon each side by eagles on laurel branches which form part of the chimney-piece itself. The arms and motto have a history of their own. The former are the escutcheons of Alsace and Lorraine. When the Imperial Chancellor was raised to the rank of Prince, the Emperor thought of having these emblems embodied in his new arms. "But," as the Prince informed me while standing before this chimney-piece, "I considered the title of Duke of Lorraine too grand for me. His Majesty then wished to put the eagle in my escutcheon. But that too seemed to me a questionable measure. I feared that the eagle might devour my clover. A way out of the difficulty was then found by giving me supporters with the banners of Alsace and Lorraine."

The motto, on the other hand, dates from an earlier period, though it is not that of the Bismarcks. When Bismarck was at Frankfort as Minister to the Diet, the King of Denmark invested him with the Grand Cross of the Danebrog. Now, it is customary to have the names and arms of the holders of this decoration set up in the Cathedral at Copenhagen, with a

device which each member is to select for himself. "I then pitched upon this one, 'In trinitate robur,"—said the Chancellor,—"the oak in the trefoil, the old blazon of our family." "And 'my trust is in the Triune God,'" I suggested. "Quite right, I meant it so," he added, thus confirming my suggestion in a friendly but serious tone.

Near the fire, in which huge beech logs splutter and blaze, stand a number of high cushioned chairs. In the next wall is a door which opens into the Chancellor's bedroom. Between this and the window there is a glass case with arms and antiquities, its most noteworthy contents being, to my mind, a collection of prehistoric lance heads and a heavy gold arm ring of spiral form with a green patina, which had been found in a barrow; a rifled pistol with which the Prince, while he was still a Junker, performed all sorts of miracles of marksmanship; a hunting knife which used to accompany him when out bear hunting in Russia, and two large Japanese Daimio swords of the finest steel, with which the Chancellor was invested by the Mikado in the year 1872—invested, inasmuch as these took the place of the decorations bestowed by other potentates upon those whom they desire to honour. Near the swords lay a scimitar in a violet velvet sheath. The Prince took it out and drew it from its cover. It was a genuine Damascus blade. "This was presented to me by the Bey of Tunis," he said. "It is believed to be a fine old weapon of the time of the Crusades. I have also received an Order from him, but not the right one. He sent two, one for the Emperor and the other for me. The one was set with brilliants as large as hazelnuts, the other was common tinsel. Curiously enough, he had not said to whom they should be given. I mentioned it to my gracious master, and asked what he thought. He said that of course the one with the brilliants was for him. It was doubtless worth some 50,000 thalers."

The large window that now follows has double curtains—white on the outside, and lined with the same flowered chintz with which the furniture in the room is covered. In this bay window stand a walnut writing-table, inlaid with designs in ivory, and a small sofa and easy chair; while on the wall hangs a plan of Varzin and of the estates attached thereto. This is said to be one of the Chief's favourite haunts. It is easy to believe it,

as it offers a pleasant prospect — a pond in the foreground, on one side a corner of the park with two fine trees, an oak and a beech, standing alone, and under them a bench which invites to rest, while in the background a stretch of rising arable land, which in summer delights the eye with waving fields of corn, leads to dark wooded heights beyond.

Opposite the bay window, and with its back turned towards it, there is a large sofa with a number of cushions. Among them is one of light blue velvet, on which the following is embroidered in silver thread: "Exodus xxxiii. 12; Psalms xviii. 28." Beneath this inscription is a crown, and a monogram formed of the letters O, B, and E, with the date "28 July, 1847–1872." It is a gift presented to the Chancellor on his silver wedding. As I can hardly expect all my gentle readers to have a Bible at hand, I quote the passages referred to: "And Moses said unto the Lord, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast found grace in my sight." "For thou wilt light my candle: the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness."

A narrow dark passage leads from the Chancellor's bedroom, which also opens on to the park, down a few steps on the right to the bath-room. On the same side, through a mysterious little doorway at the head of a narrow winding staircase, the eye loses itself in the darkness of what seems to be a bottomless abyss. Inspired by the spirit of George Louis Hesekiel, I suggested "The dungeon keep?" The Prince smiled as he replied, "Only a postern gate." And he then explained it enables him to retreat unobserved when he is threatened with tiresome visits. The prospect of such visits suggested the idea of providing an escape when the house was being built. "When unwelcome acquaintances make their appearance," he said, "I slip out here, and bring myself in safety to a certain bench in the park, where I wait till I am told that the danger is over. We have named this door after Senft-Pilsach, a loquacious bore; but you must not publish that, as he is still living." The length of this subterranean passage, the exit from it, and the place of safety to which the pursued makes his escape, must remain untold so long as the Prince spends part of his time at Varzin, as otherwise the object of

the contrivance would be frustrated. The particulars now given are intended to warn those who may consider this contrivance to be directed against them.

I now continue the notes of my stay at Varzin. . . .

Friday, October 19th.—At lunch while the Chief was reading his letters and despatches, he mentioned to us among other things that his wife had written to him from Toelz that King Lewis had recently sent her a magnificent bouquet, at least three-quarters of a metre in diameter. We learnt at the same time that the Ruler of all the Bavarias still sends the Chancellor letters, expressing his anxiety about the continued existence of his country by the side of or incorporated with the German Empire. Hermann von Arnim was then mentioned, and the Chief said: "Yes, the Commercial Court at Leipzig (sitting as a Disciplinary Court) has had the case before it for an age without coming to any decision, although he does not deny the authorship (of the insulting pamphlet against the Prince, which he published whilst holding an appointment at the Foreign Office). That, however, is conceivable. Pape (the President of the Court at Leipzig), now that he feels himself safe in harbour, displays his Westphalian Ultramontanism. Formerly he affected great loyalty to the Empire, and was a stout radical." The Prince's remarks on the Russian campaign against Turkey were also deserving of notice. On mention being made of the unfavourable turn which things had taken for Russia, he said: "If I were the Emperor Alexander I should now withdraw my troops to the left bank of the Danube and remain there for the winter, at the same time announcing in a manifesto to the Powers that if necessary I should continue the war for seven years, even if I were obliged in the end to carry it on with peasants armed with pitchforks and flails. I could depend upon my Russians. Next spring I should seize a few of the large fortifications on the Danube and then gradually push forward."

In the evening the Prince had four other guests in addition to Holstein and myself, Tiedemann having departed in the meantime. These were Regierungs-Praesident von Auerswald, a landed proprietor, a high Post Office official from Köslin, and the Post and Telegraph clerk from Wussow. Among other things we drank some Rhine wine of the year 1811, which came

from Borchard's in Berlin. In conversation with the Köslin gentlemen the Chief spoke chiefly of a redistribution of districts in Pomerania — a subject which I did not understand, with the result that I failed to remember what was said. He then mentioned that in a short time he would probably make similar arrangements in the Sachsenwald to those which now existed at Varzin, as Friedrichsruh was nearer Berlin and the climate there was milder than that of Further Pomerania, while his private interests and business there were also of more importance. He then again complained of the small returns he received from Varzin. In the course of the subsequent conversation he remarked: "I have a mind to get the King to appoint me Aide-de-Camp General. That would be quite constitutional, and I should exercise more influence in that position than as Minister. How was it under Frederick William IV.? At that time Manteuffel could do nothing against the will of Gerlach, who was Aide-de-Camp General."

While taking our coffee after the Köslin gentlemen had left, the Chief gave a somewhat different version to that which he related at Ferrières of the cigar incident at Frankfort. He said: "It was in the Military Commission. At first only Buol smoked. Then one day I pulled a cigar out of my case, and asked him to give me a light. With a look of surprise at my audacity, he gave it to me, to the profound astonishment of the other Powers. The incident was reported to the various Courts and also to Berlin. Then followed an inquiry from the late King, who did not smoke himself, and probably did not appreciate the thing. Thereupon the two Great Powers alone smoked for perhaps six months. Then suddenly Bavaria also appeared with a cigar, and after a time Saxony followed suit. Finally, Würtemberg also felt it necessary not to remain behind, but this was obviously compulsory sacrifice to dignity, for he puffed his yellow weed with an air of surly determination, and afterwards laid it down half smoked. It was only Hesse-Darmstadt that abstained altogether, probably not feeling equal to such competition."

At tea, which was served in the Princess' room, the Prince suddenly stood up, went to his wife's writing-table, and began to scribble away on a large sheet of paper. He then came to me, handed me the writing, and said, "There, but take care, it is still wet." It was the letter of introduction to Schönhausen

and Friedrichsruh which I had asked for on the previous afternoon, as I wished to start next morning. I was very pleased, and thanked him. "I find it very difficult to write with a pen," he said; "but then you wished to have it in my own hand." "All the more honour for me, your Serene Highness," I replied. "Now I have the souvenir I desire." "But why do you wish to leave so soon?" he said. "Stay a little longer. You are not at all in the way, and you should see a little more of Varzin." I thanked him and said I should be delighted to remain a day or two longer, as I was only too happy to be near him. He said, "But you must allow me sometimes to go out walking or riding alone."

Saturday, October 20th. — The snow still lies to a considerable depth about the house and grounds, but it is thawing. In the morning I took another turn through the park, going farther and in a different direction. Back to lunch early, and finding only Fräulein Fatio, had a chat with her. She said the Prince was very pleased at my visit. She related part of her own biography, and gave me some particulars of the Princess, who is very simple in her habits, dresses herself, and is a diligent housekeeper, &c. Her mother was greatly opposed to her marriage with Bismarck, and said one day she would rather see her daughter married to a swineherd than to him. She then spoke of the Countess Marie, who, according to her account, was very musical, but did not play as well as her mother. She had also other accomplishments, but was somewhat phlegmatic, and neglected many things, as, for instance, languages. But she could be extremely energetic when she took anything into her head. For example, once when they refused to let her have the carriage in which she was accustomed to drive to the future mother-in-law's, she immediately jumped into a cab.

After lunch another run through the park as far as the large pond on the edge of the big clearing. After that an excursion with Holstein beyond the clearing and into the beech wood on the Schwarzenberg. The Baron told me that at present the Chief was not on good terms with the King, but that, on the other hand, he was on an excellent footing with the Crown Prince, and also with the Princess. It was desirable that this should continue, as the Prince intended to resign on the death of the Emperor. He did not believe the Chancellor's

statement that he would then return as the Leader of the Opposition was meant seriously. If he ever saw one stone after another of the structure he had raised crumbling away he would soon die of grief — *quod Deus bene vertat!*

On our return we learnt that the Chief had intended to take a drive with us. At dinner we mentioned where we had been, and I praised the park for its great extent and variety. The Prince said: "It is certainly beautiful, and formerly it was even larger than it is now. My predecessor could wander for seven or eight miles through his own forests, mostly deciduous trees. He had those great clearings made and turned into arable land, as it was believed that where beeches had grown the soil would prove good. But the wind dried up the thin layer of mould and blew it away, and I am now replanting it."

He then spoke of the Chorow farm, which Count Blumenthal had bought "out of the heart of the estate," and which had now been repurchased by him. "I afterwards let it," he said, "to the woman who had previously farmed it. She is also one of those by whose death I should benefit, as I am receiving a thousand thalers less rent from her than I could get if she died and I were no longer bound to her, as I have been for fourteen years."

Of his further remarks during dinner the following are of special interest. We were talking of the result of the war with France, and the Chief said: "When I was made Prince, the King wished to put Alsace and Lorraine into my armorial bearings. I should have preferred Schleswig-Holstein, as that is the diplomatic campaign of which I am most proud." Holstein asked, "You wished that from the beginning?" "Yes, certainly," replied the Prince, "immediately after the death of the King of Denmark. But it was difficult. Everything was against me — the Crown Prince and Princess on account of the relationship, the King himself at first and, indeed, for a long time, Austria, the small German States, and the English, who grudged us such an acquisition. It would have been possible to arrange matters with Napoleon, — he thought he could place us under an obligation to him in that way. And finally at home the Liberals were opposed to it, suddenly discovering the legitimacy of princely rights — but that was only their hatred and envy of me — and the Schleswig-Holsteiners themselves would not hear

of it either. All these, and I know not who else besides. At that time we had a sitting of the Council of State, at which I made one of the longest speeches of which I ever delivered myself, and said a great deal that to my audience must have seemed unheard of and impossible. I pointed out to the King, for instance, that all his predecessors, with the exception of his late brother, had added to their territories, and asked him whether he wished to follow that brother's example. To judge from the amazement depicted on their faces, they evidently thought I had made too free with the bottle that morning. Costenoble drew up the protocol and when I looked through it afterwards I found that the passages in which I had expressed myself most clearly and forcibly were omitted. They contained precisely my best arguments. I called his attention to this and protested. Yes, he said, that was so, but he thought I should be glad if he left it out. I replied, 'Not at all. You must have thought, I suppose, that I had taken a little too much. But I insist upon all that I said appearing exactly as I said it.'"

It is true, the Minister observed, as we were afterwards talking of our adventures in France, that he has no longer a good memory, except for matters of business. ("If I have read anything in a despatch or elsewhere in the course of business, I remember it," he said, "but in other things I am not sure of myself.") The foregoing statement, however, agrees in all important particulars with what he told me at Reims on the 11th of September, 1870, about those events.

Including the time spent over our coffee in the billiard-room, this sitting was an exceptionally long one. We sat together for nearly two and a half hours, and the Prince spoke on a great number of interesting topics, especially political movements, events, and personages. He described exhaustively the way in which Manteuffel (the Minister, not the general) tried to make money on the Stock Exchange, utilising his official position for that purpose. "The Embassies had to send him the Bourse quotations or something of that kind, extracts, reports on special securities, which he received from the telegraph office with the despatches earlier than the bankers. He then got his agent — Löwenstein, who tried to bribe me on behalf of Buol — to make use of this information without delay. He also wished to employ me in these manœuvres when I was at Frankfort, but I

took no part in them." He then repeated his former statement that Manteuffel was bribed by foreign Governments, and asserted the same of Schleinitz, whom he had always regarded with disgust, an an individual who was physically unclean, with dirty linen, a face that was never properly washed, "the grease oozing out of his pores." Speaking of the corruptibility of mankind, he suspected that there were also some rotten fish of that description on the press. He said, "I have never had any doubt so far as Brass is concerned." He took whatever was offered to him by friend and foe. And doubtless the *Kölnische Zeitung* was not much better. It was in favour of the Danes because the English were on their side; and Kruse, who was formerly a private tutor at Palmerston's, was drawing a pension from Broadlands. Now it was in favour of the Turks, because Oppenheim had Turkish securities which he wished to unload on to other people.

At tea he spoke again of the "conflict" and his conversation with the King at that time, which he had related to me on my last visit to him in Berlin. He now said: "During the 'conflict' they thought out a variety of measures which they intended to take against me — the scaffold, or at least the confiscation of my property. I consequently raised as much money as I possibly could upon my estates. I was then called the Prussian Strafford — you remember Parliament condemned him to the block in the Revolution of 1641. The King was also afraid of being beheaded — the women had talked him into it at Baden. He wished to abdicate if he could not find any one who would govern with him. When I went to meet him on the railway he was quite discouraged and depressed. At length he asked me, 'But what if they were to send us both to the scaffold?' At first I merely said, 'What then,' but I afterwards added, 'You are thinking of Louis XVI., but I would remind you of Charles I. He died with honour, at all events.' That produced a very sobering effect upon him. I had touched his conscience as an officer."

From this incident he came to speak of the behaviour of the King at Ems in presence of the attacks of Benedetti, and said: "I soon noticed that he was beginning to take fright and was ready to pocket another Olmütz. I was at that time in Varzin, and as I drove through Wussow, on the way to Berlin,

the Pastor stood outside his house and saluted me as I passed. I described a sabre cut in the air to show that we meant business. But the news in Berlin was by no means good. I accordingly telegraphed to him (the King) that I requested my dismissal from office if he received Benedetti again. No answer came, and I telegraphed once more that if he had now received Benedetti I should regard it as an acceptance of my resignation and return to Varzin. Then came a telegram of two hundred lines (doubtless words) from Abeken. I thereupon invited Moltke and Roon to a dinner of three and told them how the matter stood. Roon was beside himself, and so was Moltke. I asked if we were quite prepared for such a war. He replied that so far as it was humanly possible to foresee, we might hope for victory. I then took the two hundred lines, and, without altering a word of the King's, reduced them to twenty, which I read over to them. They said it would do in that form. I then had it sent to all our Embassies, with the exception of Paris, of course, and got it inserted in the Berlin papers. And it really did do. The French took it excessively ill."

Sunday, October 21st. — A beautiful bright day. The snow has disappeared. At lunch the Chief, while reading through despatches and telegrams as usual, said to Holstein: "Write that it would be desirable for the press to let it be understood that it is intended, in case of a French *coup d'état*, to recommend the Emperor to convoke the Reichstag for the consideration of such eventualities as may then arise."

Towards 12 o'clock there appeared before the door a carriage for Holstein and myself, and two saddle horses for the Chancellor and his son. We were to make an excursion to the south-eastern part of the estate towards the long chain of hills which I noticed on the horizon as I drove here from Schlawe. We first drove through a beech wood, then through fields and meadows, afterwards through more beeches with some marshy ground, and finally, after crossing old and new fir plantations, we reached a bare height in the neighbourhood of Annenhof, the ranger's house. From this point it is possible to see the chateau of Crangen with its four towers and blue lake nestling in the valley beneath: while on turning to the other side one has a view of the entire estate of Varzin. On my saying that this was quite a magnificent little realm, the Prince replied:

"Why, yes. If I had bought Varzin merely for riding and driving it would have been a good acquisition; but as it is — potato land!"

It was 4 o'clock when we got back from Annenhof to Varzin. The proofs of No. 3 of the Reminiscences had in the meantime been received from Kiel. After a while the Chief called me to his room and explained some of the corrections he had made. Among other things he had struck out some of the opinions he had expressed with regard to Radowitz, and the passage about the six shots and the six cartridges in reserve of which he had spoken in his account of the battle of Gravelotte. "I certainly said that," he observed, "and the remarks about Radowitz are also quite accurate. But please omit them all the same. His son is now serving under me."

As I wished to leave next morning, I took this opportunity of thanking him for having allowed me to spend some days with him, which had been a source of great happiness to me. He reached me his hand and said: "I hope we have not seen each other for the last time. I have a great regard for honourable men." "You have placed a great deal of confidence in me," I replied, "and I beg of you to continue to do so, and to remember me should there be anything to do in the press that ought not to be generally known." I also added: "Your Serene Highness has imparted to me a great number of important facts. These must all be kept secret for the present, but nevertheless will not be lost for the future. You make history, but do not write any, perhaps not even memoirs.[1] Bucher also seems to have made no notes." He was silent. Then he spoke of the power of the press, which had done a great deal of harm. "It was the cause of the last three wars," he said; "the Danish press forced the King and the Government to annex Schleswig; the Austrian and South German press agitated against us; and the French press contributed to the prolongation of the campaign in France."

I broached another subject. "Your Serene Highness believed once at Versailles that you knew how long you would

[1] When I mentioned this to Bucher he said: "Well, that is not quite the case. Recently, when we wished to resign, he said to me that if I did not like to remain on I should come to him at Varzin; he had some important matters to dictate to me concerning the past from notes which he had taken down."

live. You mentioned various figures, seven and nine, but I cannot now remember the year. I fancy it was seventy-six — the year of your life, I mean." "Seventy-one," he replied, "but God alone knows that."

When dinner was announced he let me go in front of him, and as he walked behind patted me a couple of times on the back, caressingly, evidently in the humour in which he was at Ferrières, when he called me "Büschlein," his little Busch.

Of what he said this evening at dinner and afterwards over our coffee I have only retained one delightful anecdote. Once upon a time the Junker of Kniephof had a visit from a lieutenant of hussars who was about to call upon an uncle in the neighbourhood. The uncle was particularly punctilious in the matter of etiquette and good manners, and he was next day to give an entertainment that would be attended by a number of guests of similar character and opinions. Overnight Bismarck induced the lieutenant to drink freely, and primed him so well with good liquor (if I remember rightly, it was "Kriegsbohle" — war-bowl — composed of champagne and porter) that in the end he had considerably more than he could carry. Next morning Bismarck drove his guest to his uncle's country house in a car without springs. The roads were not good, the rain having transformed them into seas of mud, so that the two young gentlemen were badly bespattered when they arrived, while in addition to this the lieutenant was decidedly sea-sick. As they entered the drawing-room, the company of some forty persons (the ladies *en grande toilette*, the gentlemen in evening dress) regarded them with mixed amazement and disgust. The hussar presently disappeared. Bismarck, however, sat down to table with an air of careless gaiety, in spite of the evident disgust which the good people manifested, and acted as if there were nothing in his appearance that anybody could object to. People wondered at the time how it was he failed to have any idea of the unpleasant impression he had made.

I left Varzin on Monday morning at 11 o'clock, again taking the post to Schlawe, proceeding thence by rail to Berlin and to Schönhausen.

Before I ask the reader to accompany me further, I wish to make a few more remarks on the Varzin estate which I noted down on various occasions from statements made by the Impe-

rial Chancellor. First, a few words as to its history, and then as to the manner in which it is administered and governed by its owner, and as to the life he led there in other respects, in 1877, and shortly before and after that year.

In former times Varzin formed part of a much larger and more valuable group of estates, some of which were originally held by the Zitgewitz family, the greater portion, however, being in the possession of the Counts Podewils, who, up to the year 1805, were large landed proprietors here. Tradition has it that this old family of Pomeranian nobles obtained the nucleus of their possessions through an act of bravery. According to an account given to us by the Chancellor, a Duke of Pomerania was attacked by Saracen pirates during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. They had boarded his ship, and one of them was on the point of making an end of the Duke, when the faithful Ritter von Podewils rushed from the kitchen, spit in hand, and transfixed the heathen with the weapon in question. He was then told that he might ask a favour, and he begged to be invested with the land surrounding Crangen Castle (about four kilometres from Varzin as the crow flies), in the vicinity of which, at that time, there was a great deal of forest and game. Subsequently this estate was considerably enlarged, *per fas et nefas*, by the Counts Podewils, who repeatedly held the helm of State, and were consequently powerful and influential. At the commencement of the present century, however, the estate, which had dwindled away again, passed into the possession of Herr von Blumenthal, who, in 1814, received the title of Count. The estate, further reduced in the interval by the sale of Chorow, was purchased from a member of this family by the Imperial Chancellor in the spring of 1867, out of the national grant bestowed upon him by the Prussian Diet for his services in the reorganisation of German affairs.

At that time the property, the area of which had been reduced from over 100,000 acres to something more than a fifth of that extent, included, in addition to Varzin, the estates of Wussow, Pudiger, and Misdow, together with the farm manor of Charlottenthal. Since then the Prince has been at pains to gradually extend it by purchase. In 1868 he acquired the Selitz estate, and in 1874 he bought back Chorow, which had been sold by his predecessor, so that the total extent of

his landed property here, at the present time, is some 30,000 acres.

But the Prince has not only added to his little realm, but he has also been an active and circumspect reformer. He always was and still is a capable landlord, displaying in agricultural pursuits the same qualities which have marked his creative work in politics. As his early management of Kniephof showed, in spite of youthful excesses, Bismarck always understood how to make a neglected estate prosper, and his administration of Varzin is a fresh proof. Whoever can do that will in favourable circumstances, that is to say, given the necessary political education, knowledge, and position, generally be found equally capable of restoring the prosperity and dignity of nations.

In what follows, many analogies may possibly be traced between his work as a landowner and his last two campaigns in the Reichstag, as well as earlier indications of his bent without expressly directing attention to them in each instance. Before his time, for example, the beautiful woods were cut down and transformed into bad arable land, which, in spite of all the theory upon which these proceedings were based, yielded no returns or only very poor ones.

The present owner of Varzin, who has been careful to remedy this mistake, has also in other places planted fir trees in light sandy soil, which previously grew nothing but bushes and heather. If Nature be not disposed to assist his work, he compels her to do so, a thing which, by the way, as Imperial Chancellor, he has repeatedly done in other fields, viz., in those of political and economic reform. He forces Nature's will to bend before his own by skilful strategy and stubborn perseverance. In several places I saw fir plantations in which the young trees were of different heights, nearly three-fourths of the plants having failed in the first year, owing to the sand and wind, while scarcely half of those planted in the second year ever throve. Perseverance, however, and persistent replanting got over the difficulty, and now the third and fourth years' seedlings gave every promise of as healthy and fine a plantation as any of those in the neighbourhood occupying a more sheltered situation and better soil.

The forest is at present rather a plantation than a game preserve. There has, however, been a considerable improve-

ment in the latter respect also during the decade 1866–77. Formerly deer were very scarce here, indeed had almost disappeared. But the new owner of the Varzin forest, in coöperation with his neighbours on all sides, succeeded in maintaining a close season, and now there is a fair number along the course of the Wipper and the Grabow and on the wooded heights, where a stag is also met with occasionally, as well as wild boar. The herons, large numbers of which formerly decimated the fish in the ponds, have been mostly destroyed or have left a district no longer safe for them. It would appear that efforts to check the devastation caused by the otter have not yet met with the desired success.

The Chancellor has also devoted a great deal of attention to the arable land which he acquired. Whole tracts that hitherto lay fallow have now been cultivated and made tolerably productive. Thanks to the system of drainage he has introduced, marshy ground has been turned into good meadow land; and irrigation has also been provided where it was necessary and possible. Nevertheless, the agricultural returns from the estate remain small compared with its extent, and the surplus left after the indispensable outlay is probably not very considerable. The Prince's territory with its hills and uplands (rising, in one instance, over 500 feet above the level of the Baltic), with its dells and valleys, its beech groves, forest glades, and clear streams, is, on the whole, more picturesque than profitable.

Up to 1878 it was hardly possible to dispose of such corn as was grown, the railways conveying the crops raised in South Poland and in Hungary with cheaper labour to our markets for less than it costs our farmers to grow their own.

Timber is also very low in price — the Varzin forest consisting of not more than one-quarter beech to three-quarters fir trees. This timber was formerly floated down the Wipper to the Baltic, where it was cut into railway sleepers and shipped to England. This trade, however, did not yield much to the landlord. The same may be said of the glass works at Chomitz and Misdow, which are now closed. They turned out excellent window-glass, but swallowed up huge quantities of wood, so that the profit realised was very small.

The owner of Varzin has found a better use for his timber

and at the same time more profitable employment for his water-power in the three paper mills on the Wipper. The railway between Stolp and Rummelsburg, which was in course of construction in 1877, now sends its goods trains through the Varzin district, and it is intended to form a connection between Further Pomerania and Posen. This has, of course, somewhat increased the value of a portion of the agricultural and industrial products of this district. At a not very distant date the paper mills, in connection with which the Prince already draws a considerable rent from his water-power and to which he sells a not inconsiderable proportion of his timber, will, under the contract with the present holder, come into his possession, together with all their appurtenances. It is this rent, I was told, which alone forms the annual surplus income of the whole estate. This, doubtless, means that the other profits, which are indeed comparatively slight, are swallowed up by the cost of improvements, drainage, irrigation, plantations, &c. The present owner, therefore, as a matter of fact, derives probably little or no direct profit from the estate, though he is making it more productive and valuable for his successors.

The village of Varzin lies for the most part to the north and east of the Prince's residence. It consists merely of a double row of houses along the highway, and, if I rightly understood, there are only five farmers among the inhabitants. The rest of the population consists of "small people," as they are usually called — tenants of a house and garden, day labourers, and village artisans. The policemen, who live in the village inn, are there for the protection of the Prince, and only remain while he is at Varzin. Of course Varzin is connected by telegraph with the capital of the Empire, and there is a Post Office official in the place or in the neighbouring village of Wussow. I was told that recently, in the course of one year, no less than some 6,500 letters and packets, and over 10,000 telegrams passed through this man's hands, and it should be remembered that, with very few exceptions, these were all received during the five or six months which the Chancellor spent here in that year.

There is no church in the village. Whoever wants to hear the sermon must go to Wussow, which is at a distance of about three-quarters of an hour. Although the Prince, as I have

already indicated, is a God-fearing man, whose strength and sense of duty are based on religion, and who regards death as the *janua vitæ*, he seldom attends divine service — possibly out of consideration for his health.

The Chancellor's life, during his retirement at Varzin, is very simple. It is devoted largely to recuperating in a good climate, amid green woods and fields, from overwork, Parliamentary speeches, and the strain of notorious and deplorable friction; also to the active pursuit of his favourite occupation of farming, and finally to the enjoyment of Nature, by which he has also felt himself strongly attracted. It is generally known that he has for years past suffered from insomnia. His Gastein cure in the summer of 1877 produced a great improvement in this and other respects. Consequently the Chancellor rose earlier than he had been accustomed to do, and went for a walk about 9 o'clock in the morning, a habit which a little wind and rain did not appear to interrupt. On these occasions he was accompanied by his two Ulmar dogs, Sultel and Floerchen, the former a present from Count Holnstein, Master of the Horse to the King of Bavaria. Shortly after my visit to Varzin, the newspapers reported that some ill-disposed fellow, who remained undiscovered, injured the dog, to which the Prince was very much attached, in such a way that it died soon afterwards. Since then, however, it has been replaced by another of the same breed, only less good-natured, or perhaps one should say, more suspicious. Many of our members of Parliament will have met it (I only speak from hearsay) at the Saturday receptions in the Wilhelmstrasse.

The order of the day at Varzin is somewhat as follows: "Between 10 and 11 A.M. the Prince sits down to an English breakfast with his family and any guest who may be staying with him. I have, however, only seen him take milk, one or two cups of black coffee, a little dry toast, and a couple of soft-boiled eggs. He takes this opportunity of reading the letters and important communications that reach him by post or wire, respecting which, as a rule, he immediately gives the necessary instructions. Shortly before or after this meal personal affairs are discussed with officials of the estate, farmers and peasants of Varzin, and any workpeople engaged on the premises, important political questions being subsequently considered and

disposed of. Between 1 and 2 P.M., if the weather is favourable, he usually takes a drive in an open carriage or a long ride, sometimes to inspect a new building or plantation, to see the progress made by the labourers, to watch the fishing in one of the ponds in the wood, or to look in at the paper mills, and frequently also for the mere sake of exercise and fresh air. Visits to or from the neighbours seem to occur very rarely, perhaps because of political differences."

Before his stay at Varzin in the summer and autumn of 1877 the Chancellor found it difficult to ride far, and galloping in particular affected him very much. The Gastein waters brought about an improvement in this respect. In the expedition to Annenhof on Sunday, the two horsemen galloped for a considerable distance both at the beginning and end of the ride. With the exception of a few short breaks they were nearly four hours in the saddle.

Dinner begins between 5 and 6 in the evening, and during my stay at Varzin it usually continued up to 7 o'clock, the conversation being as a rule very bright and sometimes most memorable. When dinner was over the Prince would join his hands together as if he were offering up a short prayer. After dinner nearly an hour is spent in the billiard-room over a cup of coffee. Here the Chancellor, as already mentioned, generally sits by the stove, smokes a couple of pipes of tobacco, and occasionally feeds the fire with some fir cones from the basket, which stands ready at his side. At about 10 o'clock tea is served in the Princess' boudoir. The Prince himself, however, did not partake of it while I was at Varzin, but took a glass of milk instead. Generally at about half-past eleven every one retires for the night.

The Chancellor has given up shooting for some time past, leaving it to his sons. On the other hand, he still enjoys taking long strolls through his park, which indeed fully deserves his affection. It is as extensive as it is beautiful, full of secrecy, variety, and forest music. Stately beeches and oaks, and in some places red-stemmed firs, raise their crowns high over the underwood on the hills and the grass and moss of the open glades. All the heights and hollows are connected by winding bridle paths, in addition to the narrower footpaths that pierce the woods. On the edge of that part of the park which adjoins

the large clearing made by the Chancellor's predecessor — with its dark green furrows and its ditches overgrown with heather — is a broad still fish-pond which reflects the tree-tops and the clouds above them, the reeds and the water-lilies. Here and there a bench under a beech tree, adorned with mementos, initials, &c., invites the wanderer to rest and meditate. The Prince knows every beautiful tree in his park, which he seems to have studied thoroughly. The moon and stars have seen him wandering here, and doubtless during these solitary walks many pregnant ideas have arisen and many a plan ripened which have afterwards borne fruit for us, his people. He unconsciously takes his favourite haunts with him wherever he goes — even during the campaign in France when they appeared to him in dreams with the glint of the sunshine on the trees. At Varzin he spoke repeatedly of what he had noticed in the park, and could tell many pleasant stories about the rooks in the tree-tops, how they "taught their children to fly," and how they afterwards "took them to the sea-side in order to give them a diet of worms," and how, "like people of position, they take a town residence during the winter in the church towers of Stolp and Schlawe."

I have finished my account of Varzin, and take leave of that hospitable country seat in order to show the reader over some other possessions of the Prince. In taking their departure, I hope they will join with me in calling down blessings and prosperity upon the house and its master — *Slawa* and *Wawrezin* — fame and laurels for evermore!

We will omit the visit to Schönhausen, as the Chancellor himself was not there at the time, and has indeed for many years past been seldom seen there, and then only for short periods.

I proceeded from Schönhausen by way of Stendal and Wittenberg to the third large estate of the Prince, the extensive domain of forest land known as the Sachsenwald in Lauenburg, of which the little village of Friedrichsruh forms the centre. Owing to my letter of recommendation from the Prince, I met with a good reception at the hands of the head forester Lange, who showed me through the Chancellor's residence, the nearest parts of the forest, and some adjoining farms that had been recently purchased. Here, however, a great deal was still in

a preparatory stage. The little chateau was being altered and extended, the park behind it was being embellished, and the small stream that flowed at one side of it was being dredged and regulated. I therefore stayed but a short time and was able to note but little of permanent interest. . . . So I shall draw my picture of Friedrichsruh and the life there from materials collected during a later visit to the Prince, when everything which was in course of preparation in 1877 had gradually been completed. But I will first relate a characteristic anecdote as it was told to me in Berlin by Lothar Bucher, who also published it in the *New York Tribune*.

When Bismarck was in the United Diet, and afterwards in the Prussian and Erfurt Parliaments, the opponents of the principles which he then represented denounced him as a "Junker," and George von Vinke went so far as to declare in a debate in the Lower Chamber that he regarded Bismarck as the "incarnation of Junkerdom," *i.e.*, an extreme adherent of the party which was at that time opposing desperate resistance to the efforts made by the Prussian National Assembly and its Parliamentary successors to abolish feudal rights, aristocratic privileges, and other relics of the middle ages. Our anecdote will show how little there was left even in 1865 of the fine old Junker. Under the Gastein Convention the Duchy of Lauenburg passed to the Prussian Crown. This little country was a judicial curiosity, and, in comparison with the neighbouring States, including even Mecklenburg, a monstrosity. It was a petrified specimen of the Germany of the seventeenth century, and well deserved to find a place in the Museum of the German antiquities. It had never occurred to any one to make a clearance of the mass of feudal lumber under which all the relations of life were smothered. From whatever point of view the institutions of the Duchy were examined, the observer saw the genuine spirit of the mediævalism holding unrestricted and unmitigated sway under the sun of the nineteenth century, and witnessed the exploitation of the majority by a small privileged minority. Lauenburg was the Pompeii of German constitutional history, or, what amounts practically to the same thing, it was the paradise of Junkerdom. The monstrous privileges of the nobility which were set forth in a certain parchment entitled "The Compact" ("Der Recess") had been confirmed

without examination by successive sovereigns at Copenhagen on their accession to the throne. The German Confederation, which occupied the little country in 1863, and the Austro-Prussian Commissioners by which it was afterwards administered, had been unable to provide any remedy for these evils. Their time had been too short, and the difficulties of the situation too great, as it was still uncertain to whom the territory would eventually fall. Therefore up to the final occupation of the Duchy by Prussia, apart from the chaotic condition of laws which no attempt had ever been made to codify, it was the custom to fill the numerous overpaid official positions with members of certain "fine families," of course for the most part aristocratic, who farm out the extensive domains amongst themselves, naturally at a rent far below their real value, thus monopolising a great part of the wealth of the country.

On the 25th of September, 1865, King William went to Ratzeburg, the chief town of the Duchy, in order to receive the oath of homage and allegiance of his new subjects. He was met at Buchen, on the frontier, by a deputation of the Estates, who delivered an address, in which they said, *inter alia:* "We have your Majesty's word that you will rule over us justly, according to the customs and laws of the country." By this they unquestionably meant the preservation of their feudal privileges rather than reasonable justice. In his reply the King made no reference whatever to that passage. This was in itself enough to cause uneasiness, and a change was indeed at hand.

On the afternoon of the 25th, the day preceding the ceremony of homage, which was to take place at the Church of St. Peter at Ratzeburg, Bismarck, who had accompanied the monarch, was enjoying the freshness of the evening on the banks of the beautiful little lake near the town, in company with a Herr von Bülow, Hereditary Marshal of the Duchy, a typical Junker of those parts. As the latter had as yet heard nothing to show that the new ruler of the country intended to confirm the privileges, and was much concerned at this uncertainty, he at length took heart and said: —

"*À propos*, Excellency, how is it with our Compact? I hope his Majesty will confirm it before he demands our homage."

"I imagine that the King will not do so," observed Bismarck.

"In that case," replied the Junker von Bülow, "we shall refuse to take the oath to-morrow in the church."

"In that case," retorted the Minister, coolly, "you shall hear to-morrow in the church that you have been incorporated in the nearest Prussian province."

The two gentlemen then continued their conversation on the beauties of the district, the Hereditary Marshal being probably ill at ease and out of humour, a circumstance that was to be gathered from the slight acrimony of his subsequent remarks. Immediately on his return to his quarters, Bismarck drew up a decree announcing the incorporation of Lauenburg with the province of Brandenburg, so that in case the aristocratic Estate really had the audacity to refuse the oath and the lawful hereditary homage, it should be read next day in the church, when a demand would be addressed to all present to take the oath of allegiance *en masse*, a demand which the popular Estate would immediately comply with. He assured himself of the approval of the King, and with this little torpedo in his pocket he entered the church next day. First a hymn is sung. A sermon by the pastor follows. Then the vassals are called upon to take the oath, and Bülow has to make a start. He steps forward hesitatingly, pauses for an instant, and glances at Bismarck, meets, however, with a look of determination probably not unmixed with just a shade of contempt, and then proceeds to the altar and swears allegiance. All the other members of the Estates do the same. No confirmation of the Compact! Bucher had this delightful little story from the best imaginable source — the Chief himself.

And now for a description of Friedrichsruh as I came to know it during my somewhat lengthy visits to the Prince between 1883 and 1893, together with a few words respecting its history. . . .

When the railway station was opened at Friedrichsruh, and it had thus become a favourite Sunday excursion and summer resort for the inhabitants of Hamburg, a man named Specht, from the neighbouring town of Bergedorf, erected, at a short distance from the local inn, a lodging-house, or hotel, somewhat in the Swiss cottage style, which he called "The Frascati."

This venture failed, however, in a few years, when the building was purchased by the Chancellor, to whom the Emperor William — who was at that time still exercising absolute rule as Duke of Lauenburg — had shortly after the war with France made a present of the Sachsenwald domains. The Chancellor, by means of additions and alterations, converted it into the present not very stately but pleasant and comfortable residence for the summer and autumn.

The forest presents a great variety of timber, including many members of the pine family, deciduous trees, beeches (of which there are several very beautiful groves, with tall stems like pillars in a cathedral), oak, ash, and birch. There are also some peat bogs, one of which, lying along the road to Dassendorf, has been turned into a preserve for deer and wild boar. In other parts the shooting has been let. The returns from the forest in the way of timber vary with the prices received. The wood is not only sent to the market to be sold for firing and other purposes, but a portion of it is also used in the powder manufactory that has been erected by a Würtemberger on that part of the Elbe that flows through the Prince's estate, and in the steam saw-mills. I was told in 1877 by the head forester, Lange, who, with seven assistants, administers and has charge of the Sachsenwald, that if there were an improvement in the low prices then prevailing he would feel justified in cutting down trees to the annual value of over 300,000 marks. In each of the twelve years preceding 1891 he must have felled timber to three times that value. There is good fish to be had in the two rivers of the district, trout being also found in the Bille. Agriculture and cattle breeding are only carried on at the two small farms of Silk and Schönau, situated on the edge of the forest across the Bille, which, together with their farmhouses and outbuildings, were purchased by the Prince in the seventies.

The Chancellor's residence is a two-storied building, painted yellow, and consists of two parts — the old Specht inn and the new building. These meet at right angles, and have the stairs in common. The upper story in the old building has for the most part remained much as it formerly was when it was an inn, and, indeed, still serves for the reception of the Prince's guests. At the top of the stairs one enters a long, gloomy

corridor, to the right and left of which are rooms of various sizes, more or less elegantly furnished. At the further end, to the right, is another staircase. On the ground floor are a number of family rooms, which contain among other things the handsome "grandfather's" clock, and the large oak cupboard with writing materials, paper of all sorts and sizes, envelopes, pens, penholders, and pencils, &c., presented to the Prince a short time ago by the manufacturers of Germany as a token of their veneration. Here also is a good-sized room opening on to the park, in which the meals are usually served. The kitchen and appurtenances are situated in the basement beneath. The Chancellor's apartments are on the ground floor of the new building. Passing from the hall up a few steps we enter an antechamber, to the left of which is a room used as an office by the clerks, while on the right a second antechamber leads into the very roomy study, and beyond it again to the Prince's bedroom. The Princess' apartments are on the first floor, where her daughter, the Countess Rantzau, and her three little sons also occupy a few rooms occasionally. Even the corridors are provided with Berlin stoves, those in the rooms being so constructed that the fire can be seen as in an open fireplace, for the Prince is fond of warmth and of the visible living flame. Doubtless this thorough heating of his residence is no longer a necessity of health. At least his physical condition during the three years preceding 1890, and particularly in the autumn of 1888, when I was his guest for nearly five weeks, was very much better than in the late autumn of 1883, when I also spent a few days with him here. He was then obliged, in accordance with the instructions of his doctor, to follow a strict diet, and to give up, not only shooting, to which he was formerly much addicted, but even long walks in the open air, and in particular riding. So far as I am aware, he is not at present obliged to impose any such restrictions upon himself.

When the Chancellor took a holiday, his object was to find recreation in the solitude of Nature, to feel himself once more a country gentleman, and to seek daily in the stillness of the wood "a nook in which only the woodpecker is heard." It is true that he never quite succeeded in securing this isolation, and indeed still less at Friedrichsruh than in Varzin, which is far from cities and the great lines of communication. The

world followed him by railway and over the telegraph lines, for it needed him as its Atlas, even when he did not want the burden and would rather have shaken it from off his shoulders. It came to him in letters and bundles of telegrams, and in the form of visits from native and foreign Ministers, Ambassadors, and Councillors, who all brought with them questions of greater or less importance, and who were mostly in a great hurry. There was, therefore, at all times work to be done here, not so much, and in particular not such a load of petty matters, as in Berlin, but more than enough, all the same. He was accompanied by Privy Councillor von Rottenburg, Chief Clerk of the Imperial Chancellerie, and a secretary, to assist in disposing of this work, which often gave them plenty to do. And the hours of labour which were not claimed by the great Empire were wanted for the Prince's own smaller realm, with its needs and cares, its creations and developments. The duties of a great landed proprietor are performed by the Prince with intelligence and diligence, while he is no less strict in insisting upon the corresponding rights of his position. He receives regular reports on the administration of his forests and arable land, and when riding, driving, and walking through his property, he sees personally how things are going on and what is lacking, what progress is being made with this or that improvement, how the crops are prospering, how their new pasture agrees with the cows, and so on.

The Imperial Chancellor's daily life in Friedrichsruh, as at Varzin, was somewhat as follows: In the morning at work at his desk, then, if the weather were fine, a walk or ride, or a drive in the neighbourhood, where the roads are for the most part good, many being kept like public roads. Then luncheon, at 2 o'clock, with the family, Rottenburg, the secretary, and any guests who might have arrived. During this meal the Chancellor would read his letters and telegrams, and give Rottenburg instructions as to dealing with them. The Prince then retired once more to his study, or, sometimes, he went on a second excursion alone, or with a guest. Dinner was served at 7 o'clock, followed by coffee in the next room, and while the guests smoked their cigars, the Prince retired to the little sofa behind the table, and selected one of the three long porcelain-headed pipes prepared for him. He took little or no part in

the conversation of the others, which was mostly carried on in a whisper, but read the papers, including the leading Hamburg journals. He retired after about an hour (instead of coming in to tea, which was served at 10 o'clock), as he now went to bed early.

CHAPTER V

I RETURN TO BERLIN AND RENEW MY INTERCOURSE WITH THE CHANCELLOR — THE HISTORY OF MY BOOK — BISMARCK ON THE OPPOSITION OF THE FREE-TRADERS AND THE HOSTILITY OF THE NATIONAL LIBERALS — HIS OPINION OF THE EMPEROR AND OF THE CROWN PRINCE AND PRINCESS — HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO ATTACK GORTCHAKOFF'S POLICY — MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO HAVE NO EXPERIENCE OF REAL LIFE — CONVERSATION WITH VON THILE RESPECTING HIS RETIREMENT — THE TURNING AWAY FROM RUSSIA AND TOWARDS AUSTRIA-HUNGARY — MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ALLIANCE WITH THE AUSTRIANS — THE PRINCE ON THE PARLIAMENTARY FRACTIONS — HE DESCRIBES BÜLOW'S POSSIBLE SUCCESSORS: HATZFELD, HOHENLOHE, RADOWITZ, SOLMS, WERTHER, AND KEUDELL — THE CHANCELLOR'S REMARKABLE OPINION OF STOSCH — ITALIAN POLITICS — POPE LEO — THE PRINCE ON THE CROWN PRINCE — THE ENVIOUS AND AMBITIOUS IN PARLIAMENT — THE CAUSES OF THE CHANCELLOR CRISIS IN APRIL — KING STEPHAN AGAINST KING WILLIAM — THE NEW MINISTRY IN ENGLAND — DELBRÜCK'S ILLNESS AND THE PRINCE'S OPPONENTS IN THE REICHSTAG — THE CENTRE PARTY DESCRIBED — THORNDIKE RICE'S REQUEST

THE "Reminiscences" in the *Gartenlaube* were in great part fragments from the first half of the diary which I kept in France in 1870 and 1871. During their preparation I bethought myself that at the audience in which I took leave of the Prince in March, 1873, he had said it would be useful and desirable if the whole diary were published with the exception of those passages which tact and prudence rendered it advisable to suppress. Therefore when I set about carrying his desire into effect the only question was whether he was still of the same opinion and would assist me in the work by looking through

the proofs, sheet by sheet, striking out what he considered questionable, correcting and possibly making additions. In order to be certain on this point I proceeded to Berlin in the first week of April, 1878, and, giving a short account of my plan, I requested an audience for the purpose of talking over the matter. On the same day, the 6th of April, I received the following letter: —

"VEREHRTER HERR DOCTOR, — My father desires me to inform you that he will be at home all day to-day, and would be glad to see you. If you have time, he would beg you to come to dinner at 5 o'clock; if not, to call at any hour convenient to you.

"With the profoundest esteem,

"Your most humble,

"COUNT BISMARCK."

I accepted this invitation, dined with the family, and afterwards negotiated with the Prince respecting my proposal. He immediately gave his consent, only pointing out with regard to the coöperation which I requested that, if he were to read through and make alterations and occasional additions in the proofs, he would be regarded by the public as one of the authors of the book. I overcame his scruples on this head by assuring him that, during his lifetime, no one except the publisher, a friend upon whose discretion I could rely, would know that he had permitted and assisted the publication within the limits laid down — not even the printing office, as I would have two proofs sent me, one for him and one for myself, and would reproduce in my own copy any excisions, corrections, and additions which he might make in his, and only send the former to the printer. On these conditions he also agreed to this part of my request. As the manuscript was so far complete that it could be sent to press, the work was taken in hand in accordance with the terms arranged.

On the 5th of July, 1878, the proofs of the first two sheets were sent by the publisher to the Prince in Berlin, and the subsequent ones to Kissingen, where the Chancellor — who was undergoing a cure — remained till the third week in August; then to Gastein, where he again took the waters up to the 16th

of September; afterwards to Varzin, and finally once more to Berlin, where I had once more taken up my residence. The proofs were returned to me with the Chancellor's corrections, for the most part in a few days after they had been despatched by the publisher, in order that I should reproduce the alterations in the copy intended for the printer. No arrangement having been made for their destruction, I considered myself at liberty to retain them as a memento of my intercourse with the Prince, and I still preserve them. In some sheets there were no corrections, in others a few, while considerable excisions were made in a number of them — the portions struck out, however, not exceeding in all more than one-fiftieth of the whole. At the same time it was evident that the Prince had read the whole very carefully, as he had corrected even unimportant printer's errors. My princely censor had justified some of the larger excisions by marginal explanations, and also in the letters sent through the Imperial Chancellerie with which the proofs were accompanied. These refer for the most part to statements made by the Prince respecting personages still living whom he was anxious not to offend. My princely "collaborator" also made occasional short additions to my text. It is hardly necessary to say that all alterations were conscientiously reproduced by me and included in the work.

So far everything seemed to be in proper order. Up to his return to Varzin the Prince had apparently no objection to my undertaking beyond those to which he gave expression in the excisions and marginal notes, as well as in the accompanying letters already mentioned, written by his secretary Sachse, and which might be regarded as disposed of by myself and the printing office. Now, however, some further objections must have occurred to him. On the 27th of September I received the following letter: —

"VARZIN, *September 26th.*

"MY DEAR SIR, — I take the liberty of sending you herewith the proof-sheets as corrected. My father would like to speak to you once more about the whole work and its contents before you allow it to be published, as he believes that, after verbal communication with him, you may perhaps make a few further abbreviations. Possibly you may be able, at the beginning of next month, to come to Berlin, where my father will be very

pleased to see you. In this case I would beg of you to send word, a little in advance, to me or to Baron Holstein. We shall be in Berlin from Sunday on.

"With the profoundest esteem,

"Your most humble,

"Count Herbert Bismarck."

Having at that time again taken up my residence in Berlin, I called upon the Prince at his new palace, No. 77 Wilhelmstrasse, on the 4th of October, and had an interview with him in his study looking out upon the garden, which lasted from 4.15 to 5.15 P.M. He received me in a very friendly way, gave me his hand, and, after inviting me to sit down opposite him at the other side of his large writing-table, said: —

"Well, then, you have once more become a Berliner?"

"Yes, Serene Highness; I found Leipzig too dull in the long run, and, besides, I wished to be near you in order to offer you my services as occasion arose."

He: "And you have broken with the *Gartenlaube?*"

I: "Keil (the publisher) died six or seven months ago, and the new editors considered many things to be trivial, and wished to have them struck out. I was of a different opinion, however, and, as the gentlemen held to their own view, I took back my manuscript. I shall, however, in future have the *Grenzboten* entirely at my disposal, or at least the whole political part of it, which, at present, is not what it ought to be. The article in question was that on Varzin, which, it is true, I treated in great detail. But I look on these things with the eyes of the next century, and I therefore find nothing which concerns you trivial and insignificant; and I feel sure that posterity will be of the same opinion."

He: "But not the present day. That also applies to the book, which has grown too bulky owing to the numerous details, and you will not make any profit on it. Besides, there are passages that could be turned into ridicule, and the comic papers will not fail to take advantage of that opportunity. And I, too, should come in for my share. I do not mind that, however, but you?"

I: "It is also a matter of indifference to me. I have no

fear, either of them or of the other critics, if I only know that I have not lost your good-will thereby."

He: "Oh! certainly; but you have given the remarks made by others at my table — what was said over the wine, and should not be made public. You will make yourself many enemies in that way. I have not struck out much, and have left in a great deal that really ought to have gone out. Other things, however, had to go."

He took up two of the proof-sheets and looked them over. "For instance, that my poor father ate bad oysters. And here, where Lehndorf tells the story about Princess Pless and the Crown Prince. What will Lehndorf think when he sees what he said at my table published by some one?"

I replied that I was not aware he had meant the Princess Pless, and that she had not been named by me.

He: "Yes, but that would be inferred from what preceded. And here, again, that I drink freely in order to mitigate the weariness of tiresome company. The *Germania* and the Socialist papers will seize on that and make me out to be a drunkard. And that story about Rechberg. What would he say? Besides, the affair was quite different to the account you give in the first eight or ten lines. It was not he who had given the provocation, but I, and it was he who first spoke of a challenge."[1]

The Prince then came to speak of other matters in the sheets before him which he considered unsuitable for publication, as for instance a passage in the second volume, page 262, of which he remarked: "H'm, 'That is boiling thought to rags — mere flatulence,' I know I said that, but everybody must recognise that that applies to the King. And Augusta will read the book — carefully — underline it for him, and comment upon it. Of course I know I had a hard time of it with him at Versailles for whole weeks. I wished to retire, and there was nothing to be done with him. Even now I have often a great deal of trouble with him. One writes an important note or despatch, revises it, re-writes it six or seven times, and then when he comes to see it he adds things that are entirely unsuitable — the very opposite of what one means and

[1] The passage in question has now been corrected in accordance with the above statement.

wishes to attain — and what is more, it is not even grammatical. Indeed, one might almost say that the Nobling affair was a piece of good luck — on account of the Congress. If that had not happened, I should not have secured anything at the Congress; for he is always in favour of schemes that will not work, and is wilful and opinionated in maintaining them. Others too in his most intimate *entourage* have to suffer from this aggravating peculiarity of his which he calls conscientiousness. You should see them when they no longer have to deal with him — they look quite changed, just as if they had returned from a holiday. But the Crown Prince is entirely different."

In reply to my question he then expressed himself favourably respecting the Crown Prince and his Consort. On my leading the conversation on to the Duke of Coburg, the Chief observed: "I have also been obliged to strike out some passages here, as that would cause great offence, seeing that he is the 'dear uncle.'" He chiefly referred to one or two passages respecting the efforts of his Highness to represent himself as resolute and fearless. In this connection he mentioned the Eckernförde picture, and I related to him the true story of the affair according to Tims' account. On my observing that the exalted gentleman had no courage whatever, he said: "He cannot help that, it's his nature — but that he should have had himself painted as a hero — a stage hero!"

I inquired how he now stood with the Empress. He replied: "Just as before. She does what she can against me, and she is not always unsuccessful with the Emperor. She will ultimately drive Falk from office. The Court Chaplain? Christianity by all means, but no sectarianism! It just occurs to me," he went on to say, "that in the Horsitz affair you write that Prince Charles sent Perponcher to offer me a bed. It was not he who did that, but the Duke of Mecklenburg. Such an idea would never occur to the Prince. He hates me and has already caused me plenty of heart-burning."

I then expressed the hope that he would not attribute the passages that had been struck out to any bad will on my part, but rather to thoughtlessness, as I had intended the whole work to serve and not to injure him. He replied: "A great deal of it is good and quite satisfactory, as for instance the

portion dealing with the Pope and Catholics. I only wish you had made it fuller. But that perhaps can be done later, when a good many things might be added. But could you not now abbreviate some parts of it?"

I replied in the negative, as thousands of the forty or forty-one pages which we had read through were now printed, and any alteration would occasion great expense. When a second edition was being issued I would beg him to let me know what he wished to add. I could also be of service to him in the *Grenzboten*, which, it was true, was a small newspaper, but still enjoyed a certain prestige.

Besides, we could get its more important articles reproduced in the daily papers, as has been done with success during the previous year. He seemed disposed to consider this suggestion.

On my asking after his health, and whether Kissingen and Gastein had done him good, he replied: "Gastein, yes — but the waters are dangerous. They oblige one to be very careful afterwards, particularly with regard to worry and excitement. Otherwise they make one quite dull and heavy. I have now found that out. I suppose you know about my last illness?"

"Yes, it was another attack of shingles."

"No, it was something else. The shorthand writers turned against me in connection with my last speech. So long as I was popular that was not the case. They garbled what I said so that there was no sense in it. When murmurs were heard from the Left or Centre they omitted the word 'Left,' and when there was applause they forgot to mention it. The whole bureau acts in the same way. But I have complained to the President. It was that which made me ill. It was like the illness produced by over-smoking, a stuffiness in the head, giddiness, a disposition to vomit, &c." He then gave a full description of this ailment as also of the shingles.

I inquired whether he was returning to Varzin or would go to Friedrichsruh, adding "or perhaps to the new Bavarian estate which is mentioned in the newspapers."

He smiled and said: "Bavarian estate! I have not the least idea of buying one. I lose enough on the one I bought in Lauenburg, where the purchase money eats up the income of the whole property. How can an estate yield anything when the bushel of corn is sold at the present low price?" He ex-

plained this point fully, and then continued: "I told them that long ago and tried to find a remedy. It is ruining our entire agriculture."

I mentioned that I had heard the farmers at Wurzen and farther up in Muldenthal complain of the intolerable competition of the Polish and Hungarian corn, in view of the high wages they have to pay, and that people looked to him for assistance. "Yes," he said, "there will be no improvement until there is an increase in the railway rates or a duty on corn."

I then turned the conversation once more on the *Grenzboten*, remarking that the publisher put it at his disposal unconditionally, and that I should be able to say whatever I liked in it. I should not, however, be in a position to do this before January or the beginning of February. If he would permit, I then proposed to come from time to time and ascertain his wishes.

"That will be a very good arrangement," he said, "but I do not know whether I shall be back in February. We must first marry our daughter." I congratulated him. "It is time," he replied. "She has already had several good offers, but she is an obstinate, capricious creature. You know there was formerly Count Eulenburg, who had absolutely nothing but his salary, and the present one also does not draw more than a thousand thalers a year from his property, which after all is not exactly a large income." I interjected: "But the Rantzaus were formerly very rich! I believe I read somewhere that they had about seventy estates and houses." "Formerly," he replied, "but not now — and moreover he is not the eldest son. But I fancy they can live very well on what they now have and will receive later on."

As we did not appear to have quite settled about the *Grenzboten* scheme, I returned to it once more, pointing out that my idea was to report myself and request his instructions on occasions of particular importance, domestic crises, foreign complications, &c. I must draw my information from the fountain head, as, although I was on friendly terms with Bucher, I understood that he had no longer much intercourse with the Prince. "Bucher!" he said, "yes; but it is the same with the others since I have got a representative — and Bülow. Altogether I am, in fact, no longer anything more than a Ziska

drum." I suggested: "But I can come at night, like Nicodemus." "Certainly come. I shall be very glad. But why like Nicodemus? You can also come in the daytime."

He then repeated that the comic papers would turn the book into ridicule, that the Ultramontanes and Socialists would make capital out of it against him, and that I, too, would make myself many enemies by it. It was a matter of indifference to him, but I ought to be on my guard. I repeated that I was not in the least anxious on the subject, as his opinion was the only thing I cared about. He then stood up, came with me as far as the door of the antechamber, and shook hands with me on parting.

About a fortnight later I read in the papers an account of the death of Bismarck-Bohlen, our comrade during the French campaign. The news was doubly sad. The merry Count had become a melancholy man, and had taken his own life. Italian papers gave the following particulars of his last days. In consequence of a distressing complaint he had for the past five years spent the winter in Venice, where he occupied a handsomely furnished flat in the Zattere. This year he had arrived on the 7th of October, accompanied by his valet. He seemed to be utterly prostrate in health, and had not gone out for several days previous to the catastrophe, nor seen any one except his servant and the doctor. The report proceeds as follows: "On the evening of the 15th he retired to his bedroom. As, up to 10 o'clock next morning, he had not rung the bell, the servant came to his door, listened, and then knocked. Receiving no answer, he opened the door, when he saw his master lying on the bed, covered with blood, and holding a revolver in his hand. The doctor and the German Consul were sent for. The former certified that the Count was dead, and that his death took place under peculiarly ghastly circumstances. The track of blood showed that he had, in his dressing-room, opened the veins of both arms and both legs, at the same time giving himself two gashes in the throat. All this was not sufficient to kill him, and so he had dragged himself, streaming with blood, from the dressing-room into the bedroom, seized a revolver, and fired a bullet into his head between the ear and eye."

The book, *Count Bismarck and his People* (*Graf Bismarck*

und seine Leute), was published at the beginning of November. It immediately attracted universal attention, and was reviewed in the German, and soon afterwards in the foreign press from the most varied points of view, forming for several weeks a general subject of conversation. All the opinions agreed in one particular, namely, that *the author was in a position to tell the truth, and had desired to do so.* For the rest, there was a wide divergency of views, both as to the intention and justification of the author in making his revelations, and as to the literary value of his work. A remarkable circumstance was that there seemed to be a certain fixed relation between the favour shown by the critics, and the distance between Berlin and the place where the reviews appeared, these growing more favourable as the distance increased. It was amusing to note that many formed their opinion of the book without having read anything beyond a number of sensational extracts from it; and several papers showed questionable taste in treating it in an unfriendly fashion after having filled column after column with what struck them as its most interesting passages.

The views expressed by most of the large newspapers in Germany were depreciatory, and, with a few exceptions, the smaller journals copied the others in the usual way. The author met with a kindly and appreciative treatment from only a few organs of the press, which also, to a certain extent, recognised the real meaning and object of his work. The *Weser Zeitung* recommended it as "a collection, a real treasury of impressive and pregnant details." The *Hamburger Correspondent* wrote: "The figure of the famous Chancellor rises before our eyes in Busch's pages with a life-like vigour and colour which surpasses that of all the biographies that have hitherto appeared; while the surroundings and the historical background are drawn with equal skill." The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* described the book as being "readable and in a high degree instructive," and observed: "Notwithstanding the numerous publications on the events of 1870–71 that have already appeared, none of them is equal in interest to the book now before us. It gives not only an insight into the private and, we may say, family life of the then Chancellor of the Confederation and his *entourage*, but it abounds in passages dealing with political matters, some of which are of great importance."

A critic in the *Berliner Boersen Zeitung* said: "Every one is talking of Moritz Busch's collection of episodes and memorable utterances from the life of the Imperial Chancellor. . . . These will be read throughout the whole world. In itself the book would constitute a literary achievement of first rank, even if its hero were a purely fictitious character, and not the most powerful personality among the great politicians of our century. Readers who have no appreciation for what is characteristic hold that the experiences and utterances of Prince Bismarck, which have been selected by Moritz Busch with great discrimination, include many passages that are trivial and frivolous. Among these they often reckon those strong characteristics which most strikingly reveal the Chancellor's nature, with its spontaneity, sober-mindedness, and impartiality, and its almost plebeian unpretentiousness and simplicity. Whoever admires the typical featureless hero of the German novelist, a concoction of undiluted magnanimity and sentiment, will turn from the portrait drawn by Moritz Busch with a feeling of embarrassment and repulsion; but those who have educated their taste by a study of the realistic authors will be enchanted with a picture the minutest details of which are vivid and characteristic, even if their views do not agree with those of the Imperial Chancellor." The Scientific Supplement to the *Leipziger Zeitung*, which was otherwise by no means well disposed towards me, and had indeed taken a variety of exceptions to the book and to its author, honestly and impartially recognised the true tendency and significance of the work, saying that it contained "records which may prove of the highest value to future historians, indeed a great deal for which it will one day be the only trustworthy source." "As evidence of its value as a mine of historical materials which is in some respects unique," the critic then gave a number of well-chosen extracts.

A few other organs of the German daily press expressed themselves in a similar sense. As already mentioned, however, the great majority of the newspapers were more or less decidedly unfavourable. This was partly through a lack of political and general education, then because the critics in question were incapable of appreciating the historical significance of the work and lacked moral seriousness, while obviously it was also due in part to low motives, hatred of the principal subject of

the work, wounded vanity, resentment against the author for having published expressions of the Chancellor which referred slightingly to party catchwords and party heroes, gave evidence of little sympathy with the Jews, and — in the opinion of the critics — did less than justice to certain belletristic products of recent decades. Finally, it was evident that envy of the prospective success of the book was also one of the influences at work. The author was indiscreet, and his gift was a mere collection of trivialities, spicy stories, gossip, and scandal. He was tedious, he had the soul of a flunky, he had neither taste nor literary ability, &c.

Quite comical was the position taken up by the *Post*, an otherwise sensible, well-meaning, and sometimes well-informed paper. In an article entitled "Indiscreet Books," which appeared on the 10th of November, it established, "by means of sound logic," the genesis of the work. Referring to the remarks made by the Prince at Versailles when he ascertained the existence of my diary, the *Post* (or its contributor, Professor Constantine Rössler?) came to the following conclusions: "Whoever is acquainted with the character of the Chancellor will agree with us that he must have said to himself on that occasion, 'If this diary be in existence, it must be published at the first opportunity.' That is the method which the Chancellor has followed in the case of diplomatic documents which have come into improper hands. Owing to the difference between the position of the persons concerned, what called for legal compulsion in the one case only required a mere hint in the other. What is the characteristic feature of this method? We believe it lies in the consciousness that there can be nothing more absurd than secrets which have leaked out and which have passed, whether in the shape of documents or as mere matters of memory, into the possession of other men. The seal will be broken sooner or later, with greater or less ease and skill, if the secret be worth the trouble, and it is not in our power to dictate the time of disclosure, which may happen at a very inconvenient moment. Therefore, break the seal, or, rather, never attempt to keep secrets that have once reached the outer world in any form. . . . Prince Bismarck does not and cannot desire that there should be any such secrets respecting himself. This is our explanation of the reason why the present diary has been

published, an explanation which is as soundly established as any logical conclusion can be." This explanation (the author of which seemed to know nothing of secret documents and archives, and to have overlooked the circumstance that the diary had remained unpublished for nearly eight years) did not hold water very long. Two days later it gave place to the following correction: "Our attention is called to the fact that in the efforts made to prevent the publication of these diary entries, Prince Bismarck had no legal remedy to hand. Remonstrance, which was the only course open to him, having failed, the Prince is obliged to count upon the good sense of the reader of these utterances, which have been divorced from their natural setting." This *correction* probably came from the Imperial Chancellerie. An idea can be formed of its value from what has been related previously. The circumstance that I let it pass unanswered, and did not state the true facts of the case, will perhaps not be regarded as a mere matter of course by all persons, but the Prince knew that it was so considered by me.

Let us now turn to the opinions of the foreign press. As was to be expected, the book did not meet with approval in France, where its hero as well as the author were made the subjects of embittered attacks. But so far as my knowledge goes, it occurred to no one even in France to question the *truth* of the work. The *Memorial Diplomatique*, among others, wrote that "the book is thoroughly imbued with a spirit of uncouth frankness, and the conversations and opinions which it contains are expressed in a form of crude simplicity which does not belong to the domain of the creative imagination."

The work excited the greatest interest in the English press. The *Times* wrote a leading article upon it, and then devoted no less than six of its huge columns in small print to extracts from it. It was received with exceptional favour by most of the chief organs of American criticism.

We have seen that the great majority of the German papers expressed an unfavourable opinion on the Bismarck book, and that the action of our press in many other ways was calculated to restrict its circulation. Bismarck's name, however, was too strong for them. The public practically declared that their verdict was unfounded and did not follow their leading, and for once the newspapers were not the great power which they im-

agine themselves to be. Two editions, amounting together to seven thousand copies, were exhausted within two months. A third and fourth followed rapidly, and before the end of the first year it was necessary to issue a fifth edition of the novelty which had made so many enemies. There were at this time fourteen thousand copies of the book in circulation, certainly a very considerable success in view of the fact that times were not particularly good and the price of the two volumes by no means moderate. Even then the run continued. A sixth edition appeared after a certain interval, and subsequently a seventh, a popular issue of ten thousand copies in another and cheaper form.

That was not all. In a few months after the first publication of the book in German there were nine translations on the market. That was nine translations in as many months, and an entire circulation at home and abroad of about 50,000 copies. Moreover, the German literary hacks who occupied themselves with Bismarck lived upon fragments of my work and drew their supplies from it for years, frequently without mentioning their authority. As to the domestic circulation of the book, I may mention that about a thousand copies were sold in Berlin, where the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *National Zeitung* had spoken so slightingly of it and warned so strongly against it; and that of all our cities Cologne was the largest purchaser in proportion to its population.

Towards the end of November, 1878, I informed the Chief that if he desired to see any additions made to portions of the book an opportunity would be afforded by the preparation of the third edition which the publisher had in view. I concluded this letter with the words: "If I have left unanswered the gross falsehoods that have been circulated respecting the book and its author by a portion of the German press, and do not intend in future to make any reply, however sharply I may be attacked, I trust I may flatter myself that I am acting in accordance with your wishes. If I have not deceived myself in this respect, all these insinuations and insults are a matter of indifference to me, particularly as I see from the better German newspapers, as well as from the *Times* and the *Perseveranza*, that my intention that the book should be of service to you has in the main been realised."

If it were no longer intended to extend certain portions of the work, this letter required no answer, and as none came I took it for granted that the intention referred to had been renounced. We now proceeded to reorganise the *Grenzboten*, and I wrote several articles for it, strongly supporting the Customs policy of the Imperial Chancellor, and opposing equally strongly the champions of unqualified free-trade; being actively assisted by Bucher with verbal and written advice. On the 15th of January, 1879, however, I applied directly to the Chief himself for further information, and received the following letter, dated the 15th, from his younger son: —

"MY DEAR SIR, — In reply to your friendly letter of the 10th instant, I have the honour, as instructed by my father, to inform you that he is just now very much occupied, and regrets being unable to spare time for an interview with you.

"He hopes, however, that this load of work will shortly be reduced, and he will then be very pleased to see you.

"With profoundest esteem,

"Your very devoted,

"COUNT W. BISMARCK."

On the 23rd of February the Prince sent me word to call upon him next day, when I had an interview with him, extending from 2.45 to 3.45 P.M., which was in many respects very remarkable.

Theiss announced my arrival and Mantei showed me out. The Chancellor looked very well and was friendly, as he always is. He came a few steps to meet me, gave me his hand and asked, smiling, "Well, are you still of opinion that you have done me a service with the book?" "Yes, Serene Highness," I replied, "with all right-minded and sensible people."

We then sat down at the writing-table, and he said: "Yes, but we are not numerous. It must give others the impression that I am a bitter, censorious, envious creature, who cannot bear the vicinity of any greatness. Humboldt, — well, I give him up, he was really an envious creature, — Heise, Gagern. It's well I struck out what I said about Moltke. That would have been still worse, for when effrontery succeeds it is all right. You have also come off badly — just as I told you."

I: "Oh! certainly. They have made me out to be a fearful

cur: narrow-minded, indiscreet, tactless, tedious, and what's more, a flunky and an Epicurean. All that is wanting is that they should say I am accustomed to devour a couple of babies for breakfast. The Jewish press in particular. But I despise this stuff too much to pay any attention to it."

He: "The Jews were angry at your letting me say they are not painters. Meyerheim let me know that he is not a Jew, not even his grandfather. All the same, I do appear in the book to be bitter and envious, and I think I am not that. I know very well that you did not intend it. We both knew the reasons why I was often angry and bitter, and I knew still more about it. Such shameful things had happened that I wished to retire — at Versailles."

I: "Dupanloup?"

He: "Still worse . . . Then in the diary form the whole thing was bound to be fragmentary, and many connecting links had to be omitted."

I: "I regret that it gives many persons that impression, but my intention was only to show how Count Bismarck felt, thought, and lived at a certain period — during the war with France. It was not to be a delineation of character, but only a photograph of an important period in your life, so far as I could see it — a contribution to history. I have not merely reproduced the scoffing remarks, but also the appreciative opinions, and have communicated traits which, if I may so express myself, show that you are good-natured and humane, and, in particular, that you sympathise with the feelings of the common people."

He: "H'm, and pray what might those traits be?"

I: "The sentinel at the Bar le Duc, for example, and the Bavarian stragglers after the battle of Beaumont, together with the first sentence of the remarks you made at Ferrières, which began with the reference to the spot of grease on the tablecloth. Also your opinion of Dietze, when the *politesse de cœur* was discussed. You praised him very highly."

He: "Yes; but after all he is of no importance, not a politician. A good deal that would have been useful to me ought to have been given more fully, and other things should have been omitted. It was not possible to do that, however, owing to the fragmentary form."

BISMARCK'S HOUSE AT GÖTTINGEN
(Das Haus in dem Wall.)

"But that can be remedied in the fifth edition," I replied. "You were thinking of doing so the last time I had the honour of speaking to you on the subject. You can give me additions, for instance what you have said on various occasions respecting the Pope and the Catholics." "I would not recommend that now," he replied, "in your interest and in mine. The indignation aroused by the book has now subsided, and anything of the kind would revive the discussion of the whole subject in the entire press."

I observed: "The book has also been praised by papers of high standing in Germany and more particularly in England and America. The *Times* published three long articles on it, and it has been described as a eulogy, but one which is based solely upon truth."

"Yes, in England," he said; "but here at home, that is the main point."

I continued: "And then I have not given merely conversations, but also newspaper articles which contained not my ideas but yours. I am heartily sorry that it has injured you. I was pleased with everything you said. I am quite indifferent to what people say about myself. Every word of abuse was an advertisement. I do not care for the esteem of our journalists or of those who accept their views. I have no fear because I have no hope."

"No hope?" he asked, as if he had not quite understood me.

"Yes, Serene Highness," I replied; "no hope — that is to say, I am not ambitious and have no personal aspirations. I do my duty as I understand it. For the rest, I hold to the principle which has been described as the ninth beatitude: Blessed is he that expecteth nothing, for he shall not be disappointed. I know too that I am not what they, in their envy and wounded vanity, describe me to be. And, finally, in issuing this book I have not depended at all upon my own judgment, but submitted it to you before it was printed."

"That is true," he replied; "but out of consideration for you I did not strike out as much as I ought to have done. Arrangements had already been made, and a good deal of it was printed. It would have lost in interest if much had been omitted, and I did not wish to diminish your success."

"I thank your Serene Highness for that," I said. "But I have myself also left out a great deal of what appeared to me to be questionable matter respecting princely personages, the Emperor and others. One passage which some people think refers to the Emperor was overlooked. I myself had not thought of him in giving the passage."

He asked: "Why, what was that?"

I replied: "That in which the flags are referred to which were not mentioned in the treaty and which they afterward desired to have delivered up — the Parisian flags, Serene Highness."

"Ah, that was less the King than Podbielski. Well, you must omit that passage in future editions. For the rest, *once I am dead you can say whatever you like, everything you know.*" I replied: "May that day be far distant! and in the meantime the book shall remain as it is, unless you wish to make any additions yourself. I have no idea whatever of taking any independent action in the matter." "How old are you, Doctor?" he asked. "Fifty-eight, Serene Highness." "Well, then, I am six years older than you."

He then spoke of the opposition of the free-traders in the Reichstag who denounced his schemes of Customs reform. "It is remarkable," he said, "how they, Richter and Bamberger, in their speeches always attack me personally instead of dealing with the question under discussion. The personality is of course a matter of indifference. My former ideas? How I have come to hold such views? Whether I have been consistent? I formerly consented to that which I now oppose; I have been playing a part; I am an amateur of genius, full of contradictions and always disposed to experiment at random. That is the main point for them. It is only incidentally that they refer to the matter itself. Whether I have a system? Richter at length said the only sensible and correct thing, that I doubtless had no system whatever. That statement is quite true, if it be limited to economic affairs — people are eventually forced to admit that I have one in politics. When I entered office my task was mainly a political one: the unification of Germany under Prussia. I was obliged to subordinate economic considerations, in so far as they were in any way affected, to that end. Otherwise I should have had no time. I had

Delbrück for economic affairs, with which he was thoroughly acquainted, having administered them for years and being the first authority in his department. I reposed confidence in him, and when I was of a different opinion I sacrificed my opinions for political reasons, and also because I still wanted him for the founding of the Empire, after 1866 and 1870. If I was of a different opinion, I did not enforce it officially. He has therefore acted for years by my side with perfect independence. It is true that afterwards my attention was called to the fact that we were not on the right track, at first through the complaints and admonitions of the public. But it was only when political questions no longer occupied the first place that I was able to consider the matter on its merits and not in connection with those questions. And it was not until Delbrück had retired in consequence of ill health — perhaps he had himself recognised that things could no longer go on as they had been doing — that I was obliged to form my own opinion, since I had no one to replace him. His two councillors were unsuitable. Michaelis is quite insignificant, and the other is only useful for certain things. In that way I was actually forced to take the matter in hand myself, and then I found that it must be managed differently. Moreover, the entire current of affairs had changed, the other Powers being about to adopt a different policy or having already done so: Austria and Russia had suddenly taken the plunge by providing that in future the Customs dues must be paid in gold, while France, in spite of the payment of the milliards to us, was continuing to prosper, but not under a free-trade system. Then the Americans, who, by an increase of the tariff, had been enabled to drive others out of the market! Only two countries were constantly losing ground: Rich, burly, full-blooded England, with its old industry favoured in so many different ways; and poor, weakly Germany, which was still engaged in making a beginning — the latter being the worse off of the two. It was therefore necessary to follow suit and speedily."

I said that the Opposition did not appear to feel any confidence in their cause. A National Liberal member of Parliament, Roemer of Hildesheim, had agreed with me when I told him the day before that the Prince would certainly be victorious, and had added: "Why, in his speech he threatened us

with a dissolution, and if that were to take place many of us would not come back after the elections." The Chief replied: "I have not exactly done that, but it may come to it. If only the manufacturers would not isolate themselves, split up into fractions, and cut themselves off from the agricultural classes! They would like to negotiate respecting individual items, the iron tariff, and so forth, — every one for himself. But that will not work. They must hold together. If you can remember that as well as you did the bitter remarks at Versailles, I shall be very pleased."

I suggested that it might perhaps be well for me to get some materials for articles out of the documents that had already been drawn up on the question in order to prepare the public mind. He replied: "Yes, but these are not yet ready. There is great procrastination. I do not mean that the officials are badly disposed, but they do not make any progress, and the Commission is waiting for the necessary data. I have taken this load upon my shoulders in addition to the others, and should like to do it all myself. And then one has all sorts of vexation and worry, which does not tend to improve the health, any more than the enormous quantities of work I have been doing recently. I have been busier at Friedrichsruh than in Berlin."

I asked how his health in general now was. "Not what it should be," he replied. "I am weak in the legs and cannot stand for any length of time. Leyden said to me: 'If this weakness in the legs is to be remedied, the head must do no work for three months.' I ought to have resigned, and I had intended doing so two years ago. But what is a man to do when he cannot resist tears? Still I should have gone; but the National Liberals began their attacks, and I was obliged to remain. And then there was the outrage in addition: the old man with his bandaged arm lying there, and hardly able to say 'Yes' at the Council respecting the Regency — I thought to myself that it would be a sin against God if I left him. And then the National Liberals were no politicians in the autumn of 1877. Bamberger has recently declared, in an elegiac tone, that they were justified in expecting consideration, or even gratitude, from me. As if they had coöperated with me for sentimental reasons, and not because of their Nationalist principles! I am represented as having disowned them, while it

was they who turned from me because I could not be as liberal as they were. If their leaders had been real politicians, they might have secured a great deal from me then, and more still in the course of time. But the maintenance of the party was of greater importance to them than the prospect of practical benefit. When Bennigsen returned from Varzin they said: 'He cannot work *with* this Minister, but *after* him.' It would be well if the fifteen or eighteen members of the party, who by rights belong to the Progressists, were to withdraw — but they remain. And now I am attacked by their newspapers, the *Kölnische*, the *National Zeitung*, the *Hannoverscher Courier*, quite in the style of the Progressist press. I am opposed in the Reichstag on all questions — obviously to prove that I require the support of these gentlemen — in connection with the tobacco monopoly, the tobacco tax as I intended it, and the Anti-Socialist laws."

I remarked that doubtless this was also, to some extent, due to their juridical turn of mind and their idea of a legal state, which, in reality, would be nothing but a state of lawyers and County Court judges, where they would rule and arrange everything according to their own theories — a state which would have no more claim to exist than a theologians' or traders' state.

"Yes," he replied, "that is true; but the chief cause is their enmity to me. And how ungrateful they were to the King about the Anti-Socialist laws! The old man who had boldly risked his crown for Prussia and Germany in 1866 and 1870 struck down by the hand of an assassin — and even in 1864, when a coalition of the Powers on behalf of Denmark (Schleswig-Holstein affair) was by no means impossible, they did not wish to protect him because *I* proposed it."

The conversation then turned on the condition of the Emperor. The Prince observed: "He has lost in energy and intellectual power, and has thus become more open to improper influences."

I inquired about the Successor, and how the Chancellor now stood with him.

"Well," he said, "quite well. He is more human, so to speak, more upright and modest — his character resembling that of his grandfather and of Frederick William I. He does

not say: 'I have won the battle, I have conducted the campaign,' but 'I know that I am not capable of doing it; the Chief of my general staff has done it, and he therefore deserves his rewards.' The Most Gracious thinks quite differently. He also cannot tell exactly an untruth, but he will have it that he has done everything himself; he likes to be in the foreground; he loves posing and the appearance of authority. The Crown Princess also is unaffected and sincere, which her mother-in-law is not. It is only family considerations that make her troublesome, formerly more than at present."

"The uncle in Hanover?" I suggested.

"No, not so much as the Coburger and the Augustenburger; but she is honourable, and has no great pretensions."

On leaving I said: "If your Serene Highness should want me at any time, and should require anything in which I could be useful, I would beg to be remembered."

He replied: "Well, what I said to you just now about the Free-traders, the National Liberals, and Delbrück was intended in that way. Make it public, and I should be glad if you would send me a copy."

I accordingly wrote an article "On the Genesis of the Imperial Chancellor's Customs Reform," which was intended to appear in No. 10 of the *Grenzboten*, and sent him a proof for revision on the 28th. It was returned to me in three hours. The Chief had struck out nothing except the following. After the words "when Delbrück retired at this time, owing to the condition of his health," he crossed out the passage: "and none of his fellow-workers in the department of political economy was capable of replacing him"; as also the word "absolutely" in the phrase: "The Chancellor was absolutely compelled to prepare himself by a thorough study of the facts to take the matter into his own hands." It would therefore appear that I had actually retained what he had communicated to me, nearly as well as the bitter remarks he had let fall at Versailles.

In the meantime I had a further interview with the Chief. On the forenoon of the 27th of February, I received a letter from his Secretary, Sachse, saying that the Prince requested me to call upon him, if possible, some time before 5 o'clock. At 3 P.M. I went to his palace. After waiting in the ante-

chamber for a quarter of an hour, a slight, thin, elderly gentleman came out, being accompanied by the Prince as far as the antechamber. This was Lord Dufferin, the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg. I then went with the Prince into his study, where we sat down, facing each other across his writing-table as usual.

"You recently told me," he began, "that when I had anything to say you could get it into the *Grenzboten*." I replied: "Certainly, Serene Highness; it shall be done without delay."

"Well, then, I would beg of you to write something on the policy which Gortchakoff is promoting in the Russian press, and particularly in the *Golos*, and to draw a comparison between what we have done for the Russians and what they have done for us. It must, however, be written with tact, in a diplomatic way."

"I will try to do so," I replied. "I am acquainted with the articles in the *Golos* through the German *Petersburger Zeitung*. It shall be done at once, as was the article on the subject of our last conversation. With your permission, I will send you a proof of it to-morrow, in case you should wish to add or strike out anything."

"Please do so," he said. "And now as to Gortchakoff. You know how the *Golos* incessantly attacks our policy and me personally, asserts that we were ungrateful at the Berlin Congress, and recommends joint action with France. That is the work of Gortchakoff and Jomini, and this fact must be got into our press. Gortchakoff must be shown what we have owed or have not owed to Russia during the past fifty or sixty years, and what we have done for her in this period. Russia helped us in 1813, but in her own interest. In 1815, the Russian's policy was in a general way a good one, but at the same time it injured us by frustrating any organisation of Germany which might not have fitted in with the Emperor Alexander's plans for rearranging the world; our demand for compensation also received but very lukewarm support from the Russians. Finally, their gains were greater than ours, although we had risked and achieved more, and made greater sacrifices than they had done. You know that in 1828 we did them good service during the Turkish war by Muffling's mission, for example, which helped them out of a great embarrassment. In 1830, they wanted to attack us in

coöperation with France, for whom we were anxious to secure the left bank of the Rhine. The execution of this plan was only prevented by the outbreak of the July Revolution. Shortly before the February Revolution a similar plan was being developed. In 1847 we suppressed the rising in Posen in the interest of Russia. During the first war with Denmark they ran counter to us. Of course, you know what took place at Warsaw, in 1850, when the Union was under consideration. We have in great part to thank the Emperor Nicholas for our pilgrimage to Olmütz. During the Crimean War in 1854, we, who had been badly treated shortly before, remained neutral, while Austria, who had been well treated, joined the Western Powers; and in 1863, when the insurrection broke out in Poland, and was supported by Austria and the Western Powers in their Notes, we took the part of Russia, and the diplomatic intervention failed. — It should only be a short balance sheet, giving the debit and credit sides — you will have to read the subject up. — In 1866 and 1870 Russia did not attack us — on the contrary. But that, after all, was in Russia's interest too. In 1866, Prussia was an instrument for venting the anger of Russia upon Austria; and in 1870 also it was only sound policy on her part to side with us, as it was undesirable for the Russians that Austria should join against us, and that a victorious Franco-Austrian force should approach the frontiers of Poland, it being a traditional policy in Paris to support Poland at the expense of Russia, a policy which was also followed in Vienna, at least of recent years. And then, if we had reason to be thankful to them, we returned the compliment in London in 1870. We secured for them the freedom of the Black Sea. But for us they would not have obtained it from England and France."

After a short pause he continued, while I, with one of his big pencils, noted down what he said: "Gortchakoff is not carrying on a Russian policy, which takes us into account as friends, but a personal policy. He always wants to cut a figure, and to be praised by the foreign press, and in particular by the Parisian newspapers. He sympathises with France, which cannot be said of the Emperor. He would like to posture as the friend and supporter of that country. The Dreikaiserbund only satisfied him for a short time. As far back as 1874 the threads of the Gortchakoff-Jomini policy are to be found in the foreign

press — oglings and advances towards an intimacy between Russia and France of 'la revanche.' The rejection of these addresses is due rather to France than to Russia. This policy does not appear to have originated with the Emperor Alexander. It culminated in the period 1875–77, when the rumour was circulated that Gortchakoff had saved France from us, and when he began one of his circular despatches with the words: 'Maintenant la paix est assurée.' You remember Blowitz's report in the *Times*. Read it again, and mention the matter. His account was correct, except where he spoke of an anti-French military party in Prussia. No such party existed. The same policy, which must be distinguished from that of the Emperor, is now being carried on in the *Golos*, which was formerly Gortchakoff's official organ. Whether, in spite of all signs of disfavour, this is not still the case, and whether Jomini does not still inspire it, is doubtful. At any rate it is Gortchakoff's policy which it represents. People are now talking of his retirement, and that Lobanoff, the Ambassador at Constantinople, is selected to be his successor. Those who are well informed, however, do not believe this, nor do they think he will retire from office as long as he lives."

I said: "Lobánoff? How are these Russian names really pronounced? Górtchakoff and Lobánoff?"

"He is called Górtchakoff, but otherwise the position of the accent is quite uncertain — sometimes before, sometimes after, and sometimes on the middle syllable. He is now old, feeble, and decrepit; yet, notwithstanding his failing powers, the anti-German publications are placed to his credit — and not without reason. They also account in part for his popularity in Russia — and his vanity has not decreased. After 1874 it seemed as if his thirst for fame would give him no peace. At the time of the Reichstadt Convention he is understood to have said: 'Je ne veux pas filer comme une lampe qui s'éteint; il faut que je me couche comme un astre.'"

I had not rightly understood him, and asked: "How did you say that, Serene Highness?"

He then repeated the French phrase more slowly, and said afterwards: "Please show it to me. You will have written it correctly, I suppose?"

I handed him the paper, and he observed: "The 'e' is miss-

ing in 'comme,' and the accent in 'éteint.'" He then continued: "You might bring in, at the same time, that he has really been stupid as a politician. He has only acted for himself during the last four years — that was in the preparations for the Turkish war, and no one can say that he displayed any particular skill in bringing it about. The relations with Austria — or, indeed, even with Rumania — were not skilfully managed. What did he do during the six months which he spent at Bukharest? The old fop was more occupied with the fair sex than with business. The relations with Austria and Germany were also not properly cleared up, although it ought to have been his chief task to assure himself definitely of the position of Austria towards the aims of Russia." In the further course of conversation, Schuvaloff's name came up, and I said he was regarded by many persons as Gortchakoff's successor. The Chancellor replied: "Schuvaloff is a clever man, but he has no chance. There is too much Court intrigue against him, and the Emperor Alexander will not have about him a man of real weight. Otherwise Schuvaloff would be excellent from the point of view of peace."

The interview had lasted over half an hour. The Prince went out for a drive immediately after — probably to return Lord Dufferin's visit. I went to the Foreign Office, where Bucher enabled me to take a copy of the documents, and of Blowitz's article in the *Times*. Three days later the article desired by the Chief, to which I gave the title, "The Gortchakoff Policy," was ready. On the 6th of March I sent a proof of it to the Prince, and was pleased to find that he only struck out some seventeen lines from the nine pages of which it consisted. It then appeared in No. 11 of the *Grenzboten*, and extracts were reproduced in the entire European press. It gave rise to a particularly lively controversy in the English and Russian newspapers, and some of them discussed it in long leading articles as an event of the first magnitude; so that it may be assumed that the object the Chief had in view was satisfactorily attained.

After the first volume of the fifth edition of *Count Bismarck and his People* had been printed, Captain Derosne's French translation appeared in May, 1879. The translator made some additions to the passages respecting Madame Jesse, which began with the words: "We are in a position to add to Dr. Busch's

diary some particulars which were noted down at the time by Madame Jesse, who owned the house occupied by M. de Bismarck and his suite from the 6th of October, 1870, to the 5th of March, 1871." I showed these to the Prince, who, after reading them over, declared them to be mostly fables, and very poor fables. He observed, in conclusion: —

"And as to this clock: 'Je ne veux pas — je ne cède pas.'" On the contrary, she let me know that if I would give her 5,000 francs in compensation for the damage done to her house and property, she would let me have the clock."

I now informed him that the book had been translated by Derosne, a captain attached to the General Staff in Paris; that, on the whole, his version read very well; and that, from his letters, the translator appeared to be an ardent Bonapartist, who placed the Republic on a level with cholera and the plague. I then mentioned, as I had already informed him by letter, that Derosne also proposed to translate *Letters to Malwine*, and that I had promised him an introduction and explanatory notes, in case he (the Chief) gave his permission. He said: "Yes, with pleasure." I replied: "I had hoped as much; as it is evident that, although the French do not love your Serene Highness, they take an interest in you, and, indeed, a deep interest. The translation, which was published on the 8th instant, was sold out in five or six days, although the edition consisted of 3,000 copies; and an advance collection of quotations from it (of which 10,000 copies are said to have been issued) is also understood to have been very speedily disposed of. Dentu is now printing the book itself. Six translations have already been published — in England and America, as well as in the Dutch and Russian languages. There has also been some talk of a Swedish translation. The Dutch sounds very queer in some parts."

"I can easily believe that," he said. "Have you ever read a Dutch play?"

"No," I replied, "but I have seen some passages from the Dutch Bible." "It sounds very strange to our ears; but," he added, "one must not tell them so, as they would feel greatly offended."

He then said: "But tell me what you think of the last debates in the Reichstag, and the position of the Customs Reform."

I replied: "Well, I think one may congratulate you on the commencement of victory in the matter. The manner in which you disposed of Delbrück, in the debate on the corn tariff, was simply delightful. Why, that was a refutation, point by point."

"Yes," he replied, smiling, "but we cannot yet say how things will go at the third reading. If it is not passed, I shall make a Cabinet question of it; and, as the King will not let me go, we shall dissolve. They, however, would seem inclined to procrastinate; and, in that case, I am not yet certain whether we ought to dissolve. Another year can, perhaps, do no harm, and the elections may in the meantime turn out better. The Ultramontanes, with whom it is altogether impossible to come to any permanent understanding, will hardly support the revenue taxes. Then we must have a dissolution, as we regard the reform as a whole, from which no part can be dissevered."

I asked if I might say that in the press. He said: "I think not. Emphasise in detail the position of the Eighty-eight (the Opposition), in their private and business capacities, to the iron tariff. How most of these gentlemen — lawyers, journalists, holders of funded property — are people who live upon fees, salaries, pensions, dividends; and, having no immediate connection with agriculture, are not personally affected, and have no experience, yet have most to say in the matter."

"Who neither sow, nor reap, nor spin, as you said to Lasker," I observed, "and who are nevertheless fed and clad. Of course, you did not refer to them alone, but to the whole class."

"Certainly," he replied. "Write that, and hunt up the necessary personal information. That may prove useful as a means of clearing up the situation for the elections. It must be shown that the majority of our legislators are the people who have nothing to do with practical affairs, and have no eye, no ear, no sympathy for the interests which the Government, in this case, defends. Learned men, particularly the leaders and principal speakers. Men of theory, who have no proper feeling for realities, and who have acquired their knowledge, not from experience, but from books, must no longer have the sole power and chief influence in the Legislature."

He then made a move, as though the interview were at an end. I rose, and he gave me his hand, and then asked:

"How are things in general going with you? You look rather poorly!"

I replied: "Much obliged to your Serene Highness, but thank God, I have nothing to complain of. There is only one thing I want, viz., that you should make more use of my willingness to serve you. The article on Gortchakoff, for example, did its work in the press fairly well." "I know that," he said, "but I have so much to do just now. Even as it is I want five or six more hours in the day to get through my work." "And how is your Serene Highness' health?" "Not good. It was better, but the overwork and worry! I must shortly get out of harness again."

I then went across to Bucher to get materials for the article which the Chief desired me to write. On this occasion, Bucher told me that "the stout fellow" (Von Bülow, the Secretary of State) proposed to the Prince that "Press-Hahn" should be taken into the Foreign Office as First Councillor. Bucher added: "Bülow, who is a Mecklenburger, has no thorough knowledge of Prussian affairs, and so Hahn would assist him. The Chief also wished it, but Hahn had been gossiping, and so it got into the newspapers. This was reported to the Chief, who then said: 'A man who cannot keep his own counsel, cannot be employed by me here,' and so the appointment was not made. Bülow, however, declares that it has only been postponed."

On my calling upon Bucher again in the afternoon, he said: "I would beg one favour of you. There has been talk of somebody being again appointed here in connection with the press. I was to take over the work in the meantime, as he wrote me from Friedrichsruh. I said to Bülow, however, that that would not do, as it would first be necessary for me to arrange for the necessary information, and prepare the files, and that that would take some weeks. Probably Bülow has thereupon simply written to the Chief that I declined. Now, I would request you, when you are next called to the Prince, to take an opportunity of mentioning that you got part of the material for your last article from me, and that I have also been of assistance to you occasionally in other ways." I promised to do this.

The article which the Chief had ordered appeared in No. 22 of the *Grenzboten*, under the title of "Some Characteristics of the Minority in the Question of Tariff Reform."

During the next few months I was actively engaged in the *Grenzboten* in supporting the Chief's policy and attacking his Free-trade and Progressist opponents. I almost always took counsel with Bucher, who sometimes suggested the articles, and between us the Prince's opponents came to hear many a bitter truth.

On the 9th of June I met von Thile at the corner of the Flottwellstrasse and Lutzowstrasse. He stopped as he returned my greeting, and we dropped into conversation, in the course of which I also mentioned his retirement, and pointed to Keudell as the immediate cause of it. "He wished to be Secretary of State," I said, "and then Minister. Your Excellency knows better than I do how incapable he was of filling such a post. He had an excellent eye for his own advantage, but he had no political ability."

"He was a maid of all work," replied Thile, who then related to me the story of his resignation. "I sent a request to the Minister to let me know whether I should tender my resignation to him, which was the usual course, or to the Emperor. Keudell took this message to him. He then came to tell me, under instructions from the Minister, that I should apply to the Emperor in order to spare him, the Chief, the sight of my hateful countenance. The story then got abroad, and Bancroft repeated it to me, adding that it was 'a message which no gentleman would have carried to another gentleman,' — and you know what a high regard he has for the Minister otherwise." In conclusion, I begged Thile to permit me to call upon him at some future time. He said it would afford him great pleasure, and he gave me his address, No. 3 Flottwellstrasse.

Next day I sent him a copy of the French translation of the Bismarck book, for which he thanked me in a very amiable letter. After careful consideration, I postponed my visit for a time. It would not have looked well had the Prince heard of it, as he is suspicious, and certainly not without reason, even of his friends.

It was not until the 6th of October that I again saw the Prince, having on the previous day received a letter from Sachse inviting me to call upon him. When I entered the antechamber Philippsborn was with the Chief. At six minutes past one he sent Theiss to call me in to him. I remained for about

three-quarters of an hour. He was in plain clothes and in evident good humour. On reaching me his hand he said: "Well, Doctor, how are you? How are the patients getting on?"

I: "The patients? Whom do you mean, Serene Highness?"

He: "Why, the newspapers."

I: "They are as ill as ever, or, I should rather say, as stupid."

He: "Well, just at present we could also find use for a doctor in the Foreign Office. Things are getting very dull there. Bülow is seriously ill, and is hardly likely to recover. I shall not see him again after his holiday. And Gastein has not done me any good either. I was obliged to work too much there, and yet to no purpose. I felt very well at Kissingen, but now — my health was better when I left Berlin on the closing of the Reichstag than it is at present. It was just the same as long ago as 1877. I then took a longer holiday than usual, but business followed me like my shadow. Radowitz is also not well. He, too, complains, and requires some rest. There is now some talk of looking for assistance to one of our Ministers abroad, Alvensleben and Styrum being mentioned, as well as Schlözer, who is in favour with the Crown Prince. With us the trade of a Minister is exhausting, and they sometimes even die of it, as Brandenburg did after the Warsaw-Olmütz events. A vast amount of nerve power is used up, particularly in the Foreign Office among the elderly gentlemen. Fresh friction continually arises. It was the same in former times, when three Ministers went out of their minds." He named them; Kernitz was one, and then continued: "He (the King) has been wearing out others besides, for instance, Falk, who retired solely on account of exhaustion and worry. He (Falk) has no reason to complain of me; I took his part in all questions. The King was always against him whenever he wanted to carry something through. I advised him not to take it so much to heart. When the Most Gracious, who is entirely under the influence of the Queen and the Court Chaplains, sent him an order which he had to execute, he should have pointed out that it must have his counter-signature if the King wanted to keep up constitutional appearances, but that his own convictions made it impos-

sible for him to sign it, and he should then have waited to see what would happen. But he is too easily offended, and so he tendered his resignation — really on account of a mere trifle, because a Herr von Hagen (so I understood him to say), an utterly insignificant creature, a blockhead, a coarse, stupid Junker, who had collected signatures to an address against him, had been elected on to the Managing Committee of the General Synod. (?) But the real reason was exhaustion and vexation at not being able to make any headway with the King. It was somewhat different in Friedenthal's case. He was an intriguer whom I was glad to see the last of. They would have been pleased to retain him — at Court, where his wife was very thick with the Empress, and the Emperor interfered very little in his affairs. Hobrecht's case was again different. He retired, doubtless because he himself recognised his inefficiency. He was not at all equal to his position, and was, besides, of too weak a character to deal with the numerous obstructive forces in his Ministry. With us, however, the Foreign Ministry is the worst of all. There the friction never ceases. My nature is such that I have been able to stand it for seventeen years; but Bülow, who conducted affairs during my absence, and who, when he thought he was through with something, constantly met with fresh hindrances and senseless and obstinate objections — he is suffering from spinal disease and will die of it."

He paused for a moment and then continued: "That comes chiefly of the Emperor's infatuation for Russia. I am also Russian in my sympathies, but not blindly, like the Emperor, who, with the exception of his brother, Prince Charles, and of Princess Alexandrine, is quite alone in this respect at Court. He sees and hears nothing, and no argument or evidence makes any impression upon him. He went to Alexandrowo in spite of the fact that I repeatedly protested in the most positive way against his doing so. They are making immense preparations in Russia, have increased their forces by 400,000 men, as much as the peace footing of the German Army. They can now put twenty-four new divisions into the field, that is, twelve army corps. And a mass of cavalry is stationed near the western frontier which could pour in upon us in three days. The reports are reliable and the Emperor is acquainted with the facts, but will not credit them. At Alexandrowo they turned his head

with sentimental talk and reminiscences of Queen Louise, so that he does not recognise the danger, and nothing can be done with him. And yet it is so evident. Against whom are those armaments directed. They say in St. Petersburg that Constantinople must be conquered through Berlin. Others say that the road lies through Vienna, but that Vienna must be reached through Berlin. We must, therefore, seek support, and the direction in which it is to be found is indicated. The sensible portion of the 42,000,000 Germans would prefer to have a good understanding with both Russia and Austria. But if one is obliged to choose between them, then everything points to Austria, national reasons and others. In that country there are some nine or ten millions of Germans, and the Hungarians are also decidedly upon our side; indeed, even the Czechs (with the exception of a dozen or so of irreconcilables who are of no account) are at least disinclined to become Russians. But let us suppose that Austria were a purely Slav country. Russia is strong enough alone, and we cannot be of much assistance to her. Austria is the weaker of the two, although at the same time a valuable ally, and we can be of great assistance to her. She can also strengthen us in our policy of peace. When we are united, with our two million soldiers back to back, they, with their Nihilism, will doubtless think twice before they disturb the peace. The idea of such an alliance has been very favourably received by the German Princes; and they are in thorough agreement with it in England also. France, too, is at present obviously in favour of the maintenance of peace, but for how long? The Crown Prince is quite of my opinion; it was a matter of course, he said, that we should unite with Austria. It is only the Emperor — he has recovered physically from the great loss of blood in the last attempt upon his life, but his mental powers have been weakened."

I remarked that the old gentleman's age, his eighty-two years, must doubtless also have some effect. Water on the brain was apt to set in at that age.

"That too," he added, "and consequently he does not understand what is said to him, even when it is very simple, and will not adopt any measures that are proposed to him. He and his brother and Princess Alexandrine are the Russian Rutli. (An allusion to Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell.*) You must not say

anything about this in the press — at least, not as yet; nor of the intention to bring about an alliance for the maintenance of peace either, as that is still in course of development. But you may speak of the condition of affairs in the Foreign Office, how one's ideas and decisions are affected by consideration for the political requirements of the Empire, by responsibility to the Reichstag, and by the views of the Sovereign; and that the friction thus arising wears some Ministers to death, and invariably injures their health. Refer to Bradenburg as an instance which the present situation recalls. Bülow has been destroyed in that way. It is Our Most Gracious who has done for him. The doctors say that the pain in the hip indicates a dangerous spinal disease. He is to be brought in now from Potsdam to Berlin, but I shall go out with my wife to see him. If he goes to Italy, who knows if we shall meet again? I must not stay longer than a quarter of an hour with him, as the excitement would be too much for him. I am extremely sorry to lose him."

I said: "I have heard him described as a particularly capable worker."

"Yes," he replied, "and adroit, sensible, and loyal; not like Thile, who was the Empress' messenger, and whom she kept here for a long time after I had made up my mind to get rid of him, owing to his incapacity. I learned to know and esteem him at Frankfort (he was now referring again to Bülow), whilst he still held the post of Danish Envoy to the Germanic Diet. And when he had become Minister for Mecklenburg he also showed great ability in the Federal Council, so that I was determined to have him."

He then recurred to the alliance with Austria, repeating in other words what he had said to me, *inter alia.* With the exception of the Emperor and the two other personages, almost the only people in Germany who were still in favour of Russia were the East Prussian corn-dealers. In reply to an inquiry as to the attitude of the Emperor Francis Joseph, he said: "Very fair and reasonable. He came specially on my account to Vienna from his shooting-box, adopted all my ideas, and was prepared to do everything I proposed in the interest of peace."

He observed, in conclusion, that he was leaving for Varzin in a few days. "Friedrichsruh is too near," he explained, "and

I shall not take any official with me." He then rang the bell, and asked the servant if the carriage which was to take him to the Potsdam railway station was ready; and I took my leave, with good wishes for his health.

This interview resulted in an article, "Fresh Friction," in No. 42 of the *Grenzboten*, which was also discussed and commented upon at length in the home and foreign press.

I did not see the Chief again that year. We continued, however, as best we could to promote his ideas in the *Grenzboten*, Bucher, as before, helping us faithfully and indefatigably with his counsel and assistance as long as he was in Berlin. In these articles the party philistines were now and again treated to some pretty energetic castigation, which is believed to have affected them rather painfully. The Prince returned from his holiday late in the winter, and it was only on the 9th of March, 1880, that I received an invitation from the Imperial Chancellerie to pay him a visit. I went to his palace at the time appointed, 1 o'clock, and had to wait for a quarter of an hour in the large pillared antechamber. Whilst I was sitting there, Tiedemann and the "Cerberus" (*Geheimer Hofrath* Roland of the Foreign Office) passed through the room. The latter seemed not to have been aware of my renewed intercourse with the Chancellor, spoke a few words to me, perhaps to satisfy himself that I was really the same person whom he probably regarded as having fallen into permanent disfavour and oblivion on account of my book, and had an opportunity of hearing the Chancery attendant in a loud clear voice call me in to the Prince. If he then further ascertained that I remained for nearly a full hour with the Chief, he will certainly have looked upon it as a miracle, and the next time I meet him in the street I shall have the happiness of being honoured by a friendly greeting from him. O these little bonzes!

So I wrote in my diary, which also contains the following particulars of this interview with the Chief.

The Chancellor wore a dark grey coat (plain clothes) with a military stock. During our interview he drank first a glass of beer, then some Vichy water, which the attendant had to bring him. On my making my bow, he reached me his hand across the table, and said: "I really have not much to say to you today, but I was anxious to see you again. My health is still in-

different. It is true I have nothing in particular to complain of, and sleep well enough — nine hours last night — and eat with appetite, but I tire immediately. I must not walk or stand for any length of time, as it brings on neuralgic pains. That comes from the overwork of last year, and from the violent excitement. You know that that does not at all agree with the Gastein waters — it may even prove dangerous.

"At that time I was extremely anxious on account of Russia, and feared an alliance between her and Austria, which the French would also have joined. Latterly the Russians had written us brutal letters, threatening us in case we did not support them in the Eastern question, and I thought they could never act in that way unless they had in Austria a good friend, who might become an ally. They had also endeavoured to bring about an alliance in Paris, through Obrutscheff. He is the adjutant and confidant of Miljutin, the Minister of War. But the French did not want it, and informed us through our Ambassador and others — just as a virtuous woman tells her husband when somebody makes improper overtures to her. That worried me a great deal. I had always desired to come to an understanding with Austria. As far back as 1852 I had an idea of the kind. It was — while the German Confederation still existed — that Austria should not want to have the sole authority in Germany, nor always hamper and coerce Prussia; she should grant Prussia a position in the Bund, which would allow her to use her whole strength in repelling the threatened attacks and pretensions of neighbouring Powers. They would not hear of this in Vienna, however; thought it was unnecessary. They held that Prussia had most to fear from such pretensions, and required Austria's good will and assistance more than Austria required hers. We had, therefore, to submit to being treated as an inferior, and indeed treated abominably. You know the Schwarzenberg policy, which was continued up to the Congress of Princes. They refused to share, and insisted upon having everything for themselves. We were therefore obliged, for our own self-preservation, to give them a practical proof that they were mistaken in thinking we must always lean upon them, and therefore give way to them, being unable to do anything for ourselves. So we took the opportunity in 1866, pitched them out of doors, and came to an understanding with

the others — on fair terms. I then again thought of a reconciliation with them, for instance in 1870; but it was impossible to do anything with Beust, and so the preparatory steps came to nothing. Andrassy seemed better disposed. It was necessary, however, to put my old idea into a new shape, in consequence of the altered situation. *I wanted an open constitutional alliance against a coalition*, indissoluble, *i.e.*, only to be dissolved on our side by the Emperor, the Federal Council, and the Reichstag, and on theirs by the Emperor and Trans- and Cis-Leithania. Then came the Turkish War, the Berlin Congress, and the execution of what had been there agreed upon. In St. Petersburg they expected us to look after their interests unconditionally, and to support all their demands. We could not do that, however, as some of them were unfair and dangerous. They began with imperious and arrogant warnings, and finally proceeded to threats. I could only explain that by the supposition either that an understanding had already been arrived at between Vienna and St. Petersburg or was being negotiated. Andrassy's Russian journey and various other circumstances seemed to confirm these apprehensions, and so last summer I was in a state of great anxiety. France would doubtless have soon joined the other two. In these circumstances, it was questionable whether England would have stood by Germany, as that country can never be easily induced to take sides with a Power which does not seem to have the upper hand. It was, therefore, with a heavy heart that I went from Kissingen to Gastein, and when Andrassy came I was very curious to hear what he would say. I then ascertained, however, that nothing of the kind existed. No understanding had been come to with Russia. I then brought forward my idea, which he immediately accepted, that is to say, he was in favour of the alliance, but not of a constitutional one. He would not hear of that, nor of publicity; and, indeed, in the end, it was as well not, as their Reichstag would have picked holes in it from their ignorance, and wanted this or that to be altered. Their Parliament is even worse than our own."

"Yes," I said; "the Constitutional party there are still more pettifogging than our Parliamentarians."

"You are quite right," he added. "With that exception Andrassy quite agreed with me, and the Emperor in Vienna

was perhaps even more strongly in favor of the alliance. But our Emperor was not. He raised really brutal objections, and wished to sacrifice the welfare of the Fatherland upon the high altar of his Russian friendship, although the Russians had been as perfidious and insolent as it was possible for them to be — also towards Austria, so that the unquestionably Russophil Archduke Albrecht afterwards said to Andrassy: 'I rejoice now in the alliance with Germany, as the Russians are the most untrustworthy intriguers.' At that time I may have written I should say a thousand pages, working day and night, using all sorts of arguments, and begging and praying, but without the slightest result. And yet there was no time to lose. Andrassy wished to retire. He, like myself, was tired, and he could afford to rest and be lazy. He had already provided himself with a successor, but considered it an honour to conclude the treaty himself. Nor could I remain for ever in Vienna. Yet if it were not now concluded with Andrassy, I felt the treaty would come to nothing, as the others had no heart in it. Moreover, the Russians might after all be able to come to terms with them against us. But the Most Gracious did not understand this. Even in Berlin he continued to hang back. At length he appeared to yield. I begged for leave of absence, and it was granted in a particularly official tone. Hardly had I turned my back when he issued a variety of contradictory orders, and I was obliged to send Stolberg to him in order to bring him round again. Stolberg behaved very well, and was not at all servile. And so the thing was at length done, and I believe it will last. The Austrians cannot help themselves now, and taken altogether the Emperor Francis Joseph is honourable and trustworthy."

"So he — I mean our Emperor — did finally sign it?" I remarked. "Until now I thought, in spite of what the press said, that he had not done so."

"Yes, he *has* signed it," he replied.

"And it is a formal treaty, no mere protocol, as was stated?" I further inquired.

He smiled as he answered in low German: "Dat kann ik Se nich seggen." (I cannot tell you that.)

"Well, I observed that your Serene Highness referred to it several times as the 'treaty.'"

"Yes," he replied, "but that must not be written. You must not let that be known. It would be all the same to me. I even wanted a public treaty."

He was silent for a few seconds, and then spoke about the weather. "A very fine day. Last night we had three degrees of cold, and now I should fancy there are fifteen degrees of heat. Can you see the thermometer there? How high is it?"

"Nineteen degrees."

He held his spectacles before his eyes and said: "Eighteen, no, you are right, nineteen. I cannot go out, although I should like to; I am afraid of catching cold. And yet I ought to show myself in the Reichstag for once, and honour them with my presence. I have no mind to it. I do not love their students' club ways. For them the Party is always the first consideration, and everything hinges upon that. It is the case with the Conservatives as well as the Liberals. Instead of working with the National Liberals, where it is obvious that the leaders of the Left Wing no longer exercise their former influence, instead of at least approaching them, the Conservatives prefer to go with the Ultramontane Centre. And yet there is no trusting the latter. I, too, desire peace, but they are not to be gained over by any concessions whatever, so long as a Protestant Imperial House rules here. Bennigsen manages his people very well. It is true that nothing can be done with Rickert and the little Jew, Lasker. All the same he acted sensibly with regard to Stosch. And Hänel, too, who is otherwise accustomed to look up to the Court (the Crown Prince). He ought to have been treated quite differently — I mean Stosch, a vain, incapable fellow. But they are a servile lot. It is true that the Free Conservative section is the party of the distinguished and the wealthy, and it was their duty and that of the other Conservatives to oppose anything that was really unwise or bad, otherwise they would have forfeited their position. But they are all servile, Court Conservatives in secret, and Court Liberals in public. They spare him because they believe he is in favour with the successor, which is really not the case, however."

I observed that the same sort of thing happened in England, where they all kneel and crawl on their stomachs before the Queen and even look up with devotion to the Prince of Wales.

He replied: "Perhaps, but it is harmless there. She has

little to say in matters of State, and cannot modify the policy of the Ministry of the day. In that particular they do not hold with the Court, and do not, as here, spare incapables because they are in favour there. And he is not even liked by the future Master. He is only retained because he is a Freemason of high degree. I have had that experience also with others who were incompetent, but held high Masonic rank. He concluded that mischievous military agreement with Saxony. I knew nothing whatever about it until the Saxons appealed to its provisions, and it was then too late. He did us harm also in France in 1871 when we were negotiating respecting compensation for the troops that remained behind, making us lose at least sixty millions. I do not want to bring any charge against him, but one cannot help wondering what he got from the Saxons and from Thiers. And our fleet, which has cost us such a fearful amount of money, is quite worthless, because the right man has never been put at the head of it. I thought it ought to be at least equal to the Russian fleet, but it is not — the Russian is better. He is a servile creature and deceived the Emperor at the review. The sailors had to show themselves smart, well-drilled infantry men; and so the Emperor, who is himself a foot soldier, thought everything was all right. But they pass it over in the Reichstag because they do not wish to offend the Court, and want orders and titles. It is just the same with our press. Pindter, for example (the editor of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*), begged to be invested with a higher official title. Well, he can have it. Those sort of people place their paper at the disposal of the Government whenever it is wanted. But I should prefer to be plain Herr Pindter, rather than Commissionsrath Pindter."

The Chief then, after referring to Hohenlohe, "who also does not wish to injure himself with the upper circles," came to talk of the appointment of the Secretary of State in the Foreign Office. There were great difficulties in the way of this appointment, he said, as the pecuniary position of those in view was such that they could not take the post.

I asked: "Was Hatzfeld really thought of in this connection?" "Yes, but he cannot take it. He is in financial difficulties. He can manage to get on as Minister in Constantinople, but not here. He would have been capable enough. Hohenlohe cannot do so either. He has a great chateau at

Schillingsfuerst which costs him a great deal and brings him in nothing. Radowitz, who is even more capable than Hatzfeld, is no better off in money matters. Moreover he has a Russian wife and six children, which is also not quite the thing. Solms, in Madrid, is too servile, — he would do everything that the Most Gracious desired."

I: "How about Werther, in Munich, who used to write those brilliant despatches with so little in them?"

He: "He, too, has not enough money."

I: "He is understood to have a large estate in Thuringia, Beichlingen, near Eckartsberg."

He: "First of all, that is not the place; then it is an entailed estate, and his father has impressed upon him to live economically and extend the property."

I: "In that case I do not know any other who would be suitable."

He: "Keudell, in Rome, might be nominated."

I: "He has a rich wife, but has he the ability?"

He: "Your question shows that you have formed a more accurate opinion of him than others have done. He has a reputation for ability because he knows how to hold his tongue, and people fancy that his silence covers ideas and knowledge. I thought so too, but have convinced myself that he has neither. Moreover, he is too hasty in judgment, sanguine, and thoughtless. Finally, he would be unfair to his subordinates, which would also be the case with Radowitz, who, it is true, is not a German. Both are vain, and want admiration and obsequiousness. Whoever is not prepared for that sort of thing will find himself overlooked and treated with disfavour."

I asked: "How is it now with the Empress, Serene Highness? Does she still cause you difficulties?"

He: "Exactly the same as ever. She is still intriguing with the Ultramontanes, and I know that the coarse and brutal notes which I have received are due to her."

He paused for a moment and then said: "Now if you have anything further to say to me or to ask —"

I stood up, thanked him for giving me the pleasure of seeing him once more, and took my leave, meeting Philippsborn in the first antechamber on my way out.

I took the first part of this interview as the subject of an

article which appeared in No. 12 of the *Grenzboten* under the heading "The History of the German-Austrian Alliance." This caused as great a sensation in the German and foreign press as the previous articles on Gortchakoff's policy and the Fresh Friction.

The same number of the *Grenzboten* contained another article by me, which dealt with the second principal topic of the conversation of the 9th of March. I had received, on the 10th of that month, further materials for it from Count Herbert, on behalf of his father. It was simply entitled "From the Reichstag." The second half of this article was also commented upon at great length in the Berlin newspapers. . . .

About 12 o'clock on the 20th of March I received the following note from Count Herbert: —

"MY DEAR SIR, — My father would be glad to see you, either immediately, if you have time, or at 2.30 P.M. He is going to the palace at 1.45 to offer his congratulations. Therefore, if you cannot come before 1 o'clock, 2.30 will be better.

"Respectfully,

"COUNT BISMARCK."

I was at No. 77 Wilhelmstrasse at 2.15, just as the Chief returned from seeing the Emperor. In the hall I met Bucher, who looked very poorly and complained of overwork. On my entering the Prince's room I found him sitting at his writing-table, which this time was so placed that the Chief had his back towards the window opening on the garden. He had on a grey coat, white trousers, and varnished top-boots, and wore an order round his neck. He said, after shaking hands as usual, and while he drew from an envelope the articles on the Treaty with Austria, and on Stosch, which I had sent him on the previous day: "Did you send me these?" I replied in the affirmative.

He: "H'm, I suppose, then, they are already printed?"

I: "Yes, already copied into the other papers and telegraphed to London."

He: "That's a pity. On the whole, the article is very good — you have a powerful memory — but there are some things in it which I should have liked to see modified. It is somewhat too highly seasoned — too blunt."

He then read aloud the passage in which it was stated that

even towards the end the Emperor still manifested great reluctance, and said: "That is true, but it is too strongly expressed." He then went on reading, and on coming to the part in which the trickery and mendacity of Russia were mentioned, he observed: "That is also true, but it ought to have been expressed with more diplomatic tact, now that they struck a different chord. Of course, what we now want is peace, after we have buckled on our armour, or our revolver. And it would also have been better if both articles had not appeared in the same number. Then a great deal is mentioned which was not intended for the public, but only for your own private information. They will now mark these passages and send them to him — she (the Empress) or Prince Charles, who always tries to injure me, and who has always been very Russophil, like his sister, Alexandrine of Mecklenburg. He also knows why!" — and he made a motion as if he were counting out money.

"Money, Serene Highness?" I asked.

"Well, or —— Surely you know — the old rake!"

I observed: "Perhaps it would interest your Serene Highness to see how an English correspondent has telegraphed the whole article at full length to the *Daily Telegraph* in London, so that it appeared there simultaneously with the publication in the *Grenzboten*. In many instances he has toned down the original."

"Yes, I should be glad to see that," he said. I gave him the newspaper. He read the beginning, and then said: "Leave it with me, and I will return it later."

I now said: "Might I ask what is the attitude of England towards the alliance?"

He replied: "They are entirely engrossed in the elections. A great deal will depend upon the result. The Italians hope that Gladstone will be victorious. You have doubtless read their assurance that they wish to retain friendly relations with all the Powers, but reserve the right to act in accordance with their own interests? They are like carrion crows on the battlefield that let others provide their food. They were prepared in 1870 to fall upon us with the others, if they were promised a piece of the Tyrol. At that time a Russian diplomat said: 'What! they are asking for something again, although they have not yet lost a battle!'"

I said: "Of these it is only the Piedmontese who seem to be any good as soldiers. Always covetous and always weak. Look at Lissa, where their powerful fleet was shamefully beaten, and their admiral fled like a coward. If they would only seek to strengthen their position at home, where no Ministry lasts more than a few months, and where the people are crushed by taxation and debt!"

"Yes," he replied, "that is the real *irredenta Italia*. They ought to take that in hand instead of thinking of conquests. But one day they will find themselves in the same case as Spain under Isabella, and the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples will be once more restored. Russia and Italy are the only Powers opposed to peace. Russia, who is not satisfied with her 400,000 square (German) miles of territory and wants further conquests. Well, I don't know of anything else to tell you."

I suggested: "I thought I might at the same time get instructions to write about the Pope."

"Yes," he said, "it might be pointed out that Leo's conciliatory attitude should not be overestimated. Not only the *Germania*, but also the Progressist journals exaggerate it, but only for the sake of opposition, in order that they may be able to say, 'The Curia desires peace, but the Imperial Chancellor will not have it.' The present Pope is, it is true, more reasonable, and, perhaps, more moderate than his predecessor, but the utterances in his letter are after all capable of many interpretations, and on the whole are more academic than practical. Of what good is it for him to say: 'I believe I shall be able to consent to this or to that'?" He then quoted a Latin sentence, and continued: "And who will vouch for the accuracy of the interpretation which is now being placed upon it? Who will guarantee that his successor will think in the same way? The Church has been putting forward the same claims for a thousand years, and will continue to do so. One Pope may carry out the old policy in a more peaceful, or in a bolder and more imperious fashion than another, but at bottom the policy itself is always the same. The May laws remain, but if they show moderation in Rome we can administer them in a less rigorous way — a *modus vivendi*. There are many people, however, who desire to have peace at any price, and would even go to Canossa — to save themselves trouble. These include, for

example, the Minister of the Interior and the Crown Prince. He wants above everything to have peace and a quiet life, and nothing to trouble him. He will not go into battle. It is just like the septennate with regard to the army. He wanted a permanent grant in order to avoid fresh struggles, as he thought his turn would come within the next few years, and he thinks so now, for the old gentleman can hardly live to be ninety."

At this moment the Princess entered the room and showed him a paper that seemed to refer to to-day's birthday celebration. She asked if they were to illuminate. He said: "No, but it would perhaps be better to ascertain first whether any of the other Ministers were inclined to disobey the order," which was probably contained in the paper. "In that case I shall also disobey — *i.e.*, disobey myself, for it was I who issued the order. I suppose the flags have been hung up, however?" The Princess replied in the affirmative.

When she had left I remarked: "What your Serene Highness has just said about the Crown Prince bears out the description of him which you gave me in 1870 during the drive from Beaumont to Vendresse — a pleasant life without much thought or care, plenty of money, and praise from the newspapers."

"Yes, that is his character," he replied. "Like his grandfather, Frederick William III., whom he resembles in other respects also. Of course you have read the Memoirs of Caroline Bauer?" "Yes," I replied. "And those of old Hofrath Schneider." "Ah, quite so; he also tells similar stories, but in his innocence does not know what injury they do him. The old King used to drive seven times a week from the Pfaueninsel or the palace at Potsdam to the theatre in Berlin, in order to see worthless commonplace pieces, and afterwards to go behind the scenes and chuck the actresses under the chin, and then drive back the long dusty road he came. That is also the Crown Prince's style — he wants to amuse himself, not to govern. It may turn out badly some day when I am too weak to do anything more, and we may lose ground again in many ways. It is true he wishes to keep me, but I shall go. In future, a Great Elector, or a Frederick the Great, will not be required. A Frederick William I. would suffice, or even a Frederick William II., for he would not have been so bad had he not been rendered effeminate by the women."

I said: "But you were satisfied with the article on Stosch, Serene Highness?"

He: "Up to the present I have looked chiefly at the first one. Moreover, anything one likes may be said about him. That is a matter of indifference to me. He cannot come in my way. He speculates upon the Successor, and, owing to his position among the Freemasons, he has managed to give some people the idea that he has a certain prestige with the Crown Prince. There are some others also who dined together recently and divided the duchies amongst themselves as at Wallenstein's banquet. How does that passage run? Ah, I can't remember." I quoted it. "Sie theilen dort am Tische Fuerstenhuete aus. Des Eggenberg, Slawata, Lichtenstein, des Sternbergs Gueter werden ausgeboten. Wenn er hurtig macht, fällt auch für ihn was ab."

The chief smiled and said: "Friedenthal was also one of them, a vain, intriguing fellow, whom I was glad to see go. Then Gneist — of whom I had rather a good opinion formerly, but who lacks character, and is a trimmer — Delbrück, and Falk, and also Rickert. Falk has spoken about my relations with him in a way that cannot be reconciled with the truth. I have always taken his part, and acted as mediator between him and Our Most Gracious, causing myself thereby a great deal of worry. Hohenlohe is apparently to preside over this new Ministry, in order to secure it some prestige. He has been selected as their Chancellor."

"And," I said, "who has not already wished to be Chancellor? Even Münster, the Cloud-compeller!"

"Yes," he replied, "and others too, because it is such an easy task. That reminds me how the Elector of Hesse sent his own doctor to Bernburg to make inquiries as to the mental condition of the last Duke. He reported that he had found him worse than he had expected, quite imbecile. But, good Heavens! he cannot govern in that case! exclaimed the Elector. Govern? replied the Doctor. Why, that will not prevent him."

The Chief then came to speak of his conduct of affairs and of the trouble and cares and dangers he had gone through, and of the opponents who had declaimed and worked against him during the past eighteen years. "I had frequently to apprehend danger and ill will from several directions at the same

time, and occasionally from all quarters of the compass." He smiled and then continued: "That reminds me of Gerstäcker, of whom a comic paper once gave a picture in which he was simultaneously attacked by a boa constrictor, a lion, a crocodile, and a bear, while he was exclaiming: 'Why, what a fine article this will make for the *Augsburger Zeitung!*' But, seriously, I am not good enough for this company, who know everything better, and think that a successor would manage things so much more cleverly. But, *contenti estote*, rest satisfied with your daily ration."

On his referring again to Friedenthal and his disposition to intrigue, I said: "Why, there we have three or four Jews in combination — Friedenthal, Falk, and Rickert. In future it will be just the same here as in England and in France — Beaconsfield and Gambetta, with the Hebrew tail of the 1870 Government. Andrassy is also understood to have Jewish blood in his veins."

"No," he replied, "they say it is gypsy blood, and he looks as if he had that. But Rickert? Is he also one of the chosen people?"

I said: "I do not know him personally, but I have heard so, and indeed he is believed to belong to the unbaptized variety."

"I should really like to know that for certain," he said. "Please make inquiries."

I promised to do so. He rang the bell, and asked for the Parliamentary Almanac, and looking up Rickert's name, found that he was described as belonging to the Evangelical Church. His birthplace and indeed all closer particulars were omitted, and this the Chief considered "suspicious." He then observed: "Friedenthal has even come forward as a National Jew. He will not permit the *Post* to attack Lasker or the Jews. Treitschke wrote good articles for it, in fact the most brilliant they had ever had. But when he began to attack Lasker, Friedenthal, who is one of the principal shareholders, intervened with his veto."

He then spoke once more about his future retirement and said: "How difficult it is to replace even Bülow! The gentlemen sit in their comfortable embassies and will not come here to undertake the heavy work. Hatzfeld would do. He is in-

telligent and serviceable but has no proper income, and might be tempted to associate himself with the financiers. It would be necessary to give him a grant. In that way the thing could be managed. Hohenlohe also is clever, but he allows others to use him for their own purposes. There is my eldest son, who has been working under my guidance for seven years, and who promises well — but that would not do, as he is only thirty."

With these words he rose and gave me his hand. As I was leaving he called after me: "Quite gently and diplomatically — I mean your writing." I had been with him over fifty minutes. In the second antechamber I met the Privy Councillor of Embassy, Von Bülow, who had been waiting there and who exchanged a few friendly words with me.

From what the Prince had told me of his attitude towards the Curia, I wrote an article, which appeared in No. 13 of the *Grenzboten*, entitled "The Conciliatory Pope."

Towards the first week in April the newspapers began to talk of a Chancellor crisis. After that had gone on for a few days I wrote to the Chief (on Friday the 9th of April) suggesting that if I could be of use to him he should give me information in the matter. On the 11th I received a letter from Sachse in which I was requested to visit the Chancellor on Monday at 4 o'clock. I kept the appointment punctually, and had to wait a quarter of an hour, as the Prince had disappeared in the garden. At length I saw him walking in the grounds attached to the Foreign Office. He was in plain clothes, carried a big stick in his hand and was accompanied by his two dogs. Theiss went out to him and informed him that I had come. In a few minutes I was summoned to him in his study. "How are you, Doctor?" he said. "Things have again been going badly with me during the last few days. I have been worrying over our officials — over the clownishness of Stephan — and others are just the same. The newspapers give a false account of the origin of the present crisis, and I would request you to rectify it. It has not turned solely or even chiefly on the attitude of the non-Prussian Governments in the question of taxing receipt stamps on Post Office Orders and advances, but to fully as great an extent on the improper behaviour of our officials. You know I have repeatedly complained in public of Prussian Particularism in regard to the arrangements and requirements

of the Empire. During my frequent long absences one arbitrary proceeding has followed another, so that a kind of Republic of the Polish type has grown up, in which each departmental chief insists not only upon having views of his own, but also upon putting them into execution. *Vortragende Räthe* (Councillors who have the privilege of direct intercourse with their chief), whose views are not in agreement with those of the heads of their department, and even Ministers who differ from me in their opinions, endeavour to give practical effect to their ideas, and that too as if it were a matter of course. But it is nothing of the kind, and it is obvious that that cannot be permitted by the head of the Government of the Emperor and King."

He paused and seemed to expect that I would write down what he had said. Before I had come in he had placed a fold of blotting-paper, several sheets of foolscap, and two freshly-pointed pencils at the side of the writing-table where I usually sat. I began by making a note of a few of the principal points, but I now wrote down everything he said literally, he speaking more slowly and in tolerably regular sentences. The following, therefore, after a few introductory words referring to what had been previously communicated, was published in the form of an article entitled "The Cause of the Chancellor Crisis," in the *Grenzboten* of the 15th of April. In this way the *Grenzboten* had the honour of having the German Imperial Chancellor as one of its contributors. He said or dictated:—

"So far as we know (I afterwards added: 'and we believe ourselves to be well-informed') there is absolutely nothing in the Chancellor crisis that tends towards any change in the Constitution. Nothing is farther from the Prince's mind. He considers the Federal Constitution fully sufficient if the rights which it accords to the individual States are exercised with moderation. Any irregularities or stoppages of the machinery have been due in part to the procedure of the Federal Council, and in part to the circumstance that many Governments have not attached sufficient value to the exercise of their right to vote. According to the practice hitherto followed, too much importance has been given to the committees and too little to the general meetings. The former have discussed matters at great length, while on the other hand, the plenary sittings have been almost exclusively devoted to questions which had been

so far settled by the committees that nothing remained to be done beyond taking the simple decision, Yes or No. It was, therefore, not possible for those Governments that had not been included in the committees in question, or had found themselves in a minority there, to secure consideration for their views at the plenary meeting, and to bring about a timely understanding, without causing great delay either by asking for fresh instructions or by referring the matter back to the Committee. The balance of parties is not the same in the committees and in the plenary Council. If the committees' majorities carry their resolutions into effect they deprive the unrepresented Governments of their due influence. If, on the other hand, the negotiations and discussions of these matters were transferred from the committees to the plenary meeting the views of all parties would receive timely consideration.

"We must here repeat what we said at the commencement" (this sentence was mine), "namely, that during the frequent absences of the Chancellor there has arisen among a section of the Prussian officials a condition which borders on absolute indiscipline; and, if it be true that the Prince has stated that he hardly ever succeeds in securing due regard for his legitimate authority without raising the Cabinet question, it is quite certain that a remedy is absolutely indispensable unless the prestige of the Federal Council and of its chief is to suffer irreparable damage. The Federal Council cannot become a public meeting, at which each official of the Ministry may, without authority and at his own good will and pleasure, give expression to his personal opinions on every question, and endeavour to secure their adoption.

"If the Royal decree lays stress on the conflict of duties in which the Imperial Chancellor may be involved under the Constitution, that difficulty can scarcely be overcome by an alteration of the Constitution in a manner acceptable to all concerned, but rather by a statesmanlike and prudent exercise on the part of all concerned of the rights bestowed by the Constitution. This does not mean that the Chancellor would be justified in declining to coöperate in the execution of a decision taken by the Federal Council. But assuming that he is bound to carry out such a decision and is therefore the immediate official representative of a decision for the consequences or the principle of

which he may find himself unable to accept responsibility, it could hardly be contended any longer that he occupied a responsible position, but on the contrary that the post could be filled equally well by any subordinate official who would have simply to carry out the instructions given to him.

"It can scarcely contribute to strengthen the constitutional organisation of the Empire, to force the Imperial Chancellor, and with him the three largest Federal States, into a position in which they must appeal to the lawful privileges of the minority. For the Chancellor, on his own initiative, to refuse to carry out a formal decision of the Federal Council would be a course barely compatible with the consideration which he owes in his official capacity to the majority of the Federal Governments. A sense of official propriety would probably lead the Chancellor in such circumstances to avoid having to execute a resolution for which he could not accept the responsibility, by tendering his resignation, thereby announcing his readiness to coöperate in the selection of a successor whose convictions should not stand in the way of the Federal resolution. Anyhow, the best solution would be not to drive things to extremities."

At this point it seemed as if something pressing had suddenly occurred to him. He rang the bell, and asked the Chancery attendant to call Privy Councillor Tiedemann, whom he then requested to ascertain at the palace what had been done in connection with the *pro memoria*, which ought to be dealt with promptly and without delay. He was to go immediately and make inquiries. When Tiedemann had left, he said: "The *pro memoria* concerns the matter on which we are engaged. But where was I?" I read him the last sentence, and he then continued: "Oh, yes! The prevention of such crises as the present will be facilitated if less importance is given to the discussions in Committee, and more to those in the plenary sittings, and if the custom which has recently arisen, for half and even more than half of the Federal Governments not to be individually represented at these plenary sittings, is abandoned. The practice of appointing proxies is based solely upon the rules of procedure, and not upon the terms of the Constitution. The matter would take a very different complexion if the decisive plenary sittings took place only during a relatively short period within the Parliamentary

Session, instead of being spread over the greater part of the year, according to daily requirements, as has hitherto been the case."

He then, without giving any indication that the interview was at an end, took up a document on which the word "Memorandum" was written, made a few corrections in it, had Sachse called and gave him instructions to "have that copied in the same hand."

He then turned to me again, asked me to read over the last sentence he had dictated, and said: "That will be enough. Do you wish to know anything further?"

I: "What does your Serene Highness think of the result of the elections in England?"

He: "The matter is not one of importance for us. The Russians, however, expect a great deal from it. But the Liberals must in general follow the same lines as Beaconsfield. That is always the case here too. If the National Liberals were to come into office, they would find that affairs could not be carried on as they imagine."

I: "It is just the same with Crown Princes. They almost always hold different views to the reigning sovereign, or act as if they did. They are for the most part Liberal, and yet when they themselves assume responsibility they must follow the same course as their predecessors. I say they act in that way, as doubtless the difference is often only apparent. It seems to me that modern Princes have no self-reliance, no real belief in themselves, and feel dependent upon public opinion, or the party doctrines which pass themselves off as public opinion. Our dynasties consider it necessary to win the sympathies of all parties, and therefore Crown Princes take credit to themselves for being of a different political or religious opinion to the reigning sovereign, Liberal when he is Conservative, or very advanced when he is only a moderate Liberal. When they ascend the throne and have to assume the responsibility of their actions, they throw their theories overboard, if they ever seriously believed in them, and enter into the hard world of reality where facts and not aspirations are the determining forces, and where one is met by impossibilities which it is necessary to reckon with or submit to."

He listened to me attentively, and when I had finished, said: "You are quite right. That was a very just observation.

But even if the English were to come to an understanding with the Russians, and were to be joined by Italy, which has always been coquetting with the English Liberals, that would not lead to any great danger, and might turn out badly for the Italians. The closer England draws to Russia the more she drifts away from France. A combination would then arise in the East which would threaten French interests in that quarter, and particularly in the Mediterranean, where they are different from those of Russia and England. The same remark applies to England's relations with Italy. In certain circumstances the result might be an understanding between France and Austria and ourselves. As yet we cannot positively say what we should have to offer in return — certainly not Alsace Lorraine, but perhaps something else. Italy, however, would fare badly in the matter, as in that case Austria and France could easily come to terms. Italy is like the woman in the fairy tale who had caught the golden fish — what was her name? Ilsebill — and could never catch enough. The fish may have to go back to their old places. Naples and the States of the Church may be restored."

I said: "In speaking to Tiedemann your Serene Highness mentioned a memorandum on the causes of the present crisis, which had been submitted to the King. What is his attitude in the affair?"

He replied: "Oh, satisfactory. Only he has not yet read the *pro memoria*, as it is too long. He laid it on one side. . . . And Wilmowski interferes. He considers it his duty and his right to put a finger in the pie, and advise him — of course against me, for he is a Liberal. So I have had a warning conveyed to him." He stood up and said again: "The clownishness of Stephan, who is quite insubordinate! That comes of his self-assurance. King Stephan *versus* King William! (smiling) — that will never do, and you might say as much on some opportunity."

I promised to do so at an early date, and then left. I had been with him for about three-quarters of an hour. In the large antechamber I saw Bleichroder's birthday present to the Chief — a pipe-rack in carved oak, and seven long cherrywood pipes with painted porcelain bowls representing game, together with two large vases containing azaleas in blossom.

I incorporated what the Chancellor had said to me respecting the English elections and a possible coöperation between England, Russia, and Italy, in a *Grenzboten* article, entitled, "The New Ministry in England." This was commented upon in leading articles in London, Paris, and Italy.

On the 25th of April, Lowe of the *Times* called upon me, and wished to have the same favours as Lavino "on the same conditions." I told him there was no other condition than that the copy should be telegraphed across. He said he had a special wire. I promised to consider the matter and let him know in a fortnight, after I had consulted the publisher, who would have to send him proofs of the articles in advance. Abel came to me on the 1st of May with a request that I should oblige the *Standard* in a similar way. He received the same answer. On the 7th of May I concluded an arrangement with Lavino,[1] who had in the meantime received authority from London by telegraph, and thus became an "Occasional Correspondent" for his paper.

In the meantime, I had on the 28th of April received the following letter from Bucher: —

"ESTEEMED FRIEND, — Kindly commit the indiscretion of handing the enclosed to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. You must not tell him anything more about it than appears in the introductory part. For your information I may tell you that the affair is a (very full) extract from an existing despatch. He has therefore no reason to fear a *démenti*. Perhaps it would be well if you immediately took a copy, so that you could publish it in the *Grenzboten* as a retranslation, directly it arrives here, in English, if you are not forestalled by other newspapers. But the *D. T.* must have priority.

"Yours, BR."

The enclosure was the text of a despatch by the Chief in which he stated the position of the Prussian Government in the negotiations for the settlement of the differences with the Curia and its German allies. Only a few sentences were omitted from the original, which was published in full a few weeks later.

[1] Then Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Berlin, now *Times* Correspondent in Vienna.

Lavino translated the document into English, and it occupied a whole column of the *Daily Telegraph* of the 3rd of May, appearing in the *Grenzboten* two days later. So far as I remember it was only noticed by the German press after the document had been published in full, some of them then remembering that they had seen the most important parts of it in the *Grenzboten.*

I now proceeded to Leipzig, but on Thursday, the 10th of May, received a telegram from home stating that the Chancellor wished to see me that evening at 9.30 P.M. I therefore returned to Berlin next morning, announced my arrival in a letter to Sachse, and was received at 9.05 A.M. by the Chief in his study, and had an interview with him which lasted an hour and a half.

He began: "You were on a holiday?"

"Yes, Serene Highness, I was in Leipzig for a few days, but had left word at home to telegraph if you sent for me, and so I am here."

He: "That was too much. I only wished to speak to you on some matters of principle. I would commend two subjects to your consideration. First the exceptionally outspoken and cordial pleasure which the Liberals manifest in their papers at the circumstance that in future I shall let internal questions alone, and restrict myself to foreign affairs. They argue that I know nothing about internal questions, and have accomplished nothing. On that point you might read up Hahn's book, in which you will find detailed particulars. Who, then, proposed the May laws, and persuaded Falk to agree to them in spite of innumerable judicial scruples, which he only surrendered after long hesitation? Now they extol them as a kind of Palladium, and so does he. But he showed by no means as much energy against the Clericals in his administrative capacity, as he does now in his Parliamentary speeches. And who carried through the scheme for the purchase of the railways by the State? Surely not their Camphausen, who, on the contrary, fought against it, and tried with all his might to create delay. And yet it has turned out well, even now, since Maybach is making money, and will cover the deficit for us. Moreover, the gentlemen who — as they assert — wish to strengthen the Empire by the development of the constitutional system, forget that I twice

carried the military septennate, and thus avoided a dangerous conflict by acting as a mediator between the Crown, which wanted the military budget to be permanently fixed, in order to get rid of the differences once for all, and the Reichstag, which insisted upon its constitutional right of supply, avoided it twice, as the conflict which formerly threatened would now have broken out afresh. This time it was managed by an increase of the army, which the Crown accepted as an equivalent, and which the Liberals in the Reichstag consented to more readily than they would have done to a renunciation of their constitutional rights. You may then refer to the anti-Socialist laws which I proposed, and to which the Liberals raised all sorts of objections. But I may regard as my chief service the new Customs policy, which I forced through in spite of Delbrück, and in dealing with which, I was not only opposed by the free traders in the Reichstag, but also by the Governments that held free trade views, and by their Councillors. As you know, in this case the initiative has been taken by me, and I have also done most of the work in curing this Delbrück disease."

I took the liberty of interrupting him with the remark: "This Bright's disease in the economic body of the nation."

"Yes," he replied, smiling, "that's what I mean — this Bright's disease! In the course of years we have become more and more pulled down by it — grown poorer and poorer — and it was time that something should be done in the matter. But for the five milliards of 1871 we should have been close upon bankruptcy a few years sooner. It is true they will not see that, but the people know it, for they feel the consequences. Their representatives from the learned classes, the lawyers and the holders of invested property, are not conscious of it. I have repeatedly received addresses from the lower classes, as for instance, from Westphalian miners, congratulating and thanking me. But my opponents will have to open their minds still further, when I come to them with my war tariffs, which they will of course fight against, and first of all with the tariffs against Russia. Besides, I have been the only champion of the national interests against Hamburg Particularism in the free harbour question. In this matter the National Liberals, and especially the Left wing, are rather Liberal and Particularistic than National. Lasker, Bamberger, Wolfssohn, Rickert, — also a Jew,

although baptized a Protestant, — are in this matter no better than Sonnemann, the Socialists, the Poles, and the Guelphs. They are only national when it comes to opposing the pretensions of a monarch, as for instance the King of Bavaria. But when, as in this case, it is the Particularism of a Social Democratic republic where the Socialists have the upper hand at the elections — that is quite another thing. Then Particularism must be supported, and I must be opposed. That I have always taken a determined stand against these people is a point upon which I may well take credit to myself in connection with internal affairs."

He paused for a moment and then continued: "It is I and I alone who have taken up the struggle against the Centre party and its wire-pullers, and gone through with it in spite of all the intrigues of the Court. If a few paragraphs in the Ecclesiastical Bills should be thought to give evidence of yielding, that is a mere optical delusion. We make no terms with Rome, and will not go to Canossa, but we shall endeavour to restore peace independently between ourselves and our Prussian Catholics. It is better that Bishops should return accompanied by triumphal processions than with wailings and complaints. In that way they recognise that something has been conceded to them — a great deal if they like to put it so. But if they do not then manage to get on with us, why, we have the discretionary powers in our hands and can remove them once more, or render them harmless in some other way. They do not, however, understand that at the Dönhofplatz, nor do the Free Conservatives either. That is the reason why I do not go there, as I do not care to speak to deaf ears. It may yet come to my being obliged to retire without the King's permission. And then — a Bavarian painter, Lenbach, made a good remark recently: 'To deliver a good speech there is like letting off fireworks before the blind.' Their policy is party policy. Bennigsen and Miquel called on me a few days ago and wanted to talk me into abandoning the Bill, but allowed themselves to be persuaded by my arguments. A meeting of the party was held the same evening and there they returned to their former position. You must, however, say nothing about this in the Press — as to our attitude towards the Bill and the parties, that is only for your private information. They must not think that

we wish to influence them, and if you were to say anything on the subject it would be immediately regarded as a communiqué. Of course you are aware that Windthorst recently described you as the leading official mouthpiece. We shall first see what they make of the Bill. Perhaps that will suffice for us, perhaps not."

He again made a short pause, and afterwards continued: "And now as to the second subject which you might treat. I should like to have a sketch of the Centre party, showing that we should gain little from its dissolution or reorganisation. The Conservatives would not be largely reinforced thereby — that is, through concessions on the part of the Government with regard to the ecclesiastical laws." He was silent for a moment, and then, turning from this train of thought, he said: —

"You know how Russia would never willingly permit us to grow too strong as against France, lest the value of her own friendship and possible assistance should be reduced. Her notion is that we should remain dependent upon her, and under an obligation to render her equivalent services. It is just the same with the Liberals, including the Right wing. They think of themselves and of their party, first of all, and want the Government to regard them as a power whose good will has its price. They really look upon themselves as outsiders, and — so far as the Government is concerned — as an opposition which must be won over by concessions, and whose support must be duly appreciated and paid for at the highest possible rate, and as promptly as may be. I must always be made to feel that they are indispensable, in order that I may be obliged to come to terms with them. For that reason the Government must not be too strong, must have no secure majority, and therefore in their hearts they are pleased at the existence of the Centre party. Its numerical strength suits their views, however little they may have in common with them as Ultramontanes. The Government should constantly feel its weakness in presence of this opposition of 95 or 100 members, and bear in mind the possibility of the Liberals refusing their support. They, the Liberals, must be reckoned and negotiated with, and their good will must be purchased. That is a party policy, and not one which keeps in view the welfare of the State."

He then returned to the Centre party, and explained to me

that only about one-third of its members could be won over by concessions on the part of the Government to oppose the pretensions of the Curia and to reinforce the supporters of the Ministry. "These are the Bavarian nobles," he continued, "and the South German nobles in general, as well as those of Silesia. Not the Westphalians. The latter were never reconciled to Prussian rule, and have always opposed the Government, even before the Empire came into existence — even when the Pope himself seemed to be quite satisfied with Prussia — I mean Pius IX., who said that the Catholic Church was better off in Prussia than anywhere else. The Westphalian nobles are sulking like the Guelphs out of sheer Particularism. They cannot forget the old episcopal régime and the advantages — the fleshpots of Egypt — which they lost when it disappeared. It is different again with another group of the Centre party, with the Rhenish members, for example. They are, in the first place, Liberal or Democratic Catholics, and only in a secondary sense Ultramontane, Catholic Progressists, anti-Imperialists. Most of them would not have got in on their Liberal programme. They were returned to Parliament because they had promised to support the demands of the Bishops and the Pope. They, like the Particularists of the Centre, could not be won over by any concessions, however great, as they are really Progressists, or little less."

I was now about to leave, but he made a motion as if he wished me to remain, rang the bell, and ordered a bottle of seltzer water. On this being brought in by the attendant, he pointed to it and to a full bottle of cognac which stood on the table, saying, "Now, old Yankee, is that to your taste? Brandy and water. Help yourself! It is very good cognac, or, at least I have been told so. It is a present, and may have cost twenty to thirty francs a bottle. I have some, however, which is still better, although it only costs a thousand francs the hectolitre."

Whilst I inquired as to his own health and whether he intended to go to Gastein this summer, and learnt in reply that his health was tolerable but that he slept badly and felt fatigued, he had brought a large box of cigarettes from which he asked me to help myself, at the same time taking one himself, and remarking that he no longer found any real enjoyment in

smoking. It was the same with riding for the last year and a half. He had to give it up, as it brought on a pain in the back. I asked him whether he had received the book on the Jews which I had handed to the Chancery attendant for him about a week before. "What book?" he asked. "Israel and the Gentiles," I replied. No, he had not. I explained that I had sent a letter with it saying that it was written by me, and that a glance at the preface might perhaps induce his Serene Highness to look it through more carefully at Varzin or Friedrichsruh. He remembered the letter, looked for the book on the writing-table and the shelves near it, and said at last, "Probably I have taken it upstairs to read in bed, or Tiedemann has taken it."

I then turned the conversation upon Lenbach, and remarked that the picture representing the Chief in profile looking upwards was to my mind the best portrait of him which I had seen.

He replied: "He has painted a whole crowd of them. The one you mean came about in this way. I was looking up at a flight of birds in Friedrichsruh. 'Hold hard,' Lenbach exclaimed, 'that's good. Please stand still and I will sketch it in at once.'"

I then mentioned the photograph of the other portrait in which the hair of his eyebrows was twisted upwards and he had a romantically curled moustache, observing that I did not quite like it, as it was not natural.

"No," he said, "it is natural. It grows in that way until I shorten it with the scissors."

We then spoke of the enterprising Thorndike Rice, an American, who published the New York monthly, *The North American Review*, I having asked the Prince whether he had read Blowitz' account of Rice's alleged visit and request. A few weeks previously Rice paid me several visits, and after having first ordered an article on Bismarck, introduced a further request by saying, "You must not be offended, but you know that we Yankees are bold enough when we have something in view." He then asked whether I could not procure for him an article by Bismarck himself to be published in his periodical. He was quite prepared to pay £500, half of it in advance, if I could manage that. I said that it was "utterly impossible,"

even if he were to give me £1,000, and explained the reasons. He then suggested that I should write the article, to which the Prince need only put his name. Of course, I also declined that proposal. He then contented himself with my promise to write the article in question, and send it after him to Paris, and to let him have further contributions later on. In about three weeks he received the Bismarck article, which appeared in the July and August numbers of his review under the title, "Prince Bismarck as a Friend of America, and as a Statesman. By Moritz Busch." I was paid at the rate of 500 marks a sheet, an enormous sum according to German ideas, and had moreover the honour of figuring with Gladstone as a contributor to the American *Revue des Deux Mondes.* From a message sent by Blowitz to the *Times* it would appear that Rice, after his last visit to me, called at the Chief's to request him to contribute to his periodical, and, of course, there also received a negative answer.

"The account is correct," the Chief replied; "but he only spoke to my son, through whom I informed him that I was too much occupied to be able to gratify my strong taste for journalism, and to earn the large sum of money which he had offered me."

I then gave him an account of my conversations with Mr. Rice, and afterwards asked him once more about Gastein. No, he replied, he must rest himself, and wished to be quite alone away from everybody. He then came to speak of his household, which costs him a great deal of money. A successor could not make both ends meet if he were not also assisted by a grant, the salary as Imperial Chancellor not being sufficient.

I said I had always been under the impression that he drew a salary merely as Prussian Minister.

"It is the other way about," he answered. "As Imperial Chancellor I receive 18,000 thalers; as Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs I get nothing, and my expenses now come to 60,000 thalers a year. In this house alone the lighting costs me 2,000 extra. It is most unpractically built, full of dark passages and back stairs, and it is only the offices downstairs that I do not need to light myself. They have also increased the inhabited house tax, the rent being reckoned at 5,000 thalers, which I consider unfair, although it is better than the

other house, the poor accommodation of which you know." After I had made a few remarks in reply, we both rose, an example which was followed by his dog. This animal at first seemed to entertain evil intentions respecting my coat or throat, but had grown quiet on his master ordering him to lie down, when he crouched under the table and put his head between my knees. The Prince told him to jump on the sofa, from which he fetched a piece of wood. The Chief then took it from him and pitched it into the niche between the two windows, the dog springing after it. It is a savage animal, which has already severely bitten and torn the clothes of people well known in the house such as Chancery attendants. In spite of the chastisement inflicted upon him with the heavy leather whip that lies on the table, he has not considered the error of his ways nor assumed politer manners. He appeared to take a liking to me, however, and I had also later on occasion to congratulate myself on his good will.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARTICLE "THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ITALIAN BISHOPS" — LOTHAR BUCHER ON HOHENLOHE, RADOWITZ, AND THE TWO BÜLOWS — THE CHIEF WISHES TO REPRESENT HIMSELF IN THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" AS A LEGITIMIST, AND EXPRESSES REGRET AT THE FACT — COURT INTRIGUES AND THE REQUEST TO BE RELEASED FROM OFFICE — BUCHER ON THE SECESSIONISTS, AND THE FUTURE MINISTERS — THE CHIEF ON THE MEANS OF SECURING THE FUTURE OF THE WORKINGMAN — THE OPPOSITION TO THIS REFORM — THE JEWS — THE DEFECTION OF THE CONSERVATIVES AND NATIONAL LIBERALS — THE KING THE SOLE MEMBER OF HIS PARTY — THE "GRENZBOTEN" REGARDED AS AN OFFICIAL GAZETTE — THE DEBATE IN THE UPPER CHAMBER ON THE REMISSION OF TAXES, AND A "GRENZBOTEN" ARTICLE ON THAT SUBJECT BY THE CHIEF — THE BERLINERS IN PARLIAMENT — THE PROGRESSISTS PRETEND THAT THEY HAVE DONE EVERYTHING, BUT HAVE ALWAYS ACTED MERELY AS ADVOCATUS DIABOLI — THE CHANCELLOR UPON THE JEWS ONCE MORE

I WAS in rather frequent intercourse with Bucher during the summer and autumn of 1880. On the 3rd of June he sent me the material for an article on the attitude of the Curia towards the Italian Government, which appeared in No. 24 of the *Grenzboten*, under the title "The Government and the Bishops in Italy." It concluded with the following words: "It will be seen from the foregoing that the Pope (Leo's predecessor being also understood here) uses his discretionary power in Italy in a less uncompromising fashion than he does in Germany, a circumstance which we should keep in mind in the next phase of the struggle between the Curia and the Prussian Government." On the 14th of June, in the course of a conversation with me at his house, Bucher described several members of our diplomatic service. Hohenlohe, he said, was a

gentleman, and amiable, but was only of moderate ability, and had in particular a weak memory. Besides, he had too great an interest in matters other than politics, such as smart company, racing, &c. Radowitz was talented, and well informed on Eastern affairs, but he was an ambitious self-seeker and very pretentious, and maintained relations with Court circles hostile to the Chief. On the other hand he praised my namesake Busch very highly, as being not only intelligent and well informed but also of straightforward character. Bülow, the Councillor of Embassy, he described as an intriguing egotist, whose true character the Chancellor recently discovered. He considered the Chief had done the other Bülow, the deceased Secretary of State, too much honour in describing him to me as exceptionally able and loyal. He was a diligent and clever master of routine, somewhat like Abeken. His illness had certainly not arisen through vexation at the King's self-will, his backbone was too flexible for that. Both before and after this visit Bucher sent me various particulars respecting Parliamentary and non-Parliamentary Jews, whom he — like myself and other honest Germans — abominated most heartily, whether they belonged to the baptized variety or not.

On the 28th of October he came to my lodgings and dictated to me — on the instructions which he had received by letter from the Chief — the following message for the *Daily Telegraph* : —

"A critical situation has arisen here. It is a question whether the Imperial Chancellor will remain in office or not. The affair is connected with the appointment of the Secretary of State in the Foreign Office. The difficulties appear to be of a personal and not of an official character. The leader of the opposition at Court is said to be General Count Goltz, brother of the former Ambassador in Paris, who appears to seek in another quarter the laurels which he failed to win upon the battlefield; while von Radowitz, who is now conducting the business of the Paris Embassy, is understood to be the candidate for the post of Secretary of State. It would be an extraordinary circumstance, which might have incalculable consequences if the Chancellor, at the moment when he seems to possess exceptional authority in European affairs, were forced to retire from office through a Court intrigue. I should regard the news as

highly improbable if the source of my information were less trustworthy, and if it were not confirmed by what is known of the principal personages of the drama. Previous experience has shown that no other difficulties cause the Chancellor to display such a morbid sensibility as the favour manifested by the Court to certain intrigues, which are now directed against him personally. This feature in his character was also evident during the Kulturkampf, at the time of the trials for libel, and on his tendering his resignation in 1877. It is impossible not to recognise in this an element of weakness, due to the traditions of his early life and to his attitude towards the monarchy, an element which partakes of 'Carlism' (exaggerated loyalty), rather than of statesmanship. (Here the eyes of the two Augurs met, and exchanged a significant smile.) We regret being forced to acknowledge that his devotion to his Fatherland and his people is subordinated to the service of his King (the two Augurs grinned again); and that even at the present day the greatness of the task imposed upon him has not emancipated him from the pressure of Court and dynastic influences. Had he been a Hanoverian or Bavarian it is probable that, owing to his attachment to the dynasty, he would have remained an inveterate Particularist. We should greatly regret, not only on political grounds, but also in his own interest, to see him at this time of day stumble over obstacles which are trivial enough, though, we are sorry to say, he regards them as insurmountable."

That was obviously not written by Bucher. The latter, however, added that the old Emperor imagines he might personally intervene in the Eastern question, and has already despatched telegrams behind the Chief's back. We have now achieved some success at Constantinople, and the Prince wanted to recall Hatzfeld, so that he might leave his post with credit on being transferred to the Foreign Office. Later on things would go wrong again, and the responsibility for that would fall chiefly upon Hatzfeld, as the *doyen* of the ambassadors. The Emperor, however, allowed himself to be persuaded by Goltz that everything would go on quite as satisfactorily as at present, and he therefore preferred to leave Hatzfeld permanently at Constantinople. The article was to be published in the *Daily Telegraph*, not in the *Standard*, as in the latter Radowitz might be able to

interfere through his agents. Bucher remarked that the term "Carlism" came from the Chief himself.

I wrote as follows to the *Daily Telegraph:* —

"DEAR SIR, — The enclosed article comes from the very best source, and, indeed, in great part literally — a circumstance which I beg of you to keep secret. Kindly publish it as early as possible, and without any alteration or addition — including the apparent reflection upon the Prince, which is made for a special purpose. I expect this message will cause a great and general sensation. Perhaps you will be good enough to telegraph to me immediately on receipt that you will publish it in full. The words 'Request granted' will be sufficient."

The manuscript, which was sent off on Thursday evening, had not appeared in the number of the paper which reached me on Tuesday. I had, however, on Monday received the desired telegram, promising that it should appear. On Wednesday, the 3rd of November, I took this telegram to Bucher and explained to him how I had impressed upon the editor the necessity of a speedy publication of the article without alteration. At Bucher's request I left him this telegram, in order that he should send it to the Chief. I ascertained from him that the crisis had in the meantime been solved. The Chancellor had submitted a long report of seventeen pages to the King; and the old gentleman, who was then shooting at Ludwigslust, had telegraphed to him: "Have read your explanation and agree with you. R(adowitz) should go to A(thens)." Bucher added: "I expect he will arrive here to-day. He has written to Styrum that he must have more than the ordinary salary there. In Paris he had certain allowances in addition to his salary as envoy. The Audit Office does not consider this correct, but the amount will be covered out of the Guelph fund. As nothing has come of the Secretary of State idea, he would prefer to go direct to Constantinople." I also ascertained that Hatzfeld had now been definitely selected for the post of Secretary of State, and Busch for that of Under Secretary, the latter with a salary of 6,000 thalers a year. All in all Bucher has only 3,700. Finally Bucher suggested that when I was next writing on friction I should bring in the passage from "Richard II." (Act I., scene 3), where

Gaunt, in reply to the King's exclamation, "Why, uncle, thou hast many years to live!" says: —

> "But not a minute, King, that thou canst give.
> Shorten my days thou canst with sullen sorrow,
> And pluck nights from me, but not lend a morrow.
> Thou canst help time to furrow me with age,
> But stop no wrinkle in his pilgrimage.
> Thy word is current with him for my death,
> But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy me breath."

At length, on the 4th of November, I received the *Daily Telegraph* of the 2nd, containing the article, which I took to Bucher, who immediately forwarded it to the Chief. He said that the latter would probably make use of it in the German press. It would be better, however, for me not to telegraph to him on the subject, as all telegrams are sent to the Secretary of State. (. . .)

On the 6th of November Bucher sent me the *Daily Telegraph* article which had been returned to him from Friedrichsruh, accompanied by a letter from Count Herbert Bismarck, in which he said, *inter alia:* "My father has read it with great pleasure and hopes it will have a good effect."

On the previous day Bucher sent me Major Knorr's book, *The Polish Insurrections since* 1830 (*Die polnische Aufstände seit* 1830 — Berlin, 1880), with the following instruction, which doubtless came from the Chief: "The material respecting the priests to be utilised. Reference to be made to France and Belgium. Say nothing about Germany." I wrote a lengthy article on the subject which was published in No. 24 of the *Grenzboten* under the title "The Ultramontane Clergy and their Hostility to the State." (. . .)

On the 18th of January, 1881, I wrote to the Chief reminding him of my readiness to place myself at his disposal in case he wished to have any matter of importance discussed in the German or English press, and requesting information. On the 20th I received the following answer from the Imperial Chancellerie: "The Imperial Chancellor begs Dr. Moritz Busch to do him the honour to call upon him to-morrow, Friday, at 1 o'clock."

I went to the Chancellor's palace at the appointed time, and I remained with him for an hour and a half. The Prince sat at

his writing-table with his face towards the door, and looked particularly well and hearty. He said: "So you have come for material, but there is not much to give you. One thing occurs to me, however. I should be very thankful to you if you would discuss my working-class insurance scheme in a friendly spirit. The Liberals do not show much disposition to take it up and their newspapers attack my proposals. The Government should not interfere in such matters — *laisser aller*. The question must be raised, however, and the present proposal is only the beginning. I have more in view. I grant that there may be room for improvement in many respects, and that some portions of the scheme are perhaps unpractical and should therefore be dropped. But a beginning must be made with the task of reconciling the labouring classes with the State. Whoever has a pension assured to him for his old age is much more contented and easier to manage than the man who has no such prospect. Compare a servant in a private house and one attached to a Government office or to the Court; the latter, because he looks forward to a pension, will put up with a great deal more and show much more zeal than the former. In France all sensible members of the poorer classes, when they are in a position to lay by anything, make a provision for the future by investing in securities. Something of the kind should be arranged for our workers. People call this State Socialism, and having done so think they have disposed of the question. It may be State Socialism, but it is necessary. What then are the present provisions for municipal assistance to the poor? Municipal Socialism?"

He paused for a moment, and then continued: "Large sums of money would be required for carrying such schemes into execution, at least a hundred million marks, or more probably two hundred. But I should not be frightened by even three hundred millions. Means must be provided to enable the State to act generously towards the poor. The contentment of the disinherited, of all those who have no possessions, is not too dearly purchased even at a very high figure. They must learn that the State benefits them also, that it not only demands, but also bestows. If the question is taken up by the State, which does not want to make any profit, or to secure dividends, the thing can be done."

He reflected again for a few seconds, and then said: "The

tobacco monopoly might be applied in that way. The monopoly would thus permit of the creation of an entailed estate for the poor. You need not emphasise that point, however. The monopoly is only a last resource, the highest trump. You might say it would be possible to relieve the poor of their anxiety for the future, and to provide them with a small inheritance by taxing luxuries such as tobacco, beer, and brandy. The English, the Americans, and even the Russians have no monopoly, and yet they raise large sums through a heavy tax upon these articles of luxury. We, as the country which is most lightly taxed in this respect, can bear a considerable increase, and if the sums thus acquired are used for securing the future of our working population, uncertainty as to which is the chief cause of their hatred to the State, we thereby at the same time secure our own future, and that is a good investment for our money. We should thus avert a revolution, which might break out fifty or perhaps ten years hence, and which, even if it were only successful for a few months, would swallow up very much larger sums, both directly and indirectly, through disturbance of trade, than our preventive measures would cost. The Liberals recognise the reasonableness of the proposals — in their hearts; but they grudge the credit of them to the man who initiated them, and would like to take up the question themselves, and so win popularity. They will, perhaps, try to bury the scheme in Committee, as they have done other Bills. Something must, however, be done speedily, and possibly they may approve of the general lines of the scheme, as they are already thinking of the elections. The worst of the lot are the Progressists and the Free-traders — the one party wants to manage things its own way, and the other is opposed to all State control, and wishes to let everything take its own course."

"Yes," I said, "certainly, the Free-traders, the Secessionists, and the Jews are the worst. Bamberger[1] and Rickert."

"Yes, the Jews," he replied. "Bamberger has again told a mass of lies in his book — that I broke with the National Liberals and turned towards reaction. Yet while I have been Minister I have never belonged to any party, either Liberal or

[1] *Bangbersché*, the French pronunciation of Bamberger. The latter formerly resided in Paris.

Conservative. My party consisted solely of the King and myself, and my only aims were the restoration and aggrandisement of the German Empire, and the defence of monarchical authority. That should also be emphasised and further developed on some occasion. The Conservatives, in so far as they were in favour of reaction, were always opposed to me, because I would not consent to it. You remember the attacks of the *Kreuzzeitung* at the time of the Inspection of Schools Bill, afterwards during the great libel cases."

"Diest-Baber and Co.," I said.

"There they completely renounced me, and attacked me in every possible way because I would not join them in their reactionary programme. It was just the same in 1877 with the National Liberals. When Bennigsen failed to form a Ministry because he put forward demands that I perhaps could have agreed to, but to which the King would not consent, they left me in the lurch, and their newspapers preached a crusade against me. In the same way they entirely misrepresented the publication of the Bülow letters, making all kinds of unfounded insinuations, as, for instance, that they were directed against Bitter, whom I had not in my mind at all."

Returning again to the Jewish members of Parliament, he exclaimed: "Yes, Bamberger, Lasker, and Rickert — self-seeking fellows!"

I remarked: "I suppose Lasker is now only working on the quiet, in their conventicles. He has discovered that he is no longer as important as he was. The great man has failed at three elections, on the first two occasions in large Jewish towns, Breslau and Frankfort, and then at Magdeburg."

He replied: "Yes, but I draw a distinction between Jew and Jew. Those who have become rich are not dangerous. They will not put up barricades, and they pay their taxes punctually. It is the enterprising ones who have nothing, particularly those on the press. But, after all, it is the Christians and not the Jews who are the worst."

I: "It is true that Rickert pretends he is not a Jew, but I should say that he is one all the same. The 'Parliamentary Almanac' describes him as an Evangelical."

He: "Look up some of the older years, and there you will find that they give no particulars of his place of birth or religion.

I asked Bleichröder, who told me that——(I could not catch the name) was not a Jew, but that Rickert probably was."

I: "Anyhow, his style of argument is sufficiently Hebraic."

He (after a pause): "You have managed to give the *Grenzboten* such a character that it is regarded much as the Official Gazette. Hänel asserts in the *Kieler Zeitung* that it is out-and-out official, and that you only say what I think and wish."

I: "I have never boasted of it anywhere. It doubtless arises from the fact that some of your expressions and your style, which is different from that of others, are met with now and again in the articles. Nor is this at all welcome to me; for although I have influence upon them and can sometimes prevent the insertion of political articles that are submitted to me, articles do sometimes get published in it which are not to my liking. What did your Serene Highness think of Lindenau's article?[1] I believe he told the truth. He asserts that Friesen was instructed from Dresden before the outbreak of the war with France to use his influence chiefly for the maintenance of peace, and probably he (Lindenau) was the Councillor entrusted with the delivery of that message."

"Yes," replied the Chief, "Saxony is worse than Bavaria."

"With the latter," I remarked, "a letter from you was all that was needed to get King Lewis on to the right track."

He smiled and said: "But in Saxony things will be awkward when once Prince George, with his Ultramontane crew, comes to the throne."[2]

"He!" I exclaimed. "In Leipzig we have always looked at it in this way. Should there be another great war with France or any other Power in which we were to lose one or two important battles, and should the people in Dresden then go over to the enemy, we should then hope to see what was not possible in 1866 forthwith take place and the country annexed—a fate from which the tutelary genius of the dynasty who sits

[1] This article, which was written by von Lindenau, a rather eccentric gentleman formerly in the service of Saxony as Councillor of Embassy, was published in No. 48 of the *Grenzboten* of 1880, and dealt with the attitude of Saxony immediately before the war with France.

[2] So it appeared to many persons at that time. But *tempora mutantur;* and today, thank Heaven, all anxiety on that point has vanished.

in a cherry stone in the Gruene Gewolbe at Dresden would hardly be able to save them."

"Yes, in such circumstances it would doubtless come to that," he replied.

I then said: "Might I ask how things are going with regard to foreign affairs? What are our present relations with France?"

"Oh, quite good!" he said. "They desire peace, and so do we. And we oblige them in many ways — but not on the Rhine — that is not possible. We were on good terms with England, too, under Beaconsfield; but Professor Gladstone perpetrates one piece of stupidity after another. He has alienated the Turks; he commits follies in Afghanistan and at the Cape, and he does not know how to manage Ireland. There is nothing to be done with him."

He then asked how I was getting on, and I inquired how he was. I said he looked better than I had seen him for a long time past.

"Yes," he said; "I am really very well just at present, except that I have attacks of neuralgia which frequently deprive me of my rest — a nervous faceache, toothache, and such things. I have not smoked for the last fortnight."

I then took leave of him, and immediately wrote the first of the two articles he desired, which appeared in the *Grenzboten*, No. 5, of 1881, under the title "Working-class Insurance Bill." I then proceeded with the second article, "The Imperial Chancellor and the Parties," a proof of which I sent to the Chief for correction on the 17th of February. He returned it to me two hours later, after he had struck out certain passages and rewritten others. Tiedemann, who brought it, was at the same time instructed by the Chief to say that as the article might just then be misunderstood by the National Liberals, it should be held over for a week or a fortnight; he would himself again discuss the matter with me personally, when there might perhaps be some additions to make.

At 2.30 P.M., on the 19th of February, I received a hasty summons from Sachse to call upon the Prince. I accordingly presented myself before him at 4 o'clock. He was in uniform, and seemed as if he intended to go out. He shook hands, and said: "Nothing can be done with the article on the National

Liberals which we recently discussed, owing to a necessary change of front towards the party attacked in it.[1] The article was good, but we will not print it. You are now regarded as official. But there is another matter I should like to have discussed, that is to say, the debate on the remission of taxes in the Upper Chamber, and the unsuitable constitution of the latter. There are too many Berliners in it, and too many high officials, retired and otherwise."

He then took up a list of members, and read: "Ex-Minister Bernuth — it is true he held office in Hanover, not here; the two Camphausens, the one with the handle to his name and the other without; Friedenthal, Patow, Lippe, Manteuffel, Rabe, Rittberg — I cannot rightly remember whether he was a Minister; then Sulzer, Under Secretary of State, seventeen or eighteen Actual and Privy Councillors and other high officials; together with some sixty-nine or seventy members who were nominated, owing to special Royal favour. I have jotted down something on that head — let Rantzau give it to you, and use it, but not literally, otherwise my style may be recognised. Turn it into your own style." I promised to do so; and then expressed the pleasure I felt at his obtaining such a large majority and routing Camphausen so thoroughly in the debate.

He smiled and said: "You should have seen him and his whole crowd — the sour faces they made. And Camphausen, who kept me waiting for seven years, because he was unable to manage anything except with the milliards which remained in his hands after paying the cost of the war — there was still a surplus of a few hundred millions which he did not know how to invest. When a couple of millions were mentioned at a meeting of the Cabinet, he merely smiled. When a hundred millions were spoken of, however, he laughed so heartily that you could see the two teeth in his mouth. The 'man of milliards,' he was so lazy that I had to beg and pray him to draft the Fiscal Reforms Bill; and he never produced it until just at the end, and then it was not fit for use!"

I reminded him that I had already mentioned this in the *Grenzboten* as long ago as 1877 (in one of the friction articles).

"Ah!" he said, "have that reprinted. It will be useful as

[1] This doubtless referred to the intention to which the Chancellor gave public expression a few weeks later in his appeal to Herr von Bennigsen.

confirming what I have said to him. It is true that at length he produced something and wanted to proceed with his unworkable tobacco tax, and to take some steps in the railway question. But he stumbled over Bamberger, instead of treating him with contempt. Camphausen was the leader of the storming party in the Upper House. He had worked up the whole affair, joining with other archplotters and rabid free-traders. But I must go. Speak to Rantzau, and he will give you the notes. But you must not show them to any one."

He rang the bell, and Count Rantzau brought the paper. He said it was written very illegibly and with many abbreviations; he would, therefore, like to read it over with me upstairs. The Chancellor remarked, smiling: "Never mind if it is rather illegible. If the doctor cannot quite decipher it, he will not be able to reproduce it word for word."

I was, however, able to make it out at home, although with some trouble, and then based the following article upon it, which appeared in No. 9 of the *Grenzboten*, under the title of "The Upper Chamber." The portions within brackets are by me as also the first paragraph, the remainder is the Chief's, in great part the form as well as the substance. The alterations are very slight, and such as are usually made in correcting dictation. The article ran as follows:—

"(Public attention has been once more attracted to the Upper House of the Prussian Diet, whose proceedings usually excite very little interest, by the three days' debate on the question of taxation that took place in that Chamber last week, when the Opposition, organised and led by the Ex-Minister Camphausen, was finally defeated, after its leader had been roughly handled by the Chancellor. The occasion affords an opportunity for casting a glance at the constitution of this body, and indicating the changes which should, in our opinion, be made in its composition, and in its treatment by the Government.)

"A strange impression is made by the circumstance that the Upper House, which should be a factor in the Prussian Legislature of equal authority with the Lower House, has again this session been summoned as usual to hurriedly consider, under great pressure of time, questions of the utmost importance, including the Settlement Bill in addition to the

most essential of all, namely, the Budget. The discussion of the Budget is the only opportunity which the Upper House has for expressing, like the Lower House, its views on important political affairs. It is true that, under the Constitution, it has a more restricted share in the settlement of its details than the other Chamber. But it is precisely the general character of its right of intervention respecting the Budget which shows that, under the Constitution, the Upper House is expected to discuss, not the individual items, but the general political significance of the whole Budget under its various heads, thus giving public expression to the views on State affairs prevailing in the classes represented by that body. Not a single complaint has yet been heard from members of the Upper House that, owing to the manner in which business has been conducted up to the present, the influence which they are entitled to exercise upon the policy of the Government has been unduly restricted. Nowhere in the Upper House does any one seem to have been struck with the fact that, while the discussion of the Budget occupies many weeks in the Lower House, it is disposed of in a few hours in the other half of the Legislature, although time had previously been found to devote three whole sittings to the comparatively subordinate question of the remission of taxes.

"The astonishment aroused by the character of the attack made upon the Government on this occasion is considerably increased when it is remembered how little time was left to the House for the consideration of the important measures mentioned above. The real explanation of this opposition is unquestionably to be sought in the restlessness and desire for occupation of ex-officials of high rank who have obtained seats in the Upper House. Former Ministers who, like von Bernuth, Count Lippe, Friedenthal, and Camphausen, voluntarily retired from office, are disposed, on the one hand, to continue their accustomed Ministerial activity in a Parliamentary form, and, on the other, to give vent to their ill-humour at not having been again entrusted with a Ministerial or other appointment. It would require an exceptional degree of magnanimity on their part to regard entirely without jealousy the success of those who now hold the posts which they formerly filled, to say nothing of promoting that success. Indeed, it is only human, natural, and customary that all higher patriotic considerations

should fail to enable persons of merely average character to overcome the temptation to represent their own retirement as an irretrievable loss to the machinery of government.

"(As already stated at the commencement) the plan of campaign in the Upper House against Prince Bismarck's Bill for the Remission of Taxation was drawn up by Herr Camphausen, and the same former colleague of the Chancellor had prepared the principal operations by bringing his influence to bear upon the members in Committee. The intention obviously was to bring once more to the front the well-nigh forgotten friends of the somnolent old Liberal party, through whom Herr Camphausen had acquired a certain importance, and to recall their services. This could only be done by making the task of the present Government as difficult as possible, and by drawing disparaging comparisons between the present and former administrations, the Government now in office being represented as unequal to the performance of the duties entrusted to it. . . .

"Count Lippe was the first to yield to the temptation of venting his anger against the Government to which he formerly belonged, doing so in the most violent, bitter, and rancorous terms. He was followed in a similar strain by the ex-Minister of Finance, Von Bodelschwingh, a gentleman who has secured himself a place in the memory of the public by his statement at the outbreak of the war with Austria that there was only enough money in hand to provide for the pay of the army to the end of the following week. A similar line was followed by the ex-Premier Manteuffel, while former Under Secretaries of State tried to make clear to the Government, by the vehemence of their attack, that their qualifications for still higher functions had not been properly recognised. This traditional method has been most deplorably revived by the Ministers Camphausen and Friedenthal, although both voluntarily withdrew from the present Cabinet at a difficult juncture, the latter leaving to others the further execution of the work which he had himself commenced, as well as the responsibility for its success.

"Such behaviour invites severe censure (but the public may be left to stigmatise such methods according to their deserts), for it is not generally regarded as the sign of a noble nature to wilfully obstruct those who have to perform a difficult task, to which the authors of such obstruction felt themselves unequal.

"The minority of thirty-nine members of the Upper Chamber in the division on the Remission of Taxes, setting aside a few irascible old gentlemen who always vote against every proposal, was composed of Reactionaries of the extreme Right like Count Lippe, Count Brühl, Baron von Tettau, Herr von Rochow, and Herr von Oldenburg; infatuated Progressists like Herr von Forckenbeck and Herr Forchhammer; and then, as already stated, malcontent officials of high rank and their abettors, and finally a number of fanatical free-traders (led by the Burgomasters), who from their doctrinaire standpoint consider themselves bound to oppose what they regard as a Protectionist Government.

"The minority is therefore a conglomerate of heterogeneous elements. They are united solely by their hostility to the Prince[1] and his policy, a hostility which arises from the most various motives. The strongest and most emphatic expression was given to this feeling by those members of the Upper House whose appointment and position in the House are due to the exceptional confidence reposed in them by the sovereign. Strange to say they imagine that they can most fittingly justify this confidence by putting as many difficulties as possible in the way of the Government of the King to whom they owe their seats.

"That an Opposition of this kind, which from its very nature was bound to be ineffectual, was allowed to monopolise three whole days out of the only week remaining for the discussion of the important questions already mentioned, shows a degree of consideration on the part of the majority which illustrates one of the causes of the inadequate practical coöperation of that body in our political life. In the short interval thus left, the House had to dispose of the Budget and the Settlement Bill. In our opinion, however, the Upper House is not to blame for the fact that it must remain inactive up to the two last weeks of the session, while the other House is engaged in

[1] How widespread this feeling is, may be gathered from the attitude of the *Post*, which has published sweet-sour articles on the subject. — This remark was added at the request of the Chief, which was communicated to me by Count Rantzau on the 21st of February. The Prince at the same time wished to have Friedenthal mentioned as "a future Minister," and as responsible for the attitude adopted by the *Post*. Rantzau and Holstein, however, advised against this, as Friedenthal had no longer any influence on the paper.

often lively debates, or at least we must not seek for the origin of the evil there alone. That many members of the Upper House display but slight interest in the affairs of the State is doubtless an important contributory cause. We consider, however, that the Government is chiefly to blame, inasmuch as it not only submits first to the Lower House all financial bills, but also all other important and interesting proposals and measures. The Constitution provides that this shall be done in the case of financial bills, but not in other cases.

"To quote an instance in support of what we have just said, we do not know (and cannot even imagine) what considerations induced the Government to lay all bills relating to questions of organisation, those dealing with the whole Monarchy as well as those affecting individual provinces, regularly and exclusively before the Lower House, which either left them lying in their Committees or did not allow them to reach the Upper Chamber before the last week of the session. (. . .) Are we to explain this by assuming that the Government is afraid of the Lower House, but not of the Upper House?

"We are of opinion that such a method is neither very dignified nor very practical. Indeed, one can scarcely describe this course as a method, since that term is usually applied to a form of activity which has something more in view than an easy and comfortable provision for the individual requirements of the administration. We cannot help fearing that succeeding Governments will have to suffer for the mistake committed by that now in office, which amounts to little less than reducing the Upper House to a cipher.

"The lack of interest in public affairs, which is characteristic of most members of the Upper House, is unquestionably due in part to the unsuitable conditions which governed the foundation and development of that body. As a consequence most members of the House have no active connection with the public life of the country, and are never in close sympathy with it. There are politicians who still remember the energetic and effective part which was taken in State affairs by the old First Chamber, which has now been replaced by the Upper House, and the corresponding interest thus aroused among the public of that day by its debates, which were really of greater importance, and showed greater intellectual capacity than the pro-

ceedings in the Lower House. Whoever remembers this cannot see without regret how little of that importance and influence now remains to the Upper House in its present form.

"This defect does not lie solely in the inadequacy of the ties which connect the Upper House, since its extension with the country at large, for even in its present shape and composition the Prussian Senate would still enjoy greater consideration if the Government would only give it more importance. As it is, the Government contributes by the arrangements which it makes for conducting the business of the Legislature, as well as by the selection of members, to restrict the share taken by the Upper House in the work of legislation, and to render that restriction permanent. Under this system, the preliminary discussions in the Committees and current affairs are for the most part dealt with by members who reside in the capital, the majority of whom are retired officials, more or less dissatisfied on account of their retirement. We believe we do not overestimate when we reckon that these Berlin members, together with a few representatives of the larger towns, make up the necessary quorum of sixty. The representatives of the great landowning classes in the provinces, who were intended to exercise the chief influence in this Assembly, put in an appearance only on the rarest occasions when a formal vote has hastily to be taken on the results of the session's labours. This is decidedly a drawback.

"The first question of many of those who come to Berlin for this purpose usually is, 'When shall we get home again?' On the discussion of the Protection of Game Bill, a measure of the highest importance to the landed proprietors in particular, and which threatened them with intolerable vexations, there were, if we are not mistaken, only some eighty members of the Upper House present, and of these hardly twenty belonged to the class of provincial landowners whose interests were threatened by this measure.

"(We must now conclude by pointing the moral of these considerations.) If the Government wishes to carry on an effective policy, and not merely to administer separate departments, it must recognise the necessity of trying whether a better treatment of the Upper House, putting it on a more equal footing with the Lower House, would not induce its

members to take a more active and regular part in the work of the Diet. Business cannot continue to be thus conducted if the desired regeneration of the House is to be brought about. For who can offer any sound and convincing objection to the excuse which might be alleged by the majority of the 133 members of the Upper House who, out of a total of 300, attended the last division, for not having put in an appearance until the last fortnight of the session? That excuse might have been framed as follows: 'What should we have done here had we come earlier? Perhaps wait at the door of the Lower House until the gentlemen there were pleased to send us up their leavings? Or wait until the Ministers found time to attend to us? We could do that quite as well at home.'

"In our opinion, it will not be easy to refute the criticisms directed on such grounds against the attitude hitherto adopted by the Government towards the Upper House (and this leads us back to our demand that a remedy should be found for the evil, and that speedily)."

On the 27th of April, 1881, I reminded the Chief of my readiness to be of use in case he should have anything for me to do after the reassembly of the Reichstag.

On the same day I paid Bucher a visit at his lodgings. He told me that the "Foreign Office Ring," of which the ambitious and intriguing Bülow had been the leading spirit, was broken up. Bülow would be removed, getting some small post as envoy at Weimar or Stuttgart. Tiedemann was also nearing the end of his tether, and would doubtless have been set aside before now if his pretensions had not been extravagant; he wanted the post of *Oberpräsident* at any cost, while the utmost that could be done for him was to make him a *Regierungspräsident.* The Prince was aware of these pretensions and had made some ironical remarks on the subject. Lindau, who looks after press matters and has now the rank of *Vortragender Rath,* does not do much, as he has had "no regular training." He, Bucher, has therefore often to do the newspaper work. Among other things he has, upon instructions and information conveyed to him by the Chief, written several long articles for the *Deutsche revue über das Gesammte National Leben der Gegenwart* (edited by R. Fleischer, and published by O. Franke in Berlin), which he gave me. One, entitled "Power without Responsibility," a

proof of which was given to me, was intended for the May number, and was principally devoted to a discussion of the recent policy of Gladstone and Gambetta. The other, entitled "Prince Bismarck in the Ministry of State," published in the April number of the sixth year, contained some interesting matter respecting the retirement of Count Eulenburg, the Minister of the Interior, which was not due solely to the conflict that took place between himself and the Chief in the Upper House on the 19th of February.

On the 3rd of May I received from the Imperial Chancellerie an answer to my note of the 27th of April, in the form of an invitation to pay the Prince a visit next day. In the antechamber I met Bucher, who had been called to him before me and who remained with him for about a quarter of an hour. On receiving me afterwards the Prince said: "You want fodder, but I have none at present. I was thinking in the garden of what to tell you, but found there was nothing to say. Of course I could talk to you about the speech I am going to make in the Reichstag one of these days, but then people would say, 'He has been reading the *Grenzboten* to some purpose.' All the same, one might deal once more with what I recently said respecting the municipality of Berlin and the Progressist clique, and about the inhabited house tax and valuation. Also as to the removal of the Reichstag, which it is not absolutely necessary should meet in Berlin. They object to my regarding myself as the champion of the lesser folk of the poor. I have, they say, no right and no need to do so, although recently people have again died of starvation here. The speech on the inhabited house tax defended the interests of this class of the population, and also that of fair play. The Progressist party and the Manchester clique, the representatives of the ruthless money-bags, have always been unjust to the poor, and have invariably done everything in their power to prevent the State from protecting them. *Laissez faire*, the largest possible measure of self-government, unlimited opportunities for the great capitalists to swallow up the small business men, and for the exploitation of the ignorant and inexperienced by the clever and cunning. The State should merely act as policemen, chiefly for the protection of the exploiters."

He reflected for a moment and then continued: "I am not against a considerable degree of municipal self-government as

opposed to State administration. It has its good points, but also its disadvantages. If it does not always display as great a sense of justice as State officials do, that is only human nature, which is imperfect. People will always be disposed to favour relatives, customers, friends, and members of their own party even when they intend to act impartially; in these circumstances men and things look different to what they really are. It is therefore quite conceivable that in making valuations a shopkeeper will, in spite of himself, apply a different measure to his customers and to others, and if to this be added party and religious rancour it is scarcely possible to prevent injustice. That may lead to very serious evils in a large town where one party has got hold of the administration, particularly as party spirit does not as a rule restrict itself to unfair valuations, but also disposes of municipal offices and work. Municipal self-government must therefore be restricted, and the State must protect those who do not belong to the party in power from the arbitrary and unfair treatment with which they are constantly threatened by the municipal administration elected, and continually influenced by that party. It was therefore a mistake on the part of Eulenburg — I mean the late one — to give the Berlin Corporation such wide powers. He was really a Conservative, but wished to make himself popular, and you will see from the newspapers that he has succeeded in doing so. Moreover, he was a friend of Forckenbeck's, and that also will have influenced him in making concessions to the Progressist clique. This did not concern Berlin alone. In general we held different views on the district and provincial regulations. I wanted to have them reconsidered and partially altered, as they contained some dangerous concessions. Eulenburg, however, was in a hurry, and wanted to finish the general outlines, which were to apply to all the provinces. I should have refused my signature if the draft had been submitted to me. The King was also displeased with these concessions, which affected his prerogatives and whittled down the authority of the State. Thus, for example, on the occasion of the recent solemn reëntry of the King (on his return to Berlin after his recovery from the effects of the Nobiling outrage) the municipal authorities made arrangements, without previously consulting Madai, to ascertain what was thought on the subject by the King, whose ideas were quite

different. That also accounts to some extent for Eulenburg's retirement. He took advantage of the incident in the Upper House to withdraw from a position which had become untenable. The democratic clique which rules Berlin noisily enforced the rights granted to them, and acted as if they could do whatever they liked. Even the streets, since they have become the property of the town, must serve their purposes to the disadvantage of many people, as, for instance, with regard to the tramways. Since the rights of the State over the streets of the city have been transferred to the municipality, one may say that the mediæval 'right of convoy and escort' has practically been revived. But when the railway had to be carried across the Jerusalemstrasse, Maybach showed them once more what was what."

He was silent for a moment, and then observed: "I therefore will not have the State made omnipotent, but on the other hand I will not permit its disintegration, its division into communal republics after the style of Richter and Virchow. We have seen in Paris what such self-government leads to. At present an attempt of the kind is again being made. Just read the speeches which Andrieux, the Prefect of Police, has delivered in the Chamber and before his electors at Arbresle. That shows that men of sense and character are not in favour of unrestricted self-government, even in Republican towns. You will find it in the last numbers of the French newspapers. There are many good points in it which are also applicable to our own circumstances.

"And then as to the rumours about the Reichstag and its removal from Berlin, a great deal more might be said. Say that it was no mere threat, but an idea that is seriously entertained. It has many things to recommend it. The Emperor can summon the Reichstag wherever he chooses, as the Constitution has made no provision respecting the place where it is to meet. The old Emperor of Germany had no imperial capital; they assembled the representatives of the Empire, the Princes, and Estates wherever it was most convenient to them, sometimes in the north and sometimes in the south and west. In case of danger from the west at the present day, Berlin or Breslau would be a convenient place for the sittings of the Reichstag, while disturbances in the east would render a Bavarian, Rhenish, or Hessian town, such,

for instance, as Cologne, Nuremberg, Augsburg, or Cassel, more desirable. In certain circumstances there would also be no objection to Hamburg or Hanover. The members of the Reichstag would be heartily welcomed in all these places, while they would have the further advantage of a change of air. Moreover, they would as a whole come into contact with other sections of the population, other people, and other conditions, and would be subjected to other influences than those which they have hitherto experienced. It would be as great a mistake to confound the Berliner with the German as it would be to confound the Parisians with the French people — in both countries they represent quite a different people. There are also other important considerations in favour of this plan. The independence of the members and liberty of speech is better guaranteed in towns of medium size than in a great city with over a million inhabitants. That was proved in 1848, when the Radicals and Democrats, who now style themselves the Progressist party, had seized power. The mob threatened, and indeed besieged, those members of Parliament whose attitude they disapproved of. An Auerswald or a Lichnowski[1] might well be done to death here, and indeed with still greater ease. Away from the capital the members of the Reichstag need have no fear of the scandal-mongering press of Berlin. How many of them have the courage to despise that journalistic rabble? In revolutionary times, how many of them would have the courage to hold their ground against intimidation and threats directed against their life and honour? Such times may possibly return. In smaller towns it is much easier to protect them than here, where, in future, the Progressists, the Jacobins, and the Socialists will enter into a close alliance, with the object of promoting the democratic aims which they have in common. Their fellows in Paris concluded such an alliance in 1871. But if these parties were to come to an understanding in Berlin, the friends of order and of monarchical institutions would find themselves in a minority, and could not enforce their views, even if all the shades of opinion into which they are divided were to unite. That has been also recognised elsewhere. In the United States, Congress does not meet in New York, Philadelphia,

[1] General Auerswald and Prince Lichnowski lost their lives in the disturbances at Frankfort in 1848.

St. Louis, or Chicago, but in Washington, a town of medium size, which is usually very quiet. The Legislative Assemblies of the different States also meet in towns of medium size, or, indeed, sometimes in quite small places. There were good reasons for the continuance of the French Chambers at Versailles, and it will be almost a miracle if they do not one day have cause to regret their return to Paris. Even the removal of Parliament from Berlin to Potsdam would offer a certain guarantee against the disadvantages and dangers which I have described. Finally, if the Reichstag were not domiciled in Berlin, it would not have such an enormous crowd of Berliners among its members."

He rang the bell and asked for the Parliamentary Guide, and then went through the alphabetical list of members, from Bamberger, Benda, Bernuth, and Beseler to Weber and Wehrenpfenig, in order to find out the Berliners, I writing down the names as he gave them to me. "Now count them," he said. "How many are there?" There were forty-six. "You must not mention their names, however, as there are a number of good friends of ours, and strong monarchists, among them."

He then spoke more slowly, as if dictating, at the same time walking up and down the room. I wrote down what he said. "The number of those who regularly attend is close on two hundred, and of these the forty-six Berliners are probably always present. We thus arrive at this monstrous condition of affairs, that this city Berlin has no less than a fifth, indeed nearly a fourth, of the entire effective representation of Germany, including Alsace-Lorraine; and even in the largest attendance — which may be put at about 310 — the Berliners form 15 per cent. of the whole. There is one Berliner for every million inhabitants of the German Empire, and if the sense of intolerable boredom created among many members by the infliction of speeches from Messrs. Richter and Lasker, lasting often more than two hours, continues to increase at the same rate as it has done recently, it may be taken for granted that in future Berliners will form one-fifth of the representatives of the Empire who are in regular attendance. They are always in their places, and when the Democrats among them find themselves supported by an equal number of their fellows from the provinces, they have almost a certain majority on the average

attendance of 200 members. Moreover, there is in this city a considerable number who make a business of their Parliamentary activity, combining it with the editorship of newspapers. Both occupations dovetail into each other, and help to give the industrially unproductive classes the *fruges consumere nati* preponderance in the lawmakers' establishment. With the assistance of the officials who live on their salaries in Berlin and elsewhere, and for whom the Parliamentary Session is a pleasant holiday in comparison to their other work —" He did not complete the sentence, but smiled, and said: "When they are here they are just like youngsters who are glad not to have to go to school, and who hang their heads when they are obliged to return there after the holidays. Here in the Reichstag, and in the Lower House of the Diet, there is no strict discipline, no stern masters, no subordination, and no reprimands. They are the representatives of the popular will, can enjoy the sense of their own importance, and win admiration by their speeches. All these together make exactly that kind of a majority which should not exist. That must be done away with The German people has a right to demand that the Reichstag should not be Berlinised."

He then reflected for a while and said: "Foreign affairs? There is also not much to write about on that subject at present."

I suggested: "Tunis? I have written a long article on this subject for the *Grenzboten*, but it is for the most part geographical and historical, and contains very little politics."

He promptly exclaimed: "That's dangerous! Please let it be! It is better not to touch it. You know people think when you write anything that it has been inspired by me."

I explained to him that I had only dealt with facts and suppositions, and that the article hinted that he regarded the French enterprise with sincere good will, and would be pleased if they were satisfied.

He replied: "Ah, that is all right. You have put it very well. You might also say that we should be pleased to see those neglected districts that had formerly been fertile and well cultivated come into the hands of a great civilised people who would restore them to civilisation. But do not show too much good will, or the French will take offence at us for giving them

permission to undertake hostilities. Say nothing about England and Italy. It is in our interest if they should fall out with the French, and when the latter are busy in Tunis they cease to think of the Rhine frontier. But all that must not be as much as insinuated — write something about Russia in preference. There the peasants must be converted into private owners of their lands, of personal and hereditable property. Now when the land is held in common by the entire village, and is divided up from time to time, the drone and the drunkard have the same right as the diligent labourer who does not spend his time in the public-house. This common ownership must cease. Those, however, who desire to bring about revolution and to set the peasantry against the Emperor fight tooth and nail for the retention of this communism, as if it were a palladium. It is said to be a genuinely national and primitive Russian institution. In doing so, however, the gentlemen manifest gross ignorance. The common ownership of the land was formerly a traditional custom here, except in a few districts, as, for instance, in parts of Westphalia up to the Stein-Hardenberg legislation. A similar custom prevailed in France up to the First Revolution. The Russians, however, have probably received it from us, from the Germanic Rurik, as they afterwards received other European institutions."

At this juncture von Bötticher, the Minister, was announced; and the Prince took leave of me with the words, "I must break off here, as I cannot keep him waiting. Auf Wiedersehen. But be very careful in dealing with Tunis." I had been with him over half an hour.

The Chancellor's suggestions with respect to the Tunisian question and Russia were incorporated in the articles on those subjects. The communication he made to me at the interview on the 4th of May was embodied, for the most part literally, in an article entitled "Prince Bismarck and Berlin," in No. 20 of the *Grenzboten*, of which I sent him a copy after publication. I enclosed at the same time an extract from a leading article of the *Daily Telegraph*, eulogising the recently deceased Count Harry Arnim, and asserting among other things that in 1870, when he was envoy to the Curia, he had a plan which, if carried into effect, would have entirely averted the struggle between Prussia and the Vatican. This magnificent idea was that Prus-

sia should persuade her bishops to found a German National Church, and in alliance with them fight the Pope. The *Berliner Tageblatt* put somewhat similar stories and views on the market. I therefore asked the Prince whether these statements should not be refuted. The letter and enclosure were despatched on the evening of the 22nd of May, and on the evening of the 24th the letter was returned to me, accompanied by a few lines from Tiedemann, in which he said, *inter alia:* "His Serene Highness said he would have been better pleased if the article 'Prince Bismarck and Berlin' had been submitted to him before publication, as several passages must cause offence in the most exalted regions. With reference to the article in the *Daily Telegraph*, the Prince said it did not appear to him to be worth while to refute it."

It would appear, however, that the Chancellor ultimately came to think that after all the articles in the *Daily Telegraph* called for a correction, as a few days after the receipt by me of Tiedemann's letter the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* published the following communication, evidently inspired, which was afterwards copied by the other newspapers:—

"Certainly such a development (as that which Count Arnim is alleged to have proposed) would have been desirable from the point of view of the State. Its only defect was that not a single bishop, not even the most moderate, was disposed to listen to such an appeal from the State to enter upon a conflict with the Pope. Even the bishops of those nations whose national sentiment is much more highly developed, such as the French, English, and Slav, have rejected all such temptations *a limine*. But the idea of the Government putting itself at the head of the Prussian bishops, or being supported by Ledochowski, Melchers, and Martin in the creation of a German National Church against the will of the Pope is so utterly puerile that it could certainly never have occurred to a man of such intelligence as Count Harry Arnim. He was too well acquainted with the bishops, some of whom were like wax in the hands of the Pope, while the rest were Jesuits, or waverers, for him to have ever believed for a moment that they could be induced to storm the Papal stronghold. So far as we are aware he never entertained such an idea, and never gave expression to it."

On Sunday, the 26th of June, at 1.30 P.M., the Prince sent a message requesting me to call upon him at 4 o'clock. He was in plain clothes, and looked very poorly, with dark lines under his eyes. He had allowed his beard to grow, as he usually does when his nervous affection is exceptionally tormenting. He asked how I was getting on. I answered: "Well, Serene Highness, but it is not necessary to ask you, as one knows from the newspapers that your health has of late been very indifferent."

"Yes," he replied, "very bad. Weakness and oppression, and pains all over, in the body, chest, and face. Up to my sixty-sixth year I had good teeth, but now they all pain me, tugging and tearing above and below and all round." He drew his hand down one cheek and then up the other. "But that comes from the great excitement, which is due this time, not to political affairs, but to other matters of which we will not speak" (he doubtless referred to certain family affairs of which some hints had appeared in the newspapers), "and one must keep on working all the same — incessantly. The King is pitiless. He knows how I am, and yet every day he sends me notes that must be answered. I have had this illness already several times; first, in St. Petersburg, when I heard that they were thinking of committing the blunder of mobilising in favour of Austria in the Italian question, in which case Austria would have left them in the lurch; then before and after the war in 1866 at Putbus; again at Versailles; and in '74, on the occasion of the libels (Diest-Dabers), when I was deserted by old friends, and when the Minister of the Household subscribed for ten copies of the *Reichsglocke;* and in 1877 when Augusta's *entourage* intrigued against me. But what I would like you to do is this. The Progressist party now speak as if they had done everything, and as if we had to thank them for the unification of Germany and the foundation of the Empire. I should like to have a historic survey prepared which would show that, on the contrary, they have used every possible means to defeat that end. As long ago as 1848 and the following year they so far injured the good position held by Prussia that, as a result, we had the miserable Manteuffel régime (*die elende Manteuffelei*), Olmütz, and afterwards to the Canossa days in Paris, where our plenipotentiary was obliged to wait for hours in the ante-

chamber before he was admitted, and where Prussia was altogether left out of account. Then under the Ministers of the new era when they, with their dogmatism and their opposition to the reorganization of the army, brought on the appointment of a Bismarck Ministry. At that time they were in favour of a mere militia, although they entertained far-reaching schemes against the Confederation and Austria — or rather great aspirations. They expected no doubt to blow them down with their unwholesome breath as the walls of Jericho were brought down by the blast of the trumpet. That is not mine — the breath — but Shakespeare's."

"Julius Cæsar?" I suggested.

"No," he replied, "Coriolanus." (Act IV., scene 6.) "Menenius, the breath of the garlic eaters which 'made the air unwholesome' as they threw their greasy caps in the air and shouted for the banishment of Coriolanus. And then their attitude towards me. They always wished me ill, wished me even to the scaffold. Their one desire always was to upset the Ministry, and take its place. In the course which they pursued they never took the condition of Germany into consideration — that is to say, they often alluded to it in their speeches, but never seriously thought of it. And their action was always directed towards promoting the objects of our opponents abroad. They were in favour of Austria, when I was against her, and *vice versa.* They worked into the hands of France, like Mayer and Sonnemann, who held similar views, and who could scarcely be regarded as anything else than French officials. They would not have an army or a fleet, or a strong Prussia, and only wanted to establish democratic rule. They fought against my plans in the Schleswig-Holstein question, — 'not a groschen to the Ministry,' — although I have reason to be particularly proud of my share in it, seeing that it was a drama of intrigue, equal to Scribe's '*Le verre d'Eau.*' For the sake of the Augustenburger's rights, as they said, Schleswig-Holstein should be formed into a new minor State, which would have voted against Prussia at every opportunity. Kiel is still one of their chief strongholds, from which the movement is directed."

"Yes, Hänel," I said, "Ex-Minister of Justice to Duke Frederick, who wished to come to an arrangement with Napoleon against Prussia. I am pretty well acquainted with the con-

dition of affairs at that period. When I was disclosing the Kiel intrigues in the *Preussische Jahrbuecher* I explained the situation to a company, consisting of members of the Progressist party gathered at Mommsen's, who was at that time beginning to entertain more sensible ideas on the subject. All I could say, however, was perfectly idle. They held to their standpoint that it was unjust."

"Mommsen?" said the Chief. "He has always proved himself a greenhorn when he mixed in politics, and most of all at the present time."

"One of those awfully clever professors who know everything better than every one else," I remarked.

"They were also opposed to the acquisition of Lauenburg," continued the Chancellor, "and when the war with Austria was imminent they desired to 'rid Prussia of the itch to be a great Power,' and organised popular meetings all over the country at which resolutions were passed against 'a fratricidal war.' It is an unquestionable fact that at that time they traitorously hoped and prayed that the enemy might be victorious. Their ideas were most clearly represented by that member of Parliament who afterwards conducted an anti-Prussian agitation in the Vienna press — what's his name? — the man with the broad, smooth face?"

"Frese," I suggested.

"Yes, that's the man I mean," he replied. "They afterwards said, 'If we had only known that!' But that was merely a lying excuse. What they desired was not unity but freedom, as it was understood by their party, and radical rule. After 1866 and 1870 they were always the friends or enemies of every foreign Power, according to the side which I took against it or for it. In all great questions the position they adopted was determined by their hatred of me. They urged that peace was threatened by the disfavour with which the Powers regarded the latest reorganisation of Germany, and yet in dealing with the military question they endeavoured, in combination with the Centre party, to weaken rather than to strengthen our power of resistance. They opposed the consolidation of the Empire in every way. First, they were against Russia, particularly in 1863; then, when our relations with that country became less satisfactory, they took up the Russian side; and

when we were once more on a better footing with St. Petersburg, they again turned against Russia. They opposed the Socialists at first, but when the Anti-Socialist laws came up for discussion they assisted them. Finally, when I came forward with State Socialism they fought it tooth and nail, because it is a weapon against the revolution which they desire. What they require is discontent. That is their element, and the means by which they promote their ends. They sacrifice everything to that. It was the case in the question of customs and taxation, and with regard to the more lenient application of the May Laws, which they also opposed in the commencement, as well as in the Hamburg affair in which they were thorough Particularists, as they had formerly been in the Schleswig-Holstein question. It was the same in the purchase of the railways by the State, which has given exceptionally good results and with which the public is perfectly satisfied. Throughout the whole history of the Empire the Progressist party has been the *advocatus diaboli.* Happily, however, they were invariably mere firework devils," he added, smiling.

"Bellows" (*Püstriche*), I said, "as Mephisto called them, when he assembled the devils with straight and crooked horns over to the grave of Dr. Faust."

"Yes," he replied, "they can only lie like the Father of Lies. But they will not succeed in the long run. Here in Germany lies have a short life, and the Germans do not allow themselves to be taken in for any length of time, as other nations such as the French are apt to do, who attach too much importance to fine speeches."

I then inquired how he expected the next elections to turn out. He said: "The moderate parties will be weakened, while the Progressists will probably increase their numbers, the Conservatives, however, doing the same. This time, however, we will not stand by and see our plans wrecked. We shall dissolve if we cannot carry our State Socialism — our practical Christianity! At present it is not worth while for the sake of three months."

"Practical Christianity?" I asked. "Did I rightly understand your Serene Highness?"

"Certainly," he replied. "Compassion, a helping hand in distress. The State which can raise money with the least

trouble must take the matter in hand. Not as alms, but as a right to maintenance, where not the readiness but the power to work fails. Why should only those who have in battle become incapable of earning a livelihood be entitled to a pension, and not also the rank and file of the army of labour? This question will force its way; it has a future. It is possible that our policy may be reversed at some future time when I am dead; but State Socialism will make its way. Whoever takes up this idea again will come to power. And we have the means, as, for instance, out of a heavier tobacco tax. That reminds me. My son had recently to deliver a speech against the Progressists before some association, and I advised him to introduce the phrase 'The voting cattle from the Richter stables, with the Progressist winkers' (Das Stimmvieh aus den Richterschen Ställen mit dem Fortschrittsbrete vor dem Kopfe), but he considered it too strong."

We then spoke about the *Deutsches Tageblatt*, which he had taken up while he was speaking. He said it was well edited. I observed that the publisher, whose acquaintance I had made at the last book fair in Leipzig, had told me that he had nearly 8,000 subscribers. The Chief said: "10,000, I am told." I observed: "It is now stated that the *National Zeitung*, that dreary organ of the Secessionists, Bamberger & Co., has hardly 7,000 subscribers still left." "That was always a Jewish sheet," he replied. "The proprietor and editor are both Semites." "And inflated pedagogues," I took the liberty of adding.

This led the conversation to the Jews and their connection with the Progressist party. He said he was surprised at their being so hostile to him, and so ungrateful, as after all they owed to him the political position which they held in the Empire. "At least through my signature," he continued. "They ought to be satisfied with me, but they will one day force me to defend myself against them."

"As you did against the Ultramontanes," I said. "In that case, Serene Highness, you would become more popular even than you now are, as you would have with you, not merely the sixty or the hundred thousand who signed the petition, but the millions who loathe the Jews and their politics."

CHAPTER VII

BUCHER, COBDEN, AND THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL — BÜLOW AND THE COMTE DE JOLIVAR — THE HOLY DRUJINA — KEUDELL IN THE PROGRESSIST PRESS — FOUR SECRETARIES OF STATE IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE — KEUDELL AND HIS ARREARS OF WORK — THE CHIEF AND THE PROGRESSIST ELECTIONEERING AGITATION — LIES IN LAUENBURG — INSTRUCTIONS RESPECTING UNRUH'S ARTICLE IN THE *DEUTSCHE REVUE* — WHY BENNIGSEN WAS NOT MADE MINISTER — THE CHANCELLOR ON THILE AND THE DIEST LIBEL — BUCHER ON HOLSTEIN — BUNSEN'S FRIENDS AND TRUTH — A MONUMENT FOR MY SON, WHO DIED AT SEA — THILE'S OPINION OF THE CHIEF — THE CHANCELLOR ON THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION — THE OPPOSITION TO THE TOBACCO MONOPOLY — HIS SATISFACTORY RELATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR, THE CROWN PRINCE, AND PRINCE WILLIAM — PHILOPATER AND ANTIPATER AT POTSDAM — BUCHER TENDERS HIS RESIGNATION — THE CROWN PRINCE AND THE PROGRESSISTS — THE VICE-CHANCELLORSHIP — ARTICLES AGAINST THE EMPRESS

On the 10th of July, 1881, Bucher wrote me the following note in pencil: —

"The Chief is having articles written on the played-out Liberals in the Vienna Parliament, from which a moral is drawn for our own people. It would certainly amuse him to see Glaser's letter, a precious production, which you will find in the enclosed book, reprinted. What do you think of the idea?

"In a few days I shall send you a pamphlet on the Cobden Club (written by me, of course secret). I would suggest that it should not be discussed until after the silly season, somewhere about the beginning of September, when we must again hammer away at the subject. I shall then supply you with plenty of material. In the meantime, it may be well to collect together the abusive language to which the pamphlet has given rise.

"In eight or ten days I shall send you an article on the origin of the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce, which may be published immediately.

"BR."

Glaser's letter appeared in a small pamphlet, entitled, *An Austrian Minister and his Father*, published in Berlin, 1872, by Kerskes and Hohmann. It contained the following passage: "Another year, and the Chosen People shall have attained the object of the Holy Alliance,[1] which they concluded in Paris. We have no more ardent desire than to see the day arrive when we can bid him (Prince Adolph Auersberg) good-bye, and see his place taken by one from our midst" (the Jewish Liberals); and "then" (when the aristocratic party is suspected by the dynasty, and has fallen out of favour) "a really new and regenerated nobility, drawn from our people" (the Jews), "shall enter into power, and fulfil the mission to which God has called them." I had this letter reproduced in the *Grenzboten*, with a few introductory remarks.

On the morning of the 11th of July I called upon Bucher, from whom I ascertained that he had collected the material for his pamphlet on the Cobden Club in the British Museum, about a fortnight previously. He had gone to London, under instructions from the Chief, giving a false name, and holding no intercourse with anybody.

On the 21st I called on Bucher at the Foreign Office, to remind him about the pamphlet and the proposed *Grenzboten* article. He had been unable to write the latter, as he could not obtain a book, which he required for the purpose. (This was the *Principles of Currency*, a work by the Oxford Professor, Bonamy Price, which appeared in 1869.) He gave me his pamphlet, and a quantity of material for the article upon it, to which he made some additions during the following days. He also sent me a number of English and French publications, to be used for the same purpose. In the meantime, Glaser's letter was emphatically declared to be a forgery by Glaser himself. Bucher, however, still held it to be "genuine in the main."

[1] The *Alliance Israelite* is here referred to. Glaser, the ex-Minister of Justice, was a baptized Jew from Bohemia.

I now wrote a series of five articles, entitled "Characteristics of the Manchester School," based on Bucher's pamphlet, and the notes and books with which he supplied me. These appeared in Nos. 33 to 37 of the *Grenzboten*.

On the 27th of July Bucher related to me "an anecdote illustrating the way in which the Secretary of State, von Bülow, carried on business." Lasker called upon him one day to introduce a Frenchman, one Comte de Jolivar, who was going to Constantinople, and wished to have a letter of introduction to our Embassy there. Bülow had this letter prepared, and added in his own hand a few words of warm recommendation to Werther, who was our representative at the Porte at that time. The Comte proceeded on his journey with this document in his pocket, and one of the first things he did on his arrival at the Golden Horn was to swindle a German artisan out of a respectable sum of money. This was soon followed by similar operations, which speedily came to Werther's ears, who probably had already felt surprised at the Frenchman having asked for and received recommendations from the Foreign Office in Berlin, instead of from that in Paris, or from the French Minister in Berlin. He reported these cases of swindling to the Wilhelmstrasse, and from there inquiries were addressed to the Foreign Office in Paris. The information received was to the following effect. Comte de Jolivar is not a Comte, but only a Chevalier, that is to say, *chevalier d'industrie*, who — as the police records show — has been condemned on several occasions for embezzlement and swindling, and was once prosecuted for forgery, but just managed to save his skin. "*Tableau*" in the office of our Secretary of State!

Bucher praised Hatzfeld, who has entered upon the duties of his office in succession to Bülow, as a pleasant and easy chief. Speaking of Bunsen, Bucher said that he had written for the Secessionist *Tribune*. Bucher also referred to the controversy which he had recently fought out with Bunsen, in the columns of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

On the 29th of July I received the following note from Bucher: —

"1. Can you get the enclosed inserted in the *Daily Telegraph*, or some other English newspaper, and send the Chief a copy?

"2. Herewith the draft of an article on the commercial treaty, of which you must alter the introduction. The second edition of Bonamy Price, which I have received from Baden (whence he also obtained the *Sophisms of Free Trade*, which he sent me for the "Characteristics of the Manchester School"), does not contain the letter from Chevalier. I have instructed Ascher to get the first edition at my expense, and to forward it to you.

"Yours, BR."

The enclosure mentioned in paragraph 1 ran as follows:—

"It appears that a secret society has been formed in Russia, by a number of determined and loyal subjects of the Tsar, which is understood to be organised on the same lines as the associations founded for the purpose of assassinating him. This new society purposes to fight the Nihilists with their own weapons. Like the latter, who seek to terrorise the sovereign by attempts upon his life, the new society which has been constituted to oppose these criminals will endeavour to keep them in check by hunting out and killing the chiefs of the band of assassins in Switzerland and England. It is a regrettable circumstance that honourable men in Russia should be obliged to resort to a kind of mediæval *Vehmgericht* as a means of protecting the monarch from these miserable cutthroats."

On the morning of the 30th I forwarded this paragraph to the *Daily Telegraph*, stating that it came from the "very best source," and adding that I should be thankful for its insertion. On the 31st, however, I received the following note from Bucher: "Herbert has just telegraphed to me to hold back the paragraph on the Anti-Nihilistic society for the present. Luckily Sunday has intervened. Will you please countermand it by telegraph, and charge me with the costs." I accordingly telegraphed to London, and the paragraph did not appear.

The second enclosure was worked up for the *Grenzboten*, and published in No. 32, under the title of "The Genesis of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty." It was completed by an extract from Chevalier's letter, which was published by the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

In the meantime, on the 30th, I received the following note from Bucher: "As your articles on the Manchester School in the *Grenzboten* will one day form material for the historian, I

would suggest that after the reference to Schlesinger and his association with the Treasury you should insert the words: 'since the Macdonald affair at Bonn.' I will give you the particulars for your memoirs. They are very curious."

Bucher left for his holidays on the 1st of August.

On the 14th of September, Bucher wrote to me that he was in Berlin, and on the 21st I called upon him. He told me that the Chief had again had "difficulties with the Emperor." The latter now reads no more newspapers. Recently, however, some courtier must have called his attention to a paragraph which he represented to come from the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, to the effect that a Papal Nunciature was to be established in Berlin. The Emperor thereupon wrote the Chief a "snappish letter," which commenced somewhat in the style of Zwückanor (one of the comic figures in the *Kladderadatsch*): "I am much surprised." The Chancellor first sent a short telegram, saying that he knew nothing of any such paragraph in the newspaper in question (which had contained nothing of the kind), and afterwards forwarded a memorandum on the subject, which filled three sheets of paper. "He was greatly incensed at the action of the Most Gracious." Tiedemann, who has now been definitively replaced by Rottenburg, goes in the first place to Bromberg, in the capacity of *Regierungspräsident*, and not, as he had desired and expected, to Kassel as *Oberpräsident*. The mention of Keudell in the first *Grenzboten* article on the Manchester School, which has been described by the Progressist press as a "violent attack," has led that gentleman to state in the *Morning Post* that he had requested the President of the Cobden Club to remove his name from the list of members. He at the same time endeavoured to defend himself in Progressist journals, like the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*, concluding, as usual, with self-praise. Bucher remarked: "These almost identic articles are written by himself. Only his signature at foot is wanting." These productions were forwarded to the Chancellor at Varzin, who thereupon had the following statement published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*:—

"The *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Schlesische Zeitung*, and the *Vossische Zeitung* publish articles respecting Herr von Keudell which are similar in effect, and which all conclude with the

phrase that, owing to his retirement from the Cobden Club, the valuable services of the German Ambassador in Rome still remain secured to the State.

"It requires that complete ignorance of the customs prevailing in the service of the State, and particularly in diplomacy, and of the habits of the higher circles which distinguishes Progressist writers, for any one to imagine that an Ambassador's position could ever be endangered by a matter of such trifling importance as the circumstance that he had been nominated an honorary member of the Cobden Club six or more years ago. We are in a position to assure our readers that the matter has never been taken into consideration either officially or confidentially at the Foreign Office, nor has it ever called for any inquiry or exchange of views. The whole story as to the position of Herr von Keudell being in the least affected by that circumstance is simply an invention of Progressist writers, suffering from a dearth of 'copy.'

"We are not aware whether Herr von Keudell has resigned his honorary membership. If such be the case, he will probably have been led to take that step by recent disclosures respecting the Cobden Club. So far as his relations to the Imperial service and the Imperial Chancellor are concerned, however, it is a matter of indifference whether this purely private step has been taken or not. That Progressist journalists believe the contrary is the consequence in part of their ignorance as to the relations existing between respectable people, and in part of their own sentiments, *i.e.*, of the furious rancour with which these partisan writers exaggerate and garble the most insignificant incidents. They assume that an equal degree of malice and violence prevails in circles to which they have no access. In short, they are partisans who are accustomed to treat with hatred and contempt every shade of difference from the party standard. In their eyes whoever is not a free-trader is either a knave or a fool. This is natural enough in those whose sole claim to honesty and intelligence is that they are free-traders. It is not so in higher circles, where there is more toleration, and less time for matters of secondary importance.

"The Imperial Ambassador, moreover, can hardly care, we believe, to find unauthorised representatives and advocates in just such papers as the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Vossische*

Zeitung. No one who does not belong to the political and social circles represented by these papers would willingly be credited with any connections with them, and this is doubtless sufficiently well known in Rome for any such connection to be shunned, and for such damaging advocacy to be duly repudiated."

On the morning of the 25th of October I paid Bucher a visit at his lodgings. He complained that the Chief now occupied himself too much with press matters. Instructions of this description came from Varzin almost daily, and sometimes three or four together. No one in the office understood anything about them, neither the sons, nor Rantzau (who was paid for that purpose, but who, nevertheless, could only take down dictation from the Chief), nor Holstein, who was a mere "bungler," and least of all Rudolph Lindau, who "is quite incapable, has had no political or journalistic training, and can merely play the amiable, tell good stories, and go out walking." He had been brought into the office by family influence, which also kept him there. "In Japan he made the acquaintance of Brandt, our Chargé d'affaires, through whom he obtained a connection with the Intelligence Department of the General Staff. He afterwards (if I rightly understood) accompanied Brandt to St. Petersburg, where he was presented to the Grand Duchess Hélène, who recommended him to Bismarck. The latter sent him to Harry Arnim in Paris as a Press Attaché. He afterwards received an appointment at the Foreign Office — again on an exalted recommendation. The Prince knows that he is entirely unfit for the duties which he has to perform, but the Grand Duchess protects him; and so, although he has been virtually shelved, it has been done in such a way that he appears to have control of press affairs."

Bucher said that Count Bill is on very intimate terms with Paul Lindau . . . with whom he had been in Hungary. Herbert had yesterday, on the instructions of his father, written Bucher a four-page letter, which he showed me, asking him, Bucher, to make a "journalistic onslaught" upon the Progressist candidate Klotz on account of his election speech. Rantzau, however, had been unable to obtain the most indispensable of essentials, namely, Klotz's speech, and, in fact, knew nothing whatever about it. One of the Chancery attendants, however,

was cleverer, and remembered that it had been printed in pamphlet form and distributed by the thousand. This man arranged to procure a copy.

"Sybel is another plague with which the Chancellor has afflicted me," continued Bucher. "It is not so long since Sybel was fighting against the Chief; but he has now been taken once more into favour, and is to write a history of Germany from 1860 to 1870." For this purpose the Chief had at first ordered that *all* diplomatic documents of this period should be laid before him. Bucher, however, pointed out that it would be necessary to make certain exceptions, some of which he mentioned, including those concerning the Hungarian Legion. The Prince agreed to this, and arranged that the documents mentioned by Bucher, as also the "Secreta," should not be shown to Sybel. The latter is now carrying on his researches at the Foreign Office, which Bucher does not regard as dangerous. He has come upon references to the documents that have been withheld from him, and has asked to see them, stating that he would anyhow have possession of them some day as Director of the State Archives. Bucher was, however, obliged to refuse his request. He complained of the responsibility imposed upon him in this matter.

He then went on to say that it was much the same with one Herr Poschinger, a Bavarian, who had taken it upon himself to describe Bismarck's work as Envoy to the Germanic Diet in Frankfort. The Chief had given instructions that he was to see everything relating to the period in the first and second departments of the Foreign Office. Poschinger plunged into these, and then sent his *opus* to the Prince for revision. The Chief did not care to read it, and instructed Bucher to do so. "I then found that it was merely an endless string of extracts, and not a book, but only materials for a book; and that while he dwelt discursively on insignificant details, he cursorily dismissed or overlooked altogether matters of real importance." That was pointed out to Poschinger, who revised his work in accordance with the suggestions made to him, abbreviating some parts and amplifying others, and then returned it to the Chief, who again forwarded it to Bucher. "It was now better material," continued the latter, "but it was still no book. I reported to the Chief in this sense, and he gave instructions to

obtain Sybel's opinion on it. His agreed in the main with my own, but Poschinger discovered that Sybel had criticised him."

Bucher thought that the visit which the newspapers reported Gambetta to have paid to Varzin about ten days ago was possible and indeed probable. He declared, on the other hand, that the discovery made by the *National Zeitung*, that this visit took place at Friedrichsruh, was unfounded, because the Chief was at that time suffering from severe pain in the back, which made it impossible for him to travel. "I do not like to make inquiries on the subject," he said, "and I therefore know nothing positive about it. We should have reason to be thankful, however, if the visit took place, as it would make Gambetta impossible in France."

October 28th. — Met his Excellency von Thile to-day in the Potsdamer Platz. We first spoke about the elections. Thile had formerly abstained from voting, but this time — like Bucher and myself — had voted for Stöcker. He then asked what I thought of the report that Gambetta had visited the Chancellor. I replied that it appeared to me to be possible, and, indeed, probable. "I will tell you something," he said. "One of my acquaintances was recently at Frankfort, where he put up at the 'Russischer Hof' — you know, 'Auf der Zeil.' In conversation with the landlord, with whom he was acquainted, he asked whether there was any news. 'Yes, and something of importance, Excellency,' replied the latter. 'Gambetta was here recently on his way home from Germany, and lodged with us.' The head waiter asked his servant where they had been, and the man replied: '*Nous avons été à la campagne dans les environs de Danzig.*'"

November 9th. — Called this morning upon Bucher at his lodgings to inquire about the article in yesterday's *Post*, stating that the Chancellor proposed to resign. I fancied the article came from Varzin, and was intended to prepare for a dissolution of the Reichstag, and to give the country an opportunity to choose at the elections between the Chief and the Liberals. According to Bucher, no one would believe that a general election would induce him to retire, and as to the dissolution of the Reichstag, that could only take place if it perpetrated some piece of stupidity. The article was purposeless, merely an expression of ill-humour at Varzin, which Herbert, "with his

usual ineptitude," had made public. "But they have been in the backwoods for half a year, and do not know what is going on in the world. The elections would have turned out better in many respects if the press campaign had not been so foolishly conducted. But these things are shockingly ill-managed at present. We have now no less than four Secretaries of State: Busch, the real one, who is good; then Herbert at Varzin; and Rantzau and Holstein here. These know nothing, and are incapable of doing anything properly. None of them reads the papers or knows what is going on, and if the Chief gives violent instructions, they are carried out with still greater violence. It is sad that the Chief should think so much of providing for his family and finding places for them. Virchow was right when he brought that charge against him. And the other gentlemen are no better. In addition to the Secretaries of State we have the gentlemen who spend their time strolling about, and who are more often to be found out shooting than in their office." He then mentioned two, including Radolinski . . ., and added: "After all it was just the same formerly, when, in addition to Thile, there were only two who really worked, yourself and Abeken. Hepke had hardly anything but trifles to deal with, and the aristocrats for the most part spent scarcely two hours in the office, just for a little gossip and a glance through the newspapers and despatches — Hatzfeld, for instance, and Keudell, who was incapable to boot." . . . "Hatzfeld rarely came before two o'clock," said Bucher, "and often went away again at three. While they lived upstairs he usually came to play a game of croquet. He would ask Wartensleben, 'Now what do you think of a little game of croquet to-day?' Wartensleben used then to say he would go up and see whether the Countess would care to join them, and when he came back with the message that the Countess begged to be excused as she had something else to do, Paul would remark, 'Well, then, one may as well say good-bye,' and take himself off. . . . And Keudell could really do nothing. I suppose I have already told you the story about Taglioni and Keudell's thirty arrears of work? Well, at Versailles I was told by Wiehr — you remember him, the fat, bald, deciphering clerk — it was simply frightful how little Keudell managed to do. When he sat down he wrote two or three lines, then pulled out his watch, took the

rings off his finger and played with them, put them on again, wrote another few lines, stopped once more, and finally rose, leaving his work unfinished. On one occasion Taglioni took pity on him and offered to assist the Councillor. The latter was delighted with such an amiable fellow, and Taglioni actually disposed of some thirty items of work which were in arrear. But in spite of that a number of even sensible people had a high opinion of his power of work and his intelligence — people such as Gneist, for example, whom I know well, as we studied together. I always meant to enlighten him, but have not done so yet. It is necessary, however, that people should know Keudell if he is to be a Minister one day." Bucher then came to speak of Count Herbert again, and I said that the Prince had once observed to me that he had thought of promoting him to be Secretary of State, as he had worked for seven years under his own personal supervision, but that he was too young." "Yes," rejoined Bucher, "and so he is still. Paul Hatzfeld will not remain. Things will go on for the present in the same way. He comes at two o'clock and disappears again at five, attends to nothing beyond the interviews with foreign diplomatists, and troubles himself very little with the other business — which, for the matter of that, is no loss. But when the Prince comes back, and he is summoned to receive instructions two or three times a day, it will not be at all to his liking, and he will go back to Constantinople. He will be replaced by Herbert, that haughty and incapable fellow, and more than one of the officials will leave."

I asked, in conclusion, if he knew what the Chief had intended by the article on the Anti-Nihilistic society which I forwarded to the *Daily Telegraph*, and afterwards countermanded. "The Holy Drujina?" he said. "That was true. Such a society had been formed under the protection of the Emperor, who had subscribed a million and a half to its funds. Despatches have been exchanged between ourselves and St. Petersburg on the subject, and one of the members of the society has called upon Rantzau. But I cannot conceive what the Chief can have intended by the publication of the paragraph in England. If one of those gentlemen were to go there and murder a Nihilist leader, he would be hanged as a matter of course. The affair should have been treated as a profound secret, yet

in a few weeks' time it appeared in full, with all manner of details and humorous comments, in the *Berliner Tageblatt.* When I mentioned this to Rantzau afterwards, he was simply terrified. Of course he had not read it, and wished to know where it had appeared. I told him the name of the paper, and let him hunt up the number himself. I used formerly to get him the paper on such occasions, but now leave that to him, so that he may have at least some occupation."

As I left, Bucher said: "If anything happens, I will let you know."

The Prince returned to Berlin in the afternoon of the 12th of November. At noon of the 15th a Chancery attendant brought me a letter from Sachse, saying that the Chief desired to see me at 1 o'clock on the following day, Wednesday. I arrived at the time appointed, and was shown in to the Prince at a quarter past 1. He had been dictating to Count William before I went in. The Chancellor, who was in plain clothes, looked fresh and hearty, but began by complaining of his health. He had been ill, he said, during the whole five months of his holiday, even at Kissingen, but particularly at Varzin, where he had had to endure great pain. It was his old trouble.

He then spoke of the elections, and stated that in certain circumstances he would retire, as he had already intimated to the Emperor. "The centre of gravity has changed," he continued. "The Progressist and Secessionist Jews, with their money, now form the Centre. At first I was not in favour of this agitation (for Stöcker as an Anti-Semite). It was inconvenient to me, and they went too far. Now, however, I am glad that the Court Chaplain has been elected. He is an energetic, fearless, and resolute man, and he cannot be muzzled. The elections have shown that the German Philistine still lives, and allows himself to be frightened and led astray by fine speeches and lies. He will not hear of the protection of labour against the foreigner, nor of insurance against accident and old age, nor of any reduction of school and poor rates, but wants direct taxation to be increased. Well, he can have that, but not while I am Chancellor."

"Do you seriously mean that, Serene Highness?" I asked. "I believe they have only nibbled at the democratic bait just as they did formerly."

"It may be that they do not quite know what they want. But they have taken this course at the elections, their representatives vote against me, and, in order to govern I must have a majority — which I cannot find under these conditions. In case of necessity it might be possible to manage with a coalition of Conservatives and Clericals and such like, but the Centre party has been against us all through the elections, and there is no trusting them. Folly and ingratitude on all sides! I am made the target for every party and group, and they do everything they can to harass me, and would like me to serve as a whipping-boy for them. But when I disappear they will not know which way to turn, as none of them has a majority or any positive views and aims. They can only criticise and find fault — always say No. You are right in saying that they have turned the people's heads with their fine phrases and lies. They make out that I am in favour of reaction, and want to restore the old régime. If I can get my monopoly, tobacco will cost three to five marks a pound, but cigars will be three times as dear as they are now. They have frightened the people by reviving the old stories of the past, Junker rule, the *corvée*, territorial jurisdiction, and even the *jus primæ noctis*, as, for instance, in Holstein and Lauenburg. There the Danish Kings had allowed all the ancient institutions to remain — unadulterated mediævalism. The Junkers ruled, and were decorated with the Order of the Elephant. They took all the best posts as if they had inherited them. They held the most remunerative offices up to ten thousand thalers a year, or at least four to five thousand thalers; and yet they neither did nor could do anything except pocket fees and impose heavy fines. They farmed the domains among themselves, on the lowest valuations, and lived on the fat of the land. When I came there the people were obliged to drink the abominable beer which the Junkers brewed on their estates, and no one could purchase a piece of ground because they did not wish the population to exceed two thousand to the square (German) mile. There the people still remember all this misrule, and emissaries of the Progressists and Secessionists — who are just the same — threaten them with its revival, and warn them against me. I am represented as desiring to restore that state of things, yet the contrary is the case, and it was I alone who abolished it."

I reminded him of the homage of the Estates in Lauenburg, Bülow's anxiety respecting the maintenance of the Compact of the nobility, and the scene in the Ratzeburg cathedral, asking if that was a correct account of the incident. He then related it to me once more, the narrative agreeing in all important particulars with that already given. Returning to the agitation that preceded the elections, he continued as follows: "They do not, however, even believe what they preach. They hate and slander me because I am a Junker and not a Professor, and because I have been a Minister for twenty years. That has lasted too long for them — hence their vexation. They would like to come to power themselves, and form a Government. But that is mere covetousness, and not ability, and if I were to make way for them they would be desperately embarrassed, and would recognise that they could do nothing. I was born a Junker, but my policy was not that of the Junkers. I am a Royalist in the first place, and then a Prussian and a German. I will defend my King and the monarchy against revolution, both overt and covert, and I will establish and leave behind me a strong and healthy Germany. To me the parties are a matter of indifference. I am also not a Conservative in the sense of the Conservative party. My entire past as a Minister is evidence of that. They saw that in 1873 in the question of the Inspection of Schools Bill, when they turned their backs upon me, attacked me in their papers, and wrote me absurd letters."

He took from the shelves near him a copy of a letter with which he had disposed of an old gentleman in Pomerania (Senft-Pilsach), who had at that time warned him to reflect and pray. This letter, which he read to me, directed attention, *inter alia*, to the Psalms, chapter xii., verses 3 and 4: "The Lord shall cut off all flattering lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things: who have said, with our tongue will we prevail; our lips are our own: who is lord over us?" He then returned to the last elections, and observed: "The defectiveness of our institutions is shown by the credulity of the electors. It may come to this, that we shall some day have to say of the German Constitution, after all attempts at government and reform under it have failed, as Schwarzenberg said at Olmütz: 'This arrangement has not stood the proof.' But that must not be printed now. It is only for yourself. . . .

They have now invented another calumny. They take advantage of my attachment to the Emperor, and pretend that I am clinging to office, that I am devoured by the love of power. It may turn out differently, however, and I may say to them: 'Here you have it! Now let us see you govern!' That, however, can only be after a division on some important question, not on the electoral returns. The Emperor is half inclined to try it and let me go, if only for one session. Things cannot go on as they are much longer. Of course, I am not going to desert the Emperor; it would be unfair to leave the old man in the lurch. But I cannot renounce my convictions, and I will not have a return to the period of conflict. I demand more appreciation and better treatment."

Returning once more to the statement that the Liberal parties had been guilty of gross misrepresentation during the last election, he added that they had at the same time set the followers of the Government a good example by their excellent organisation, energy, and self-sacrifice. "Many people on our side, such as Herzog, for instance, have also given a great deal of money," he said; "but the Progressists have done more. They had all the treasure of the Hebrews at their disposal, and were at the same time thoroughly drilled and well organised."

"And now," he asked, "have I anything else for you? Unruh has published various things that should be refuted." He took up the October number of the sixth year's issue of the *Deutsche Revue*, which lay before him, and continued: "He maintains that he has written for historians, but he obviously intended to influence the elections. A great deal of it is erroneous, other portions are electioneering lies, and some parts require to be supplemented. Here, for instance, on page 9, he states that while I was still a member of Parliament I had a conversation with him which I concluded with the words: 'Now I tell you, if your party is victorious, you shall take me under your wing, and if my side gets the upper hand I will do as much for you. Shake hands on it!' This offer was actually made. And curiously enough, a similar proposal was made to me by d'Ester, the Radical member of Parliament. In this case, however, I declined, and said: 'If your party wins, life will no longer be worth living, and if we have the upper hand,

then hanging shall be the order of the day — but with all politeness, up to the very foot of the gallows.' "

He turned over the leaves of the *Revue*, and continued: "There is no foundation whatever for the statement that the Opposition was not aware during the years 1862 to 1866 that I had a strong anti-Austrian policy in view. Besides, it is clear from Unruh's own memoirs that they were fully informed respecting this policy, and only offered opposition through hatred to me, the Junker, and in consequence of their own dogmatism. Here, on page 11, it is stated that shortly after the outbreak of the Franco-Austrian War in 1859, he had an interview with me at the Hotel Royal, when I said to him that for Prussia to come to the assistance of Austria would be an act of political suicide. I had entirely lost my sympathy for Austria. If we did not succeed in driving Austria out of Germany proper, and if she kept the upper hand here, then our Kings would once more be mere Electors and vassals of the Hapsburgs. There could be no doubt as to the attitude of the individual German Governments in case of a crisis. With the exception perhaps of a few of the minor States that fell within the sphere of Prussian influence, all of them, if forced to make a choice, would decide in favour of Austria. Prussia would, therefore, be isolated, but there were circumstances in which she might have the entire German people as her allies. . . . Surely that was plain speaking, and it ought not to have been difficult afterwards to recognise the connection between such language and the increase of the army. They would not see it, however. . . . On page 13 is another proof that they knew what I had in view: 'When the King went to Baden-Baden, accompanied by the Ministers von Auerswald and von Schleinitz, Bismarck followed him, evidently with the object of continuing his efforts to prevent assistance being rendered to Austria.' And on the same page we read: 'There is another circumstance which strikes one as an important piece of evidence to show that Bismarck's anti-Austrian policy, in so far as Austrian influence in Germany was concerned, did not originate in 1859, but was of older date. After 1866, speaking in the House of Parliament to the former Landrath of the Teltower district, I related to him my conversation with Bismarck in 1859, whereupon he told me that Bismarck had expressed the same anti-Austrian views to him in 1854, and frankly

confessed his anti-Austrian policy. It was not until 1866, that is to say, twelve years later, that it was practically applied. Bismarck had therefore kept this plan of driving Austria out of Germany before him all that time, and had resolutely pursued it. This is of some importance in forming an opinion upon the period of conflict.' That is certainly correct. And is it possible that what that Landrath in 1854 and Unruh in 1859 ascertained from me personally had not also come to the knowledge of the others and been present to their minds when they — the Liberals — fought against me with the utmost violence from 1862 to 1866?"

The Chancellor turned over a few further pages, and then continued: "With regard to the situation in the autumn of 1862, Unruh was convinced (page 15) that 'if Bismarck desired to put an end to dualism in Germany, it was obviously impossible to do so without a war with Austria, and that for this purpose it was necessary to make the Prussian army as strong as possible.' That is therefore what I have already told you. In October (page 16), during a general meeting of the National Union at Coburg, he communicated the conversation of 1859 to a confidential circle. He writes: 'I told my old Prussian and my new German friends that they were quite mistaken in regarding Bismarck as a simple Reactionary or indeed as an instrument of reaction. He was certainly not a Liberal, but he had quite different ideas and plans in his head to those entertained by Manteuffel and his colleagues.' The gentlemen were in doubt, and wanted to wait and see how I acted. In 1863 they would appear to have acquired the conviction (page 18) that I had given up my schemes of foreign policy, and was now nothing more than a reactionary Minister — of foreign policy, because (as they inferred by a most extraordinary process of reasoning) in the interval there had been in domestic affairs, political persecution, measures against Liberal officials, restrictions on the liberty of the press, and attacks upon the freedom of speech in Parliament. But what in the world had that to do with my foreign policy, and the belief in my anti-Austrian schemes? Moreover, on the next page, one ascertains that at this period Unruh & Co. had received an assurance from a trustworthy source that I had a struggle with the Austrians in view. The writer of the Memoirs reports: 'Seidel, who was at that

time Chief Burgomaster of Berlin, made me a communication which he said came from the Military Cabinet, of which General von Manteuffel was the head. According to this communication either Manteuffel or some one who was in intimate relations with him had said that Bismarck was exceptionally well fitted for the task of stamping out the Opposition in Parliament, and that when he had succeeded in doing that and the military organisation was secured, he must be set aside, as he would otherwise bring about a war with Austria, and would use our increased military forces for that purpose. A conflict with Austria and a successful war against her would again drive the Conservative party from office. In order to keep the Conservatives in power it was necessary that Prussia should remain on good terms with Austria, and for that purpose they should even, if necessary, make concessions. This statement (Unruh goes on to say) looked highly probable. General Manteuffel was known as the head of the extreme Conservative or so-called Austrian party at the Prussian Court, and was much esteemed in Vienna. Bismarck had given frequent expression to his anti-Austrian plans even before he became Premier, and had indeed submitted them to the King himself. If Bismarck were to bring about a compromise with Parliament, and to conclude a peace with the popular representatives, his services, in the opinion of the Manteuffel party, would be of no further use, and he ought then to go. It would be quite different if in spite of the violent struggle with Parliament, he succeeded in carrying through the military organisation scheme. So long as the conflict with the popular representatives continued, he remained indispensable, his value increasing with the fierceness of the struggle.'

"This is a tissue of mistakes and contradictions. In the first place there is no foundation whatever for the statement that Manteuffel wished to get rid of me, and that he was the head of the Austrian party. It was rather Schleinitz who held that position, and who afterwards was in frequent intercourse with the Austrians, his salon indeed being their rendezvous. Manteuffel was by no means a partisan of Austria, but on the contrary a Prussian officer of ardent Royalist patriotism. But in that case one would have thought that if the Opposition in the Diet had been imbued with Prussian patriotism, if they had

desired to see the dualism in Germany put an end to and the German idea realised through Prussia, they ought to have supported me with all their might, knowing as they did that I had exactly the same object in view. And that would also have been wise from their Liberal standpoint, since it was of course known that a victory over Austria would drive the Conservatives from power. Finally, there was no reason to apprehend my overthrow by the Austrophil Conservatives, as, according to Unruh himself, it was known that I possessed the confidence of the King, who, it was indeed said, had himself called me his spiritual doctor. The Opposition, however, instead of acting on such considerations, adopted a diametrically opposite course. They acted in an unpractical, illogical, impolitic way, and against their own interests, blinded by their stupid animosity and pettifogging dogmatism. It was necessary for the Liberals, if they desired to pursue a practical policy, to win for their cause — which could not be promoted without driving Austria out of the Confederation — the support of the King of Prussia, who had scruples as to a conflict with Austria, scruples which were encouraged by a section of his *entourage*. King William should have been gradually convinced of the necessity of breaking with the Vienna policy, and of attempting to give Prussia alone the leading position in Germany. I pursued this end, and Parliament should have done the same. Instead of doing so, however, they flew in the face of the King by refusing him the means for the reorganisation of the army, and they therefore lacked the necessary leverage for promoting their own views. There they were, floating in the air, with nothing to sustain them but the wind of their own speeches and self-conceit, which deluded them into a belief in their own importance.

"Finally, Unruh says here (page 19) that I aggravated the struggle over the Military Bills into a constitutional conflict, that I assumed an aggressive attitude towards the Opposition, and endeavoured in almost every speech to incense them by jibes and sneers, all this for the sole purpose of maintaining myself in power and office against the Austrophil Court party; and, on page 20, he repeats the same charge in the following words: 'I am still of opinion that Bismarck used and took advantage of the conflict to maintain and strengthen his position.'

Now that is a gross slander, such as would render a man liable to prosecution — a falsehood arising from the same blindness as that of another on page 16, according to which the great men of the National Union regarded me merely as the representative of reaction. I desired no reaction, then as little as now, when I am again charged with doing so. Had I desired it I could have had it. Unruh and his colleagues would not have been able to prevent it, and 'The People' who elected them could have done nothing. But it was not the people. The determined attitude I adopted towards the Opposition in Parliament was just as little due to the love of power, or to the desire to strengthen my ministerial position. It was rather due to my innate Royalism, which has always been a leading feature in my character. It was this which made me hold fast to my position. In doing so I was guided by my sense of duty towards my King, who, in the circumstances then obtaining, could not have found another Minister. I remember saying to him, 'No one shall have it in his power to say that your Majesty cannot find a servant so long as there is one nobleman of the Altmark still surviving.' Otherwise, at that time, it was, honestly speaking, no pleasure to be a Minister. A Legation in Paris, or even in Frankfort, would have been much pleasanter. There one had a good salary with little work, little responsibility, and little worry, and was not attacked and reviled on all hands. The provocation and the sarcastic speeches in Parliament, of which Unruh complains, were not intended to prolong or aggravate the conflict, but were an exercise of the *jus talionis*. I am stated on page 17 to have often been most offensive. There is no denying that. But even when my expressions were offensive, they were not nearly so offensive as the language used against me and other members of the Government by speakers in the House. They were much coarser and more malicious than I ever was, indeed actually abusive and threatening, speaking of 'a Ministry of tight-rope dancers,' of 'the reactionary brand of Cain,' and other unflattering epithets. I was not the man to submit to that sort of thing. It was not in my nature to turn the left cheek to the smiter. On the contrary, I defended myself and paid them back in their own coin. Then, in addition to that, there was my contempt for the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and my disgust at the Byzantine venera-

tion paid to it by the Opposition. That was an abomination to me, and revolted me even more than their venom.

"The passage here on page 22, as to the motives of my attitude on the question of the payment of members in the North German Diet is amusing, and indeed ludicrous. Unruh says: 'At that time I was still in favour of payment, but said to Bennigsen I did not believe that Bismarck would give way; perhaps it was entirely out of his power to do so. It seemed to me as if he had entered into binding engagements with the Upper House, which he expected later on to swallow universal suffrage, when the several States had given their necessary approval to the North German Constitution.' With the Upper House! A body which always stood apart from active politics, and had no influence of any importance. An absurd idea!

"On page 24 he recalls a remark made by Lewe, that one of the chief defects of the German Constitution is that it was made after my own heart. Now, that is a mere phrase which no amount of reiteration in party newspapers and speeches during the last few years has brought any nearer to truth.

"On page 25 he says: 'As far back as 1867 it must have become clear to every person of insight that there was no possibility of Parliamentary government under Bismarck. An essential condition of such government is that in certain circumstances there should be a change of Ministers and parties capable of furnishing and supporting a Cabinet.' This is quite true. 'Parties capable of furnishing and supporting a Cabinet' — where were they to be found during the past two decades? I have seen none, neither one with a majority nor one with a positive programme. And, least of all, in the Liberal camp. All their manifestoes and speeches have consisted merely of fault-finding criticism and negation. They have never brought forward anything positive. They have only a thirst for office, ambition and envy, but not the power which is essential to productive government.

"On the same page he says: 'Almost all parties, in so far as they are not hostile to German unity, consider the Imperial Chancellor to be absolutely indispensable.' And yet from 1877 onwards I have been subjected to the most bitter hostility even from the National Liberals, and before and during the last

elections the Progressist party gave out the watchword 'Away with Bismarck!'

"The statement which immediately follows is also a mere hackneyed phrase: 'A party which has no principles of its own, but only aims at securing a majority for the Government, affords no reliable support in critical and dangerous times.' One would like to know why. Does the Opposition with its Liberalism perhaps offer such support, with its untrustworthiness, its suspiciousness and vacillation, its huckstering and knuckling down, and its petty criticism and dogmatism?

"On page 29 it is represented as a matter of indifference whether the idea of a Zollverein Parliament was originated by me or by Delbrück. I take it that this ought not be a matter of indifference to Unruh, who claims to provide materials for future historians. The idea did not come from Delbrück, but from me. As can be seen from Hesekiel's book, I mooted it as far back as the time when I was in St. Petersburg, and embodied it in the treaties of 1866, which secured its fulfilment.[1] But he, as a Liberal and a member of the learned classes, must of course get the credit of having first originated it, not a Junker. I do not wish to say anything against Delbrück's ability and merit, but it would never have occurred to him that the Zollverein could be turned to account in that way, for although he had a great deal of talent, he had no political instinct.

"On page 30 Unruh states: 'During the debate on the Tobacco Taxation Bill, when Bismarck had declared a monopoly to be his ideal, Bennigsen informed me that he had broken off the negotiations into which he had entered with Bismarck in the autumn for joining the Ministry, and had told him that he could

[1] As far back as the 2nd of April, 1858, he wrote from Frankfort to a friend (see Hesekiel, page 183): "I believe that the Zollverein, which must be reorganised after 1865 . . . will provide an opportunity of securing the exercise of the right of federal consent in customs matters on the lines of the Union scheme of 1849, and establishing a kind of customs Parliament." On the 18th of September, 1861, in a letter to a friend, which was written at Stolpmunde on the way from St. Petersburg to Berlin (same work, page 189), he said: "I do not see why we should be so coy and reserved with regard to the idea of popular representation, whether in the form of a confederation or of a customs Parliament. An institution which enjoys legitimate authority in every German State, and which even the Conservatives in Prussia would not willingly dispense with, cannot be opposed as revolutionary. . . . In that way one might create a thoroughly Conservative national representation, and at the same time secure the gratitude of even the Liberals.

not commit himself to the monopoly.' That is not true, or at least only half true. This is how the matter stood. In 1877 Eulenburg wished to retire. I offered his post to Bennigsen. He demanded that Forckenbeck and Stauffenberg should also be appointed Ministers, but there were no posts vacant for them. In the meantime Eulenburg hit upon another idea. He went to the King and incited him against me for having had anything to do with Bennigsen. His Most Gracious was offended, and in a brutal letter forbade me to treat any further with Bennigsen. Several months passed, during which time it transpired in the press that Lasker also counted upon a seat in the Cabinet. Bennigsen came to me subsequently in the Reichstag, an unusual thing for him to do, and inquired about the tobacco monopoly. I replied that I was in favour of it and would try to carry it, whereupon Bennigsen declared that he could not support the measure, and withdrew from the negotiations. Out of politeness I forbore to tell him that he was no longer in my mind, as I had been forbidden to think of him.

"Further on Unruh says: 'From that time forward there was an obvious change in the attitude of the Imperial Chancellor towards the National Liberals.' That is incorrect. The contrary is the case. From that time forward the National Liberals treated me with mingled coolness and hostility, withdrawing their support in the Diet and attacking me in their newspapers — chiefly in the *National Zeitung*, which is the most mendacious of them all, full of hypocrisy and trickery.

"On page 31 Delbrück's free-trade system is spoken of as having been for a long time in force. The question here is what is meant by 'a long time.' The system which is here named after Delbrück has only been in existence since 1865, and we first began to entertain serious doubts respecting it in 1875. Up to the latter date I had had no time to think of its advantages or disadvantages, as I was obliged to devote my whole mind to watching and averting the serious danger of coalition which then existed.

"On page 32 there is a falsehood obviously calculated to influence the elections. I am made to say that I wished to 'drive the National Liberals to the wall,' while people heard at the same time that I intended to make a complete change in the previous customs and commercial policy. This is im-

possible. I first thought of the latter in November last; and to 'drive to the wall' is an expression which I have never used, either in this connection or in any other. It is not to be found in my lexicon. Every one knows whether he is apt to use a certain phrase or not, and I am quite satisfied that I have never used that phrase.

"The dissolution of the Reichstag after the Nobiling outrage is represented as a measure directed against the Liberals. It was in reality the very opposite, an act of complaisance on the part of the Government towards the Liberals. I wished to make the change of opinion with regard to the Anti-Socialist laws easy for them by means of a dissolution and new elections. But that is the way with these gentlemen and their excessive *amour-propre*. If one does not always stand hat in hand before them, they regard one as their enemy, and full of arrogance. But I cannot do that. I do not set much store by criticisms and speeches intended for the newspapers. Indeed, I lack altogether the bump of veneration for my fellow man."

At this moment Theiss announced the Minister Maybach. I rose, and putting under my arm the number of the *Revue* which he had given me with his grey, red, and blue pencil marks and comments, was about to leave. Before going, however, I said: "Might I venture to ask whether Gambetta has called upon you, Serene Highness?" "No," he replied. "He has said so himself, and it is the fact. Of course it is evident from his journey to Dantzig that he had thought of paying a visit to Varzin. He doubtless reconsidered the matter there, or they may have written to him from Paris that it would not make a good impression." On Maybach coming in at this point the Chancellor said: "We were just speaking of Gambetta. It was not my business to deny the report of his visit to me. People might have thought that I had something against him — that I wished to guard myself from him, which was not at all the case."

I took my leave and immediately wrote down what I had heard. The first part respecting the results of the elections was worked up into an article entitled "The Chancellor Crisis," which appeared in No. 48 of the *Grenzboten*; the criticism of the Unruh Memoirs being utilised for an article in No. 49.

After I had received copies of these and of a third article, "The Imperial Chancellor and the Reichstag," I handed over

all three at the palace at noon on the 2nd of December for delivery to the Prince. An hour later I received the following letter from the Imperial Chancellerie, signed by Sachse:—

"Under instructions from the Imperial Chancellor I have the honour to request you to call upon his Serene Highness to-day at any time up to 5 o'clock. The Imperial Chancellor mentioned at the same time that the articles which you have submitted to him cannot possibly be published in their present form."

I presented myself at the palace at 3 o'clock, but could not see the Chancellor, as Prince William was with him, and Mittnacht, the Minister, was announced to follow. On my returning again at 4 o'clock Mittnacht was with the Chief, but left in about ten minutes. Immediately afterwards the Chancellor sent me word that he was waiting for me in the garden. On my passing through the door of the large antechamber, I found him standing outside with his dog. He shook hands in a friendly way, saying immediately afterwards, however: "But what have you been doing, Doctor? Why, that is all wrong, the very opposite of what I wanted. Surely the article is not yet printed?" I regretted that it was already published. "That is most unfortunate," he rejoined. I asked which of the articles he meant. "Why, that about Unruh," he answered. "You have said exactly what Bennigsen asserted. It might have been written by one of my worst enemies. And the other is also not correct — often pure nonsense. I remember it was just the same three years ago with the things you sent on to me to Kissingen and Gastein — in many places the direct contrary was the truth." I replied that that was only the case in one instance, in the story about Rechberg, which was then left out. He would not agree to that, however, and continued: "You must submit these articles to me before they are printed. You now trust too much to your memory, which is not so good as it was formerly, or you have not listened attentively. I related it all to you quite differently."

At this point we were interrupted by Count Bill, who brought a message. When he had gone the Chief took the article out of his pocket, and as it had grown dark we passed through another door into his study, where he looked through the passage once more. At the first, on page 395, where I—

following Unruh's statement — made the Chief say that in the year 1859 the German Governments, "with the exception of a few minor States which fall within the sphere of influence of Prussia, would all join Austria. The former would, therefore, be completely isolated, yet she would have allies if she knew how to win and to treat them, namely the German people," he said: "That's pure nonsense. Directly contrary to history. Why, you should have known that . . . But, no, I misunderstood the sentence. I read it wrongly in my hurry. The 'former' and 'she' referred to Prussia. There, I have done little Busch (Büschchen) an injustice. . . . But further on here (the passage on 398), where I say that the people could have done nothing against a reactionary policy during the period of conflict. That is unfounded. I cannot say that. It should have been 'would have done nothing.' No doubt they would have desired to do it. Well, on page 401, that is again an oversight on my part. Here I overlooked the first 'not.' (He referred to the passage: "The expression 'drive them to the wall' has not only not been used by me in this connection, but was never used by me at all.") But all this about Bennigsen is quite wrong — the second part of it. There you have written in his interest. If that were a correct account I should have told a lie. My main object in the article was to explain that point, and you ought to have known from the *Norddeutsche* how the matter really stood. You should know that the article in that paper was written at my instance. But I suppose you do not read the official journals. No further negotiations took place with him after the interview at Varzin, that is, with Bennigsen respecting the ministerial post, although I did not break with him otherwise. It is true that my son wrote to him once more, but I knew nothing of this. And Eulenburg did not decide to remain. He had had enough of it. He went to the King, however, told him of my negotiations with Bennigsen, and incited him against me. I had been in treaty with these Liberals behind his back, &c. The King did not inform me that Eulenburg did not wish to retire, but wrote me an exceedingly rude and snappish letter somewhat to this effect: How dare I enter into negotiations with this rabid Radical, this arch demagogue, and expressly forbade me to treat with him any further. That did not take place 'several months,' but only

three or four days, after the Varzin interview. The statement that Lasker reckoned on obtaining a portfolio is correct. On the other hand, it is quite incorrect to say that *out of politeness* I abstained from telling Bennigsen that I did not think of him any more, as the post was no longer open. It was still open, as you might have seen in any calendar. Surely you know that Friedenthal only held it provisionally. The truth is I could not explain to Bennigsen that his Most Gracious had forbidden me to negotiate with him any further."

While speaking thus the Chancellor underlined the passage referred to, page 400, lines 19 to 28, in so far as he had corrected them, adding notes of exclamation and remarks such as "No," and "three days." I expressed my regret at the harm that had been done and observed that it could be put right in the next number of the *Grenzboten*. He agreed to this and wished to see the correction before it appeared. I promised to submit it to him. Finding in the course of his examination that the misfortune did not extend to more than some five lines in an article of nine pages, his excitement gradually subsided. Indeed, the "Büschchen" at the beginning had already sounded less severe, and at the close he said, "I must have a breath of fresh air before dinner. Come along!"

We strolled up and down in the park for about an hour longer, and spoke of other matters. I congratulated the Prince on the success with which he had repelled the attacks of his opponents in the Reichstag three or four days previously. "Yes, successfully," he rejoined. "That's very fine, but what good has it done? They have, all the same, refused the 80,000 marks for an adviser on political economy; and the Government has now no means of keeping itself informed." I remarked that they had obviously been influenced by their own ignorance of practical affairs, and particularly with industrial matters, as well as by jealousy and fear. Bamberger's assertion that they knew enough themselves was no proof of the contrary. They wished to appear before the public as the only infallible wiseacres, and also being doctrinarians, they could afford to ignore economic facts.

We then spoke about Windthorst, of whom the Chief said: "His vote against the Government has destroyed the slight degree of confidence I was beginning to feel in him." The

conversation then turned upon Bennigsen's Parliamentary activity, and I remarked on the striking circumstance that up to the present he had taken no part in any of the debates. The Prince rejoined: "It is very sensible on his part to keep silent, although he is a good speaker. He sent the others to the front — Benda, and he also voted against it — a further proof that he and his party are quite untrustworthy. He has no decided views, he is not frank, and he is afraid of Lasker. With him it is always vacillation and half measures. Do you play cards?" I replied in the negative. "But you know the cards?" "Yes." "Now, at whist he always keeps three aces in his hand, and gives no indication that he holds them. He can no longer be counted upon, and besides, his followers have been greatly reduced owing to their vague and vacillating policy. Nevertheless, he still sits there with the same high opinion of himself and the same dignified air as formerly when he commanded hundreds; and he will continue to do so even if they should be reduced to thirteen, like George Vincke's Old Liberals. There is nothing to be done with the others either. It has now come to pass, through the absurdities of the Liberals, that the tag, rag and bobtail, the Guelphs, Poles, and Alsacians, the Social Democrats, and the people's party, turn the scale, putting those they support in the majority. Mittnacht, who was with me before you came, is of the same opinion. In future we shall have to count upon the Governments rather than upon the Reichstag, and, indeed, we may ultimately have to reckon upon the Governments alone."

I said that the whole Parliamentary system would in time lose all credit, even with the public, through such senseless attacks and votes. It brought everything to a standstill, but was itself unable to produce anything better. "The effect of the recent debates," I went on, "is already here and there observable. This morning I met Thile, who stopped me and asked what I thought of the Parliamentary struggle. He was immensely pleased with the attitude you had adopted. A friend of his, whom he did not wish to name, but who was an admirer of the new era, though up to the present by no means favourable to you, had said that the manner in which you spoke and repelled the attacks of the Opposition was simply magnificent, and excited universal admiration. And women speak with disgust of the way in which you were hounded down and personally insulted by the

Progressists and Lasker. A Hanoverian lady, of Guelph sympathies, spoke to my wife yesterday in this sense. This disgust and this pity for you will gradually affect the men, and help to bring about a change in the present tendency. I myself feel no pity, I only foresee your triumph. Pray excuse me for comparing you to an animal, but you remind me of the picture of a noble stag, which time after time shakes off the snarling pack, and then, proud and unhurt, regains the shelter of his forest, crowned by his branching antlers." "Yes," he said, "one might take another animal, the wild boar, which gores the hounds and tosses them away from him."

He was silent for a time, and as we walked up and down he hummed the tune "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus." He then remarked suddenly: "But if they go on in that style they will ultimately meet the fate to which I alluded — the Luck of Edenhall. You know Uhland's poem? It will be a case of Bang! and snap goes the German Constitution! You spoke of Thile. Do you mean the former Secretary of State?" I said, "Yes, I meet him sometimes, as he lives in my neighbourhood." "He is a dangerous man," he observed. "He was quite incapable. He could do nothing, and wrote nothing, because he was afraid it would be corrected; and yet I kept him for ten years, although he conspired against me with Savigny. He is to blame for the Diest libels, which led to the prosecution. I heard the whole story and how it began from Rothschild. Savigny went to him about the promotion of the company in question, and asked him if he could not let him have a share in it. Rothschild said no, he had already been obliged to part with a large share, a million and a half — meaning to his branches, the houses with which he is associated. Savigny, however, thought he was alluding to me, and would appear to have hinted something of the kind, but Rothschild seems either not to have understood him, or not to have answered with sufficient clearness. Savigny then carried the tale further, telling it first to Thile, who mentioned it to his brother, the General, instead of speaking to me, his chief, and in this way Diest ultimately came to hear of it. But, as Minister, I have never done any business with Rothschild, and even as envoy at Frankfort very little. I drew my salary through him, and on one occasion I exchanged some stock for Austrian securities. I have not found it necessary. My pro-

fession as Minister has brought me in something, and through the grants and the gift of the Lauenburg estates I have become a rich man. It is true that if I had gone into a business, or carried on a trade, and devoted to it the same amount of labour and intelligence, I should doubtless have made more money."

We then returned once more to the recent debates in the Reichstag, and I again expressed in strong terms the contempt I felt for the Opposition. "You were always a gentleman pitted against vain and vulgar creatures," I said, "and in saying that I am not thinking of your rank as a Prince." "No, I understand — a gentleman in my way of thinking," he rejoined. "Lasker's Jewish forwardness and presumption," I continued, "the Professors with their priggish airs of superiority, and their empty pathos; Hänel, the self-complacent and pathetic doctrinaire — it is impossible to imagine anything more repulsive. He wanted to be Minister of Justice in 'sea-surrounded Schleswig-Holstein.'" "Yes," said the Chancellor, interrupting me, "they had divided the parts among themselves before the piece had been secured, and they probably have done the same thing now. Nothing came of it, however, after the interview which Our Most Gracious had with me upstairs in the yellow chamber, where he remained with me from 9 o'clock until near midnight." "And where he heard the simile of the chickens in Low German," I added. "And then that impudent, lying clown Richter, and the whole tearing, snarling, sprawling pack face to face with simple, solid, positive greatness. It was as if you belonged to an entirely different species." "Yes," he said, "when I lie down in bed after such debates, I feel ashamed of ever having bandied words with them. You know the way one feels after a night's drinking, if one has had a row and perhaps come to blows with vulgar people — when one begins to realise it next morning, one wonders how and why it all came about." Then after I had promised to make the corrections immediately and send them to him, he took leave of me with the words: "Good evening, Busch. Auf Wiedersehen." Busch! Not "Herr Doctor," as usual.

In two hours I sent him the corrections, which I received back through a chancery attendant before 10 P.M. There were only a few alterations in the second half.

On the 2nd of January, 1882, I again visited Bucher. He

complained in general of the incapable *entourage* of the Prince, including his sons, and of Rudolph Lindau, whom they favoured because he gave card parties and made himself useful to them in other ways. (. . .) He was a mere tradesman without education or political knowledge. The Prince wished to make things comfortable for himself, and no blame to him, but he was mistaken if he thought the machine would still go on working as it ought to. In that respect the choice of the *personnel* was of importance, and those who were now engaged, particularly in the press department, were almost constantly blundering. The stuff which Paul Lindau wrote for the *Kölnische Zeitung* was also of little value.

We then spoke about the negotiations with the Curia, which were making satisfactory progress; of Held's contribution to the social history of England; of Taine's account of the Jacobins, in whom Bucher discovered some characteristics of the Progressist party; of Stirum, who had also left because he was not disposed to put up with the intrigues of the clique that surrounded the Prince, and who had told him, Bucher, that he "preferred in future to admire the Chancellor at a distance"; and of the Chief's recent criticism of my article. I said that the Chief must be mistaken in asserting that after the visit to Varzin he had had no further negotiations with Bennigsen respecting his joining the Ministry, as he had himself told me that at that time Herbert had written to Bennigsen, which he would scarcely have ventured to do without his father's knowledge. Bucher agreed with me, and added that some one had expressed the opinion that Bennigsen had acted like a gentleman with regard to the statements published by the semi-official press. Bucher arranged to send me Taine's book when he had finished reading it, in order that I might write an article upon it. He is extracting passages which point to the similarity between the Jacobins and the Progressist party.

On the evening of the 8th of January, Count William Bismarck sent me an article for the *Grenzboten* on "Agricultural Credit in Prussia." [1]

On Monday, the 16th of January, I took back the third vol-

[1] This article was published in the *Grenzboten* without delay. Articles in the same sense appeared later in No. 33 of *Deutsches Tageblatt* (Feb. 2) and a few days previously in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

ume of Taine's *History of the Revolution, La Conquête des Jacobins*, to Bucher. He told me that according to a conversation with the Chief, a campaign would presently be opened in the press in order to clear up some points respecting Stockmar and Bunsen. He was to write a pamphlet on the latter, in which various documents, of which only portions were given in Frau von Bunsen's book, would be published *in extenso*. I could then make myself useful by utilising this information, in addition to which he would give me further material. We then spoke of the Coburg clique, of Abeken, who had been described on one occasion by Bunsen as the "magnificent Abeken," of Max Müller of Oxford, with whom he had spent some pleasant hours, of Geffcken, and finally of Hepke. On my asking how it was that the latter had fallen into disfavour with the Prince, Bucher said that in 1862, shortly after the Chief had come into office, Hepke, who had charge of the German reports, reproduced, almost literally, in a brochure which he published under the title of "A Word from a Prussian," a memorandum which Bismarck had submitted to the King. Although this pamphlet was anonymous, the Chief came to hear of it, and forbade Metzler to mention it in our papers. Then, again, shortly before the war of 1866, Hepke, "through vanity, in order to show how well informed he was," communicated some scheme that was in hand against Austria to the Austrian Envoy, probably at dinner, and this came to the knowledge of the Chief later on, after our reconciliation with Austria, most likely through Rechberg.

I then turned the conversation on Thile, mentioning what the Prince recently said to me. Bucher still maintained that Thile is a gentleman and very good-hearted, and questioned whether he were as incapable as Bismarck had described him to me.

On the 26th of January, Bucher sent me the first and third volumes of Nippold's edition of Bunsen's biography, the proofsheets of a refutation by him of a letter from Prince Albert to Stockmar, explaining Bunsen's "fall" (which was published first in the *Münchener Nachrichten*, and afterwards in the *National Zeitung*), and finally some rough notes for a *Grenzboten* article, which I prepared and published by the 2nd of February in No. 8, under the title "Bunsen's Friends and the Truth." Bucher's

refutation was to appear in the February number of the *Deutsche Revue für das gesammte nationale Leben der Gegenwart.* In the rough notes he spoke as follows of Bunsen: —

"He took away with him copies of official documents (just like Arnim), which his family published in a mutilated and therefore falsified shape. You may indeed without hesitation throw out the suggestion whether he did not perhaps take the originals. He did, as a matter of fact, take away at least three. This whole section of the book (*i.e.*, of the biography, so far as it relates to Bunsen's retirement) is a fable, written in despite of the author's better knowledge. That the King having afterwards wrote him a friendly letter, &c., is explained by the distinction which Frederick William IV. was in the habit of drawing between the official and the friend, as in the case of Radowitz. The memorandum is a schoolboy's exercise. Austria to extend her borders as far as the Sea of Azof, Poland to be restored — a terrible suggestion to be so coolly uttered — Prussia to get Austrian Silesia, one of the Provinces most devoted to the Imperial House, and Moravia!

"Vol. II. p. 557. His views concerning the proper preparatory education for the diplomatic service. That did not succeed in the case of Theodore (one of Bunsen's sons). He must have achieved something out of the common at Lima and Alexandria, since after a short stay at these places he was on each occasion superseded, and had ultimately to resign. If he had had the preliminary training which he scoffed at, instead of a mere professorial education, he would probably not have been guilty of the follies and insubordination of the 1st and 4th of March, 1854.

"You will find particulars as to the æsthetic International in the index at the end of the third volume. You are better versed in the religious type of humanity than I am. Every third word is God. Bunsen seems to have considered that the *lieber Gott* took quite a special interest in him.

"A *bon mot* which circulated in London: The learned regarded him as a diplomat while the diplomatists believed him to be a *savant.* The self-flattery in the account of the conversation with Clarendon, Part III. Bunsen and Pourtales certify to each other's excellencies. The source of Albert's letter, Part III. p. 356. Bunsen complains of his Government to Albert.

"A popular explanation of the political side of the book will doubtless be also necessary for the dull-witted Philistine. Prussia should involve herself in war with Russia, and what was to be the compensation? 1. That the English fleet should enter the Baltic. This would mean, at least, that the Prussian coasts would be protected against the Russian fleet. 2. That the four Plenipotentiaries (of the Vienna Conference) should announce Prussia's community of interest in the overthrow of Russian predominance. Much good that would have done us! How often has the integrity of Turkey been declared to be a European interest? And the idea of an Anglo-Prussian alliance (the Old Liberal dogma) which so frequently crops up in the book is equally absurd, and shows a complete ignorance of English policy, which never enters into permanent alliances without positive and limited aims. Part III. 201 and 207."

On the 2nd of February I again called upon Bucher. He gave me various further particulars respecting the "great patriot and meritorious diplomatist," Bunsen, and his sons. The old gentleman's chief reason for tendering his resignation so hastily was that when about to take his holiday after the catastrophe, he was not paid his full salary as an envoy for six months, as he had demanded, but only for six weeks, as provided by the regulations. Theodore, whom Bunsen described to Thile as the most gifted of his sons, had made himself impossible at Lima, by his tactlessness in holding intercourse with the Opposition party, and using his influence on their behalf. He afterwards held the post of envoy at Stockholm, which he resigned when the Government refused him leave to marry a very wealthy German-Russian lady from the Baltic Provinces. He now enjoys the possession of this lady. Another son has a fat benefice in England. "Frau Schwabe," the "Elpi's Melena" of the newspapers, who is frequently mentioned in the Nippold edition of the biography, is an enormously rich German Jewess, widow of a manufacturer, and a friend not only of Bunsen, but also of Garibaldi, to whom she sent, after he was wounded at Aspromonte, an artistic armchair in "letter form," that is to say, pasted all over with postage stamps. Bucher expects that George von Bunsen will reply to our articles. He, Bucher, will then write an answer from further official documents for publication in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

On the 17th of February I left a proof of my *Grenzboten* article on Bunsen at the Imperial Chancellor's palace for submission to the Prince. It was in an envelope and signed "Moritz Busch," but was accompanied by no letter. I ascertained at the same time from the porter that the Chancellor had not been quite well for some time past. On my way back through the Leipzigerstrasse I met Bucher, who was delighted with "the fine goings-on in England now." I asked what he meant, and he replied: "Why, the Standing Orders in Parliament, the Closure. Our people may well ask themselves whether they are equally pleased with this new feature in their ideal."

The extracts from Taine, properly grouped and spiced with references to the German connections of the Jacobins, namely the Progressists, appeared in Nos. 7 and 9 of the *Grenzboten* under the title "The True Story of the Jacobins." I also wrote an article on Gladstone's measure referred to by Bucher. This was published in No. 10 of the *Grenzboten* under the title "Gladstone, and Liberty of Speech in Parliament."

On the 10th of March I received the news of the death of our son John, from Captain Alm of the *Dora Ahrens* at Falmouth. He had died at sea on the 19th of December last, on the return voyage from Corinto, in Nicaragua. Falling overboard during a violent storm in the vicinity of the Falkland Islands, he was unable to hold on to the rope which was thrown to him, and was swallowed up in the waves. With him, our only son, disappeared my best love, my energy and pleasure in work, my pride and my hope. Henceforth my life is overshadowed by this grief. He was only thirty-one years of age, had lived the hard life of the sailor, and passed two severe examinations, so that we had reason to hope that we should soon see him the captain of the handsome craft. Now he lies at the bottom of a distant sea, and all that remains of him is the memory of his dear face and his brave, high-minded nature. Fearless, truthful, and devoted to his duty, he died as he had lived in the service of his ship, as the soldier dies for his flag, his king, and his country. He was a man, a character, and death has no power over such! God has further use of them. But we shall never see him again with mortal eyes, and can only wreathe his portrait with laurels and forget-me-nots on his birthday, the 13th of April.

"Lass mich im düstern Reich,
Mutter, mich nicht allein!"
"Nicht allein! Wo Du auch weilest.
Ach! Wenn Du dem Tag enteilest,
Wird kein Herz von Dir sich trennen."[1]

All our friends manifested the greatest sympathy for us, in which the Imperial Chancellor also did not fail to join. He wrote me on the 16th of March:—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have heard with sincere regret of the heavy loss which you have suffered, and, although I have no consolation to offer in such circumstances, I cannot refrain from expressing to you my heartfelt sympathy. BISMARCK."

With this these notes may be concluded. Evening has set in.

The sense of duty as a chronicler awoke again before the pain of our loss had subsided. I again felt an interest in other things besides the portrait of our dear departed son, and so returned to my diary. The lines dedicated to his memory shall remain, however, as a monument to him, and a reminiscence of days full of sorrow, and weeks of deep prostration and melancholy.

On the morning of the 29th of March I called upon Bucher. He declared that the anti-German party in Russia was growing dangerous, and though the Emperor appeared to be our sincere well-wisher, he would perhaps be unable to withstand it. It was true that he had spoken very sharply to Skobeleff who told Schweinitz, as he was returning with him from Gatshina, that the Emperor had severely reprimanded him (il m'a donné un savon). The general actually looked depressed. A Russian diplomatist (Nesselrode, if I understood rightly) once said of Holstein when the latter was with Bismarck in Petersburg years ago: "Ce jeune homme sait une foule de choses, mais il n'est pas capable d'en faire une seule."

[1] "*Euphorian.*—Leave me not in the gloomy realm, mother, not alone!

"*Chorus.*—Not alone, wherever thou biddest. . . . Ah, if from the day thou hastenest, still each heart will cling to thee!"—*Faust*, Part II.

These lines are from the lament on the death of Byron which Goethe incorporated in his poem.—TRANSLATOR.

Pope Leo has shown great readiness to meet us half-way in personal questions. Among other things, he had originally desired to appoint to the bishopric of Osnabrück a former Jesuit and pupil of the Collegium Germanicum, who had been recommended to him by Tarnassi. But when our Government pointed out that the candidate referred to had taken part in various forms of anti-German agitation, the Pope unhesitatingly dropped him.

On the 12th of May I met Thile in the Linkstrasse, and accompanied him part of the way to his house. He expressed his regret at our loss, and his pleasure that the Chief had likewise done so. The conversation then turned on Hatzfeld, and he said that Bismarck had always favoured him, "pitying him for having such a mother," which after all was very nice on his part. He had also dispensed with the diplomatic examination in his case. Besides, Hatzfeld had talent and was good-hearted in addition. As evidence of the latter he mentioned that he frequently visited Goltz, who was suffering from cancer of the tongue, although it was scarcely possible to stand the atmosphere of the sick room. He, Thile, had also repeatedly visited the sufferer. Bismarck, on the other hand, had never gone to see him, although they had been on friendly terms formerly. "It was enough to turn one's stomach," he said. It was true that subsequently, just before Goltz had moved, the Chief called at the old lodgings, and then gave as an excuse: "I was at his place, but he had left." Thile then added the following characteristic anecdote: "Of course you too are an old student of Goethe, and remember the poem 'Füllest wieder Busch and Thal, still mit Nebelglanz.' This was being recited on one occasion, and when the reader came to the passage —

"'Selig wer sich vor der Welt
Ohne Hass verschliesst,
Einen Freund am Busen hält
Und mit dem geniesst'

(Blessed is he who retires, without hatred, from the world, and enjoys his retreat in communion with a single friend) Bismarck exclaimed: 'What! Without hatred? What a tailor's soul he must have!'" In reply to my inquiry whether this story was absolutely authentic, he mentioned Keudell as his authority.

At 6 P.M., on the 8th of June, three days after the Chancellor's return from Freidrichsruh, I left a note for him at the palace in the Wilhelmstrasse, requesting him if he had anything for me to do to name a day and hour on which I should call for the necessary information. At 8.30 P.M. I had a letter from Sachse stating that the Prince "wished to speak to me for a few moments," and requested me to call upon him next day at 12.30 P.M. I called at the time appointed, and after waiting for about half an hour, while the Chief was dictating to one of his deciphering clerks who wrote shorthand, I was admitted to see him, and the "few minutes" extended to a full hour. The Prince was in plain clothes, with the exception of military trousers. He had grown thinner, so that his coat hung in folds over his shoulders. Otherwise, however, he looked well, and was evidently in good-humour. He greeted me with a shake hands and "Good day, Büschlein." Then, inviting me to sit down, he said: "You want fodder, but I have none. There is nothing going on either in domestic or foreign affairs. You recollect that little bit of a Herzegovina, and now we have that little bit of an Egypt. It is not of much concern to us, although it certainly is to the English and also to the French. They set about the affair in an awkward way, and have got on a wrong track by sending their ironclads to Alexandria, and now, finding that there is nothing to be done, they want the rest of Europe to help them out of their difficulty by means of a conference. Nothing can be done with the fleet without a landing force, and this is not at hand, so that it will be merely a repetition of the demonstration before Dulcigno. In that case it was the rocks, here it is the European warehouses, otherwise they would in all probability have already bombarded the place. It is also a question whether they would not have come off second best, as the Egyptians have very heavy guns, and their artillery is not bad. But so far as a conference is concerned, it is like an inquiry round a board of green cloth: the interests of the Powers are not the same, and therefore it will not be easy to come to any practical conclusion. The Sultan too will not coöperate. He is not without justification in declining to do so. If he can put things right by writing letters and sending plenipotentiaries, — which we shall know one of these days,— the Western Powers will have reason to be thankful. If not there will be no alterna-

tive left but for the Padishah to send his Nizams to restore order there. That is due to the absurd policy which Professor Gladstone has pursued from the beginning. He tries to come to an understanding with France and Russia, forgetting the fact that their interests in the Levant are quite different to those of the English. He surrendered all the valuable results which English policy had tried to secure during the past eighty years in its dealings with the Porte and with Austria, and thought he could work miracles when he had offended them both. And in France they have also taken a wrong course out of consideration for public opinion. Egypt is of the utmost importance to England on account of the Suez Canal, the shortest line of communication between the eastern and western halves of the Empire. That is like the spinal cord which connects the backbone with the brain. Any increase of Turkish power does not affect England injuriously in this, or indeed in any other respect. France thinks more of the prestige to be gained by the Porte if it exercises a mediating and controlling influence in the Egyptian question, and fears that her own prestige in Africa might suffer. Nevertheless, France has also very important material interests there, since there are 14,000 Frenchmen in Egypt and only 3,000 English. It was in vain for me to point out to them that an Arabian Empire, such as Arabi may have in view, would be far more dangerous to their position in Africa than any strengthening of Turkish influence on the Nile. The Porte is an old European landowner, who is deeply in debt, and who can always be reached and subjected to pressure if he becomes too exacting. It is impossible to foresee what effect an independent Egypt would have upon the French position in Africa. That is doubtless recognised by Freycinet, but he is afraid of the traditions, prejudices, and vanity of the French, and of Gambetta, who manipulates them. It is true the division in the Chamber turned out favourably, indeed very much so, but even assuming that Gambetta cannot return to power shortly, the wind may soon blow from another quarter, and the understanding with England come to an end. A campaign in coöperation with the French, a military occupation, would be a hazardous undertaking for the English, as the French could always send more men than they, who require their soldiers in Ireland, and who have altogether none too many. If France had the larger force there

she would of course exercise more influence and play the leading part, and it would perhaps be difficult to get her out of the country again. The rest of us would not coöperate in a military sense, as for the present the question is one of comparative indifference to us, and it is no business of ours to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for other people, particularly for the English. So there they are, with their ships, in a blind alley, and now they want a conference to put the matter right. Here also we are expected to come to their assistance, and bring pressure to bear on the Porte, thus embroiling ourselves with the Sultan, — a suggestion which, of course, we must politely decline."

"Much in the same way," I said, "as the English before the last Russo-Turkish conflict wished you to forbid the Russians entering upon hostilities, merely because that did not suit England's policy, and when Queen Victoria wrote to you and the Emperor to that effect." "Yes," he rejoined, "and it was the same before the Crimean War, when Bunsen pleaded their cause. They must manage to get out of the difficulties into which they have plunged by themselves — having made their bed they must lie on it."

The dog, which had been standing behind me and occasionally made his presence known by snarling, now began to bark. "He notices that there is a stranger outside," said the Prince, who rang the bell and ordered the attendant to keep the dog in the outer room. He then continued: "In home affairs there is also nothing of importance that you are not weary of. They will reject the tobacco monopoly. There is no other course open to them now." "But, Serene Highness," I said, "you will submit it to them again, and carry it through in three or four years' time?" "That depends upon circumstances," he replied, "upon the future elections. I have no intention of pressing the tobacco monopoly out of a mere liking for this particular method of fiscal reform. The monopoly is an evil, but it is still the best of all available means of reform. . . . I first want to get from them my certificate that I have done everything in my power to do away with an unfair form of taxation, but that they would not hear of it. Then they may settle the matter with their electors and justify their conduct, should it perhaps result in an increase of the class tax (a form of direct taxation), while other burdens cannot possibly be reduced."

"Then one might as well emigrate," I said.

"Certainly," he rejoined. "The class tax, which at present is retained only in this country, is one of the chief causes of emigration. If you only knew for how many evictions it is responsible among the poorer and indeed even among the middle classes! It is like the Russian poll tax, and does not permit of any equitable distribution of the burden in accordance with the condition of those who have to bear it, while indirect taxation distributes itself automatically. My object was to provide a remedy for this and to lighten the burden of the poorer citizens. That ought also to have been the object of the Diet. But you have seen from the discussion on the Appropriation Bill how little disposed they are to do so; and Lingen's motion, which was adopted by the Commission, will not even admit the necessity of a reserve."

I observed: "The emphasis laid upon economy in his motion is quite after the manner of the pedagogue, and of the narrow-minded Philistine. It does not sound as if it came from the Parliament of a great empire, but rather as if the vestry of Little Peddlington were casting the light of its wisdom upon the subject. This petty huckstering spirit is characteristic of all Liberalism. The majority of them are 'snobs' with a sprinkling of 'swells.'"[1]

"That is true," he said. "They certainly have not much amplitude or breadth of view, and they are bent on obstinate resistance to the Emperor's message, in which a far higher standpoint is adopted. But that is their nature. They only think of their joint stock companies, *i.e.*, their Parliamentary parties, and whether their shares will rise or fall if this or that is done or left undone. They trouble their heads very little with anything beyond that. Besides, they hope that the old Emperor will soon die and that his successor will give them a free hand. The Emperor, however, does not at all look as if he were going to oblige them. He may live for a long time yet, and indeed reach a hundred. You should see how robust he is now, and how straight he holds himself! From what—— (I understood, Lauer) says, the Nobiling phlebotomy has been of benefit to him, both physically and mentally, the old blood

[1] The author is responsible for this use of the words "snob" and "swell."—TRANSLATOR.

has been drawn off, and he looks much less flabby than formerly. We are now on good terms, better than we have been for years." "And the successor will have to follow the same course," I said. "He cannot govern differently without doing mischief." "Oh, yes," he rejoined. "He also would like to retain me, but he is too indolent, too much devoted to his own comfort, and thinks it would be easier to govern with majorities. I said to him: 'Try it, but I will not join in the experiment!' Perhaps they are out in their reckoning, however, and a long-lived sovereign may be followed by a short-lived one. It seems to me as if this might be the case. He who would then ascend the throne is quite different. He wishes to take the government into his own hands; he is energetic and determined, not at all disposed to put up with Parliamentary co-regents, a regular guardsman! — Philopater and Antipater at Potsdam! He is not at all pleased at his father taking up with Professors, with Mommsen, Virchow, and Forckenbeck. Perhaps he may one day develop into the *rocher de bronze* of which we stand in need."

He then came to speak of his other schemes of reform, and observed: "The so-called Socialistic Bills are in a tolerably fair way. They will force themselves through, and develop further, even without me. The most pressing and necessary measures will in the main be soon carried. But it is unsatisfactory that they should want to bring the funds for the relief of the sick into too close connection with the insurance scheme. In this case it is not advisable that the payments in kind should be transformed into money payments." He then gave a technical explanation, the details of which I was unable to understand, and was therefore unable to remember fully. I said: "But it is intended to drop the State subsidy, through which you hoped to reconcile the labouring classes, by getting them to recognise that the State not only makes demands upon them, but also comes to their assistance, procuring relief for them in case of need, and providing for their future as far as possible."

"No, not dropped," he replied, "but it is not immediately necessary in the new form which the Bill has taken. In about five or ten years it will be seen how far the contributions go, and in fifteen years' time it may be asked whether, and to what extent, the State should contribute. It is sufficient for the pres-

ent that all sums falling due are immediately paid, the State guaranteeing the amount."

He again explained this in detail, and then said: "I am tired and ill, and should prefer to go, once I got my release from the Reichstag, but I do not like to leave the old Emperor alone. When he lay on his back after the outrage, I vowed to myself that I would not. Otherwise, I would rather be in the country at Friedrichsruh. I always felt better there; while here I get excited and angry, and become so weak that I can scarcely work for a couple of hours without losing hold of my ideas. How beautiful and fresh it was there in the country! I enjoyed every day, driving out and seeing how fine the rye looked, and how healthy the potatoes!"

This led him on to speak of the hope which he had of a good harvest, and that again to the price of corn in Germany and England. In this connection he observed, *inter alia:* "The opinion that low prices for corn mean happiness, welfare, and content is a superstition. In that case the inhabitants of Lithuania and Rumania ought to be the most prosperous of all, while prosperity should decrease in proportion as you come west towards Aix la Chapelle. In England, the price of corn is now lower than here, and yet discontent prevails among the poorer classes, Radicalism is spreading, a revolution is approaching, and that democratic republic for which Gladstone and his friends and associates, Chamberlain and Dilke, have helped to pave the way, will come. It is just the same in Spain and Italy, where the dynastics, it is true, will offer resistance, but probably to no purpose. In France it remains to be seen whether the Republic will maintain itself, and if it does a condition of things will arise similar to that in America, where respectable people consider it disgraceful to have anything to do with practical politics, or to become a Senator, Congressman, or Minister."

On my rising he walked about the room for a while, continuing to speak, but sat down soon again as if he felt tired. He mentioned Herbert, who is still in London, and from this I turned the conversation on Hatzfeld, remarking that his appointment as Secretary of State had not yet taken place. He rejoined: "That is due solely to the fact that he himself has not yet declared in favour of remaining. He has still to complete his

arrangements, and settle with his brother about a mortgage. Moreover, I cannot blame him if he prefers to draw —— (I did not catch the amount) in Constantinople, where things are cheaper, than 15,000 thalers here. He has a fortune of about 100,000 thalers. I wanted more for him, 60,000 marks, but the Federal Council rejected the proposal, as they could not give the Secretary of State more than the Imperial Chancellor, who receives only 54,000, but who has become wealthy, thanks to public grants. You cannot expect everybody to be prepared to make sacrifices. Every one is not disposed to lead a simple life, cutting his coat according to his cloth, and to forego great entertainments and other expensive habits; and then it is a case of five into four won't go, so I borrow one. He must, however, decide between this and July. Otherwise we shall have to ask Dr. Busch."

"No, thank you," I replied. He said: "There are two doctors of that name, and I mean the other, not Büschlein. But Busch has as poor health as Hatzfeld, who is effeminate to boot, wraps himself up like a Frenchman, and goes to bed when he has a headache or cold, so that I have already been obliged to do their work instead of their taking over mine."

From these invalids he passed on to the Empress. "She lives on and is again in good health, but a great deal of my illness comes from her intrigues. Schleinitz is also on his legs again, although he was very ill. Doubtless he thinks: 'Perhaps there may be some more Jewish *pourboires*, so I must keep alive!'"

I asked if he would speak in the debate in the Reichstag on the monopoly. "Yes," he said, "if my health permits it. Not for the purpose of convincing them, but to bear witness before the country, and then to demand my release." I inquired whether he intended to go to Kissingen again this summer. "No," he replied. "Although the waters have usually been very beneficial, they did me no good the last time. For nearly four months afterwards I was tormented with hæmorrhoids that were fearfully painful, burning like hell fire." He then added a description of the symptoms.

Before leaving I also asked: "How do you like the Chevalier Poschinger,[1] Serene Highness? There is a great deal of

[1] The editor of a collection of Bismarckian documents of the Frankfort period.

interesting matter in the collection, but it seems to me that he might have made a better choice. But I suppose all the documents did not come into his hands?" He replied: "That, too, had something to do with it. But there is a great deal that has not got into the archives, such as my letters to the late King, which were retained by Gerlach and which his heirs will not easily part with. But even as it is the book is very instructive, as it contains a great deal which was not known so accurately before; and it is perhaps well that those letters and other things should remain unpublished for the present."

He had in the meantime shaken hands several times by way of taking leave of me, but each time started some new subject which caused me to remain. He now reached me his hand for the last time, and, thanking him for giving me the pleasure of seeing him after such a long interval, I took my leave. As usual, after such interviews, I went straight home in order to write down what I had heard without delay, before anything else should chance to blur the impression.

On the 15th of July I again visited Bucher. He complained once more of the indifferent way in which business was done at the Foreign Office and in the Imperial Chancellerie. Herbert sent his father, Holstein, or Rantzau private reports of what he picked up in London society, the clubs, &c. — mostly gossip — which were then forwarded to the Emperor and occasionally made use of in the press. The correct thing for him to do would be to communicate what he had heard to his Chief, the Ambassador, who could then forward it separately, or include it in his own despatches. Herbert reported recently that after the murder of Cavendish and Burke, Gladstone, when sitting in his place in Parliament, covered his face with his hands in order to show the depth of his affliction, although the event was in every way opportune for him. That evening, however, he was . . . Rantzau then came to him, Bucher, to say that the Chief would like to see that mentioned in one of the papers, but not in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and to ask whether he, Bucher, would see to it. Bucher replied that his instructions were to write only for the *Post* and the *Norddeutsche*. He would, however, prepare it for the press and Rantzau could then give it to Lindau, who might get it into the *Kölnische Zeitung*, or into one of the Hamburg papers.

After a while Rantzau returned and said that in Lindau's opinion one of the phrases would be better if translated into the *oratio obliqua.* "But," said Bucher, smiling, "it was a quotation, yet neither of them recognised it, although it was taken from Schiller. I said to him they could do what they liked with it, and since then they have not pestered me with such matters." Bucher confirmed what the Chancellor had told me respecting Prince William's attitude and way of thinking in political matters. He added that the Prince had told some of his acquaintances how much he disapproved of his mother reading the *Volkszeitung*, and identifying herself with the views of the Progressist party. Bucher then mentioned that a member of the Crown Prince's *entourage* had informed him that one of the leaders of the National Liberals had recently stated that they were not so very much opposed to the tobacco monopoly, but wished to "keep their consent to it as a gift for the next emperor." He added: "I was about to write that to the Chancellor, whom I now rarely see; but I saw from his speech on the monopoly that he had already been informed of it." In Bucher's opinion the most important feature in the Egyptian question is "that we may expect it to lead to a breach between France and England. . . . Our relations with Austria are excellent. What he was not able to tell you at the time is a fact. We have a formal alliance with the Austrians, and the Chief has also done something more, so that we are quite safe from war for several years to come."

With regard to Hatzfeld, Bucher said: "He wants to have the Secretaryship of State offered to him so that he may make his acceptance conditional upon exorbitant terms for himself. But the Chief, in order to avoid placing himself under any obligations, means to leave it to the Emperor to settle matters with him."

We finally spoke about Eckardt, whom it was intended at first to employ in the Literary Bureau, but who has now a prospect of an appointment in the Ministry of the Interior. Bucher thinks the affair is a demonstration of the Chief's against the Russians, who "always fancied until now that we must run to answer the bell whenever they ring." Eckardt, by the way, no longer makes the extracts from the newspapers for the Foreign Office. . . .

On the 19th of July Bucher sent me an article from the *Deutsches Tageblatt* of the 16th of July, entitled "Hirsch-Bleichröder-Rothschild and Germany in Constantinople." It disclosed the financial intrigues of this group of bankers, "choice members of the Chosen People," who exploit Turkey under the pretence that they are protected by the German Government in the persons of its representatives. It energetically protests against this trio, and particularly against "Bleichröder, who knows how to take advantage of the credit which Germany enjoys at the Golden Horn in association with persons who only manifest their national sentiments and their patriotism when these can be turned to account for their own transactions." Bucher wrote: "I send you this article for your Memorabilia. It will be frequently mentioned hereafter. *Justizrath* Primker, of Berlin, is the agent of Bleichröder here referred to."

On the 2nd of August I received a card from Bucher, in which he said: "I have to-day taken leave of absence, and at the same time tendered my resignation. I will tell you why at some future time. Auf Wiedersehen."

I therefore called upon him (Bucher) on the 2nd of October, and at once inquired whether he decided to retire or to remain on. He replied that he would remain for the present. On the 1st of August he begged the Chief to obtain the Emperor's consent to his retirement. In this letter the only motive which he gave was consideration for his health (growing nervousness), although, as I knew, he had other and stronger reasons. He then proceeded to Bormio, whither the Prince's answer followed him. The Chief wrote that, before regarding his request as final, he would like Bucher to come to Varzin to talk over the matter — he would doubtless also be pleased to see the place once more. He (Bucher) arranged to go there on his return from his holiday, and accordingly proceeded to Varzin on Tuesday last. There the Chancellor explained to him that he still required the services of his knowledge and ability, and although he could quite conceive that he was ailing and tired, he believed he could get over that difficulty by giving him as much holiday as he liked at all times summer and winter. In future, also, he should be immediately under him. To this Bucher replied that he did not wish to retire altogether, but he had had a mind to take up some work of importance which he could have done at

home in connection with documents in the Archives that had not yet been used. He believed he could do that work as well as the officials of the Archives (Poschinger and Sybel). That might also be done, the Chief said, but he must remain in the service; he was indispensable to him. Bucher then begged to be allowed two days to think the matter over, after the lapse of which time he acceded to the Prince's wishes. He does not expect any good to come of the arrangement, however, as in his opinion there will be no change in the condition of affairs."

I then inquired how the Chief was getting on. Bucher replied: "Not very well. He suffers from faceache, which occurs constantly and is often very bad, but passes away again after a while. The doctor thinks it comes from a bad tooth, and has advised him to have it out or let the nerve be killed. But the Chief will not agree to this, as he does not believe in the doctor's opinion. When this is not tormenting him, he is still the same old amiable *causeur*, and he often has moments of inspiration, too, when he speaks on political affairs with astounding far-sightedness. I shall hardly enjoy much more of it, however. During recent years I have seen him more seldom than yourself, sometimes not for two months at a time. But perhaps that may improve again later or indeed very soon. A few days ago when I was speaking to Rantzau about my resignation, he said that was surely not necessary. It was true that the Emperor might live to a great age, but he would probably not govern much longer, and then it would be the turn of the Crown Prince, who had not altered since the conflict he had had with his father twenty years ago. (Freytag's account of this conflict was handed over by me for publication to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in Frankfort-on-Main somewhere about the summer of 1862. It made a great sensation at the time and caused no little anxiety.) He was a regular Progressist and already he made no secret of it. While I was away he had accepted Ludwig Löwe's invitation to inspect his revolver manufactory, and even deigned to take breakfast there. Recently, on entering a Court gathering at which Puttkamer and also three Progressists, including Mommsen and Virchow, were present, he passed the Minister by and joined the Liberal trio, with whom he then conversed in a demonstrative fashion. It must be remembered that this took place at a time when an action was

being brought against Mommsen for insulting the Chancellor. The Chief was quite aware of this, and speaking of the future Emperor, he had said: "He will wish to retain me, but I shall lay down my conditions, which he will agree to, but he will not keep his promise." Bucher continued as follows: "Then the Chief will resign and proceed to Varzin, which he even now does not wish to leave, and a sort of colony will be founded there in connection with which they doubtless have me also in view. It is then intended to write memoirs. Speaking to me about them in 1877, he said: 'I have still a great deal to say to the world.' — The Progressists are aware of the Crown Prince's views, and they will then want to form a Ministry taken from their own ranks. Virchow has hinted as much in public speeches, adding that the entire policy of the country including foreign affairs would be different. — Bismarck was a gifted politician who represented a system of diplomacy which, except by himself, had long since been regarded as played out. That would lead to a pretty state of affairs, but would not last long. In the meantime, however, many blunders and an immense deal of harm might be done."

I then asked what he thought of Bismarck's religious sentiments, giving him my reasons for thinking that his wife had influenced him in this respect. He agreed with me and said that the views of the Moravian Brethren prevailed in her family. For the rest it was very difficult to form an opinion on those matters. He then observed that Bismarck also believed in ghosts. There is a castle in East Prussia which no one will inhabit as it is said to be haunted by the ghost of a lady who committed some crime. She is visible in broad daylight. On one occasion, when this story was told in Bismarck's presence and some of the company spoke of it as folly, the Chief said there might very well be something in it, and that one ought not to laugh and jeer at such things, as he himself had had a similar experience.[1]

Bucher also considers such things possible. He said: "A very remarkable incident of that kind once occurred to myself. When I lived on the Lutzow Embankment — it was during the first years of my appointment, when I had a great deal to do and was so tired in the evening that I used to fall asleep as

[1] Probably at Schönhausen. See Hesekiel's *Buch vom Grafen Bismarck*, p. 19.

soon as I lay down — one night I saw my mother stoop down over my bed and smile contentedly, as if she were pleased that I had now begun a regular life. I am quite certain that it was not a dream."

Finally I told him I intended to leave Berlin and return to Leipzig, as I had too little opportunity of seeing and being of use to the Chief, and found little society for my wife and myself. I would remain until February, in order to take leave of the Prince in person, and then proposed to come to Berlin a couple of times every year to visit him. In the meantime, I would now and then take the liberty of requesting him (Bucher) to furnish me with advice, explanations, and material in political affairs, while, on the other hand, I also should be at his disposal, as before 1878, whenever he wished to secure the insertion of anything in the press. Should the Chancellor retire at any time, I would write him immediately, that he might count upon my services. Bucher approved of these suggestions.

On the 2nd and 3rd of November Bucher sent me a number of newspaper extracts referring to Bleichröder and his partner Hatzfeld, and his, Bucher's, attitude toward Countess Hatzfeld (Schapira affair), as well as their intrigues, and Augusta's against Bismarck, with which the latter in a pencil note had associated the Jesuit, Father Beckx. Bucher intends to write me further on the subject.

On the morning of the 6th of November I called on Bucher at his lodgings and reminded him of this promise. He gave me the following information. "Hatzfeld intends to become Vice-Chancellor. For that reason he has had himself made Minister of State, a measure which was unwelcome to the Chief, and which was managed with difficulty, owing to the opposition of his colleagues. Hatzfeld has had that represented in the press as necessary, supporting the contention by precedent. Hohenlohe was once Vice-Chancellor. I will cut out some of the newspaper articles and send them to you. He had a *démenti* of the article on the Hatzfeld-Schapira affair (reproduced by the *Volkszeitung* from the *Süddeutsche Post*), published in the *Deutsches Tageblatt*, which the Chief reads. This article was written by Viereck, a Social Democrat, while the *démenti* was probably by Holstein or Fuchs. Hatzfeld is gradually disclosing his Catholic sympathies, using his influence,

for example, with the Minister of Public Worship for the appointment of certain Catholic clergymen. Bleichröder, senior, applied to the Parisian Rothschild and the Caisse d'Escompte (Discontogesellschaft) to coöperate in his great Turkish railway and tobacco monopoly scheme, as his own funds were not sufficient; without success, however, as the latter did not wish to have any dealings with such a corpse as Turkey. He had also been to Busch, the Under Secretary of the State, and had hoped to obtain his support for the scheme, as in the Rumanian affair, which was a disgrace to us. The support was given in that case, owing to the pressing appeals of the old Hohenzollern, Prince Charles' father."

On one occasion in the sixties Corvin (Wiersbycki)[1] had at Bucher's instance written in an English newspaper against the Empress Augusta. The Chief had instructed Bucher to get this done, as such attacks influenced the Court, which was afraid of the press. Corvin then borrowed a hundred thalers from Bucher, and only paid him back twenty-five. "He probably forgot the remainder. But the article was very well done." Finally Bucher mentioned that Lindau was now ill. The Prince's son had formerly begged in writing not to let it be noticed that Lindau was incapable, and he had retained the letter. "Heyking has now for a considerable time past been looking after the press; but, while you and I managed that alone, he has taken on a Count Henckel as an assistant. The latter, who reads the newspapers for him, has again appointed one of the men in the office to act as amanuensis, and do 'the scissors and paste.' They are fond of their ease, these aristocratic gentlemen!"

[1] Formerly a lieutenant in the Prussian army, then an officer of the revolutionary forces in Baden, and finally a democratic writer.

CHAPTER VIII

BLEICHRÖDER AND GERMAN DIPLOMACY IN CONSTANTINOPLE — FURTHER INTERVIEWS WITH THE CHANCELLOR — RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA — THE GABLENTZ MISSION — QUEEN VICTORIA — AN UNPLEASANT EPISTLE — A SEVERE REPRIMAND — BISMARCK COLLABORATES WITH ME — BUCHER'S JOURNEY WITH SALAZAR — A PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST ENGLAND — DOCUMENTS AND ARTICLES ON SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTIONS

On the morning of Monday, the 27th of November, 1882, I called upon Bucher to hand him a packet with two articles and a letter to be forwarded to the Prince at Varzin, which he promised to do. The latter ran as follows: —

"Hochverehrter Herr Reichskanzler,

"Every man has his own ambition. Mine consists in studying and giving as true as possible a picture of your Serene Highness. I am accordingly about to write a new book respecting you in which the more important material scattered through my previous book will be brought together and supplemented from my own observation, and such sources as the letters in Hesekiel's work, and the despatches published by Poschinger and in Hahn's collection. It will not be a biography, but only a detailed character sketch, in a number of chapters, such as Bismarck and Parliamentarism, Bismarck and the German Question, Bismarck and Religion, the Legend of Junker Bismarck, Bismarck and the Diplomatists, Bismarck and the Social Problem, Bismarck as Public Speaker and Humourist, Bismarck and Austria, France, Russia and the Poles, and, finally, Bismarck in Private Life. The way in which I propose to treat the subject will appear from the two articles herewith enclosed, which I would beg you to regard as mere preliminary studies. The first of these, 'Bismarck as a Junker,' being a harmless sketch, has already been published in the monthly

periodical *Aus Allen Zeiten und Landen*, and the second, 'Bismarck and Religion,' is to appear in the *Grenzboten*. In case of new material coming into my possession both shall be rewritten for the book, the object of which is to assist the future historian, and at the same time to be useful to yourself. Everything calculated to interfere with the latter purpose shall be omitted. It is highly desirable that I should receive your Serene Highness' help in the course of the work. I therefore venture most respectfully to recall the fact that Hesekiel was greatly assisted in this way, and that your Serene Highness in 1873 held out hopes to me of similar assistance. Moreover, as many parts of the book will certainly produce the impression that the author is well informed, it is to be feared that should it at the same time contain errors, the public may also accept them as true.

"I therefore beg in the first place that the two specimen articles may be kindly revised and returned to me, supplemented with as much new material as possible, and, where needful, corrected. I would afterwards, with your permission, send in from time to time legibly written copies of other chapters, and crave the same consideration for them.

"It may be said that such books should not be written during the lifetime of the person described. I take the liberty of rejoining that they can be best done at that time, if confidence is reposed in the writer, as he can then obtain fuller information than can be found in archives, the contents of which are not always, later on, rightly understood by every one.

"Should your Serene Highness desire to communicate verbally with me on the matter, I am ready at all times to obey your commands without delay.

"Your Serene Highness' most respectful and devoted

"DR. MORITZ BUSCH.

"BERLIN, *November 26th*, 1882."

At 11.30 A.M., on the 1st of December, Bucher called upon me to return the two articles that had been sent to Varzin, namely, "Bismarck as a Junker" and "Bismarck and Religion." He at the same time communicated to me the contents of a letter from Count Herbert, to the effect that the Prince had read the articles through, and had said with regard to the second that he could communicate nothing on a matter of so

personal a character; and that he could not remember having made the statement on page 2 that he had "brought about three great wars." It might be possible to insert the word "perhaps" in that sentence. His (Herbert's) personal opinion was that nothing more ought to be written about his father, and if he had any influence with me he would use it in this direction. I explained to Bucher that if the Prince himself had asked me not to publish anything more about him, I should most *probably* forbear to do so, but that Herbert had no claim to any influence upon me. "What is Hecuba to me?" I concluded.

December 19th. — Received the following letter from Bucher: —

"A horrible cough has deprived me of my night's rest for the past fortnight, but I am a little better since yesterday. As you do not read many of the newspapers, I send you two extracts which will furnish material for the history of the morals of our time.

"1. *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, of the 15th instant. — The following in print: — 'Herr Justizrath Primker is returning to Constantinople in order to join the Council for the administration of the Turkish State Debt in connection with the establishment of the tobacco monopoly, and the unification of the Debt. The reports received from various correspondents respecting that gentleman's failure or success in connection with any other financial mission are all erroneous. How far the investigations made by Herr Justizrath Primker respecting matters of commerce and means of communication in the East may be utilised in the interest of German capital, remains a question for the future.'" Bucher then goes on to say: "Unquestionably prepared by Bleichröder, and intended to serve as a kind of official credentials for his agent. You are sufficiently acquainted with the position of that newspaper to know that such an article would not have been accepted unless some one in the Foreign Office (Hatzfeld) had had the matter in hand."

"2. *Deutsches Tageblatt* of the 19th instant. The following also in print: — 'We are pleased to learn from an incidental paragraph in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* that Justizrath Primker, one of Messrs. Bleichröder's agents for international transactions, has had and has no other financial

mission in Constantinople than to represent their firm. We are glad to see this statement in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, because — as one of our well-informed Vienna correspondents has shown — Justizrath Primker has contrived in Constantinople to make it appear as if he were on the staff of the German Embassy, and as if the German Government were backing him up with all its influence and approval, a circumstance which we should deeply regret, as Primker's efforts are directed to promoting the interests of Bleichröder and of the notorious Baron Hirsch, and do not tend to the furtherance of the general interests of the German Empire on the Bosphorus. Herr Primker is again going to Constantinople, ostensibly to take part in the work of the Council of the Turkish Public Debt in introducing the tobacco monopoly administration and unifying the State Debt. The Council, as is well known, has charge of the interests of the European creditors of Turkey, and with this object supervises the administration of the Turkish Public Debt. It protects, however, only the interests of the larger creditors, as is shown by the attitude adopted by Herr Primker, who knew how to secure all the advantages for Herr Bleichröder and his partners, while entirely neglecting the claims of the poorer holders of Turkish securities in Germany, so that they actually came off worst of all in the arrangements ultimately made. And yet it was these who ought to have been considered in the very first place, as the net receipts of the Turkish railways amounted to about four million francs, a sum which was sufficient to provide for a fair interest on the securities. It is well known, however, that Baron Hirsch is still able to withhold these receipts from the Turkish Administration, and is assisted in doing so by his business friend, Herr Bleichröder, who is quite indifferent as to whether the interests of others and particularly of German creditors suffer thereby. One hawk does not peck out another hawk's eyes. Even if we can do nothing to remedy this state of affairs, we can at least help people to recognise the bird by its feathers.' (Bucher's letter now follows once more.) I am sufficiently acquainted with the management of this paper to know that such an article must at least have been sanctioned in a higher quarter (Bismarck)."

December 20th. — The day before yesterday I wrote to the Imperial Chancellor begging for an interview, and in case there

were anything to mention in the press to supply me with the necessary information. At 1.30 P.M. to-day a Chancery attendant brought me a letter from Hofrath Sachse, marked "Urgent," in which Bismarck "requested me to be good enough to visit him this afternoon at 4 o'clock." I went to the palace at the time appointed. Theiss showed me in to the Prince, with whom I remained for three-quarters of an hour. He had a white beard, and was sitting at his writing-table. After reaching me his hand he said: "You have doubtless come with great expectations, and think I shall have something to say to you about the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung*—the one on Russian armaments." I asked: "Did that come from here?"

He: "No, not from me; but from the military authorities."

I: "And the statements are correct?"

He: "Certainly. They are constructing many more railways than they require for trade and traffic, and the garrisons in the western towns and fortresses have been placed almost upon a war footing. I should not be surprised if there were a war with them next year. The Bourse has also shown itself much concerned, but I believe that the fall in quotations arises rather from anxiety respecting France. But (he continued) you have been indiscreet in the *Grenzboten* in your reference to the alliance with Austria. It has been very awkward for them (in Austria), for the Hungarian Diet can now come and demand information on the subject."

I replied: "I thought that the matter had gradually leaked out. Three or four months ago some one, I forget now who it was, said to me that everybody now knew that a formal alliance existed, and not a mere memorandum. Perhaps my informant had it from Vienna. I was therefore of opinion that it could do no harm, and might possibly be of use if I mentioned it incidentally, as I did in the *Grenzboten* article, and I was quite astounded when all the newspapers wrote leading articles upon it. I must be very much mistaken if I have not seen something similar elsewhere."

"Yes," he said; "but it was a State secret, and if you had only remembered from whom you had it, an inquiry might well be instituted. It is quite possible that something of the kind had already been said elsewhere; and if what you wrote had appeared in another paper, perhaps no one would have taken

any notice of it. But you have given the *Grenzboten* such a nimbus that it is placed on a level with the Official Gazette. That is not good for you as a writer. You are regarded as, in the highest degree, inspired."

I: "That is a matter of indifference to me. It only excites hatred and envy; and I have never associated with the local journalists."

"Well," he said, smiling, "you can destroy this nimbus if you will only write something thoroughly silly."

I: "And if you then have a vigorous *démenti* inflicted upon me."

He: "But, seriously, you can to a certain extent correct the statement which you blurted out inadvertently, by saying that in doing so you believed you were only repeating what was already known; and you might go on to add a number of useful observations, as, for instance, that, if the alliance did not actually exist, it ought to be brought about, as it would be of great advantage and would fulfil the requirements of two peace-loving Powers — and, further, that we should very much regret the truth of the assertion made by the *Kölnische Zeitung* that it had only been concluded for five years; in that case it should be extended over a longer period. Finally, it would be in accordance with the interests of both Empires to strengthen and consolidate the good political relations existing between them by closer commercial relations on a treaty basis."

He then returned to the question of the Russian armaments, and said, *inter alia:* "Now I am to assist! But they can settle the matter themselves. Three years ago I made proposals to them which they would not accept. Now let *them* settle it!"

He reflected for a while, and then suddenly exclaimed: "Can you find us money, and rid us of the bailiff? . . . Parliament will not agree to the licensing tax, not even the Conservatives, each one of whom is cleverer than the other, while they are all of them wiser than the Government. Here there is nothing but discord, and the majority are blockheads. What is the use of their Conservativism when they will not support us? A progressive income tax is unjust, and would not be of much assistance, but an equitable income tax would be good and useful. That can be obtained by self-assessment, and it would in a short time cover the deficit in the four classes. The higher

classes — 14,000 — pay about seven million marks, and to double that amount would be oppressive; it would mean a tax of 26 per cent. The capitalist is either a mortgagee, and if his taxes are raised, he turns upon his debtor and raises his interest to 5 or 5½ per cent. interest, instead of 4; or a loan and debenture company, and then its securities would lose as much in value as the tax amounts to; or a holder of industrial shares, and then the tax might reduce or indeed destroy the export trade in the manufactured article. The State cannot tax its own securities, and therefore there only remain foreign securities and railway shares. People are not afraid of the capitalist, but only of the tobacconist, the wine merchant, and the brewer. Of the capitalist one may say: —

> "'I prithee take thy fingers from my throat;
> For though I am not splenitive and rash,
> Yet have I in me something dangerous,
> Which let thy wisdom fear!'

If the Conservatives were at one with the Government all would be well. As it is, however, we shall doubtless be obliged to dissolve again in February, and then there will not be so many Conservatives returned. The King has so far committed himself that he can no longer govern with the bailiff. His position is most painful, and he will ultimately ask the country again and again whether the bailiff is to be retained."

He then spoke about Widell-Malchoff's motion for taxing time bargains on the Bourse. In his opinion it was not a bad idea, but the phrase "time bargains" should be defined, and in such a way as not to include genuine transactions in rye and spirits or cash transactions. Furthermore, it should start not with two per mille, but, as the Government had proposed, with one per mille. The latter would be feasible, and of course once a beginning had been made it could be raised. The mistake here was that they were trying to get at dishonest transactions, and thus to introduce a moral tax, whilst such transactions could not possibly be defined or reached. The Chancellor's statements were somewhat to the foregoing effect. More I cannot say, as I did not understand all these financial explanations, in which he doubtless credited me with more technical knowledge and capacity than I possess to supplement their purport.

In the course of his remarks he mentioned Bleichröder's name, and I asked whether he had noticed certain hints that Bleichröder's schemes with regard to the Turkish tobacco monopoly and railways were being promoted by German diplomacy. He denied the fact. It was true, indeed, that in the Rumanian affair Bleichröder had been supported, because, in that instance, in addition to some distinguished gentlemen, a great number of small investors were concerned. Of the former he mentioned Ujest, and, if I am not mistaken, Lehndorff. There Bleichröder had really done good service, "gallantly risking his money, and it was for that reason that he had been ennobled by the King." Primker, on the other hand, he described as "clever but unscrupulous." As to the Austrian Government, he observed that they had committed themselves too far with Hirsch.

We finally came to speak about his neuralgia, which caused him a great deal of pain. I suggested that it probably came from a bad tooth.

He: "Others have thought the same, but the doctor has hammered at all my teeth, and says they are sound. No, it is a nervous affection, muscular pain, particularly when I am worried and excited. That is why I do not attend the Parliamentary sittings; for what a delight it would be to certain people if, in the middle of a speech, I suddenly made a wry face, and were unable to proceed!" He dismissed me with the words: "Adieu, Büschchen, auf Wiedersehen! But take care to avoid further indiscretions."

January 14th, 1883.—Called this morning on Bucher to give him my new address.

Bucher then expressed a hope that the Bleichröder swindle, which was becoming more and more widely known, would ultimately be mentioned in the *Reichstag*. I told him that, in speaking to the Chief recently, I had referred to certain newspaper articles on the subjects, and that he declared he knew nothing of diplomatic influence having been exercised in that way at Constantinople, and had, moreover, praised Bleichröder's action in the Rumanian affair. Bucher exclaimed angrily: "Well, then, he lied to you in that matter. It is true, indeed, that Bleichröder and the Disconto Bank plunged into the affair gallantly, but it was not for the sake of the poor

tailors, cobblers, and cooks that had blundered into it, but because the Prince of Hohenzollern was also involved."

Bucher also denounced as "a lie" the Prince's statement that the article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* which followed the paragraph in *Grenzboten* on the Austro-German Alliance, and emphasised, first its five years' duration, and then the warlike preparations of the Russians, did not come from the Foreign Office, but from the military authorities. (Perhaps this assertion was intended to lead me into some "blunder" which would have deprived the *Grenzboten* of its "nimbus.") . . . "The article is by Kruse, who as you are aware is here. I know also who corrected it." (Probably Bismarck, or possibly Bucher himself under his instructions.) The fact that the Chief told me to advocate the renewal or prolongation of the treaty, with additional commercial provisions (this was done subsequently in the *Grenzboten* and was noted and emphasised by the *Post*) tallies according to Bucher with a proposal which the Chancellor made in Vienna. He was, however, informed in reply that that would not do, as Austria-Hungary consisted of an industrial and an agricultural country, with different interests. Bucher condemned the proposal, saying: "He is in too great a hurry, because he thinks he has only a few more years to live." I shall now take care to get away from Berlin as soon as I can, and thus avoid further risk of hearing and circulating untruths from the Chief's mouth.

January 28th. — Wrote to the Chief yesterday, informing him that the editor of *Harper's Monthly* (published in London) had asked me to write an article upon him, and, if possible, also to send a photograph of the Prince with his new full beard. At the same time I added a request for an interview. On the same evening I received an answer from the Imperial Chancellerie that the Prince begged me to do him the honour of calling upon him to-morrow, Sunday, at two o'clock. I went accordingly to-day, and had to wait for a while, as the Minister of Justice was with the Chancellor, and Hatzfeld was already waiting in the antechamber with Möller, the Under Secretary of State. When Hatzfeld was called in Möller dropped into conversation with me, and asked me whether I was the author of *Count Bismarck and his People*. He then turned out to be an admirer of my former books also. He had read, among others, the

"Pilgrimage to Jerusalem" and even the "Wanderings between the Hudson and the Mississippi." When Hatzfeld came out, the attendant immediately called me in. The Chief, who gave me a very friendly reception, had a particularly bright colour in the face. He asked: "Now then, what is it you want me to tell you for the article? All the principal facts are known." I replied that I had come less on that account than for the photograph. They had written to me that thousands of Germans in America would be much interested in seeing his portrait with the new beard. "Yes," he observed, "they now show their interest in the old country by overloading me with contributions for those who have suffered by the inundations on the Rhine. I have not the least idea what I am to do with them. I have talked over the matter with the people in the Reichstag; they must distribute the money. As to the photograph, however, the man suggested in your letter (Brasch, in the Wilhelmstrasse) cannot do it, as I have promised Löscher and Petsch, with whom I have always been satisfied. But I cannot go to them at present, as I should catch cold in this weather, and also because I do not go to the Emperor, and he would be surprised if I were to be seen going to the photographer. But I should myself like to see a portrait with the beard, as I do not know how long I shall keep it." I suggested that he should let Brasch take two photographs only, as he lived close by, and he would bring his camera here, one of them being for *Harper* and one for me. He could be forbidden to sell any copies. But the Chief considered that that would be a breach of his word, and showed a disposition to lose his temper, so I let the matter drop.

He spoke of the way in which they "hated him in Parliament," although "he had done them no harm." "I cannot understand it," he continued. "It is not so with other Ministers, even with those who have done nothing but commit blunder after blunder, while I, at least, have maintained peace for them. Surely the present Ministry in France is a wretched concern, English policy has been an unbroken series of blunders for the last three years, and Gortchakoff, with his vanity, also makes all sorts of mistakes; yet no one in their own countries worries and hampers them in every direction. Nor in other respects have I ever given them ground for dissatisfaction. Other Ministers speculate on the Stock Exchange, and take

advantage of their office and information to make money. It is asserted that several French Ministers do so, and such cases also occur in Austria, and particularly in Hungary, where the Zichys have made millions in railway shares. Manteuffel and Schleinitz took advantage of their position in the same way. No one can say anything of the kind against me. The Diest-Daber statements were slanders. I have never held speculative securities, but only regular dividend-bearing stock. It is only the national grants that have given me my competency. I have made nothing, but was, on the contrary, much better off formerly than I am now, in consequence of the low prices of corn and timber, and unwise purchases of land. . . . Nor have I led a loose life, but have, on the contrary, been always a respectable father of a family. And nothing of the kind can be said of my sons either. (Really ?) No charge can be brought against me, and nevertheless I am hated. But I am tired. I have lost my old passion for shooting and riding, and I fear I shall soon lose my liking for politics. I am sacrificing my health. I ought to live in the country, and the doctors say that if I were free from business, and could spend three or four hours a day in the open air, I should be well again. But I do not like to desert the Emperor, who will soon be eighty-seven, when he begs me with tears in his eyes to remain. Nor can I expect him to accustom himself to others."

I inquired how he now stood with the Crown Prince, and he replied, "Latterly he has been very amiable to me, particularly at the various festivities." Then returning, without any transition, to the subject of Parliament and its opposition to himself, he said: "I have maintained peace for them with a great deal of trouble. After 1870 everybody expected war in a couple of years; but so far it has not come, and perhaps, indeed, it may never come again. We are now on a better footing with Russia than we have ever been before, and with Austria we have concluded an alliance." I asked him if he was still negotiating for an improvement of the treaty in a commercial direction.

He rejoined: "I will not tell you that, as you have been indiscreet enough to let it be known that it was only concluded for a period of five years. The *Kölnische Zeitung* has reproduced that from the *Grenzboten*."

I: "I beg your pardon, Serene Highness, but the converse

was the case. I could not have said it before the *Kölnische Zeitung*, because I was not aware of the fact until I read it in that paper."

He maintained his opinion until I offered to prove to him that he was in error, by sending him the *Grenzboten* article. He then went on to relate: "They (the Austrians) thought they might satisfy their greed in that way. I imagine that I am doing them a good turn and making them a present, and then they come with their conditions. I have rejected them. A commercial treaty is possible, in which we might grant them more favourable terms than to the others, and in which the tariff would not be raised, indeed, perhaps reduced. The high duties which we have imposed upon Russia and America need not be applied to Austrian maize and barley. The importation of cattle may also be allowed, although that is scarcely feasible in view of the certificates given in Galicia and Hungary, where everything can be bought, and everybody can be bribed. But commercial union and a common customs frontier are out of the question, for Germany takes plenty of imported goods, and superior foreign wines are consumed here in Germany, while even a groschen would be too much for a Slovak or a Raizen (*i.e.*, a Servian of Slavonia or Lower Hungary), who uses nothing of the kind. Even here there is a great difference between the Elbe Duchies or the Rhenish provinces and East Prussia or Upper Silesia."

He then came once more to speak of the peaceful times in which we are now living, and said: "You have only to look at the newspapers and see how empty they are, and how they fish out the ancient sea-serpent in order to have something to fill their columns. The feuilleton is spreading more and more, and if anything sensational occurs, they rush at it furiously and write it to death for whole weeks. This low water in political affairs, this distress in the journalistic world, is the highest testimonial for a Minister of Foreign Affairs."

After a moment's silence he went on: "Then you propose to return to Leipzig?"

"Yes," I replied, "since the death of my son, my wife requires amusement and society, which are not to be had here, but which she may find in her own native town."

He: "Well, but surely any one who writes on politics ought to live in Berlin, where politics are now made."

I: "But Leipzig is only three hours from here, and during the months when you are in town I can easily reside here."

He: "That is not necessary, but you might come every fortnight, or when anything occurs, and ask me."

He again complained of the neuralgic pains, at the same time dipping his finger, as he had already done frequently, in a wine-glass containing some strong-smelling yellow liquid, with which he rubbed his right cheek-bone. "That relieves me for a short time," he said. He then continued: "But I am very tired. I have now been engaged in politics practically since 1847, nearly forty years, and that is exhausting. At first in Parliament, then at Frankfort, where I was very busy, having work thrown upon me from Berlin also."

I: "That can be seen from Poschinger's book, which I am now reading and making extracts from."

He: "Yes, but he does not say that I also wrote numerous letters to the King from Frankfort,[1] and that I came no less than thirteen times in one year to Berlin to see him."

I: "It looks almost as if already at Frankfort you had been his Minister for Foreign Affairs — at least Manteuffel drew his inspiration from you in the principal questions."

He: "Yes, the late King discussed all great questions with me, and Manteuffel put up with it."

I mentioned that the extracts which I was making from the documents contained in Poschinger's book were intended in the main for the chapter on "Bismarck and Austria," in which I proposed to embody what I had personally gathered in 1870, as, for instance, Prince Luitpold's abortive letter to the Emperor Francis Joseph.

He: "Certainly! But as long ago as 1866 I made an attempt to come to an understanding with them. I suppose I have already told you the Gablentz story?"

I: "No, but you have told me others from that period, as, for instance, how the King wanted to annex portions of Saxony, Bavaria, and Bohemia, and how you persuaded him not to do so."

He: "Well, it occurred in this way. Just after the first shot had been fired (in reality, it must have been about a fortnight before) I sent Gablentz, the brother of the general, to the

[1] These, doubtless, included those contained in the fourth volume of *Preussen im Bundestage*, which had not been published at that time.

Emperor at Vienna with proposals for peace on a dualistic basis. I instructed him to point out that we had seven or eight hundred thousand men under arms, while they also had a great number. It would therefore be better for us both to come to an agreement, and making a change of front towards the West unite our forces in attacking France, recapture Alsace, and turn Strasburg into a federal fortress. The French were weak as compared with us. There might be no just cause for war, but we could plead with the other Powers that France had also acted unjustly in taking Alsace and Strasburg, whence she had continually menaced South Germany ever since. If we were to bring these as a gift to the Germans they would accept our dualism. They, the Austrians, should rule in the South and have command of the seventh and eighth army corps, while we should have command of the ninth and tenth and the federal command in chief in the North. . . . Dualism is a very ancient institution, as old as the Ingævones and Istævones, Guelphs and Ghibellines."

I observed: "Already under the Othos, indeed, as long ago as Charlemagne with his Franks and the Saxons. High German and Low German," I said. "With a Celtic fringe below and a Slavonic fringe above."

"Well," he continued, "Gablentz submitted his proposal to the Emperor, who seemed not disinclined to entertain it, but declared he must first hear the views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mensdorff, you know. He, however, was a weak-minded mediocrity, unequal to ideas of that calibre, and he said he must first take council with the Ministers. They were in favour of war with us. The Minister of Finance said he believed they would beat us — and he must first of all get a war indemnity of five hundred millions out of us, or a good opportunity for declaring the insolvency of the State. The Minister of War was not displeased with my suggestion, but in his opinion we ought to have our own fight out first, and then we could come to an understanding and fall upon the French together. So Gablentz returned without having effected his purpose, and a day or two afterwards the King and myself started for the seat of war."

I thanked him warmly for this important and startling communication, and asked him if I might use it in my book.

He replied: "Yes, it is for that purpose that I have related it to you. But not in detail, merely the main features. Proposal for peace on the dualistic basis, united attack upon France, and the reconquest of Alsace."

I then asked once more whether he wished to read the book before it went to press, and he said: "Yes, in order that you may not include anything false in my epitaph."

I: "That would certainly not be done intentionally. You know that I worship you, and would let myself be cut into a thousand pieces for you."

He: "Ah, no; not into so many! It is not necessary."

I: "Well, then, only into two pieces, so that one might see half a Büschlein (little Busch) fall to the right and half to the left!"

On my then begging him as soon as his health permitted to let Löscher and Petsch come to take his portrait, he promised to do so, adding: "If they do not care to come, then the other man can — what's his name?"

I: "Brasch, here in the Wilhelmstrasse, at the corner of the Leipzigerstrasse."

He: "But I must first keep my word."

I: "I did not ask you to do anything contrary to it. I only thought of Brasch because he took a very good photograph of my late son."

He: "How did the thing happen?"

I then related shortly the circumstances of my son's death.

He: "That is a sad case, and there are many to share your misfortune, all who had relatives on board the *Cimbria*."

I: "But my son was engaged in his profession, in the fulfilment of his duty, and died bravely and conscientiously for his ship, like a soldier for his flag."

He reached me his hand, and said, "Auf Wiedersehen!"

I had been with him fully three-quarters of an hour, and all this time good old Möller had to wait in the antechamber.

On returning home on the evening of the 3rd of February, I found lying on my table a letter from Count Bill, in which, at his father's request, he enclosed a new photograph of the latter with a full white beard.

On the 24th of February I wrote to the Chancellor, begging to be allowed to take leave of him personally, as I proposed to

start for Leipzig on the following Thursday. I handed the letter to the porter at the palace at 11 A.M., and in about an hour and a half I received an invitation through Sachse to call upon the Prince at 3 o'clock. He was in the room behind his study, which opens on the garden. He was in an armchair, half sitting, half lying, and had beside him a small table covered with documents. After he had asked me how I was, he complained that he still felt very poorly. When one trouble left him another set in. The neuralgic faceache often prevented him from sleeping. If he could only go to the country, away from business, things might improve; but the King would not grant him leave, and "pestered him with all sorts of unimportant orders," &c., as, for instance, with the question as to who should go to St. Petersburg to attend the coronation. "He thinks," he continued, "that if I can manage to keep on my legs I shall live to be old, — and if not, why then I must die in the fulfilment of my duty. . . . And here in the Foreign Office I have no proper assistance. Look at that pile of documents which I must read through myself!"

I said: "Of course there is not much to be done with Hatzfeld. He has little ability, and still less inclination, to work. He only wants to amuse himself, and to draw a big salary for doing so."

"Yes," he replied, "Hatzfeld does little for his money, and has neither a good memory nor a taste for business."

He then continued: "The Crown Prince is also inconsiderate, and torments me with matters of no importance; and, in addition to that, the people in the Diet are committing all sorts of blunders. How abusive they have been during the past few days! But it is the same everywhere with Parliaments and Ministers."

I remarked: "Quite so, for instance in France."

"It is no better in England," he rejoined. "The European is no longer making progress. There is nothing more to be done with him." He repeated that he was sick of politics, and wanted quiet. He then spoke of the Kulturkampf, observing: "The Pope is really well disposed, but he is not so powerful and independent as one may think; he is dependent upon people who will have no peace. For some time it appeared as if a *modus vivendi* could be arrived at, but now that is at an

end. On the signs of approaching fine weather Windthorst threatened to strike and resign the leadership of the Centre party. He wants a stormy sky for other purposes, for stirring up discontent and strife, and they on the other hand need him, or think they do. They accordingly became frightened in Rome, and now they are once more making themselves unpleasant."

I said: "Catholicism has always been a secondary consideration for Windthorst. He is, above everything else, the well-paid advocate of the Guelphs."

He rejoined: "Ah, he believes in nothing whatever. He has absolutely no religion."

He caught sight of an envelope which I had brought with me, and laid on the table beside us, containing an enlargement by Brass of his photograph by Löscher.

He asked: "What have you there?"

I answered: "It usually happens that granting one request brings on another, and that is the case now. I have had your last portrait enlarged and mounted, and I would now beg your Serene Highness to write your name under it as a souvenir. Of course it can be done in pencil."

"No," he said, "in ink."

He rang for the attendant and asked for "a pen to write my signature," and then wrote under the photograph: "v. Bismarck, Berlin, 24 February, 1883."

I thanked him and said: "It is then arranged, Serene Highness, that I may come here and address myself to you occasionally when anything of importance arises, particularly when there would seem to be anything on foot in which you might wish to have some one near you in whom you could repose special confidence? And as to the book, I may send you the proofs in a few months? We shall probably not begin printing before August."

He agreed to all this, and then said: "Well, good-bye, Busch. Auf Wiedersehen! Enjoy yourself in Leipzig 'an der Pleisse.'" He pronounced these words with a true Saxon accent.

On the 13th of May I came from Leipzig to Berlin, and reported myself to the Chancellor by letter. . . . On the 15th Sachse sent me word that the Chancellor expected me at 3 o'clock. I presented myself punctually at the time appointed,

and had to wait while the Chancellor had a short interview with Kottenburg. . . . The latter referred to Colonel Vogt's *Grenzboten* article on Thibaudin, and mentioned that the Imperial Chancellor had remarked that it was no business of ours to point out to the French that their army was in bad hands. Count Rantzau also came across to shake hands with me. The Chief's youngest grandchild, Heinrich, some five months old, was also in the antechamber, and he also gave me his little hand to shake.

I was then with the Prince from 3.05 to 4 P.M. He was in plain clothes, and sat at his ordinary double writing-table. He did not look ill, but complained as usual of his neuralgia.

He said: "It now extends over the whole body, the chest and abdomen, and I can no longer exert myself to think or work for any length of time — two hours at the outside; then I must give up, or drink champagne or something of that kind to keep myself going for a while longer. I ought to get out of harness altogether, but the Emperor will not consent to this, and even when I go to the country, business and worry now follow at my heels."

I asked: "Worry with the gentlemen in Parliament?"

"Ah, no," he replied; "I no longer read their speeches and brawling. It is the Ministers. Scholz is all right, as also Botticher and Maybach, although the latter is somewhat blunt, — but the others, and particularly those in the Foreign Office!"

I said: "But surely Bucher and Busch are able and diligent."

"That is so," he rejoined; "but Bucher is cross-tempered and soured, and Busch is sinking under his load of work. I was mistaken in Hatzfeld. He is very good for negotiating with the King and the Crown Prince, but he thinks only of his own interest, and would like to be my successor; but he has no sense of duty and no love of work."

I added: "One or at most two hours' work in the day, as formerly — and then to play a game of croquet or lawn tennis with Mrs. or Madame So-and-so."

"Yes," he said, "that's his way. Like Lucca. *Unser Paulchen ist sehr faulchen* (Our little Paul is very lazy). His Excellency Herr von Keudell also wanted to become Imperial Chancellor one day, and, absurd as the notion was, he worked it

through his friends in the press, who had to praise him up to the skies and represent him as your intimate adviser. But I always regarded him as quite insignificant in politics, and in addition to that he could never do any work. He found a difficulty in managing the most ordinary affairs. I was often obliged to do things for him, and once at Versailles Taglioni, the deciphering clerk, finished off no less than thirty documents for him with which he was in arrears. It is true that he was very clever in looking after his own interests."

He: "Yes, and he also knew how to get himself a rich wife, and to take advantage of the position which he acquired through the friendship of my wife and his own musical talent. Moreover, he knew how to impress people with his importance — through his silence. But there was nothing behind it. He is stupid, empty, and incapable. He was unable even to manage the Pay Department properly."

I: "On going to Constantinople it is said that he left a deficit of 80,000 thalers."

The Chief then spoke of Hohenlohe, and appeared to think more highly of him than he did of Hatzfeld. He also referred to Radowitz and afterwards to Radowitz's father, alleging that the "Jesuitic attitude of the latter was responsible for Olmuetz."

"You know what sort of a man the late King was," he continued. "For years, during which something might have been done, Radowitz kept him occupied with all sorts of tailoring and ornamental matters, with mediæval questions of costumes, uniforms, and coats of arms. He acted as Keeper of the Wardrobe to his fancies: whether such and such Counts were or were not received, and the Knights of St. John, and the Wetterau bench of Counts, and the absurd question whether Saxony and Hanover should retain the right to appoint envoys, — as if a barber could not have intrigued successfully against our policy so long as they had the power. He amused the King with such trifles as these until it was too late."

He then came to speak of Lady Bloomfield's Memoirs, the Tauchnitz edition of which he brought in from the next room, and asked me to review it in the *Grenzboten*. He said I should find "the genuine English arrogance in the lady," who was "much pleased at the opposition of the Crown Princess (the

present Empress Augusta); and full of the profoundest aversion to everything Prussian and German." In 1866 she "had been anti-Prussian to the backbone," and had "libelled our officers as the French did in 1870 with their story of the clock." In this connection he referred to the merino goats which the Prussians were alleged to have driven away with them from Bohemia. This led him to speak of the Crown Princess and her "English self-conceit," whereupon I reminded him of the story of the silver plate of the English shopkeepers and of the Prussian nobility, which he then repeated to me as before. On my remarking that the Queen, her mother, was also unfriendly to us Germans, and had always sided with the Belgian-Coburg clique, &c., he denied that this was the case, and said that, on the contrary, she had "on the whole been favourable to us."

He then continued: "I wish you would some time or other refute the charge that I have acted inconsistently in the struggle with the Curia, and that I have changed my opinions and aims in the ecclesiastical question and in others. That is the sort of criticism which can only proceed from some one who has never occupied the position of a leading Minister. Whoever has held such a post for any considerable time can never absolutely unalterably maintain and carry out his original opinions. He finds himself in presence of situations that are not always the same — of life and growth — in connection with which he must take one course one day, and then perhaps on the next another. I could not always run straight ahead like a cannon ball. (Doubtless a reminiscence of Schiller, "Piccolomini," I. 4.) Had I done so I should have knocked my head against a wall. When the situation changed I was obliged to alter my plans. Such changes in the situation were, moreover, chiefly due to the fickleness of parties, and, therefore, if any one is to blame they are. Their action, on the other hand, was in great part influenced by their envy. That is the national vice of the Germans. They cannot bear to see any one hold a high and leading position for any length of time. One of the most important changes was produced by the formation of the Catholic party, the founders of which might at the beginning have been expected to support the Government. Savigny, you know. It, however, weakened my position. The entire struggle with the Centre party would have taken another form, and

have had a different issue if I could have fought it out at the head of the Conservatives. I had risen from their ranks, but if I was to do justice to the requirements of the time, it was impossible for me to continue in agreement with them on all points. This, and the long-suppressed hatred and envy of old comrades of my own class and faith, which very soon broke out, drove me over to the Liberal side. An understanding had to be come to with the latter if the Empire was to strike firm root, and so I was obliged to come to an agreement with the strongest party, a thing which I had tried in vain to do in 1866, when it was also desirable. It was particularly necessary in those years when Germany was threatened with a Triple Alliance like that of the Kaunitz period. The latest achievement of German diplomacy is to have prevented the formation of such a coalition against us for thirteen years. The Government was forced to appear at the head of the Liberals, at the head of the majority, in order to avert this coalition. The Conservatives fell away from me on that account. I would remind you of the Inspection of Schools Bill, and the *Kreuzzeitung* of Diest, and the *Reichsglocke*, and of the libels published in that paper. And just as the situation was thus altered at that time, so it was again changed in 1878, through the defection of the Liberals. Here, too, it was envy and self-importance, and the desire to rule. I was no longer supported, or only in a lukewarm fashion. They were not sorry to see me weakened by the opposition of the Centre party, so that I should be forced to negotiate with them. The Progressists combined with the Centre against me. The Secessionists acted in very much the same way. From this time forward the National Liberals were silent in the struggle with Rome. They were pleased at the embarrassments to which it gave rise, and wished to have a weaker Government in order that they might appear stronger. When the Government had to strike the Liberals out of its reckoning, it naturally followed that I had to slacken my opposition to Rome. I cannot speak any longer now, or the face-ache will return."

He then rose, but continued to speak of his illness for a while as he walked up and down, describing it as very painful, "like shingles." I further asked if I might in a few months send him the proofs of my book.

"What book?" he said.

I answered: "That which your Serene Highness has already twice promised me to read through."

He then thought for a moment, and promised once more to do so, whereupon I took my leave, with wishes for his speedy recovery. He said he had no longer any hope, and only expected to grow worse. (. . .)

On the 11th of July, after the Chancellor had left Berlin for Friedrichsruh, Grunow sent him the first sheets of my book, "Unser Reichskanzler," to read through before they were sent to press. On the 16th of July, Count Bill returned me these proofs, with the following lines: —

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, 16/7, 1883.

"DEAR SIR, — I enclose the proofs herewith. All that has been struck out is a passage in a private conversation. It would be better to omit altogether expressions of a similar character made in conversations of a confidential nature. (Of course, here and in what follows it is not the writer, but the Chancellor who speaks.) Many things may be said that are not suitable for publication; among these are animadversions upon Imperial institutions, such as the Constitution for example.

"With much esteem,

"COUNT W. BISMARCK."

The portion struck out appeared in the third sheet (page 31, in the first volume of the work as afterwards printed, following the words "einmal zu Grunde gehen") and ran: "Then it will be Bang! and snap goes the German Constitution. There might be a repetition of Schwarzenberg's saying, 'This arrangement has not proved workable.'" The Prince has also corrected an oversight (Vol. I., p. 12, line 24), striking out the syllable "*un*," where I had written "*unmöglich*" by mistake — evidence of the care with which he had read it through.

On the 18th of July, Count Bill returned more proofs which were accompanied with the following letter: —

"DEAR SIR, — Although my father cannot act as collaborator but must confine himself to a more negative part, suggesting to you the suppression of incorrect or unsuitable passages, he nevertheless requests you to replace the portion within brackets

on page 6, by the enclosed, as the latter is more in harmony with the facts.

"With much esteem,

"COUNT W. BISMARCK."

The enclosure here referred to was dictated to Count Bill, and appears in the book "Unser Reichskanzler," Vol. I., pp. 54 and 55. (. . .)

On the 20th of July further proofs, up to the end of the first chapter, arrived from Friedrichsruh. These again included alterations that had been dictated to Count Bill by his father.

When the Prince shortly afterwards proceeded to Kissingen, Grunow continued to send him the proofs, as he had received no orders to the contrary. They were not returned, and the printers had therefore to stop work. I, however, received the following long letter from the Chancellor, which was written by an amanuensis on official foolscap, like a State document, the two sheets being tied together with silk thread in the Imperial colours.

"KISSINGEN, *August 3rd*, 1883.

"DEAR SIR, — You probably have no adequate conception of the state of my health and of my need of rest or you would doubtless not be the only person who begrudges me the latter, while the Emperor and the Empire and all their officials respect it. Possibly you have also no notion of the difficulties of the work which you expect me to do. On former occasions of a similar kind I have corrected all errors of fact which had arisen through mistakes on your part or on that of others. Now, however, you wish to submit to the public with regard to my way of thinking and my inner man inferences drawn from observations made by yourself and others, which in great part are actually incorrect. (He had then in his hands Chapters II. and III., and a considerable portion of Chapter IV.) It is, therefore, not surprising that your conclusions do not correspond to the facts, so that if you were to publish them I should be forced to controvert and refute them. There are a number of gross errors of fact, and confusions of jest and earnest, in the expressions and incidents upon which you base your view of my supposed way of thinking. You assume that in everything that I have ever said in your presence for the

entertainment of my guests at table, or in my own home, or in what you have gathered from the unreliable accounts of third persons, I have invariably given serious expression to my inmost feelings with the conscientiousness of a witness giving evidence on oath before a Court.

"In view of the pedantry with which you utilise scattered fragments of conversation, a man in my position would be obliged never to depart for a moment from a formal mode of expressing himself or step down from his official stilts. Everything you say in particular respecting my attitude towards Christianity and the question of the Jews is not only monstrously indiscreet, but thoroughly false. (Everything?) The jokes about my superstition have already appeared in print, and in so far as there is any truth in them are just mere jokes or consideration for the feelings of other people. I will make one of a dinner party of thirteen as often as you like, and am ready to undertake the most important and delicate business on a Friday.

"At the present moment I am particularly interested in setting public opinion right as to my share in the Catholic question. What you give on the subject is incomplete and superficial, and as soon as my health has improved I should like to supply you with better material. For that purpose it would be necessary that I should see you personally as soon as I have finished my cure. If I were to correct this and other points by correspondence I should have to myself rewrite your book. But I must be left absolutely in peace for the duration of my Kissingen cure, and cannot occupy myself editorially with such difficult and delicate questions as those you touch upon.

"I would suggest to you to recast your book altogether, as in its present form I do not believe it will be favourably received. The work is far too lengthy, and, in particular, it contains too much material published long since by yourself and others. What is new in it is in part of little interest, while other portions are incorrect, so that I should be obliged publicly to dispute their accuracy.

"I shall be very pleased to read the further proofs in order to form an idea of the whole. When I have done that, I can afterwards give you my opinion in Berlin or Friedrichsruh, but

while I remain here I must decline every description of critical or editorial work.

"(Signed) v. BISMARCK."

In reply to this communication, I excused myself for having sent the proofs, through my ignorance of his absolute need of rest, and by recalling the fact that, in 1878, I had been permitted to send him such proofs to Kissingen and Gastein. The printing was then postponed for about eight weeks, until the beginning of October. On the 5th of that month I wrote to Friedrichsruh to ask whether it was now agreeable to him to receive me for the purpose of the interview which he had mentioned as desirable in his letter of the 3rd of August. On the 6th of October Count Herbert wrote that his father would be glad to see me as soon as he had read the proofs sent to him in the summer. Owing to his journey and the state of his health he had not been able to do so up to the present.

The work remained at a standstill for four weeks more. This was very disagreeable to Grunow, who repeatedly requested me to press the matter at Friedrichsruh. I declined to do so, as *I* could wait. He then wished to write to the Prince himself, describing his embarrassment. I tried to dissuade him, but as he nevertheless repeated the suggestion, I told him he might do so at his own risk, and also gave him a few ideas for his letter. Next day he told me that he had written. On the 9th of November I received the following letter from Friedrichsruh: —

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, *November 8th*, 1883.

"DEAR SIR, — The Imperial Chancellor has received a letter dated the 5th instant from Johannes Grunow, publisher, of Leipzig, in which he urges despatch in the supervision of the proofs of your work. The letter contains the following sentence: —

"'The manuscript was ready and in my hands eight weeks ago, and I do not know what excuses to make without prejudice to the truth unless I can communicate to those who are pressing me the real cause of the delay. This has not been done up to the present, but if the delay should continue for any length of time it will, to my great regret, be scarcely possible to avoid it, unless I receive some other explanation.'

"It is obvious that the Imperial Chancellor cannot continue a correspondence with a person who even now threatens him with disclosures. On the contrary, he is disposed to leave this gentleman to publish your work, if he should think proper so to do, reserving to himself the right of criticising it afterwards. Before he comes to any decision on this point, however, he desires to discuss the matter with you verbally, and requests you to visit him at Friedrichsruh, bringing with you your copy of the proofs of your work.

"I beg of you to be good enough to let me know shortly beforehand the day and hour of your arrival.

"I am, honoured Sir, with profound esteem,

"Your most obedient,

"F. RANTZAU."

I thereupon announced that I should arrive at Friedrichsruh on the 12th of November. I started on the 11th, and, travelling *via* Berlin, reached Friedrichsruh shortly after 12 o'clock on the following day. I was met at the station by a servant who accompanied me to the Prince's house, and showed me to my room. Shortly afterwards I was called downstairs, where I had a friendly reception from the Chancellor and his wife. We then took lunch, Rantzau being also present, and immediately afterwards the Prince went with me into his study in order to discuss the matter that had brought me hither. He first gave expression to his indignation at Grunow's letter, in which connection I also came in for my share. Among other things which he said was: "You have turned me into a bookseller's hack; I am to be exploited like a Christmas speculation, and harnessed to his cart, the impudent fellow! He should have known nothing whatever of my assistance!" I explained to him that I had to inform Grunow owing to the possibility of a considerable delay in the return of my proofs, that I had previously mentioned this to him, the Chancellor, and that he had agreed, and that the same course had been adopted in the case of the first book. In his excitement he appeared to have overlooked what I had said, as he went on as follows: "That must remain between ourselves. I can trust you. You may write to me. But he! What right has a bookseller got to correspond

with me, to warn and threaten me?" I tried in vain to appease him, endeavouring to show that the passage quoted by Rantzau when read in connection with the remainder of the letter was perhaps not a threat, but only a strong and not particularly felicitous expression of Grunow's difficulty and embarrassment. The latter was a man of straightforward character, who knew how to keep his own counsel, and who was incapable of wishing to bring pressure of a threatening character to bear upon the Chancellor, for whom he entertained the highest regard. He then rang for Rantzau, and asked him to bring Grunow's letter, which he handed to me to read. I could not see that it contained anything more than a cry of distress on the part of the publisher, who had promised the booksellers that a certain book would appear at a fixed date, and who feared he could not keep his word nor find any sufficient excuse to give them. I was as little affected by this embarrassment as I was by any loss which Grunow might suffer in case the book was not published at Christmas. I could have waited for a long time, and even if that were not the case it would never have occurred to me to press him. He said: "You acted in a perfectly proper way when the matter was postponed, and I had not expected anything different from you. But all the same that remains a threat on his part, and a piece of presumption, and I hesitated whether I should not decline to have anything further to do with the book, and afterwards publicly contradict erroneous passages in it. But then I thought of you, although I altogether object to having books written about me and to people trading with me and my affairs. Poschinger has done so, and sold my despatches and letters, forgetting even to send me any remuneration." (Sometimes his humour does not desert him even in his anger.) "Besides, this new book is not so good as the preceding one. It does not contain much that is new, and what it does is false. You are not such a good observer as you were; you have grown older, and you want to divine and picture my inner man from fragmentary observations, which were mainly misconceptions. You draw conclusions from occasional utterances which you jotted down under the tablecloth. According to you I am always in deadly earnest, as if I were on oath, &c."

I abstained from urging what could be said on the other side, and his excitement gradually subsided. Taking some of the

proofs he sat down at his writing-table and invited me to take a place opposite, in order that I might note down his corrections and additions. He was rather impatient over it, said my hearing was not so good as formerly, and complained that I did not take down dictation as rapidly as his sons, and so on. On this occasion we went through the greater part of the third chapter, and he had very much less to object to and alter than I had apprehended from his letter of the 3rd of August. By far the greater part of these pages he turned over without any remarks. With respect to the others he made observations that had no reference to the book, as for instance: "Thadden, a narrow-minded fellow, who has no brains." After about three-quarters of an hour he stood up and said: "I must now get some fresh air." He strode up and down the room, however, for a while, as before, and began again to vent his anger at the presumption and threats of "this bookseller who wanted to harness me to his Christmas cart." Ultimately, however, he quieted down, grew more friendly, and showed me over the apartments, including his bedroom. In one of the first of these was hung a portrait in oils of a Roman prelate of high rank. In reply to my inquiry he informed me that it was Cardinal Hohenlohe.

He then went out for a walk or drive, while I proceeded to my room and wrote out his observations and the corrections which he had dictated to me. This room, which contains pictures of Grant, Washington, and Hamilton, looks out on the park. After 3 P.M. I paid a visit to the Head Forester, Lange, with whom I took a drive.

At a quarter past six I was called to dinner. Among those present, in addition to the Prince and Princess, were the Rantzaus, Dr. Schweninger, of Munich, who was in attendance on the Chancellor, and Herr von Ohlen, another of the doctor's patients. The Prince, as I now observed for the first time, suffered from a slight attack of jaundice. Schweninger (a man of lively temperament, with dark hair and beard, who seems to be very much at home here) diagnosed the Prince's ailment as chronic catarrh of the stomach, and has been successful in his treatment. (. . .) While taking our coffee, which was served in the Princess' room, the conversation was at first of little significance. It turned on Becker's portrait of the Prince during the Frankfort period, and on two groups of his male and

female ancestors, who from their costumes would appear to have flourished in the time between the death of Luther and the Thirty Years' War, and on the portrait of his sporting grandfather with the shot-gun, which was formerly in Berlin, but has now found a place here too. The conversation gradually grew more lively and interesting; and the Chancellor, who had remarked in the *tête-à-tête* with me at midday that he would henceforth be careful of what he said in my presence, had probably forgotten his intention. On my stating, among other things, that the war of 1870 appeared to have had an excellent effect upon the national feeling in Saxony, he added, "and still more so in Bavaria. I once said jestingly to Fabrice [1] that we should live to see order restored in Saxony one day by Bavarian troops." Speaking of Court circles in Berlin, he complained: "Whenever I performed on the political tight-rope they hit me on the shins, and, if I had only fallen, how delighted they would have been! Particularly the eternal feminine (das ewig Weibliche)."

It was only after lunch on Tuesday, the 13th, and again before dinner, that the work with the Prince was resumed; when Chapter II., the remainder of Chapter III., and about half of Chapter IV. were weeded out, the weeds again proving much less abundant than I had anticipated. He maintained that in the second chapter I made him out to be a "hypocrite" in religious matters, an idea which he had no difficulty in entirely disproving, inasmuch as he justified his belief in God among other things by a reference to facts which could only be accounted for by the existence of a Deity. (. . .)

In the second section he began to dictate to me an account of his attitude towards the Kulturkampf, which he broke off on our being called to dinner. Before that he again suddenly renewed his grumbling at Grunow, I, too, coming in for a small share. He was also displeased with my long full beard. "My wife asked me," he said, "if you were older than I. 'No,' I said, 'I thought you were four or five years younger.' But she was right. It's your beard. It should be cut shorter. As it is it makes you look fearfully ancient."

On Wednesday, the 14th, the Chief set to work on the proofs with me after breakfast. At Chapter IV. he exclaimed:

[1] The Saxon General and Minister of War.

"Look here, you must have a thoroughly wicked heart. You are delighted every time you hear and can jot down a disagreeable remark about somebody."

I rejoined: "I cannot trust myself to give any opinion upon my own heart. But one thing I do know, it has always been devoted to you. I only hate your enemies."

He afterwards reflected for a moment, looked at the clock, and said: "I must now go out to receive Giers, who is coming from Berlin to discuss important matters with me. We shall introduce you and Schweninger to him as doctors of medicine, for if he ascertained that Dr. Busch belonged to another variety he would be afraid that he was being watched and that it would get into the newspapers. By the way, you have included him among the Jews in your diplomatic chapter, and that must be struck out. (I had referred to his name, Giers, as a russified form of Hirsch.) He may be a Jew, although he asserts that he is the son of a Finnish officer. But we must not write that, as he is well disposed, desires peace, and does what he can to secure it. He is quite indispensable to us."

The Russian Minister arrived between 2 and 3 P.M. The Chancellor received him at the station, drove with him to the house, and then conferred with him until nearly 6 o'clock, when Giers dined with us, the company remaining together over their coffee until about 9 P.M. Giers is a man of medium height, and would seem to be well advanced in the fifties. He has somewhat of a stoop as he walks. His features are of a slightly Jewish cast, a characteristic which is also evident in his gestures and movements, there being something in the hands in particular which recalled our Semites. On this occasion he spoke only in French.

On Thursday, the 15th, I wrote in my diary: Giers went off again last night about 10 o'clock, and Schweninger and Ohlen left at noon to-day. I took lunch with the Prince's family, Count William being also present. The Prince, who, by the way, now observes great moderation in diet and drinks only the lightest wines, read despatches, and gave Rantzau instructions for replying to them. The subjects were Bulgarian affairs, and the North Sea and Baltic Canal. I then retired to my room to work, and afterwards made an excursion to the Aumühl. As I was about to return I saw the Chief coming towards me in

a carriage. When he recognised me he reached out both hands towards me from a distance, left the carriage, and walked back with me to the mill. (I therefore fancy that he cannot have been so very angry with me.) He described to me a pretty pathway through the woods on the other side of the streamlet, saying: "I know you are also a lover of lonely country walks." Yesterday evening over our coffee, after Giers had left, he also said: "I always feel happiest in my top-boots, striding through the heart of the forest, where I hear nothing but the knocking and hammering of the woodpecker, far away from your civilisation."

Again at work with the Chancellor from 4 o'clock onwards. He told me his wife had said: "The doctor may be very clever and amiable, but all the same you should be on your guard at table when he is present. He always sits there with his ears cocked, writes everything down, and then spreads it abroad." She herself, however, in her simple way, forgot to keep on her guard to-day. While seated on her right at dinner my napkin accidentally dropped, and, lo and behold! her Serene Highness, the lady of the house, bent down for it before I could prevent her! I felt that I had been fearfully awkward.

On Friday, the 16th, the Chief dictated to me the conclusion of the long passage respecting his attitude towards the ecclesiastical struggle. He then gave me for insertion in the fourth chapter the following statement with regard to Bunsen:—"During the Crimean War, when he was Minister in London, he reported to Berlin that England offered us Schleswig-Holstein in return for our joining in the war against Russia, whilst he stated in London that Prussia would join if she received the Duchies. Both statements were false, and when the affair became known, he was dismissed. I had something to say in the matter. The King exclaimed: 'Why, he has been my friend for twenty years, and now he acts in this way!' Old General Rauch observed: 'Yes, he has lied too, and betrayed your Majesty for twenty years.' 'One cannot allow that to be said of a friend,' rejoined the King." He then proceeded to other matters, and on my asking whether there was any subject which I could deal with in the press, he at first replied in the negative, but then said: "Giers found the Emperor very frail, and perhaps he will not last much longer. Well, when he dies, I shall

also go. He is a gallant old gentleman, who has always meant well, and whom I must not desert. But I will make no experiments with the Crown Prince. I am too old and weak for that. Things will not go on particularly well, and on the whole I am convinced that what we have built up since 1866 has no stability." In the course of his further remarks he mentioned the Crown Princess, "a Liberal Englishwoman," "a follower of Gladstone," and maintained that she "has more influence upon her consort than is desirable." He then spoke once more of his need of repose and a country life, referring to Berlin in very disparaging terms, and scarcely allowing it even to be a handsome city. He insisted that owing to the drainage there was already a bad smell in every house, and that in a short time the place would become utterly intolerable.

He said in conclusion: "I have always longed to get away from large cities and the stink of civilisation. Every time I return I feel that more and more, and I have earned my leisure."

I remarked that I could fully understand that feeling, and also his reluctance to serve the coming King, on account of his opinions; but surely he would not abandon a work which was so entirely his own, and retire altogether from the political stage. He would at least take his seat in the Upper Chamber and be elected to the Reichstag, where he could offer advice and admonition.

He replied: "Yes, but not like the others, in perpetual and uncompromising opposition."

I said, "Then please remember this little fellow when you want anything done in the press. I shall always be at your service."

"All right," he replied, and reached me his hand. "You can then come to me and arrange my papers. (With a significant smile.) There is still a great deal of good stuff there."

I begged leave to remain the following day, as it was such a pleasure to me to be near him.

"Oh, certainly!" he said; "but you must not ask me to play cards with you or otherwise entertain you."

I remained over the 17th, made several excursions on foot through the woods to the east and west, and was present in the evening after dinner when Lange made his report as to the

administration of the estate. I started for Berlin at noon on the 18th, and returned to Leipzig on the 19th. There I received in instalments from Rantzen the bulk of the remaining proofs. The Chief sent two more to Bucher in Berlin, whence I had to fetch them.

I immediately noted down the following particulars of the conversation I had with Bucher on this occasion. I praised the Countess Rantzau as being good-natured and unaffected. "Well," he rejoined, "she is cleverer and more prudent than her mother. The Princess, for instance, is not fortunate in the selection of her acquaintances. First she had the little hunchback Obernitz. Then Babette Meyer was her friend and confidant — an intelligent body, but . . . She was often with her in Berlin and elsewhere, and as the Princess heard a great deal about political affairs and spoke of them to others, Babette while she was with her, certainly overheard many things and then repeated them to others. . . . It was afterwards Frau von Wallenberg's turn. She was the worst, and she it was who had most opportunity for eavesdropping and keeping other people informed. You know that the Prince generally goes through his official papers at lunch time, and gives instruction to his sons or to Rantzau as to the answers to be returned. She could hear all that, and take note of it for Holstein, who has recently developed, owing to his ambition, into a very dangerous intriguer. He is accustomed to communicate to Paulchen (Hatzfeld, the Secretary of State) everything he ascertains in this and other ways."

I turned the conversation on Bucher's share in the negotiations respecting the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne. He gave me a detailed account of this. The first time he was in Madrid in connection with that affair was in Easter and then in June, 1870.[1] He gave the following particulars of his second journey: "It was a rush hither and thither in zigzag, accident playing a large part in delaying and hindering as well as in promoting my purpose. Salazar came to me on the Saturday, and wanted to have the final decision

[1] On the 13th of September, 1883, Bucher's brother, Bruno, who is settled in Vienna, told us at Helbig's in Leipzig, that Lothar Bucher had also been at Sigmaringen with Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern in the spring of 1870. Grunow was present on this occasion.

of the Prince by Monday. I replied that that would not be possible in such a short time, particularly as I did not know where the Prince was staying at the moment, and of course he would have to be consulted first. Nor was it an easy matter for me to get away at the time. He said he knew the Prince was in Reichenhall, and added, '*Selon ce que vous me dîtes je renonce.*' I replied, 'I assume that you will write a statement of what has passed between us, which will find its way into the Spanish archives; and as they will some day be open to historians, I should not wish to take this responsibility upon myself. I will travel with you, first to Madrid (improbable, but so I heard it) and then to the Prince of Hohenzollern.' He said he would take one of his liegemen with him, a man who would fling himself out of the window without hesitation if he asked him. A curious condition of things still prevails there, the obedience of feudal vassals, the devotion of the age of chivalry. Well, we started for Reichenhall, travelling first in separate compartments so as to avoid notice in Paris, and afterwards together, as he did not understand German, and his companion spoke only Spanish. On my making inquiries at the office of the baths, I found that the director was at a neighbouring village, and the others could give me no information respecting the Prince. They believed he was not there. I drove out to the village they mentioned and found that the director had left. On returning to Reichenhall, I proceeded to the police station. As I was going up the steps I was met by a rather shabbily dressed man, who stopped and said he supposed I wanted to go to the police office, but it was now closed. He, however, belonged to it, and would go back with me. I told him I was looking for the Prince of Hohenzollern, to whom I had a communication to make. He replied that the Prince was here, and lived at such-and-such a place, but under another name. I therefore proceeded thither with Salazar, but only found the Princess, who told us that her consort was now with his father at Sigmaringen. We packed up once more and made off for Sigmaringen, where we found them, and they agreed. They could, however, decide nothing without the consent of the King, who was at Ems. We then started for that place, and were received by the old gentleman, who was very gracious to me and agreed to what I submitted to him. I then went to Varzin

to report to the Chief. It was a regular zigzag journey with obstacles." Bucher added that he had taken shorthand notes of his conversation with Salazar, which he "still possessed." At least, so I understood him.

On the whole the Prince in his collaboration with me struck out a little over seventeen pages out of a total of nearly 900, while he contributed some twenty-two pages to the two volumes. The first edition of 10,000 copies was issued at the end of February, 1884, and by the autumn of 1885 6,500 copies had been disposed of, although the Liberal press did its worst to run the book down. An English translation was published by Macmillan in April, and some months later arrangements were made for an Italian edition. (This translation, by Brandi, was only published at Milan in the spring of 1888.)

On the 14th of March, 1884, I again took up my residence in Berlin; and on the 16th I called upon Bucher to present him with a handsomely bound copy of my book, "Unser Reichskanzler." He had already got it, however, and had read it through without coming across any inaccuracies. He made three suggestions for some supplementary material on the issue of a new edition.

According to Bucher the Chancellor had returned this time from Friedrichsruh in excellent condition, had already been twice out riding in the Thiergarten, and once for a walk there. He had drawn up a memorandum for the Emperor, showing that the home policy of Gladstone, the extension of the franchise, must lower the position of the English aristocracy and with it that of the Crown, which was of course only its head. The Emperor's minute said that he was much struck with this statement, and suggested that it should be laid before the Crown Prince — a suggestion to which the Chief agreed. In Bucher's opinion the Chancellor would on certain conditions consent to remain in office when the Crown Prince came to the throne, but the latter would not keep his promises, and then Bismarck would retire. A further communication of Bucher's was also interesting, namely, that the "refutation of the absurd attack of the *National Zeitung*" (on my account of Gablentz's mission), which was contained in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, was written by the Prince himself.

A few days after this visit to Bucher I wrote to the Imperial

Chancellor, informing him that I was again a resident of Berlin, and begging him in case there was anything I could do for him in the press to kindly let me know when I might call upon him to take his instructions. I received no answer to this letter. My intercourse with Bucher continued. On the 3rd of July, he sent me a card informing me of his departure for Laubbach, near Coblenz.

On the 27th of July, I received the following letter which had been returned, owing to an incorrect address and then re-despatched: —

"KISSINGEN, *June 30th*, 1884.

"DEAR SIR,—Rarely has a book excited my interest to such a degree as your 'Unser Reichskanzler,' which I have perused whilst taking the waters here. As it will have produced a like impression upon others, a new edition will soon be required. I therefore consider it my duty to call your attention to an error which I have also noticed in the French and English newspapers. The letter of the Minister President of the 26th of December, 1865, which was made public entirely against my will and in consequence of a gross indiscretion which has not yet been quite cleared up, was not addressed to the clergyman, Roman von André, but to the *Rittergutsbesitzer*, Andrae-Roman. In addition to this you will allow me to correct a few of the following observations, as, for instance, that on page 158. I have always spoken and written to Prince Bismarck, not from a clergyman's standpoint, but with the consciousness that in matters of faith our views were identical, and with a feeling of hearty affection for his powerful individuality, having fully recognised his greatness long before he became a public character.

"Allow me to add one further remark. The somewhat cool attitude adopted by Bismarck towards the clergy as such did not originate in the conflict with the *Kreuzzeitung*. It existed long before that date, and was closely connected with a similar attitude towards the Church, and arises from entirely different causes, which I need not enter into here. That clergymen, or, indeed, laymen, in signing 'the declaration,' made themselves sponsors for any of the vile and malicious calumnies, which — I regret to say — were at that time heaped upon the great man, I must dispute until that charge has been

proved in some specific case. I speak only of those Conservatives who hold the same religious belief as Bismarck. I was pained and surprised to find for the first time, in a letter addressed by the Prince to my friend von Holz during the General Synod, that he entertained this view. I immediately put myself in communication with a considerable number of my co-signatories to the declaration who were present in Berlin at that time, and *all* those with whom I spoke on the subject agreed with me that the public declaration by Bismarck (I have neither this nor the text of the declaration itself with me at the present moment) — his declaration, namely, that "after the unfortunate articles in question no *respectable* person *could* continue to read the *Kreuzzeitung*," was the sole cause of the counter-declaration, that we considered ourselves to be respectable persons, although we continued to read the *Kreuzzeitung*. It does not contain a word of approval of any "vile and malicious calumnies." I have never read nor approved of the *Reichsglocke*. The statements respecting the death of my relative, Herr von Wedemeyer, are also very hazardous, and would be difficult to prove. It was at that time decided to send to the Prince a joint statement, which was to be drawn up by me. At the desire, however, of a person closely connected with the Prince this decision was altered, and it was arranged that each should write separately to him in the sense indicated above. This was done in a great number of cases. There are, however, different kinds of Conservatives. The most reliable, if not always the most pliant, those who hold the same religious belief as the Prince, have always been and will ever remain on his side.

"With the most profound respect,

"A. ANDRAE ROMAN."

On the 23rd September I called upon Bucher, who had undergone a course of massage and hygienic gymnastics at Laubbach, and had been back in Berlin for about five weeks. He again complained of the "shocking way in which business was conducted in the Foreign Office"; and in particular of Hatzfeld and Holstein. For a long time past he had given up saluting the latter. He would "like best of all to leave the place, if that were only possible." He praised Count Herbert

as "very diligent and not unskilful," and was of opinion that the Prince intended to make him Secretary of State at some future time. Münster, "who is more English than German, and does very little," having allowed some question to hang fire, the Chief sent Herbert to London, where he at once took it into his own hands, pressed it through, and finally settled it satisfactorily. "Another person placed in the position of the Ambassador would have resigned in such circumstances." I suggested: "Angra Pequena, and the long delay in answering the Chancellor's inquiries?" Bucher replied in the affirmative. He then said: "It will not be pleasant to work under the young man, but work will be done, and things will not be allowed to drag on in such a slow and slovenly way. Herbert has also a good memory, and has been a great deal with his father. He was often present at interviews with important personages, at which matters of great importance were discussed that do not appear in the official documents, and in that way he has had splendid opportunities for learning." Bucher agreed with me regarding the meeting at Skiernevice as a "spectacle intended to show Europe the good understanding which exists between the three Emperors." He added, however, that "the relations between Austria and Russia leave much to be desired in many respects." He furthermore confirmed the fact that the Chief, "in view of the cool and repellent attitude of Gladstone, has for a long time past been working towards a better understanding with France, and not without success." After speaking of the Balkan Peninsula, and hinting at an understanding respecting it, Bucher said he had a mind to write something on the despatch of an English Commission to Sarakhs for the purpose of settling the question of the frontier between Afghanistan and Russia, but he had not yet been able to collect the geographical materials. These remarks showed that he had been busy with this question recently. I offered to publish something of the kind in the *Grensboten*, and he promised the necessary materials from the library of the Foreign Office, and in particular the account of O'Donovan's travels. He saw the Prince (who has now returned to Friedrichsruh) a short time ago; he thinks that the journey to Skiernevice has done him good, as he is much less stout, feels thoroughly well, and also works hard.

Bucher called at my house at 8.45 A.M. on the following

morning, with a collection of newspaper extracts on various subjects for my use. I had, however, gone out. On my returning the bundle of papers, given to me on the 28th of September, he gave me some further particulars of the way in which Herbert had dealt with the English. On Lord Granville asking him in the course of the negotiations respecting Angra Pequena whether we were not contemplating an ultimate expansion of territory towards the interior (Query, towards the east, in the direction of Bechuanaland and the Boer Republic), he retorted, not over politely, that that was "a question of mere curiosity," and indeed finally "a matter that does not concern you." The Chief showed him the letter in which that was reported, and was pleased with his son's sturdiness. The English have now so far yielded in the matter that the Ministry has not confirmed the resolution of the Cape Government to annex the country around Angra Pequena. "Münster," he said, "must leave London, but I doubt whether there is any truth in the report that Herbert has been selected as his successor." He afterwards said: "When the Germans, a short time before the conclusion of the Preliminary Peace at Versailles, sank some English coal boats on the Lower Seine and the English made a row on the subject, the Chief asked me, 'What can we say in reply?' Well, I had brought with me some old fogies on the Law of Nations and such matters. I hunted up what the old writers called the *jus angariæ*, that is to say the right to destroy the property of neutrals on payment of full compensation, and showed it to the Chief. He sent me with it to Russell, who allowed himself to be convinced by this 'good authority.' Shortly afterwards the whole affair with the *jus angariæ* appeared in the *Times*. We wrote in the same sense to London, and the matter was settled. A short time ago, when I had to look up something in the documents of the war period, I found that the two papers which I had written in this matter were gone. They had been removed by our mutual friend Abeken through jealousy of me." I reminded him of O'Donovan's work, but he said that just now the *Grenzboten* article would be premature. In this connection he gave me a short survey of the relations of the English and the Russians in Afghanistan, which showed that he was fully informed on that subject. I finally suggested that I should now give a description in the

Grenzboten of the scandalous treatment of Ireland by England, based upon Lecky's book, which he promised to get for me from the Foreign Office library, but which I already had. I wrote the article which appeared shortly afterwards.

The Prince having returned from Friedrichsruh, I wrote to him (on the 27th of October), requesting him, in case he wished anything said in the press respecting the Brunswick question or any other topic of the day, to let me know when I might have the honour of receiving information as to his intentions in the matter.

This letter also remained unanswered. It would, therefore, appear that the Chancellor will have no further intercourse with me, having apparently taken offence at something or other. His will be done! And so we bring the diary to a close.

Supplementary

Bucher frequently mentioned to me that South African affairs were also of importance to us. On my expressing my readiness to deal with the subject in the *Grenzboten*, he promised me material for the purpose, and twice I reminded him of his promise.

On the 3rd of November, 1884, he wrote me: "I cannot yet spare the documents on South Africa, as they may be required for use any day. You will doubtless have noticed this from the articles in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Besides, this is not the right moment. You must first know what the Boers have to say in reply to the accusations of the English.

"In the meantime another article would be desirable in No. 47 on the debate in the *Times* of the 1st instant. I have done some of the preparatory work for you in this matter, and send you herewith for perusal a bundle of papers in which you will find a variety of material. The subject of Protection in England must, it is true, be dealt with very cautiously, as it is in our interest that England should maintain her present tariff, and we must bear that in mind.

"It is absurd to believe that the tariff question is governed by any absolute principle which applies to all peoples and all times. Every nation must know or must learn from experience what is best for itself. We, therefore, do not dream of teach-

ing the English, although they are so generously anxious to teach us; and although the change from the system of natural forces (by which, since 1815, the preceding generation of Prussian statesmen raised the country to prosperity) to the free-trade doctrines that have been accepted by the official world and the majority of the legislative bodies since 1850, must be ascribed in great part to English writers and German journalists paid by England. Now of the complaints that are being raised in England, one has an obvious application to the condition of affairs in Germany, namely, that which relates to foreign competition in agricultural produce and cattle breeding. Then you can deal with the arguments of the other side that a return to Protection is impossible in England, recognising at the same time that there are sound reasons for this contention. Conclusion: we also can suggest no remedy; probably this extraordinary state of affairs must be a consequence of the peculiar development of England — on the Continent the Thirty Years' War, the Spanish War of Succession, and the Napoleonic Wars (1870 was also a 'wonderful year for England' in consequence of our war). The peoples of the Continent rend each other to pieces in wars and revolutions. England, which, with the exception of the unimportant French landing in Ireland, has seen no enemy on her soil since 1066, is 'making money' and helping herself to the best colonies. If, as there is every reason to believe, we are now on the eve of a long era of peace in Europe, those conditions will no longer exist, under which the wealth of England has, as Gladstone says, increased by leaps and bounds." I wrote this article immediately, on the lines laid down by Bucher, and basing it on his material. It appeared in No. 47 of the *Grenzboten.*

On the 16th of November Bucher again sent me material for an attack upon England. This I worked up into an article entitled "England and the Cholera," which was published in No. 49 of the *Grenzboten.* This article argued that England had destroyed hand weaving in the East Indies by its customs legislation of 1817, thus depriving large numbers of people of their livelihood. This, together with the bad harvests, resulted in famine, which in turn weakened the population and made it less capable of resisting the cholera that arose through malaria, heat, and overcrowding at the places of pilgrimage, and which

accordingly assumed an epidemic form! England was also responsible for the extension of the scourge to West Africa and Europe, as, in order not to disturb her trade and shipping, she exercised no proper supervision.

On the 24th of November I again called upon Bucher to remind him of the promised documents from the Foreign Office respecting the struggle between the English and the Boers. He said that just now in particular it was impossible to spare them, or at least those of a later date than 1879, as the Chief and Hatzfeld might want them for reference any day. He would, however, send me the earlier papers, though he really ought not to let any of them leave his hands. He is of opinion that England is afraid of a war with the Dutch element in South Africa, and that Warren would certainly not be able to recruit his volunteers except among the English settlers there.

He then said: "Just keep a sharp lookout on the news from Afghanistan. Something will happen there soon."

I said: "I suppose the English expedition which left Quetta to take part in the settlement of the frontier has arrived?"

He replied: "No, it has only got as far as Herat. But General Lumsden, who has gone by way of Teheran, is already on the frontier, and has discovered that an important point, Puli Khatun (the women's bridge — the men ride through the stream beside it), a place as to which a decision had yet to be arrived at, was already in the possession of the Russians. The *Daily News*, the organ of the Government, is surprised at this, and complains of the action of the Russians. The Chief will probably have something on the subject written for the *Grenzboten*. Of course it cannot go into the *Norddeutsche*."

I then asked if there was any truth in the report that Busch, who, by the way, is married to a Jewess, would shortly leave and be given a Legation. Bucher replied in the affirmative.

I: "Herbert will then be his successor?"

He: "Yes, certainly."

I: "In that case Hatzfeld's position will be rather shaky."

He: "Certainly, he will then be superfluous, and that is doubtless the Chief's intention. Herbert will then read through the despatches with him at breakfast, and the Chief will explain what is to be done with them, so that Herbert will bring everything ready prepared for us to deal with." (. . .)

On the 28th of November Bucher's servant brought me three thick bundles of Foreign Office documents on the Transvaal question. I made extracts from these, and returned them to him personally five days later. They consisted of English blue books, and of despatches from Münster, Count Herbert Bismarck, Alvensleben at the Hague, and the German Consul in Cape Town. They extended over the periods from the 16th of July, 1881, to the 31st of March, 1882; from the 1st of April, 1882, to November of the same year; and from December, 1882, to the 15th of March, 1884. These I worked up into three articles, under the title of "England and the Boers," which appeared in the first three numbers of the *Grenzboten* for the year 1885. These were followed immediately afterwards by an article on "Santa Lucia Bay," in No. 4, which concluded with a statement by Bucher; and one on "England and Russia in Asia," which was also suggested by him, and for which he had sent me extracts from the English newspapers, together with O'Donovan's book on Merv. The latter article appeared in No. 6 of the *Grenzboten.* Together with the documents there was also a very violent appeal (in English, and printed on red paper) to the nations of Europe to help the Boers, on which Bucher had written, "You may keep this."

(Here follow some letters exchanged between Dr. Busch and Herr A. Andrae-Roman, which led to the interview of the 18th of February. — The Translator.)

On the morning of the 18th of February I called upon Andrae, who was staying with Knak, the pastor of the Bohemian Lutheran community, at his residence in No. 29 Wilhelmstrasse. He introduced the pastor to me as his son-in-law. My visit lasted from 8.45 to 10 A.M. Andrae is a tall, stately man, with a white full beard, apparently well on in the sixties. From his accent a Hanoverian, he himself said that he came from East Friesland. He first repeated that, owing to the unfortunate experience he had had, he must be cautious in what he said, and that he doubted whether we could understand each other, as from my book I appeared to have a different religious standpoint to his. With regard to the first point he referred to Bismarck's letter to him, published by Hesekiel, of which he said: "I really do not know how it came to be published. I read and showed it to some intimate friends, but I never

allowed it to go out of my own hands. But it impresses itself strongly on the memory, so that a Schleswig-Holstein ecclesiastic of high rank actually knew it by heart. It was, moreover, printed, not in the first place by Hesekiel, but by a democratic newspaper." He likewise referred to Diest-Daber, who also went very thoroughly into things, and immediately noted down everything he ascertained; describing him as "clever and in reality honourable." He had attacked Bismarck, owing to a communication from Moritz von Blankenburg, which was based upon a misunderstanding. I endeavoured to dissipate Andrae's mistrust, observing that anything he might now tell me on the subject in question was not intended for immediate use in the press, and should not be published at all without his permission, at least certainly not before Bismarck's death. I was only collecting for history, which would ultimately claim its rights. As to the difference of our religious views, I told him that I had studied theology, and had adopted theosophical ideas, and in this connection mentioned Jacob Böhmen. Andrae was intimately acquainted with Bismarck many years ago, had visited him at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and afterwards on several occasions in Berlin. He added: "Indeed, I may go so far as to say that I was for a long time on terms of close friendship with him. Formerly he listened with pleasure and with great patience to the views of others. Of course whether he was guided by them was a different matter. Probably that is now no longer the case, which would be natural enough with one who has achieved such great things — and at the same time has had so much good fortune." He then went on to speak with the greatest admiration of Bismarck's extraordinary political genius, was convinced that he was a "sincere Christian," and assured me that he "made no secret of the fact even as long since as the Frankfort period. But then, and even before that time, he showed coolness towards the clergy and the Church."

I: "I beg your pardon, but how do you mean that? What do you understand by the Church? The entire Christian community, the faithful, the community of saints; or the institution with certain observances and means of salvation, sacraments, public forms of divine service, sermons, &c.?"

He replied that the latter conception was what he had in mind. He then continued: "It is an old story with him, and

connected with the manner of his conversion. At that time the clergy in Pomerania were not what they are at the present day. The majority of them were Rationalists, and when the change took place it did not originate with them, but with a few laymen, like Below (not Below-Hohendorf, as I interrupted him to suggest), Senfft-Pilsach, and Thadden. They came forward to a certain extent as preachers, and as the clergy held and preached rationalistic views, often in opposition to them — in sectarian opposition. Blankenburg and Bismarck's father-in-law in Reinfeld, an excellent old gentleman, were also of the number. Their views somewhat approached those of Gichtel. Others inclined to the old Lutheran doctrines. (Therefore not to those of the Moravian Brethren, as I had supposed.) Bismarck came under their influence and joined them. Hence his coolness towards the clergy and the Church. (Gichtel's 'Gott in uns,' and Bismarck's 'Nicht durch Predigermund sich erbauen' — 'Seek not edification from the mouth of the preacher.') It was not due to the clerical signatures at foot of the Declaration."

He then went on to say that Bismarck misunderstood "the Declaration." According to him, Holtz wrote to the Prince that he regretted having had a hand in it. Bismarck was greatly pleased at this, and wrote Holtz a long letter expressing his satisfaction. Andrae disapproved of the step taken by his friend Holtz, "as an individual demonstration," and suggested that the signers of "the Declaration" should send a joint explanation of its real meaning to the Chancellor, and reject the false construction put upon it, namely, that they wished to express their approval of the articles in the *Kreuzzeitung*. They wanted to adopt this course, but Bismarck informed them, through Limburg Stirum, that he did not wish them to do so, and would prefer that they should write to him separately. In that way the idea of a collective explanation was dropped. Andrae is of opinion that the intercourse between Moritz von Blankenburg and the Prince still continues, although they only see each other on rare occasions. "There was never an absolute breach between them, as their wives continued to meet as they still do."

We then spoke about the Kulturkampf, and Andrae expressed his surprise that Bismarck should have entered upon it, as he must have known that a struggle with a spiritual power

had no prospect of success. His action was doubtless determined by the creation of the Centre party. I defended him on the lines of the statement dictated to me at Friedrichsruh.

The conversation then turned upon the relations between the Chief and the Emperor. Andrae said of the latter: "His merit lies in the creation of the new army, and in the fact that he recognised the right men and held firmly to them." He added the following anecdote: "A Minister who could no longer endure his position by the side of Bismarck tendered his resignation to the Emperor. The latter urged him to remain. 'We must all learn to be patient,' he said. The Minister nevertheless resigned. The Emperor, on the other hand, did not part with Bismarck, considering it his duty to retain him." I observed: "It was a case of necessity; it would have been impossible to get on without him." Andrae replied: "Yes, but the Emperor's merit was in recognising that fact."

Andrae then talked a great deal about Hanover, saying that the clergy there "were willing to yield obedience to the authorities who had power over them." He proceeded: "Before the war of 1866, we, the Conservatives, were divided into two parties — Gerlach and Marquart, and, on the other hand, those who considered a war with Austria inevitable. Ultimately an effort was made to bring about an understanding, and we invited Gerlach to attend a meeting, accompanied by a few others of his way of thinking, in order that he should not be alone. He agreed and came, when he made the following prophecy: 'There are only two possible results: either we are defeated, and then it is all over with us, and there will be a partition of Prussia; or we are victorious, and then we must have a Liberal régime, as that is the only way in which unification of Germany under Prussia can be brought about.' And so it has come to pass. Bismarck demanded an indemnity, and then for many years worked in harmony with the Liberals, so far as that was possible."

As I was leaving Andrae promised to give me further information later on in case I asked for it. "But not in writing. I frequently come to Berlin, and shall be glad to meet you again."

I continued in regular communication with Bucher during the year 1885. I visited him on New Year's Day; called at his

house on the 11th of February to return O'Donovan's "Oasis of Merv," but could not see him, as he lay ill in bed; a few days later we had a short talk on the Lucia Bay question; and again on the 25th of February I had a long conversation with him at his lodgings. At first we spoke about the Chief, whose health, he said, was now thoroughly restored. He was "quite young and rosy," and was "working fearfully hard." The conversation then turned on Hatzfeld, who "got sick with fear at the thought that he might have to take part in the West African Conference, and that the Chief might appoint him to represent the Foreign Office in the Reichstag, and so took a holiday. . . . There is really nothing the matter with him, but he has managed to obtain a long leave of absence. As Herbert is now there, it is a question whether he will return any more. And we shall not miss him, either. Business will be done as well, or better, in his absence. He would certainly have been removed from his post as Secretary of State before this if they only knew where to put him." I said: "Keudell is probably not disposed to give up his sinecure in Rome to him." Bucher replied: "Keudell really takes things too easy. We thought he would send in a report on the Italian expedition to the Red Sea, and he, in fact, promised one. But what was it when it came? A description of the ball recently given by him, how he danced a quadrille with the Queen, how the knights of the Order of the Annunziata danced *vis-à-vis* to him, and other fine and important matters of the kind, all in the fullest detail. The Princess is to blame for this. The other members of the family, including the Chief, have long since been convinced of his incapacity. At the beginning, during the first few months, I myself thought there was something in him. He played the part of the mysterious, reticent thinker, occasionally speaking very well, and with far-reaching and brilliant ideas. But one soon recognised that they were not his own, but were borrowed from the Chief."

The inhuman pair of us then rejoiced at England's misfortunes in the Soudan, and I expressed a hope that Wolseley's head would soon arrive in Cairo, nicely pickled and packed. This led the conversation to Central Asia. Bucher was of opinion that although the Russians would not now occupy Herat, they would take up such a position that at the next opportunity they

could annex it as they had done Merv. He then referred to the intention of the English to disband the native contingents of the Indian Princes, amounting in all to 300,000 men and 1,200 field guns, and to the "demonstrative review of the Rajah of Scinde." I then mentioned the rising of the blacks at Kitteh against their English friends, and he said: "They are threatened by a conflict with the French in Burma." In reply to my question: "Have we given up South Africa, or is the Lucia Bay affair still open?" he said that the matter was still under consideration. (. . .)

At 1.30 P.M., on the 30th of March, a Chancery attendant brought me the following pencil note from Bucher:—

"His Highness would like to have an article which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 15th of January (or a few days earlier), dealing with the question of the different aspect things would assume if an English Princess were Empress of Germany. Perhaps you have kept this number?

"Yours, BR."

Unfortunately I had not kept the number, as I told Bucher in a note which I sent back by the same messenger. This doubtless explains the Chief's recent speech in answer to Richter's allusion to the dynastic connection between England and ourselves.

On the morning of the 19th of April paid Bucher another visit. He wished me to draw a comparison between the bellicose attitude of the *Times*, and that which it observed previous to the outbreak of the Crimean War, particulars of which were to be found in Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, Vol. III. p. 31. He believes that it is now inspired by Lord Dufferin. There can be no question of war, as England has not the necessary means at present, and Russia has for the moment no idea of seizing Herat, or even the mountain line beyond it. In the Afghan campaign of 1839 the English required for a force of 38,000 men no less than 100,000 camp followers and innumerable pack animals. Nothing of this kind is now ready. It was said that 20,000 men passed in review before Abdurrahman and Lord Dufferin at Rawal Pindi, but in reality they had only 11,000 men there altogether. The commissariat department

was badly managed. Graham's troops at Suakim had only one pair of boots each, and when an Irish regiment knelt down at mass one could see that the soles were all torn and were patched with pieces of the tin cans which had contained their preserved meats. The soldiers they have at home are for the most part too young to be employed in the tropics. The English would require four months to get from Quetta to Herat. The Russians could reach it much sooner. The ideas as to the prospects of the two parties which Münster had been hoaxed into believing were mere nonsense. Bucher put all these facts together for the Prince, who submitted them to the Emperor in the shape of a direct report. "The Crown Prince's people," said Bucher, "are very cross and very angry with the Chief because he will not act as mediator in St. Petersburg and help England out of her embarrassment, and because he opposes her schemes at Constantinople. The English have offered the Turks the occupation of Egypt in return for permission to pass through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The Sultan was, however, informed from Berlin and Vienna that we, too, had a word to say in the matter, and our officers in Stamboul would take care that the passage was stopped by torpedoes."

On the 20th, Bucher sent me the third volume of Kinglake's book, and I wrote the article desired by him, which appeared in No. 18 of *Grenzboten*, under the title "Prospects of Peace and the *Times*."

On the 22nd of April I called upon Secretary of State von Thile, whom I had met on the way home a few nights before, when I announced my visit. He was very friendly and communicative, and we conversed together from 11 to 1 o'clock. (. . .)

Thile gave me the following particulars of the agreement with Russia in 1863: "Bismarck risked a great deal thereby. We might have got ourselves into a war with France, who would have begun by attacking us. Napoleon was furious, because he had heard nothing beforehand. Goltz wrote that he might be pacified if the treaty were communicated to him. This was done. Bismarck sent the treaty to Goltz, with instructions to read it to the Emperor alone. Even the Ministers were to know nothing of it. Napoleon was astounded at its

contents, and exclaimed, 'Why, this is worse than I had anticipated!' It had no further consequences, however."

On Sunday, the 31st of May, I found in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 29th a leading article on the Emperor's indisposition, in which the alteration in the policy of Prussia which would result from the approaching change in the occupation of the throne was regarded as full of hope for England. It was asserted among other things that Prince Bismarck would no longer exercise the influence which he now did upon the Sovereign. I immediately called upon Bucher with the paper, which I handed to him in order that he might communicate the article to the Chief. He cast a glance at the principal passages underlined by me, and promised to cut out the article and send it to the Chancellor without delay, mentioning at the same time that I had brought it. He would doubtless deal with it in some way—probably get me to write an article on the subject in the *Grenzboten*. But he was going to leave Berlin on Tuesday (the 2nd of June). Bucher went on to say that it would really seem as if the Emperor were not at all well just now. I asked him what was the meaning of Lord Rosebery's visit. He replied: "It is in the main as the newspapers represent it. He has been instructed to find out what the Chief's views are on various questions. No negotiations have taken place. I was invited by the Prince to dine with them one day, and the conversation turned on indifferent matters, such as dogs, &c. Rosebery said nothing on the main question, namely, Afghanistan. It was the Chief who first turned the conversation on to it." I suggested: "But the present understanding will doubtless be merely provisional?"

He: "I believe the matter will come up again in about five years, when the railways are finished. The Russians expect to have the line from Kisil-Arwat to Askabad ready by 1886, and it will then be carried on to Merv and to the Oxus in the direction of Samarcand. The English are building their line from the Indus to Candahar, by a détour *via* Pishin, and not through the Bolan Pass, which is the shortest route, but where it would run for twelve (German) miles through defiles which the natives would be able to block by simply rolling rocks down. But on the Pishin route also they will meet with great difficulties, and will not be ready for a long time.

. . . Rosebery's visit was brought about by Herbert, who, by the way, has not shown particular skill in the recent African negotiations. He can be very offensive at times, which is useful, but he has not sufficiently mastered these colonial questions. He does not understand, for instance, that colonies require a coast if they are to prosper, and so he made concessions which we are now trying to alter. He allows himself to be won over too easily. Rosebery had been particularly successful in that, and has quite mesmerised him."

Speaking of the Emperor once more, he said: "His death will be a bad thing for us. Rottenburg believes that the Chief will not retain office under the new Emperor, and in that case it is not impossible that Keudell may become Chancellor. He is in high favour at the Crown Prince's. They stay with him in Rome, and people believe him far more capable than he really is. He has provided for that in the press; as, for instance, through Meding, at considerable cost to his own or the Embassy funds." (. . .)

At 12 o'clock (I had called on Bucher with the *Daily Telegraph* article at 9 A.M.) a servant from the Chancellor's palace came to my lodgings to inquire whether I could call upon the Prince at 3 o'clock. At a quarter past 3 I was shown into the Chancellor's study, and did not leave until ten minutes past 4.

He was dressed in black with a military stock, and, as usual, sat at his writing-table. He first quieted Tiras, who sprang out and wanted to fly at me, shook hands with his accustomed friendliness, and after I had taken a seat opposite him, asked me how I was, observing: "You still look exactly the same, not a bit changed." He mentioned that during the time he had not seen me he had been overloaded with work. "Even to-day I have been sitting here since 8 o'clock in the morning," he continued; "and it is the same from week's end to week's end. The only break is at lunch time, and, as you know, I also work then, reading despatches and telegrams and giving instructions, &c. I must do almost everything myself. Hatzfeld is an excellent ambassador, and he is also very good here at receiving the diplomatists, — clever and intelligent, but ailing and incapable of serious continuous work, impatient of routine, and in addition to that he is frivolous and has a poor memory. Busch is no longer of any use either, and must get out of harness. Bo-

janowski is ruined, and his Councillors are intriguing against him. My son is not yet sufficiently trained, and has much to learn."

I said: "But Busch was an excellent worker and knew the business?"

"Yes," he replied, "but that is no longer the case. The clock will no longer work. Latterly he has been constantly unwell. . . . Herbert is getting on very well in many things, but he must yet, as the French say, *faire ses caravanes*, or, as it is better expressed in English, 'sow his wild oats.' *Faire ses caravanes*, you know, originally meant to join one of the campaigns against the infidels, in which a Maltese had to take part before becoming a knight. It therefore signifies to get through one's blundering as a beginner and to grow wise by experience."

He then took up the *Daily Telegraph* article which Bucher had pasted on a sheet of paper and enclosed in a letter, which also lay on the table.

He said: "You have sent me this. I thank you for it."

I: "I thought it would interest you, particularly one passage, as Bucher asked me a few weeks ago for a leader of the same kind for you, as he knows I receive the paper. I had not kept that number, but I afterwards came across it elsewhere, and the article was translated for the Emperor. I therefore thought you would be glad to see this one immediately."

He: "Yes, and it is of interest. But it would hardly do to write anything against or upon it just now. It would have to be done very cautiously, and at the present moment in particular it would not look at all well. The old gentleman is in a very critical state, and you know it seems to me almost like the case of a woman whose husband is dangerously ill, and who talks to people about what she will do afterwards; or, more correctly, as if my wife were dying and I were to say how I should act after her death, and whether I should marry again or not. We must wait until the hour has come for a decision to be taken. It appears that the Crown Prince wishes to retain me, but I must carefully consider whether I ought to remain with him. There are many arguments against it, and many also in favour of it; but at present I am more disposed to go and have no share in his experiments. But I might look at it as Götz von Berlichingen did when he joined the peasants — it will not be so bad; and if I remain many things can be prevented or rendered less harmful.

But what if I were then not to have a free hand? — to have colleagues like Forckenbeck and George Bunsen, and ceaseless worries with them; while latterly the old gentleman allowed me to do what I thought was proper, and even to select Ministers and replace them by others? Besides, there is the co-regency of the Crown Princess, who influences and completely governs him. Yet what will the result be if I leave them to themselves? The entire position of the Empire depends upon the confidence which I have acquired abroad. In France, for instance, where their attitude is based exclusively upon the faith they place in my word. The King of the Belgians said recently that a written and signed contract would do less to put his mind at ease than a verbal assurance from me that such and such a course would be followed. It is the same with Russia, where the Emperor trusts entirely to me. I still remember at the Dantzig meeting how he conversed with me for a long time in his cabin and listened to my opinion. The Emperor (William) was not overpleased at his taking no notice of the parade and the various celebrations; but he left us alone all the same. And the Empress — the Danish Princess — said to me: 'Our whole confidence rests upon you. We know that you tell the plain truth, and perform what you promise.' . . . Of course I could retire and see how they got on without me, and then when they called me back after their experiment had failed, I could bring things back into the old course. It would then have been proved that affairs could not be conducted in that way. He doubtless would not venture upon such experiments if he had not got me in reserve. It was just the same with the new era when the King gave Liberalism a trial, because he had me to turn to eventually. But I am an old man, over seventy, and for twenty-nine years I have exhausted my strength in the service of the State, and can no longer do what I once did. I can no longer accompany the King wherever he goes — on journeys, shooting parties, and to watering places. I can no longer ride to manœuvres and parades, so as to prevent his being alone with others, and to take immediate measures against the intrigues and influence of opponents. If I were to persist in that sort of work, my illness would return, and I should soon be dead."

He drew out from among the books on his right a letter from Dr. Schweninger, who had written to him that he had

escaped a dangerous illness through regular diet and the greatest possible abstinence from mental exertion; but that if a recurrence of it were to be averted, he must continue to follow the same course. He then said: "The Crown Princess is an Englishwoman. That is always the case with us. When our Princesses marry abroad, they doff the Prussian, and identify themselves with their new country, — as, for example, the Queen of Bavaria, who ultimately went so far as to become a Catholic; and the lady in Darmstadt (it is obvious that this was a slip of the tongue, and that he meant Karlsruhe), as well as the consort of the Emperor Nicholas. Here, however, they bring their nationality with them, and retain it, preserving their foreign interests. . . . Our policy must not necessarily be anti-English, but if it were to be English it might prove to be very much against our interest, as we have always to reckon with the Continental Powers." He further observed that the Crown Prince would be influenced in his liking for England by consideration for Queen Victoria and (here he mimicked the act of counting money) her generosity. He has but a slight knowledge of State affairs, and little interest in them, and he lacks courage. I reminded the Chief that he, too, had had to infuse courage into his father on the railway journey from Jeuterbogk to Berlin during the period of conflict. He then related that incident once more, and added: "He said that I should first come to the scaffold — at that time I was called the Prussian Strafford; but I replied: 'What finer death could a man have than to die for his King and his right?'"

He then came to speak of the Emperor's illness, for which — as he asserted — "the women were to blame, with their desire to give themselves importance. He was already ill, hoarse, when they talked him over into driving with them to church. And then the Grand Duchess wants to play the loving daughter before people, and so she accompanies him when he, like every one who works a great deal, would prefer to drive out alone; and at the same time she argues with him, even when the wind is in their faces, so that he catches cold if he answers her. It was only his daughter's persuasion that induced him to go to Hatzfeld's dinner. He ought not to have done that. (Probably according to Lauer's opinion.) As he sits at work, Augusta sticks her head into the room and asks in a caressing

voice, 'Do I disturb you?' When he, always gallant in his treatment of ladies, and particularly of Princesses, replies 'No,' she comes in and pours out all sorts of insignificant gossip to him, and scarcely has she at last gone away than she is back again knocking at the door with her 'I am again disturbing you'; and so she again wastes his time chattering. Now that he is ill — you know what his complaint is — she is a real embarrassment and plague to him. She sits there with him, and when he wants to be left alone he does not venture to tell her, so that in the end he gets quite red from pain and restraint; and she notices it. That is not love, however, but pure play-acting, conventional care, and affection. There is nothing natural about her — everything is artificial inwardly as well as outwardly."

The conversation then turned upon Brunswick, and I said: "Surely we shall soon have that now? It will shortly be Prussian?"

He replied in the negative, saying: "It must remain independent, because without the two votes of the Duchy the Federal Council would no longer be of the slightest importance — Prussia would always have a safe majority. The Brunswickers, too, are anxious to retain their independence. In order to maintain the present balance of voting power in the Federal Council, I have always rejected the overtures of the small fry such as Waldeck, &c., that wanted to be absorbed in Prussia. Things can be managed as they are, and we must give the larger States no reason to mistrust us. *Their* confidence also is part of my policy, and during recent years they have always trusted me."

He was silent for a while and looked at me. I rose to go, and thanked him for this day's invitation and the confidence in me which it manifested, adding that I was all the more pleased as I had been under the impression that he had been angry with me for my last book, and that I should not see him again. He clapped me on the shoulder in a friendly way and said: "No, Büschchen, everything remains as of old between us two. It is true that you contributed to my illness with your book, as it gave me a great deal of work." I replied that nothing of the kind should occur again, and gave him my hand upon it.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of June, I went to Bucher to tell him that I had been with the Chief, and to read him my notes of

the interview. He already knew that I had been called to see him. In connection with what I told him respecting the Chancellor's resignation or retention of office under the future Sovereign he said: "He has also given the French to understand . . . that possibly the next Emperor may not continue his policy, so that in future it would be well for them in Egyptian affairs to keep their demands and actions within such limits as they thought they could, if left to themselves alone, assert and maintain against the English." (. . .)

Bucher smiled at the apprehension which I now expressed that the Chief had been offended at my book. That, he said, was a mistake. With regard to the Prince's remark that it had given him a great deal of work (he doubtless alluded chiefly to the revising of the proofs) Bucher observed: "Yes, I have had a good deal to write on the subject to Reuss, for Andrassy complained of various passages. But what he imagined he had read was not in the book at all; he had read it superficially, and we convinced him of that fact." Finally Bucher thanked me for the account of my interview with the Chancellor, which he described as very interesting.

During the first half of June I made an excursion on foot from Dresden to North Bohemia, to Lausitz, then back to Dresden, and from there to Moritzburg and Meissen, in order to finally rid myself of a determination of blood to the head, which had seriously troubled me all the winter. After my return to Berlin, I called upon Bucher on the 16th of June to ask him, in the first place, what attitude should be adopted in the press towards the new Ministry in England. I observed that Gladstone had defended English interests, although in an unskilful and feeble way, and that Salisbury would not suit our purposes any better, indeed perhaps less, because they would be more energetic. He replied that Salisbury is blunt in manner, as he had himself experienced when he was in Berlin. He might, however, for the moment be more welcome to the Chief than Gladstone, who had been seeking a *rapprochement* with Russia, in favour of which there seemed to be a party in that country. Salisbury, on the other hand, had spoken too strongly against Russia to leave much prospect of an understanding at the present time between the Tories and St. Petersburg. True, one could not say what might happen in this respect later on,

and the new English Ministry would also seek an understanding with France.

He then mentioned Count Herbert's second mission to London, which had not turned out so well as the first one, respecting Angra Pequena and the Fiji Islands, in which he had taken up a very strong position with good results. The second mission should have appeared, as far as the public was concerned, merely a visit to Rosebery, with whom Herbert stayed. Its object, however, was to negotiate respecting Lucia Bay and the Benue district; and Herbert was not sufficiently well acquainted with the maps, &c., and conceded too much to Rosebery, who was very sharp, so that the result was disadvantageous to us. We lost Lucia Bay. The English Minister argued that they could not abandon it to us, as it was impossible to allow the Cape Colony to be hemmed in on both sides. On the Benue, however, they have annexed a large piece of land, well situated for their purposes.

Bucher then complained of the "gross ineptitude" displayed by Gerhard Rohlfs in his mission to Zanzibar. "He got it," he said, "through the 'paidocracy,' as Busch calls it, — through the influence of the Chancellor's sons upon their father, and he has spoilt everything. Contrary to the regulations, which require an examination to be passed first, he was appointed Consul-General without any examination, although he is not particularly well informed. . . . The trap had been very cleverly prepared for Sultan Bargasch. He has a sister who is married to a German, a Hamburg merchant named Reute, and lives now in Germany. Bargasch had robbed her of her inheritance, and this was to be the starting-point of the scheme. She was to go out to Zanzibar and press her claim, and an accident might possibly occur to the lady, — her brother might have her strangled. In the meantime Rohlfs was also to go out, quite quietly, by way of the Red Sea, and not on board a man-of-war. He, however, induced the Chief to let him travel *via* London and the Cape; and at Cape Town he talked imprudently about his mission and position to some officers of Warren's expedition (to Bechuanaland), so that the English got wind of the matter, and were able to take their measures accordingly (this was under Gladstone's Government, through their Consul, Kirk). And in Zanzibar itself he committed one blunder after another.

When this came to the knowledge of the Chief, he said in his own family circle that he would recall him. Paul Lindau, who constantly haunts the Chancellerie, got it into the newspapers, whereupon a *démenti* was issued. Later on, however, the Prince returned to his former intention, as Rohlfs proved quite useless." . . . Bucher further related that Herbert had provided himself with a deputy Under Secretary of State in the person of Darenthall, who was to act for himself when he was absent. "Darenthall is an admirer of Keudell, with whom he spent nine years in Rome, where there is nothing to do, as everything is sent there ready prepared. He cannot have gained much experience of the world there, while others sent to various posts became acquainted with different countries and conditions of life. He did not, however, turn out badly as Consul-General in Egypt. When he comes to the office, I shall take a long leave of absence in order not to lose the last trace of my self-respect." . . . Bill, who will shortly get married and who is going to Hanau, has also "picked out a successor, von Rheinbaben. It is true that he belongs to the old nobility, but he is quite incapable," — a statement in support of which Bucher produced sundry evidence. Finally we rejoiced that the Emperor was quite well again, and Bucher added: "Yes, and in very good humour, as may be seen from the remarks which he makes on the matters submitted to him." (. . .)

On the 16th of October Bucher called at my lodgings to inform me that on Hatzfeld's departure as Ambassador for London, Herbert Bismarck is to be appointed Secretary of State, and that the latter has selected Holstein as Under Secretary. The Chief had some one else in view, apparently Berghen, but Herbert would probably be able to carry out his views with regard to Holstein. He had already made up the differences between the latter and the Princess. In these circumstances he, Bucher, meant to retire. He had already asked the Prince on several occasions to arrange for his retirement on the score of ill-health. Although the Chief had, through Herbert, declined to do this, and only granted him a six months' leave of absence, he would probably on the conclusion of that period renew his request. He intends to leave on the 1st of November, and to spend his holiday on the Lake of Geneva. On parting, he said: "Adieu! I must now return to the treadmill." (. . .)

CHAPTER IX

THE CHANCELLOR ON BULGARIA AND SERVIA, AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA, THE BATTENBERGER AND THE TSAR — HIS VIEW OF THE TREATMENT OF THE RUSSIAN BALTIC PROVINCES — A COMPARISON BETWEEN ENGLISH PARTIES AND OUR OWN — GERMANY AND ENGLAND IN AFRICA — THE CHANCELLOR ON THE MILITARY QUESTION, AND THE THREATENED CONFLICT IN THE REICHSTAG — WHAT HE SAID THERE WAS ADDRESSED TO RUSSIA — THE TSAR'S CONFIDENCE IN THE CHANCELLOR — THE CROWN PRINCE AND HIS CONSORT — BISMARCK AND HIS WORK — WHAT IS GREATNESS? — THE CHIEF ON HIS OWN DEATH — INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF ON THE MARRIAGE OF THE BATTENBERGER, AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE *GRENZBOTEN* ARTICLE, "FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE EMPIRE" — BEWARE OF THE PRESS LAWS — NOT TOO VENOMOUS — A SURVEY OF BRITISH POLICY — THE CATALOGUE OF ENGLAND'S SINS — TWO EMPRESSES AGAINST THE CHANCELLOR — QUEEN VICTORIA AT CHARLOTTENBURG — DEATH OF THE "INCUBUS"

AT 11 A.M., on the morning of the 5th of January, 1886, I handed in at the Imperial Chancellor's residence in the Wilhelmstrasse, a letter, offering as usual my services and requesting an interview. Having received a favourable reply, I was at the palace punctually at 3 P.M., and was at once shown in to the Prince. He shook hands, saying: "How do you do, Büschchen?" I sat down at the writing-table opposite to him. On my remarking that he looked exceptionally well, he complained of the continuance of his faceache, which did not arise from a bad tooth, as I had supposed, and for which Schweninger could do nothing. His cure had only prevented him from getting stouter and relieved his biliousness. He then said: "There is nothing going on in politics just now."

I: "One sees that from the newspapers. You take care that they shall have nothing of importance to write about. You have again preserved the peace for us."

He: "In Bulgaria, where the Austrian policy was inconceivably bad. It was as if they had no agents whatever there, no one to observe and report. They were of opinion that the Roumelian business was instigated by the Russians and in their interest, and so they thought 'If you let your Bulgarians loose we will march out our Servians.' They obviously promised the latter more than they could perform, and when the war went against Milan made enemies of both sides. Khevenhüller acted too roughly. He threatened the Prince that if he did not call a halt within twenty-four hours the Austrians would march against him. And the Servians were also obliged to stop, and their action was crippled. Now the Bulgarians complain, 'If you had not crossed our path we should be in Belgrade by this time,' and the Servians, on the other hand, assert that if they had not been ordered to keep the peace they would have renewed the struggle with fresh forces, and wiped out their defeat. The policy which they are carrying on in Vienna is that of the father confessor and the banker. The Länderbank, which advanced the Servians the money for the war, is acting like the Caisse d'Escompte in Paris, and exercises similar influence. It is as if Cohn, the banker at Dresden, wanted to influence our policy. They ought to know in Vienna that the events in Roumelia are the result of English wire-pulling, and that it is England who supports the Prince. He has been on bad terms with the Emperor Alexander for years past. He is a man of intelligence, but false and untrustworthy, and that is known in St. Petersburg. At the present moment the Battenberger is the main hindrance in the way of a satisfactory settlement of the Bulgarian question. The Emperor does not trust him even after his recent praise of the Russian officers. Orders must be reëstablished from the outside, through an occupation by foreign troops — but who is to supply them? It would not do for the Russians to undertake the job, and just as little for the Austrians."

I: "Might I ask what is your opinion of the character of the Emperor Alexander?"

He: "He is better than his reputation in our newspapers, more sensible, a simpler nature, and above all more honourable. Quite different to his father, more manly, and neither imaginative nor sentimental. He is a respectable father of a family,

has no *liaisons* and makes no debts. Having nothing to conceal, it is not necessary for him to trouble his head with vain imaginings and tricky deceptions. But he is subject to ecclesiastical influences."

I: "Pobedonoszeff?"

He: "Yes, and others." He then related: "He was in Copenhagen during the complications with the English respecting Afghanistan, and Giers telegraphed to him repeatedly begging him to return. He remained, however, saying, 'Giers has his hands full (hat die Hosen voll), but he must see for himself how he is going to put the matter straight.'"

I: "He has been described to me as stupid, exceedingly stupid; but that was from a Baltic source."

He: "In a general way that is saying too much, but of course allowance must be made for the inhabitants of the Baltic Provinces. Poor people! But we cannot help them. History furnishes many instances in which Divine Providence has permitted such nobler communities and peoples to be swallowed up by a larger but less noble nation. In this case it is unwise on the part of the Government, and it does more harm to Russia than to us, when they allow such a breeding establishment for good generals, like Todtleben, and for capable diplomatists as they possess in the nobility of the Baltic Provinces, to be ruined. They have in view the unity of the Empire and not without reason, as is shown in the case of the Poles, but that they should carry it so far and go to work in such a crude way, and in particular that they should incite the populace against the upper classes! I have often wondered why more of them do not sell out and emigrate. But this oppression is more damaging to the Russians than to us, and, moreover, the Baltic Germans never formed part of the German Empire, although they have always been closely associated with the popular life of Germany."

I asked: "Might I inquire on what footing your Serene Highness now stands with the Crown Prince? You have recently been dining with him."

He: "Oh, quite satisfactory, and for several months past, as also with *her*. When the Emperor seemed to be drawing near his latter end, he approached me, as he saw that the time was at hand when he must plunge into the water and swim on

his own account. Ever since we have been on good terms. He wishes to retain me, and when he commands as King I must remain, although I am ill and require rest — but we must come to an understanding first. The main point for him is to get some one to conduct the foreign policy. Domestic affairs would go on all right under Bötticher, who manages them quite well, except that he is rather too vehement, so that water must sometimes be poured into his wine." He then spoke against the "collegial system" [1] and in favour of a homogeneous administration.

I mentioned the Emperor and the jubilee of his reign, observing that a good text for a sermon on that occasion would be found in Ecclesiasticus, where it is said, "The work praiseth the master, and his hands do honour to a wise prince"; and in particular the further passage "the prosperity of a ruler resteth with God; He giveth him a worthy Chancellor"; and again, "A wise servant shall be ministered unto by his master, and a master that hath understanding murmureth not thereat." (I had already directed attention to these passages [2] in the *Grensboten* of the 31st of December of the previous year.) He smiled, after remarking that the Emperor had acted conscientiously in State affairs and knew how to subordinate his *amour propre* to the interests of the country; he said: "He always gave me to a great extent a free hand, although he had been accustomed previously to command, while his brother, on the other hand, could never have got on with any independent Minister."

I then referred to the Irish crisis and the English parties, observing that there one saw plainly what Parliamentarism resulted in, and whither it led a State. Our Liberals would have had a similar experience in Posen and in Polish affairs generally, but, happily, they had not the same influence here as they have in England. He said: "Parliamentarism only works where there are merely two rival parties that come to power alternately, and where the members of the legislature are well off and unselfish, and do not find it necessary to struggle for their personal advancement. I am no advocate of absolutism. Par-

[1] In this system the Ministers are on a footing of equality with each other.

[2] These passages would seem to come from the tenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, but the English version does not appear to contain any reference to the "löblichen Kanzler." The version given above is, of course, translated from Dr. Busch's quotation. — THE TRANSLATOR.

liamentarism is good even here, as a veto upon the resolutions of unwise governments and bad monarchs — for purposes of criticism. In England, up to the present, there have been two great parties, whose principles have latterly not differed very widely, and both desired the welfare of the country and nothing for themselves. They were the representatives of a few hundred families who were well enough off not to want more, and who could therefore study exclusively the welfare of the whole community — a remark which at bottom also applies to Kings, who should be under no necessity to think of their own interests. The Irish are now coming in as a third party, together with the Radicals, who are still more dangerous. It is worse here in Germany. We have eight or ten parties and the leaders are place hunters, who want to improve their own positions and become Ministers, and who also put themselves at the service of the capitalists — not without a consideration."

He then spoke about the Kulturkampf, and mentioned that the Pope was now thoroughly well disposed. I said: "Of course you have done him a great pleasure in asking for his mediation in the difference with Spain, and given him an importance for which he has every reason to be grateful." He smiled and said: "Well, he has invested me with his highest Order, and has at the same time written me a very flattering letter." We then spoke of other Orders and I asked him how many he had now? In 1872 he had, I believed, already sixty-four.

He: "There can hardly have been so many. Since then, however, the Siamese and other Asiatics have added theirs."

I: "Japan was also included with the two great razors, the case containing the swords with which you were raised to the rank of Daimio."

He: "Even the Emperor of China has made me a present, a great elephant tusk with carved figures, flowers, houses, and birds, all so deeply cut out that you almost see through the carving. It is believed that the carving took eight years. You ought to have a look at it some time. It stands in the corner on the black chimney piece in the second room upstairs, near the large salon." He rang the bell and instructed the servant to show me upstairs when I was leaving.

"Why have we not been able to secure the Santa Lucia Bay?" I asked. "Ah!" he replied, "it is not so valuable as

it seemed to be at first. People who were pursuing their own interests on the spot represented it to be of greater importance than it really was. And then the Boers were not disposed to take any proper action in the matter. The bay would have been valuable to us if the distance from the Transvaal were not so great. And the English attached so much importance to it that they declared it was impossible for them to give it up, and they ultimately conceded a great deal to us in New Guinea and Zanzibar. In colonial matters we must not take too much in hand at a time, and we already have enough for a beginning. We must now hold rather with the English, while, as you know, we were formerly more on the French side. But, as the last elections in France show, every one of any importance there had to make a show of hostility to us."

I inquired as to the spirit monopoly, and he replied: "They will scarcely pass it, but we shall introduce it. They will look upon us as people who have evil intentions against the country, and in particular against themselves, their rights and powers, and who must, therefore, be kept in check and taught to entertain proper respect towards the representatives of the people, to which category, of course, we do not belong. But after all we are only fulfilling the duties of our office, part of which is to promote the interests of the State to the best of our ability."

On my saying, "Well, Münster is now in Paris," he observed: "A change has taken place in him. He is now less phlegmatic, more diligent, and sends fuller reports, which, moreover, have something in them." (. . .) "Bucher is also away," I observed, "on a long leave of absence, for the present."

He: "Yes, because he has begged me, I should say ten times, to allow him to retire on account of his health. I have at length given him leave for six months on full pay. He was an excellent book of reference for all occasions, as his good memory had enabled him to read and collect a great deal of information. In addition to that he is a good and worthy man" — a statement in which I heartily concurred.

By this time it was nearly 4 o'clock, and on his pausing for a moment I rose to go. Before leaving I begged him to let me know when he thought I could be of any active use in the press, and he promised to do this. The servant then showed me up-

stairs through the large salon (in which a Christmas tree was still standing, as well as a table covered with presents), and from this into a room opening on the garden. Here were large full-length portraits in oils of the Emperor William, in ermine robes, and the Emperors of Austria and Russia, an oil painting of the proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles (at that time only the frame, the picture having been removed to be varnished), and on the black chimney piece the Chinese elephant tusk, almost two metres in length. In another room I saw an excellent new portrait of the Chancellor (painted by Angeli, according to the servant), and, leaning against a sofa, a half-length portrait of Pope Leo XIII., by Lenbach. (. . .)

May 29th. — I called on Bucher . . . who told me he had received the Emperor's order placing him on the retired list, together with the instructions of the Imperial Chancellor, by which it was accompanied. In conclusion the Chancellor thanked him for his long service, and added "hearty" good wishes for his future. . . .

We remained good friends, and Bucher frequently joined Hehn and myself at our Wednesday evening meetings at Trarbach's. I visited him repeatedly in the autumn and winter of 1886 and in January, 1887, on his return from the visit to Stirum. On the 13th of January I took him the payment for an article which he had written for the *Grenzboten* and which was published in No. 41 of that paper, on "Two Diminishers of the Realm." (These were Gladstone and Windthorst, the comparison having been drawn at the suggestion of Bismarck.) On this occasion Bucher told me that he prepared the draft of the Constitution of the North German Confederation. At that time (after the return from Nikolsburg in the autumn of 1866) Bismarck lay seriously ill at Putbus. Savigny, who as Secretary of State should have attended to the matter, took Keudell into his counsels and they thought the thing could be done by introducing a few alterations into the old Constitution of the German Bund. Bucher had to draft the preamble for it. On his return he was summoned to the Chief, who declared Savigny's performance to be worthless, and dictated to him, Bucher, with the assistance of "a little book," probably Pölitz's work on the various constitutions, the main lines of a constitution for the new Federal State, which he then wrote out with the help of a clerk,

and — when the latter was unable to write any longer — in his own hand. He began work in the afternoon and went on with it all night through and until next morning. After the Chief had made a few alterations he immediately had twelve copies of the Constitution written out in the Foreign Office. Bucher also gave me some particulars of Keudell's stupidity. When he was going to Rome the Chief, for his personal information, explained to him his views about Italy, saying that we should not tolerate a move towards France. Keudell thought he should mention this to Visconti-Venosti, and did so. The Chief disapproved, and instructed him to take the first opportunity of stating to the Italian Minister that what he had said was merely the expression of his personal views. He has, however, omitted to report whether he had carried out these instructions.

On the 15th I wrote to the Prince asking for an appointment, and in accordance with the reply, called at the palace in the Wilhelmstrasse on the 27th of January, 1887. While I was waiting, first Rottenburg and then three little Rantzaus with their nurserymaid passed through the antechamber. (. . .) At 2.15 P.M. Theiss called me in to the Prince. He came towards me, reached out his hand, and asked how I was. I replied: "Well, and as one sees from the newspapers it is the same with yourself."

He: "Not during the last few days. I have an oppression and pains here (he passed his hand over his chest), I fancy something like inflammation of the lungs" — a statement which was open to grave doubt, as he looked quite healthy and rosy.

When Tiras had been driven away and I had taken a seat opposite him at the writing-table, he asked: "Now then, what have you been doing in the press recently?"

I replied: "A variety of things in the *Grenzboten* on the situation. But you yourself have said the last word on the subject in the Reichstag, fully and convincingly — for sensible people. But I fear it will not last long. The stupid people will not die out in the land, and no sooner have you enlightened them, than somebody will take pains to put the light out again. The clerical press continues to pile up misrepresentations and lies, and the large and small sheets of the Progressist party do the same to the best of their ability; while the judicial luminaries of the provinces help to stir up discontent."

He: "Yes, and all the pettifogging attorneys. I fancy, too, from the credulity of the public there is little improvement to be hoped for from the new elections."

I: "It is a pity that the representatives of the people, as they call themselves — the representatives of the cliques — were not excluded by the Constitution from all interference in military and foreign affairs. It should only have been allowed in exceptional cases, and on the special invitation of the Government. Such a provision had been unfortunately omitted from the North German Constitution." He said that was not quite the case, but it was true that at that time mistakes had been made, as he was ill at the beginning, and the "Ministry of War," which was jealous of the "Military Cabinet," introduced various unpractical provisions. He then explained to me the present legal position, much as he had already done in the Reichstag, reading and commenting upon the paragraphs in the Constitution which affected this question, beginning with § 60. He concluded with the words: "Things may again develop into a conflict, if the three Powers which have equal authority cannot come to an understanding in the hour of danger. Our first and greatest necessity is a strong and steadfast army, as that secures our external freedom, our existence, our possessions against the foes that threaten us from without. Of course we could defend these without the present Constitution, and could certainly do so more successfully without a Reichstag like the last one, which was much less an expression of our unity than of our divisions and Particularism, and which was little else than a hindrance in the defence of our most important interests. I could immediately secure the sanction of the Emperor to a change in this respect, and that of the Federal Governments also. But that must wait yet awhile — until we see how these and perhaps the next elections turn out. If no better Reichstag is elected, when the compromise, *i.e.*, the septennate, has run out, the first thing will be to put into force the provision which allows the Emperor to call out contingents proportionate to the population, the only restriction arising from financial considerations. He has always the right to raise as many soldiers as he considers necessary, and of course the expense thus incurred must be voted. — But what I wanted to say to you is this. I have used reassuring language in the Reichs-

tag with regard to the present attitude of Russia towards us. But many considerations had to be passed over in silence to which it would not have served my purpose to give utterance, but which may be indicated in the press — cautiously. There, I was speaking not only to the members of the Reichstag and the German public, but also to foreign countries, and to a particular quarter where I wished to let it be seen that I trusted to their insight, good will, and love of peace, and where such confidence is appreciated — the Emperor Alexander — especially when it comes from a quarter in which he himself may and really does repose unlimited confidence. That is quite true. The Emperor and Giers now anticipate no danger for Russia from Germany, and consequently do not think of attacking us; and so far as the immediate future is concerned they will in all probability not adopt a hostile attitude towards us, if things remain as they now are in Germany and Russia. At the same time a change may occur in the situation. There is, in addition to the Emperor, a kind of public opinion, parties that must be reckoned with even now, and which in a war between Germany and France would exercise all the greater influence on the decisions of the Crown in that their views and demands would appear to coincide with the real interests of Russia. There you have the Panslavists, with their hatred of the Germans and their leaning towards France. And then there are the Poles and the Liberal Russians, who desire a war with us in the hope that it would result in the defeat of Russia and secure their ultimate aim, namely, independence for the Poles and a Constitution for the others. In case of a conflict between Germany and France, these parties would exert a stronger pressure in exalted regions than they have ever been able to do up to the present, through their newspapers, and their allies in the army, in the Ministries, and in Court circles. Even the possibility of their efforts ultimately affecting the judgment and love of peace prevailing there — as did actually occur under the late Emperor, before the last Russo-Turkish war — would force us to send an army of observation of at least 100,000 men to our eastern frontier to watch the 200,000 soldiers stationed by Russia in her western provinces, thus considerably weakening our available forces against France. Moreover, supposing that, in spite of this, we were victorious, public opinion in St. Petersburg and Moscow,

and ultimately the Government under its pressure, would scarcely suffer us to turn our victory to sufficiently good account in order to thoroughly weaken France for the next thirty or forty years, as that would be a strengthening of the German Empire which might arouse serious apprehension in Russia. Finally, it may be regarded as well-nigh certain that while we were engaged in the west the Russians would attack Austria, as her armaments, even more than ours, require strengthening — a duty which she has hitherto with culpable levity neglected — and in the long run we should doubtless be obliged to come to her assistance. Of course I could not say all that, and even in the press it must be very cautiously dealt with."

I observed: "I do not know whether I am right, but I fear a war with Russia less from any apprehension of defeat, than because in case of victory I do not see what we could take to compensate us for the great sacrifices incurred."

He: "Certainly, and for the great number of troops we should lose. That keeps me from a war with France also. In that case, too, it is a question of 'Was kannst Du, armer Teufel, geben?' (Thou, poor devil, what canst thou give?)"

I: "In the long run the milliards were also no blessing, at least not for our manufacturers, as they led to over-production. It was merely the bankers who benefited, and of these only the big ones." From this we came to speak of the Stock Exchange and the present fall of prices, whereupon he remarked: "Bleichröder told me recently that he too has mobilised his forces, and at the right moment, some time ago."

I mentioned having read in the *Boersenzeitung* that, according to a small South German newspaper, the Emperor had been much incensed at the rejection of the Army Bill, and had spoken in the presence of Bismarck and the Crown Prince of a step which, if carried into effect, would have aroused the deepest regret. People thought that this referred to his abdication. But who could have circulated and made public the account of such an incident? He said: "The only element of truth in the story is that he was very angry with the Opposition. There was no question of abdicating. But he might very well be induced to agree to a step which would put an end to all the difficulties that the Reichstag can raise in military matters." He then spoke once more of the Opposition parties, and their

mendacity and fictions; as that he (Bismarck) wants to abolish or to restrict universal suffrage, and with the assistance of an accommodating Parliament, to introduce tobacco and spirit monopolies, and what not besides, even to the revival of serfdom. "That is only credited by the stupid voters. They themselves, Richter and his apostles, do not for a moment imagine that anything of the kind is intended. It is a mere electioneering dodge of a gross and audacious description according to Goethe's recipe: '*Willst Du sie betrügen, so mach es nur nicht fein.*' And it is the same with that lying rascal Windthorst and his priestly followers. At one moment liberty is threatened, and then the Church, and all this merely to hide the fact that he will not let the Empire have peace, and wants to pave the way for the return of the Guelphs to Hanover. The whole crowd are hypocrites, and wear masks, and in all this Parliamentary mummery I am the only one who shows his face. They are Particularists, one and all, in spite of their professions. The German Liberals are Particularists for their party, and the others are territorial Particularists. They are all striving for disintegration and dissolution. But when all is said and done, a Prussian King of to-day can, if they don't want him, renounce the Empire and exist for himself alone."

I asked: "How do you stand with the old gentleman at present?"

He: "With the Pope? Excellently, and in this question, too. He also trusts me and has reason to believe in my fair play. I told him I was prepared to go still farther, meaning that I should even be pleased to see a Papal Nuncio in Berlin. But the King will not have it. He thinks in that case he would have to become a Catholic in his old age. The Ministers are also against it, but without reason. I am not afraid of it. On the contrary, things would go better. At present, Windthorst is the Nuncio, the Father of Lies. We now know exactly how he carries on with Rome. We have letters of his in our hands. A real Nuncio could not lie in that fashion to us and to the Pope, who is well disposed and reasonable. He would be an ecclesiastical diplomatist, whose aims would be purely ecclesiastical, and who would not wish to lose credit with the Government and render himself impossible. He would have to carry out the instructions of his superiors in Rome — not at

Gmunden — and those instructions would be imbued with a peace-loving spirit and would be favourable to the maintenance of the Empire — as may now be seen from the desire expressed by the Pope that the Centre party should vote for the Army Bill."

I: "What I was really thinking of was the Emperor and your relations to him."

He: "I have also been on the best of terms with him for a long time past. Apart from the question of the Nunciature we are in perfect agreement upon all points. The Crown Prince, too, is at present everything I could wish him to be; *she* is likewise thoroughly well disposed towards me."

I: "Mr. Gladstone's admirer. Why, that is most satisfactory."

He: "They are now quite reasonable. They have no intention of introducing any change when the old gentleman goes, and they have repeatedly told me so. They are still afraid that I may not remain. And really I often wish it were otherwise, as I would rather go and spend my last days at Friedrichsruh, as a mere spectator."

I: "And have Dr. Busch to arrange your papers, as your Serene Highness suggested three years ago."

He: "Yes, that too. But I must remain as long as a Prussian King wants my services and wishes to retain me."

I: "And after all you would not like to desert your work and let it fall into the hands of people like Virchow and Forckenbeck. You once spoke to me about Götz von Berlichingen and Metzler, the ringleader of the peasants."

He: "That by remaining I could at least prevent the worst from happening. Such an eventuality is no longer to be apprehended. People deceive themselves greatly if they imagine there will be any considerable difference under the new King. But my position is difficult enough now that I no longer have the strength to work continuously at all manner of things, although there is always so much to be done. All the Ministers come to consult me upon subjects which, properly speaking, do not concern me, and make me responsible for them. That is the case even with the Ministry of the Household, where Schleinitz, the lazy fellow, neglected everything, and Stolberg is often away. But one must do his duty. As to what you say

about my work, it looks great, but after all it is of the earth and transient. Besides, what is the meaning of 'great'? Germany is great, but the earth is greater, and how small the earth is in comparison with the solar system, to say nothing of the whole universe! And how long will it last?"

I: "Hegel maintained that the earth was the sole planet with intellectual life, thought, and history."

He: "Yes, because it was upon the earth he philosophised. Certainly there are worlds where things of much greater importance are thought and done. But that is the way of these professors (he mentioned Virchow, Du Bois Reymond, and then asked what was the name of the third natural philosopher — I suggested 'Helmholtz'); they speak as if they knew everything: while they undoubtedly know a great deal in their own science, even there they are ignorant of the real root of things, to say nothing of other matters. They go as far as the cell, but what causes the cell?"

I: "I picture the world to myself as a point, that may be termed the first cause of God, which then extends itself to a ball, filling the void."

He: "And yet permits it to exist for ever." I rose to take leave. He gave me his hand and said: "I am glad to see you look so well and not in the least changed. And such a lot of hair still. Let me see." I bent down in order that he might see the crown of my head, and he said: "Yes, it's your own. I thought you wore a wig. But the beard is growing white. You should get it cut off and have your moustache dyed. Then you would be quite young."

The most important part of this interview, which finished at 3 o'clock, was worked up into the article, "War Clouds in the West," which appeared in No. 6 of the *Grenzboten*, and was forwarded to the Prince.

March 25th. — For about a week past various newspapers have published a statement to the effect that Keudell has tendered his resignation on the ground that the alliance between Germany and Italy, which was concluded a short time since, was not drawn up through him but through the Italian Ambassador in Berlin. A diplomatic negotiation of the highest importance had therefore been carried on over his head, and he had been merely instructed quite at the end to hand over to Robilant the

reward for his good offices in the shape of the Black Eagle. In other words, Bismarck had looked upon him as fit only to fulfil representative functions of a formal order, and had acted accordingly. At last! How often does the pitcher go to the well before it is broken, said I to myself, as I read a *démenti* in the *Kreuzzeitung*. So not yet awhile! (. . .)

At 10 A.M., on the 28th of April, one of the Chancery attendants brought me the following note: "The Imperial Chancellor would feel obliged if Dr. Busch would do him the honour to call upon him to-day at 2.30 P.M. Berlin, April 28, 1887." (No signature.) I went at the hour appointed and was told by the porter that Rottenburg wished to see me first. The latter said that the Prince had two commissions for me: one a description of the League of Patriots, and the other an article on the Hammerstein motion (respecting the Evangelical Church). At 3 o'clock Theiss showed me in to the Prince, with whom I remained until 3.45 P.M. He again complained a great deal about his ailments and insomnia, as well as of being overburdened with work by all the Ministries. "Nevertheless," I remarked, "on your last birthday you outlived the year in which you prophesied you were to die," and I reminded him of what he had said at Versailles and at Varzin, adding that I now took the liberty for the first time of congratulating him on his birthday, because the last one marked an important division of his life. He smiled and said: "Yes, a division. I had observed that there were certain divisions in my life, with changes and alterations, physical and mental, a certain recurrent cycle of years (I believe he said eleven), and from that and some cabalistic figures I had reckoned that I should reach the age of seventy-one years and die in 1886. As that has not happened, I shall now probably live to the age of eighty-three or eighty-four." He then came to speak of the subject which had led him to send for me. It appeared that he was not thinking so much of Hammerstein and Co., as of the embarrassment of the Ultramontanes in dealing with their "priestocracy," the demagogues of the middle and lower clergy, whom they had summoned to their assistance against the Government, and who had now cast off discipline and were disinclined to follow the Pope's instructions. He compared their embarrassment to that of the wizard's apprentice in Goethe, and spoke

of the "Anti-Papal Catholics." He concluded: "I should not like to have that said in one of our papers. We still want the Centre party for the sugar and spirit taxes."

I then mentioned the League of Patriots, and afterwards turned the conversation on to Alsace-Lorraine. On my observing that it might, perhaps, be possible to annex it to Prussia, or divide it between Bavaria and Baden, he replied: "To unite it to Prussia would strengthen by thirty votes the Opposition in the Lower House of the Prussian Diet, where things are now very tolerable. The Bavarians will not hear of it either, and still less the people in Baden, who are in absolute terror of such a change. If we were only living in the time of Charlemagne, we could remove the Alsacians to Posen, and place the inhabitants of the latter country between the Rhine and the Vosges, or form an uninhabited desert between ourselves and the French. As it is, however, we must try some other method." We then spoke about the Crown Prince, who, he said, was understood to have a polypus in the throat. It would be no wonder if he did not recover, as "she" never allowed him to have more than eleven degrees (Réaumur) of warmth in his room, and obliged him at Ems to go into the cold and windy mountain districts, and to cross the Rhine in storm and rain, &c.

I said: "It appears that Diest-Daber wishes to proceed with his action once more."

He: "But how can he do that?" He then gave me an account of the affair, which originated in an action against Diest for libel. This was afterwards transformed by Klotz into a prosecution against him, Bismarck, which resulted in his vindication. He concluded: "Diest is suffering from the mania of persecution, that is to say, in its active form — he must persecute somebody. It would now seem to have turned into megalomania." On our coming to speak of his fortune, I said: "To show what superstitions prevail on this subject, a tradesman, who is otherwise a sensible man, told me recently that you possess a fortune of at least a hundred millions." He thereupon gave me a detailed account of his circumstances, and spoke of the value of his various estates, adding that he was not thinking — "as his sons wished him to do" — of increasing his capital, but rather of rounding off and improving

his property. He mentioned Chorow and Sedlitz, and the purchases of land in the Sachsenwald, and similar matters. "I cannot help it," he said. "When a neighbour's property wedges itself into mine, and I see a fine clump of trees on it that are going to be cut down, I must buy that piece of ground." In making such purchases he often paid too much, and frequently the estates were not well managed by those to whom they were entrusted. Thus, although in good years, when high prices were to be had for timber, &c., his profits might amount to about 100,000 thalers, he had, on several occasions, had no surplus whatever over his expenses. "Moreover," he continued, "it costs me more to live in the country than in Berlin; and in Varzin my horses, with their fodder, cost me more than here. If I could sell my estates at what is probably their real value, I might doubtless get four millions for them." He referred me to Rottenburg for the material for the articles. The latter handed me for use in the article on the League of Patriots the indictment drawn up by Tessendorf of Leipzig, the Imperial Chief Prosecutor (21st of April, 1887), against ten inhabitants of the Reichsland (beginning with Köchlin-Claudon of Mülhausen, and winding up with Humbert of Metz), giving the history and description of the association. For the second article on the "Anti-Papal Catholics," he sent me a few days later, by a Chancery messenger, a report of the Ober-Präsident of Westphalia to the Minister of Public Worship, together with about a dozen newspaper extracts. The article on Deroulede's horde appeared in No. 19 of the *Grenzboten*, under the title of "The League of Patriots," and the other, "Embarrassments of the Centre Party," in No. 20 (of the 12th of May). I personally left both at the palace for the Chancellor.

During May and June Bucher met Hehn and myself regularly every Wednesday evening, sometimes at Huth's and sometimes at Trarbach's. He wrote for me the *Grenzboten* article on "Maharajah Dhuleep Singh," which appeared in No. 26. He also promised a further article for that paper, drawing a comparison between the reigns of Queen Victoria and Queen Bess, of course not to the advantage or credit of the former, as, according to him, the Chief, with whom he had recently dined, and who had invited him to pay him shortly a visit at Friedrichsruh, wished to see something of the kind done in connec-

tion with the Queen's jubilee. On the 28th of June, Bucher started for the dragon's lair in the Sachsenwald, having sent me a card on the previous day to let me know. He was back in Berlin in about ten days. Five of these were spent at Friedrichsruh, and the remainder of the time with Kusserow in Hamburg. He told me that the Chief was not disposed to let him fire off the articles on the two English Queens. He would think over the matter, but in any case it should not appear in the *Grenzboten*, as that paper's connection with him was suspected.

On the 1st of March, 1888, I received a letter from Rottenburg, requesting me to call upon him, as the Imperial Chancellor had instructed him to discuss a certain matter with me. I went to him on the morning of the 2nd of March, and he told me that the Prince wished to have a portion of Beust's book, *Aus drei Viertel jahrhunderte*, beginning on page 346 of the second volume, dealt with in the press, and for that purpose he would give me verbal instructions. I should first, however, read up the book in order to inform myself on the subject. When I had done so, I was to send him, Rottenburg, a few lines, and he would then report to the Chancellor and let me know the day and hour on which the latter would receive me. I borrowed Beust's book from Hehn on the same day, and carefully read over the part in question several times. This referred to the attitude of Austria before and during our last war with France, together with the differences it produced between Beust and Grammont. On the 5th I wrote to Rottenburg that I now believed myself to be sufficiently acquainted with the subject to understand and turn to good account any further information which the Imperial Chancellor might give me. I received no answer, however, inviting me to see the chief. He was occupied with more important matters than Beust's former policy, the illness and death of the Emperor William, and the accession of his son to the throne.

On the evening of the 28th of March at Knopp's, Bucher related the following particulars to myself and Hehn. (Casually, foreseeing what was generally known a few days later, or informed of and prepared for it.)

"Princess Victoria, the daughter of our new Emperor and Empress, now about twenty-two years of age, was to have been

married some time since to the Battenberger, who at that time was still Prince of Bulgaria, but already a tool of English policy. He made the acquaintance of the Queen of England's granddaughter during his European tour. The thought of a marriage was probably suggested by the grandmother in London, who wished to see the position of her servant secured against Russia by an alliance with our Court. The scheme leaked out, and came to the ears of the Chief. Of course he was anything but pleased, and did not conceal his objections from the Emperor, but on the contrary expressed them both verbally and in a statement which I had to prepare. It would show us in a bad light at St. Petersburg, and it was not right to subject a Prussian Princess to the eventuality of a compulsory departure from Sofia. The Emperor recognised this and issued his veto, which must have been very unpleasant for the Crown Princess." (. . .)

April 6th. — On the Chief's birthday Prince William, now the Crown Prince, while offering his congratulations in person, invited himself to dine with the Chancellor. During dinner, according to the newspapers, he proposed a toast to the following effect: "The Empire is like an army corps that has lost its commander-in-chief in the field, while the officer who stands next to him in rank lies severely wounded. At this critical moment forty-six million loyal German hearts turn with solicitude and hope towards the standard and the standard bearer, in whom all their expectations are centred. The standard bearer is our illustrious Prince, our great Chancellor. Let him lead us. We will follow him. Long may he live!" Coming from a member of the reigning house, such language should mean a great deal. "Our great Chancellor" — words already used a short time ago by his Imperial and Royal Highness — "let him lead us; we will follow him!" What high appreciation and what modest self-suppression and honourable subordination on the part of the future Emperor! May God reward him for it, and grant him victory under that standard! But what does his mother think of it? Yesterday a Vienna telegram in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which was greeted with scarcely concealed satisfaction by the Progressist newspapers, reported that Bismarck intended to retire. This leads one to think of the "Englishwoman" on the throne of the Hohenzollerns, and of "Friedrich

der Britte" (Frederick the Briton), who is to govern according to her views. Has the toast of the 1st instant given offence to Guelphish self-conceit? Or has the Chief again advised against the suitor with the Bulgarian kalpak, who may have pressed his suit again and with a better prospect of success after the death of the Emperor William? At 10.45 A.M. this morning I handed the following letter to the porter at the palace to be immediately forwarded to the Chief: "In presence of the extraordinary report of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which is now being circulated in the newspapers, I would beg your Serene Highness kindly to remember that in the future as in the past I hold myself absolutely and unconditionally at your disposal, and shall always continue to do so."

April 7th. — At 11 A.M. a Chancery attendant brought me a letter of this day's date from the Imperial Chancellerie, with an appointment to call upon the Prince at 2 o'clock. I was punctually in attendance; but on entering the antechamber, Friedberg, the Minister of Justice, arrived and was shown in to the Chief before me, remaining for about three-quarters of an hour. During this time Minister von Puttkamer also came in, and went away again after a conversation with Rottenburg. Thereupon the latter came to me and said it was doubtful if the Prince could receive me to-day, as he was very much exhausted. He had, however, informed him that I should be there at 2 o'clock. When he called me in, would I "make short work of it"? I replied that that depended upon the Chancellor and not upon me, but I would offer to come on another day if he were not disposed for the interview at present. At 2.45 P.M. Theiss showed me in to him. He was in undress uniform, and looked quite well, although, after he had shaken hands and asked how I was, he complained of his nervous excitement and insomnia. "I can only get a little sleep with the help of opium and morphia. I am overworked, and, in addition to that, as you have read in the newspapers, I have latterly been worried by the people at Charlottenburg — by the women. The doctors insist that I should go to the country. Schweninger prophesies that otherwise I shall suffer from all possible forms of nervous diseases, together with typhoid. Besides, I ought to go to Varzin to see after the damage done by the inundations. The Wipper has carried away all my mills, and to rebuild them may

cost hundreds of thousands; but I cannot leave, for who knows what they would do when my back is turned — the women who want to have a share in the government — the Englishwomen? You have seen in the papers that I am thinking of retiring on account of conflicts and Court influence — not with the Emperor, who is much more reasonable and shares my views. The question now is as to the marriage of the Battenberger to Princess Victoria, which the Queen of England has in view. Three years and more ago, under the old master, it was actively promoted by her daughter, the present Empress, at first in secret. As soon as I then heard of it, I made representations to the Emperor, verbally and in writing. He allowed himself to be convinced by the reasons I adduced, and refused to give his consent, although she said the Princess loved him. Of course, he is a handsome man, with a fine presence; but I believe her nature is such that she would accept any other suitor, providing he were manly. Moreover, that is entirely beside the question. We must look at the political objections and dangers. The old Queen is fond of match-making, like all old women, and she may have selected Prince Alexander for her granddaughter, because he is a brother of her son-in-law, the husband of her favourite daughter, Beatrice. But obviously her main objects are political — a permanent estrangement between ourselves and Russia — and if she were to come here for the Princess' birthday, there would be the greatest danger that she would get her way. In family matters she is not accustomed to contradiction, and would immediately bring the parson with her in her travelling-bag and the bridegroom in her trunk, and the marriage would come off at once. Probably the Battenberger, too, would have been here by this time if I had not stepped in, for they are in a mighty hurry over there in London."

I asked: "What is the actual condition of his Majesty at Charlottenburg? Is it really cancer, and how long is it likely to last?" He: "Cancer, and Bergmann has already given his opinion, some time ago: it is a question of three weeks or three months. Externally it is not very noticeable. He holds himself upright, and walks with a quick step. But his face (he pointed with his fingers between the cheek-bones and the nose) has, during the last few days, become thinner, and he looks tired and depressed from the excitement. They actually ill-treated,

abused, and martyred him when he declined. He is glad that I have come to his assistance, as she is too much for him in argument. It is true that so far only a postponement has been secured. If the marriage nevertheless takes place, I can no longer remain in office, for I should then have lost all confidence in the future. That young and impetuous woman's will would prevail more or less in other things too, while I should lose at St. Petersburg that reliance on my straightforwardness which I have so laboriously regained with the Emperor Alexander in spite of all sorts of incitements against me. It is true that in Charlottenburg they are most anxious to retain me — she also. They wrap me up in cotton-wool and velvet. That also found expression in the rescript; but as the recognition was of too generous a character, it aroused in my mind less pleasure and hope than doubt as to its sincerity, and as to whether something was not concealed behind it. If I can merely postpone, and not entirely prevent, these English influences upon our policy, if my remonstrances are no longer successful, and my voice not listened to, why should I continue to torment and overwork myself? I will not be a mere cloak for the follies of other people. If it were still the old Emperor with whom I was called upon to blunder along in this way — but to allow myself to be made use of by this Englishwoman, for her whims, for foreign interests, with danger and detriment to ourselves!" I said: "The Emperor was after all a splendid old gentleman, a real King, with a high sense of duty and well-intentioned, and who knew how to appreciate you." He: "A trustworthy comrade, who would not leave one in the lurch." I: "It is true that he sometimes made your life a burden, and did not always treat you well." He: "Yes, but that was not done through ill will, but through misunderstandings and insufficient knowledge of the matter in hand. When anything of importance was going on, he usually began by taking the wrong road, but in the end he always allowed himself to be put straight again. Thus, during the period of conflict, when he could no longer get any Ministers, he wished to abdicate. When I was summoned to him at Babelsberg, he had the act of abdication ready signed. He said: 'If I cannot find any Ministers who will govern as I think right, then my son had better try his hand.' I assured him that I was prepared to be the Minister he wanted. 'Even

against the majority?' he asked. 'Yes, even against the majority,' I replied. 'Well, then, that's all right,' he said, and tore up the deed, and with it a whole sheet of concessions to the Liberals, which he had previously read to me." I: "Then afterwards when you travelled to Juterbogk to meet him. The ladies at Baden had filled him with apprehensions as to an impending revolution, and he already saw the scaffold awaiting him, and you — you infused courage into him by appealing to his honour and grasping his sword knot, as you once expressed it to me?" He: "Yes, and on other occasions he had too much courage, and wished to move too rapidly and take too much. Thus in 1864 he wished to march into Jutland without Austria, and at Nikolsburg to continue the war as far as Vienna." I recalled the attack of hysterical weeping there. "Then at first he wanted to have half of Saxony, half of Hanover, Ansbach, and Bayreuth, and a piece of Bohemia from Austria, until I persuaded him how unpractical that was." "And in 1870 the military conspiracy at Mayence, before the march into France, and afterwards at Versailles his attitude towards the claims of the Bavarians?" I added. He: "Certainly, when they actually proposed to proceed to violence against Bavaria, and afterwards intended to deny her rights which she was entitled to claim." I said: "The expression 'cloak' reminds me of its converse. Monarchs are often adorned with other people's feathers. If a battle is won at which one of them happens to be present as a spectator, he is said to have won it, although of course the staff has really won it; and so it is in your case in the field of politics." "Why, yes," he replied; "but if the work is done and succeeds, that is the main point. It is a matter of indifference who did it."

He reflected for a moment, and then continued: "The new Empress has always been an Englishwoman, a channel for English influence here, an instrument for the furtherance of English interests. In her present position she is more than ever so, and the Battenberger is to be another tool of the same kind. In England they do not tolerate any foreign influence — you know how Palmerston and the others accused, opposed, and persecuted the Prince Consort for his alleged or real influence over the Queen. We, however, are expected to submit to that sort of thing, and regard it as a matter of course. We are an

inferior race, ordained to serve them. So the Queen thinks too, and her daughter is of exactly the same opinion. They are working in partnership. I would suggest to you to take the present opportunity of treating this subject fully, dealing with it from a diplomatic and historical standpoint, showing how England has at all times sought and still seeks to influence us for her own ends, and often against our interest, to use us for promoting her own security and the extension of her power, lately through women, daughters and friends of Queen Victoria. In doing so, please to make use of a small work that was published a few years ago in Switzerland, under the title of *Co-Regents and Foreign Influence in Germany* (*Mitregenten und fremde Hände in Deutschland*). The anonymous author is not unknown to me. It is Duke Ernst of Coburg, and his account is on the whole correct." I said: "Doubtless it must be, since he belongs to the clique: Leopold of Belgium, Victoria in London, Victoria in Berlin, Stockmar, and also Josias Bunsen in the heyday of his career." He: "Yes, but that is no longer the case, as you will see when you read the pamphlet. You can go further back, however. Give a survey of English policy during the last couple of centuries." I: "Something of the kind must have existed even previously. An Englishman was once even German Emperor, Richard of Cornwall, before Rudolf of Hapsburg." He: "Yes, but confine yourself to modern history, going back as far as the beginning of the last century. Throughout that period the policy of England has constantly been to sow dissensions between the Continental Powers or to maintain existing discord, on the principle of *Duobus litigatibus tertius gaudens*, and to use the one against the other so that they should be weakened and damaged for the benefit of England. These efforts were first directed against France, then against Russia. First it was the Emperor in Vienna who had to wage war on their behalf, and then we were to take up the cudgels for them. Remember the Spanish War of Succession and the Battle of Dettingen. At that time it is true every State in Europe was threatened in its liberty and existence by the universal monarchy which was then in course of development in France, but none so much as England herself. And then think of the Seven Years' War in which the English took the lion's share of the booty, although they had ventured and accomplished com-

paratively little, while we conquered the French colonies for them. Latterly they have tried to play us off against the Russians, who have become a danger for them on the Bosphorus, and still more on their Indian frontier. We are expected to make good the deficiencies of their military forces, threaten the Russian flank, and hold them back when they propose to march. First, during the Crimean War, in which by the way the French had little reason to join, we were urged, quite against our own interests, to coöperate with the Western Powers in opposing the Emperor Nicholas. I assisted in preventing that. Later on, in 1863, England wanted to see the Polish insurrection supported, as a means of weakening Russia, a course whereby we should have forfeited an old friend who might prove a still better friend to us in the future, and have gained no trustworthy friendship in the West by way of compensation; while in the Poles we should have strengthened an ancient foe, and created a natural ally for France. In 1877, when it was seen that a Russo-Turkish war was imminent, we were expected to exert our influence at St. Petersburg to prevent it — in the interest of humanity — as the *Times* demonstrated. Queen Victoria urged us to do so in a letter to the Emperor, which was handed to him by Augusta, who added her own intercession, and in two letters to myself. Humanity, peace, and liberty, — those are always their pretexts when they cannot by way of a change invoke Christianity and the extension of the blessings of civilisations to savage and semi-barbarous peoples. In reality, however, the *Times* and the Queen wrote in the interests of England, which had nothing in common with ours. It is in the interest of England that the German Empire should be on bad terms with Russia. Our interest is that we should be on as good terms with Russia as the situation allows. Latterly I have directed my endeavours towards this end, and I have succeeded, in spite of various opposing influences; — and now the Battenberger is to be called in to nullify my success, to inspire the Emperor Alexander with fresh suspicions, and to supply the Moscow press with plausible grounds, which would have at least appearances in their favour for asserting that we entertain secret designs. Prince Alexander, who has been selected as bridegroom for the daughter of the German Emperor, would, if that marriage were to take place, not only appear, but actually be, a permanent channel for

English influence with us — that is the essence of the scheme — emphasise and repeat that — so far as this influence is directed against Russia. He is really a Pole, through his mother, who married, as a Fräulein Hauke, a member of a family which is neither old nor illustrious. (. . .) Such a relationship is decidedly not suitable for the Prussian Royal House and a daughter of the German Emperor. The Emperor Frederick sees and feels that too, perhaps even more than we do, for he has a very high opinion of his family and its dignity. But apart from that the more important point is that the Emperor Alexander hates the Battenberger with his whole heart, indeed there is perhaps no one else whom he knows and hates so thoroughly." I said: "The unheard-of rudeness of the letter striking his name off the Army List, a communication well-nigh unparalleled in the intercourse of Princes." He rejoined: "Yes, and other things too. But he richly deserved it through his falsehood and treachery. As a nephew of the deceased Empress he was regarded in St. Petersburg as a fitting instrument for advancing Russian interests as Prince of Bulgaria; and that was quite legitimate in view of the gratitude which the Bulgarians owed to Russia for their liberation, while it was also the ultimate and real object of the war of 1877. At first he governed in this sense, but he afterwards took up with the English, who wished to create a Greater Bulgaria to serve their purposes, and like Rumania be under obligations to them. It was to be developed into a new Kingdom, which should stand in the way of Russia. That had been planned long beforehand, and the way had been prepared by various measures; but the Prince always tried to dispel any uneasiness by beautifully reassuring speeches and categorical promises. Finally he pledged himself to Giers not to make any kind of change in Eastern Roumelia; and yet shortly afterwards the revolution broke out in Philippopolis, with his previous knowledge and coöperation. It would be a miracle, and utterly opposed to human nature, if the Emperor Alexander did not hate him with a deadly hatred for this dishonourable conduct, this breach of faith. He will never forgive him, and will always look upon him as a sworn enemy, embittered moreover by having been driven out. If he were accepted as a member of the German Imperial House, it would fill the Emperor with a suspicion which nothing could dissipate. It would be a perma-

nent threat to peace. He would not on that account declare war upon us immediately and without more ado, as Napoleon did in similar circumstances in 1870; but he would hold it to be a confirmation of all the old doubts as to our sincerity which we had proved to be unfounded, and the Russian press would renew its agitation with the same violence and malice as formerly, and with more success. It is not yet certain that Russia would take up arms against us if we were to be again attacked by the French; but if the Russians were to declare war upon us the French would certainly join them immediately. And after all in such a war we should not be so very certain to win, while it would be a great misfortune even if we were victorious, as in any case we should lose a great deal of blood and treasure, and also suffer considerable indirect damage through the interruption of work and trade, and we should never be able to take anything from the French or Russians that would compensate us for our losses. It is only the English who would benefit by it. It would be an English war if the Battenberg marriage led Russia to join the French attack on us. We are well armed, but at all events large masses of troops would be put into the field against us, and Austria has not yet developed her defensive forces as she could and should do; and no real confidence could be placed in Italy. It is possible that the French may regain their footing there and win back the Italian friendship, if other parties came into power. Indeed, even a Republic is possible, and Italy may resume her Irredentist schemes and claims against Austria."

I said: "I shall keep all that in mind, and write the article as well as I can. Perhaps I may be allowed to mention the influence brought to bear by the English ladies against the bombardment of Paris. You remember: 'Schurze und Schürzen'" (aprons and petticoats; that is to say, freemasons and women).

"Yes, do that," he replied; "but at the same time remember the press laws. Be very cautious, diplomatic, and not too venomous; and always emphasise the fact that it is foreign influences that are working against me; not the Emperor, but the reigning lady and her mother." . . . "But," I said, "will it not throw an unfavourable light on the Emperor, making him appear weak and pitiable, if one says that he is opposed to the Battenberg project, but may be brought to give in to the

demands of the ladies?" He replied: "It is not necessary to say that in so many words; but it is nevertheless a fact — and it was much the same with the late Emperor, who had also to struggle against feminine influence, and was thankful to me when I stiffened him against it. In these cases he used to say to me: 'Do it in such a manner that they may fancy they have had their way, while we really manage, as it should be.' On the whole, I got on well with him."

After I had been with him somewhat over three-quarters of an hour, he called my attention to a very curious little work of art which stood on his writing-table. It consisted of a large grey pearl mounted with diamonds and rubies, representing the head of a greyhound with a golden tobacco pipe in its mouth. This, he explained, was "a present from Mexico." I then took my leave, and he was about to lie down to sleep. In the antechamber Theiss told me that while I had been with the Chancellor the Grand Duke of Baden called to see him. He had told him, however, that the Prince "had a conference," and he accordingly went away. I proceeded direct to Bucher's in order to repeat to him as literally as possible my conversation with the Chief, and thus to impress it more firmly on my mind. He had the Duke of Coburg's pamphlet, which he lent me. He also gave me the following example of the manner in which the feminine half of the present Imperial family have been anglicised. "Princess Victoria, the Battenbergerin *in spe*, had a difference with her brother on one occasion respecting some household arrangement. 'After all, that is much better managed at home,' she said. 'At home? What do you mean?' he asked. 'Why, at home in England,' she replied. The particular epithet which Prince William applied to her is not known for certain, but it was either 'goose' or 'sheep.'" (. . .)

On my return home at 6 o'clock I found the following note, enclosing an extract from the *Deutsches Tageblatt*, lying on my table: — "Dear Sir, — Prince Bismarck begs you to kindly introduce the article discussed to-day by a reference to the enclosed statements of the *Times*, in order that it should not appear to be written without any immediate occasion. — Yours truly, Rottenburg."

On the 8th of April, having again been summoned to the Chief, I called at the Chancellor's palace, and was shown in

without much delay. The Prince, who was reclining in a *chaise longue* near the window, was reading the *Kölnische Zeitung*. I had to draw up an armchair close to him. He said: "Here is the *Kölnische Zeitung* writing against the *Times*, and also the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. You might also mention this in the article of which we were speaking yesterday, and correct them where necessary. The main point is that the Emperor is on my side. A syllable must be added here" (he pointed to the word "Kaiser," which was underlined in red) — "Kaiser*in*. It is a struggle between the Emperor and Empress. She, as an Englishwoman, is in favour of the Battenberger; he will not have him, first for political reasons, like myself; and then because he actually hates him, for he dislikes the idea of a *mésalliance*, as he is very proud of his dynasty and position. Two Empresses are fighting against his opinion and mine, — those of India and Germany; and Victoria, the daughter, simply talks him down. She can make much better use of her tongue than he can. It has always been so, and now more than ever, owing to his illness and the way in which worry affects him. Besides, he is deeply devoted to his family. I was present on one occasion when she set at him so violently with her feminine logic and volubility that at last he sat there quite silent and depressed. He is delighted every time that I come to his assistance against his combative wife." I related Bucher's story about Victoria No. 3 and her brother. "Yes," he said, "that is quite credible. At home with her daughters, she, the German Empress, only speaks English, the language of the Chosen People, and the Princesses write English letters to their father."

He continued: "Look here! There they talk of my attachment to the dynasty. Well, that is quite correct, but it was more so under the father, the old master. I had all along wanted to retire at his death, and if I remain it may be taken as certain that I do so only on an understanding that I continue the old policy I have followed hitherto, and am protected from foreign influence and from the interference and misgovernment of women, which was never carried to such lengths as it is at present. I would therefore beg of you to call attention to the Progressist journals, to these Court Jacobins — use that word — who receive their orders from Charlottenburg, through the women whose names figure at the head of the Address, Frau Helmholtz,

Schrader, and Stockmar, whose late husband was Secretary to the Englishwoman when she was Crown Princess. These Byzantine hypocrites, these democrats who wag their tails and crawl more abjectly than the most extravagant absolutist, would like to degrade me from being a servant of the State and of its head into a Court menial, although of course it is both my right and my duty to form my own opinion and maintain it like anybody else, all the more as I bear the responsibility for the mistakes, or, as in the present instance, the obvious follies that are committed in important matters." He continued to dilate on this theme for a few minutes; and then again suggested that I should make use of the pamphlet of Duke Ernst of Coburg. He sent for Rottenburg, and told him that in using it elsewhere the passages which I should quote were not to be employed. When Rottenburg had gone, I asked: "Are you quite sure that it was he who wrote it? It is very strong for him, although from the style, which is rather vulgar and careless, it might well be his work, besides which he is acquainted with the facts through being closely connected with the Queen." He replied, smiling: "He himself told me so" (in English). I then spoke of his autobiography, which I described as badly arranged and prolix. "Yes," he said, "he has somewhat the same failing as Beust. He can suppress nothing — not the most trifling circumstance respecting what he has done or tried to do, and collected." I inquired as to the instructions respecting Beust's book. He replied: "That must wait. We have now more important matters to deal with. Later on, perhaps. For the present you might get them to give you the book. I have underlined a few things which appear to me to be incorrect. But now I must try to get some sleep. At present my pulse goes on an average fifteen beats in the minute faster than it did during the preceding reign." I took my leave, with good wishes for his speedy improvement. I had been with him about twenty minutes. In the following three days I wrote the desired article, and sent it to the *Grenzboten*, where it appeared in No. 17, under the title, "Foreign Influences in the Empire." (. . .)

April 25th. — This evening at Knoop's, Bucher described the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern, in which he himself had taken a part, as a "trap for Napoleon." He added that neither the Emperor William nor the Crown Prince had

the least idea of this feature of Bismarck's manœuvre, of which he, Bucher, also gave particulars to the Crown Prince after his journey. They both regarded the candidature as a means of exalting the glory of their House.

April 28th. — This afternoon met Bucher in the Königin Augusta Strasse. . . . He said, smiling: "I have just heard a surprising piece of news. Grandmamma behaved quite sensibly at Charlottenburg. She declared the attitude of the Chief in the Battenberg marriage scheme to be quite correct, and urged her daughter to change her ways. Of course it was very nice of her not to forget her own country and to wish to benefit it where it was possible for her to do so, but she needed the attachment of the Germans, and should endeavour to secure it; and finally she brought about a reconciliation between Prince William and his mother." I asked, "Have you that on good authority?" "On very good authority," he replied. "Well," I said, "that is highly satisfactory, and we shall act accordingly in the immediate future, for, of course, we do not hate Victoria II. on account of her extraction, but because she feels as an Englishwoman and wishes to promote English interests at our expense, and because she despises us Germans. The question is whether in the long run she will heed this maternal admonition. It is not easy to rid one's self of a habit of thought of such long standing." He agreed with me in this.

April 29th. — I read this morning in the *Berliner Boersen Zeitung:* "We are in a position to state that the Imperial Chancellor, as was indeed to be expected, is most indignant at the notorious article in the *Grenzboten* slandering the Empress Victoria, and that he has given expression to his condemnation in very strong terms. In this connection exceptional importance is to be attached to the sympathetic article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on the Queen of England's visit." Doubtless as that paper is in the Bluchröder's service, this utterance has been inspired by that firm, over which floats the flag of the British Consulate General. Well informed? Possibly, indeed probably. A disclaimer? Why not! Quite in order! *Tempora mutantur?* But I shall never change towards him, nor he doubtless towards me. He will once more call for his little archer when he again wants an arrow shot into the face of this or that sun, and "Büschlein's" bow shall never

fail him. My "libellous article" was, I see, indignantly denounced in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Neue Freie Presse.* In doing so the former described the *Grenzboten* as "a publication which, for well-known reasons, is read with attention throughout Germany." The *Neue Freie Presse* spoke of a want of tact which would be regarded as impossible if it were not in evidence in black on white. Excellent! In this manner what I had written secured a wide circulation, particularly as other journalistic hacks will probably without wishing it have recommended the article in a similar way. (. . .)

After the death of the Emperor Frederick, I wrote to Bucher a few lines expressing the satisfaction I felt that we were relieved of that incubus, and that his place was now to be taken by a disciple and admirer of the Chief.

CHAPTER X

THE EMPEROR FREDERICK'S DIARY — THE CHIEF ON THE DIARY AND ITS AUTHOR — THE GERMAN QUESTION DURING THE WAR OF 1870 — THE EMPEROR FREDERICK AND HIS LEANING TOWARDS ENGLAND — THE CHIEF PRAISES THE YOUNG EMPEROR — "BETTER TOO MUCH THAN TOO LITTLE FIRE!" — I AM TO ARRANGE THE CHIEF'S PAPERS, AND DO SO — LETTERS FROM FREDERICK WILLIAM IV. AND FROM WILLIAM I. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH AND CONCERNING THE CROWN PRINCE (FREDERICK) — LETTERS TO AND FROM ANDRASSY DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE AUSTRO-GERMAN ALLIANCE — LETTERS FROM THE EMPEROR ON THE SAME SUBJECT — WILLIAM I.'S RELUCTANCE TO DESERT RUSSIA — CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE TSAR AT ALEXANDROVO — WILLIAM I.'S FINAL INSTRUCTIONS — BISMARCK'S ACCOUNT OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR FREDERICK

July 16th. — After it had been whispered in the press for some time that the Emperor Frederick had left a diary which did not throw a very favourable light upon Bismarck, and that this was at present in the hands of the Queen of England, a second version of the story (*Berliner Boersen Zeitung*, evening edition of the 13th) is now reproduced from the *Matin* and other French papers. This is to the following effect. During the lifetime of the Emperor William I. Prince Bismarck prepared a frank statement respecting the European situation and his own political views, which he handed to the Emperor, believing that the latter would survive his son, and that the document would thus pass direct, without any intermediary, from the grandfather to the grandson. Frederick ascended the throne, and found the Bismarck memorandum. All the efforts made by the Chancellor to recover possession of it were in vain, and on Frederick's death it was found that the document, which con-

tained the most secret ideas and schemes of the Chancellor, had come into the possession of Queen Victoria, who declined to give it up. In this form the story is doubtless akin to that of the sea-serpent, and yet it is perhaps not entirely without foundation. Anyhow, it is possible that a diary by the late Emperor may be in existence, and may have been put into a place of safety by his consort or her mother.

On the 20th of September I received from Grunow the October number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, containing the diary of the Emperor Frederick during the war. I reviewed it in No. 40 of the *Grenzboten* without having any doubt as to its being in the main genuine. On the 24th Hedwig announced the arrival of one of the Chancery attendants who had been sent by Rottenburg to request me to call upon him at 2.30 P.M. I went, and he showed me a letter from the Imperial Chancellor (written by an amanuensis) desiring him to request me to come to Friedrichsruh, and to bring with me my notes taken during the war, as the diary of the Emperor Frederick appeared to contain inaccuracies. I promised to start next morning, whereupon Rottenburg arranged to telegraph to Rantzau to stop the 8.30 A.M. train at Friedrichsruh, where it does not usually stop. Nothing was to be said in the newspapers about my visit. I replied that that went without saying so far as it depended upon me. I had always felt disgusted at the merest mention of my name by that pack. On the same evening Rottenburg sent me a letter requesting me not to leave Berlin, but to come to the Imperial Chancellerie at 10 A.M. on the following morning, as other arrangements had been made.

I appeared punctually at 10 A.M. in the Chancellor's antechamber, where I met the Secretary of State, Von Schelling (medium height, red face, white hair, and small white moustache), who was shown in to the Prince before me. As Rottenburg informed me while I was waiting, the Chancellor had arrived and wished to see me. He added, however, that he might not be able to see me now, in which case I should return at 2.30 P.M. Rottenburg also inquired if I had already found any inaccuracies in the diary published in the *Rundschau*. I replied that so far I had only noticed some trifling errors, and that on the whole I considered it to be genuine, but not complete. Schelling remained for half an hour. On his leaving, Rantzau came out

and spoke to Rottenburg, whereupon the latter again requested me to return at 2.30 P.M., as the Chief was too much occupied to be able to speak to me now. On my return at the hour named, he said that the Chancellor had still no time to receive me and was going back to Friedrichsruh that evening. There was, therefore, no alternative but for me to go there likewise. It would be well if I were to start next morning and telegraph to him shortly before my departure in order that he might arrange with the train to stop at Friedrichsruh. I promised to leave by the 8.30 train from the Lehrter station, which arrives at Friedrichsruh about 1 P.M., and also to take with me my notes, of which he again reminded me.

September 26th.— About 1 o'clock I arrived at Friedrichsruh station, where Rottenburg was waiting with a carriage for Count Solms, our Ambassador in Rome — who travelled by the same train — and myself. On our way to the house, the Privy Councillor told us that the Prince had gone out for a walk in order to freshen himself up, as he had done a great deal of work last night. At 2.15 P.M. I met him at lunch, at which the Princess, Rantzau and his wife, his Excellency von Solms, and a Prioress, whose name I have forgotten, were also present. The Chief, as was his custom formerly at Varzin and here, read through, signed, and otherwise disposed of various documents. After lunch Rottenburg, on his instructions, handed me a memorandum on the diary published in the *Rundschau.* This was directed to the Emperor, and was to appear next day in the *Reichsanzeiger.* While I was reading this through in his study, the Chief came in, asked me to give it to him, and made a few corrections and additions in it. I then read it through in my own room upstairs, after which the Chancery attendant, Kleist, took it away. I then chatted with the three little Rantzaus, who were trying their skill at archery at an improvised target near the coach-house; advised them in the matter, and in that way, apparently, won the good will of the still very child-like and unaffected boys. Then a short walk with Solms in the park on the banks of the Aue. On my return, I found a carriage standing before the door of the house; and the Chief sent word to say that he was going out for a drive, and would I like to come with him. Of course I would. We then drove for about two hours, first to Silt, afterwards to Schönau, and

finally to the Billenbrück, and then home through the beech wood on the right bank of the Aue. On the way, the Prince spoke to two gamekeepers about the scarcity of partridges and the fish poachers; while he discussed the state of the crops and the condition of the cattle with a cowherd, whose charges were feeding in a field of vetches. Further on, he entered into conversation with overseers who were looking after the potato digging and with labourers who were ploughing with oxen. In the intervals he had a long conversation with me on the manner in which the Crown Prince's diary should be dealt with. He introduced the subject by the remark (in English): "I am afraid you have forgotten your English." On my answering, "No, sir, by no means," he continued the conversation in that language on account of the coachman. He began: "As you will have seen from what you read, we must first treat it as a forgery, a point of view from which a great deal may be said. Then, when it is proved to be genuine by the production of the original, it can be dealt with further in another way." I said that on the whole it appeared to me to be genuine, but incomplete, on the one hand, while on the other there were interpolations, probably by Victoria No. 2, in support of which opinion I quoted examples. I also told him that, in ignorance of his plans, I had already dealt with the matter in the *Grenzboten*, a week before, according to my own views, and in certain flagrant instances condemned it cautiously. Another course was, however, still open to me. I then repeated to him from memory the commencement of the article in question. He rejoined: "You were quite right. I myself consider the diary even more genuine than you do. It is quite insignificant, superficial stuff, without any true conception of the situation, a medley of sentimental politics, self-conceit, and phrase-mongering. He was far from being as clever as his father, and the latter was certainly not a first-rate politician. It is just that which proves its genuineness to me. But at first we must treat it as doubtful." The conversation then turned on the details of the diary. I asked if he had spoken to the Emperor on the subject, and he replied in the affirmative, saying: "He was quite in a rage, and wishes to have strong measures taken against the publication." He then came to speak of the demand for Imperial Ministers. We have them, of course, only without the title and name.

The Imperial Chancellor is their permanent President, — permanent, because with us the power of the Emperor is greater under the Constitution than in other countries which are ruled by alternating Parliamentary majorities. I suggested that Gustav Freytag may perhaps at the instance of the Empress Victoria have edited the diary and arranged for its publication. I tried to show the probability of this suggestion by a reference to his political views, to the confidential position which he occupied towards the two Victorias, and in particular to an instruction to Brater's paper in Frankfort in the summer of 1863, during the conflict between the King and the Crown Prince respecting the "Press Ordinances." He considered, however, that the trick would prove to have been done by Hengst, a writer who serves the Court, and particularly its ladies, in the press. He then repeated the main points of the memorandum which I had previously read. I now ascertained for certain that this was a report on the diary in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, which the Chancellor, by the Emperor's command, had submitted to the sovereign a few days ago. He added various details: "In 1870 the Crown Prince was only partially initiated in the negotiations, as the King feared that he would write about them either to his consort, or direct to Queen Victoria and her Court, whose sympathies were with the French. In the second place, he might also have done harm, as his views with regard to the demands upon our German allies went too far, and he was thinking of coercive measures which were urged upon him by his good friends at Baden and Coburg — as, for instance, Roggenbach, who always was a fool. He had therefore only a superficial knowledge of the course of affairs. It is, nevertheless, surprising that these notes, which are supposed to have been written down day by day, contain so many misconceptions, confusions, and chronological errors. A great deal of it cannot possibly have been written by the Crown Prince, and must have come from his *entourage* or the publisher. Here it is said that, in the middle of July, I wanted to return to Varzin because peace was no longer in danger, while he, of course, knew that I considered war to be inevitable, and had declared my intention to retire when the King showed a disposition to yield. It is also inconceivable that the Crown Prince endeavoured at an early date to secure the Iron Cross for non-Prussians, in view of the fact

that at Versailles he was opposed to, and it was I who first suggested, it. He represents this as the beginning of the struggle between him and me as to the future of Germany, although he must surely have remembered former differences of opinion between us, that led to some very lively discussions which one would not be likely to forget. It was before or immediately after Sedan, at Beaumont or Donchéry, and the conversation took place in a long avenue through which we rode side by side. We came to high words over our respective views as to what was expedient and morally permissible, and, when he spoke of force and of coercive measures against the Bavarians, I reminded him of the Margrave Gero and the thirty Wendish Princes, and also of the Sendling massacre. When he held to his opinion, however, and suggested that I should carry it into execution, I said to him (scarcely in so blunt and plain a fashion) that there were things which a Prince, perhaps, might do, but no gentleman would attempt. Such conduct would be an act of perfidy, and an outrage upon allies who had fulfilled their obligations, quite apart from the folly of such an attempt at a time when we had further use for them. The statements in the alleged diary as to my position in the Emperor question in 1866, on my intentions in connection with the dogma of infallibility, my idea of an Upper House and the Imperial Ministries, can hardly have been written by the Crown Prince either. In 1870 he could no longer doubt that the Empire, in the form which he had in his mind in 1866, would have been neither useful nor feasible — in fact, it would not have been an Empire at all. What he desired in 1866 was not an Emperor but a King of Germany, — the other Kings and Grand Dukes being reduced to their former rank, merely Dukes, — as if that were an easy matter to bring about. We had already put an end to the Upper House at Beaumont or Donchéry, and had dealt with the Imperial Ministers in like fashion. He, too, must have finally recognised that the dogma of infallibility was of slight importance for us, and that I regarded it as a blunder on the part of the Pope and advised the King to let it rest during the continuance of the war. Even a hasty thinker like the Crown Prince could scarcely have concluded from that that I intended to oppose it after the war, and therefore this passage was doubtless not written by him. At least, for the present, we must continue to doubt the genuineness of this and

other statements." He then spoke of Bray, who, as an Austrian sympathiser, delayed the mobilisation of the Bavarian troops in 1870; and of King Lewis, who—at that time of sound German principles—was "our sole influential friend in Bavaria." Returning to the Crown Prince's idea of 1866, and to his Upper Chamber, the Chancellor observed: "An Emperor or King of North Germany would have created a division between North and South Germany such as did not exist under the Customs Union; and an Upper House with Princes and elected members was impossible." I then reminded him of the importunity of Baden and Coburg, who at Versailles worried him with memorials and verbal counsels, questions, &c., to that effect, and of his indignation at the unexpected visit of the Grand Duke Frederick during dinner. I then mentioned to him what Bucher had told me about the sensible attitude adopted by the Queen of England at Charlottenburg, which he confirmed, adding that at the interview which he had had with her he had in part prompted the admonitions which she addressed to her daughter. In this connection I asked whether the statement in Bleichröder's *Boersen Zeitung* as to his strong condemnation of my article, "Foreign Influences in the Empire," were true. I added that, *rebus mutatis*, I should have considered it quite conceivable, and had indeed said as much. He replied, smiling: "Nonsense! quite the contrary. I have several times expressed my high appreciation of it. The article was really quite first rate, and the Coburg pamphlet was also very aptly applied." Driving along in the dusk on the right bank of the Aue, we passed a boarding school, and were greeted with cheers three times repeated by a crowd of children (doubtless the pupils and their teacher). "They will," he said, "have taken the grey-bearded gentleman seated by me for a Rumanian or Bulgarian Minister on a visit." "Then I, too, have had a share in the ovation," I rejoined, "and shall take it with me to Berlin as a souvenir." He afterwards requested me to look through my diary to-morrow to see if there were any further chronological or other mistakes in the publication of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, and to report to him on the subject.

After dinner, which began at 7 o'clock and lasted for about an hour, coffee and cognac were served in the next room, while the Prince seated himself on a sofa in the corner, behind a table

with a lamp. There he read the newspapers and smoked a long pipe. We followed suit with cigars. I had some conversation with Rantzau, who is now about to leave for his post at Munich, concerning "Friedrich der Sachte," and my intercourse with him and his "Ministers," as well as on the old Schleswig-Holstein agitation. The Princess then brought me a book kept by her, in which I had to write my name and the date. I was preceded in this by various distinguished and eminent people, celebrities of the day, Ministers, Ambassadors, Envoys, &c. It will one day be an interesting collection. Afterwards met Solms upstairs in the corridor leading to his and my room, and hastily gave him a little (well-deserved) praise for his sharp diplomatic scent in the months preceding the French war. This moved him to invite me to his room, where he gave me detailed particulars of his experiences and achievements at that time, but unfortunately in French, whereby some points were lost to me. (. . .)

On the morning of the 27th I again spoke to the Ambassador as he was on the point of starting for Berlin and Rome. "Adieu, old friend, and if you ever come to the Eternal City be sure to visit me. But what I said to you last night about the Paris affairs must not appear in your memoirs." "No, Excellency, a mere reference to the conversation without any details. I know how to respect your confidence as well as that of other people." "Yes, I am convinced that you have gathered a great deal about our affairs which does not appear in your books."

During the forenoon, in accordance with the Chief's desire, I went through my diary up to our stay at Ferrières. At lunch the Prince observed, after first recommending me to take some herring: "They are wholesome, and I always have some since Schweninger advised me to take fish. Moreover, it is a very fine and good fish, and is only looked down upon because it is so plentiful and cheap. Since I began in 1883 I must have disposed of over a thousand of them." In the evening, after dinner, the Prince, while looking through the newspapers, suddenly said: "Yes, since 1840 the Princes have begun to degenerate. I will give you an example or two (looking towards me). In 1858, before Prince William, afterwards Emperor, acted as Regent for his brother, there was a reactionary intrigue on foot with which Manteuffel was not unconnected, and in which they

also wanted me to join. Its object was to induce the sick King to withdraw his authority, and to let Queen Elizabeth govern through the Ministers. I did not join in that scheme, but on the contrary started for Baden — or was it somewhere else in South Germany? —and told the whole story to him (the Prince of Prussia). He was not at all disconcerted by the plan, however, and declared himself ready to retire immediately. It was therefore a matter of perfect indifference to him. But I argued it out with him. What will be the result of such a move? It is surely your duty to hold on! Send for Manteuffel at once. And Manteuffel actually came, after having hesitated for some little time, excusing himself on the ground of illness, and so the affair went no further. Then at Babelsberg, when I was called thither in order to be made Minister. In his despair he had the act of abdication ready signed, and it was only when I offered to stand by him, in spite of Parliament and in spite of the majority, that he tore it up. This restored his courage and confidence and his sense of royal duty, which in his unfortunate position had, until then, been a matter of utter indifference to him. He afterwards held to it firmly enough." The Chancellor added that of late years the deceased monarch through his sense of duty had sometimes caused him considerable difficulties, as his knowledge of affairs was limited and he was slow in comprehending anything new. Of the present Emperor he said: "He has more understanding, more courage, and greater independence of Court influences, but in his leaning towards me he goes far. How considerate he was the last time he came here! He was surprised that I had waited for him till 11 o'clock, a thing which his grandfather was incapable of saying. And in the morning he waited for me, and although he is accustomed to rise much earlier, he did not get up until 9 o'clock, thinking that I slept till that hour. I was just washing and only half dressed when he put his hand on my shoulder, and I hurriedly pulled on my dressing gown in order to be to some extent in a proper condition to receive him." I said: "Yes, Serene Highness, you now appear to have everything one could wish for you. A docile and grateful pupil and warm admirer stands by your side as ruler and chief authority in the State, and we, your people, rejoice with all our hearts and hope that it may long remain so."

"It is only in trifles and matters of secondary importance that one had occasionally some little reason to find fault with him, as, for instance, in the form of his pronouncements. After all, that was a little too much of a good thing when he said: 'Forty-two millions and eighteen army corps on the field.' 'If at last the whole nation lies hushed in the silence of death.' If every German soldier and civilian is dead, what significance can the independence and inviolability of Germany still have? And new-fangled words from the newspapers, such as '*unentwegt*,' '*voll und ganz*,' to say nothing of '*diesbezüglich*,' do not look well in his proclamation." The Prince rejoined: "In his reference to the battlefield it would certainly have been enough had he said: 'And if I were to be the last man upon the field of battle, nothing that we have conquered shall be lost!' But that is youthful vivacity, which time will correct. Better too much than too little fire." I then conversed with Countess Rantzau, and recommended to her a climatic cure, deep breathing in the open air. He looked up from his paper and said: "Pulmonary gymnastics? I, too, have tried that and still do occasionally."

Up to lunch time on the morning of the 28th I read through my diary, and came upon a number of passages that seemed likely to be of use to the Chief. On being called down to lunch I met a gentleman who was paying a private visit. He was introduced to me as Privy Councillor of Embassy Brauer, a portly man of about thirty-six, who has a slight touch of the South-west German accent. The conversation turned on the Crown Prince, and the shallowness and poverty of thought which characterised his diary. From this the Chief again concluded that the publication in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, or at least a great part of it, might be genuine. He again spoke in English on account of the servants. I took the liberty to remark that according to page 138 of my diary it appeared after all that he had had a conversation on the German question with his Royal Highness at Versailles on the 16th. He rejoined: "Yes, but then he has mixed it up with a former one, and moreover I cannot have advised him to propose to the King that the Bavarians should be disarmed." I added that that must have been said ironically — a suggestion of such a monstrous description that no one could take it seriously.

On his rising from table to go to his study, I followed him

outside in order to tell him privately that I had found some passages in my diary which might be of interest to him, mentioning in particular Fleming's despatch on Mohl's report. He said he would like to see them in the afternoon, and would send for me for the purpose. "I must now answer Augusta, who has once more administered to me one of her gracious Model Letter-Writer epistles." Later on, when I brought him the diary with the passages of interest marked, he praised Mohl's description of the relations of parties in Bavaria as apt and accurate. On my saying that it would doubtless have been in the hands of the Grand Duke of Baden three months before the differences at Versailles, and that he would certainly have communicated its contents to the Crown Prince, he answered in a tone of contempt: "Ah, that is mere talk on his part. He never took anything seriously, or studied it thoroughly. Do you really think that they were seriously concerned to read despatches, and to think over and note the contents of reports? They just met in order to smoke and exchange ill-natured gossip." He then related once more: "It was before the conference at Donchéry when he spoke of using force against the Bavarians, and of eventually shooting down the two army corps if necessary. I said to him that would be an act of unheard-of treachery, which a Prince might decide upon, but which no gentleman could perform. That would be a course similar to Gero's in his treatment of the thirty Wendish Princes, a perfidy which had such fatal consequences for the whole Ostmark." On this occasion he also repeated his plan of campaign with regard to the publication in the *Rundschau:* "First assert it to be a forgery, and express indignation at such a calumny upon the noble dead. Then, when they prove it to be genuine, refute the errors and foolish ideas which it contains, but cautiously, and bearing in mind that he was Emperor and father to the present Emperor." He then exclaimed suddenly: "Well, he is gone! Made off with himself, with the Public Prosecutor at his heels. Geffken I mean, who published it, and who for the matter of that is no Democrat, but a Particularist." I mentioned to him that, during the latter half of the fifties, Geffken, under the *nom de plume* of "Victor," had, as a friend of Freytag's and a petty diplomat of the sniffing and spying order, supplied the *Grenzboten* with opposition gossip inspired by the Crown Prince

and the Coburg clique; that he was afterwards a diligent promoter of the Augustenburger's cause, but that in 1877, as pointed out in the "Friction" articles, his place-hunting propensities had been recognised at Karlsruhe. I then asked whether he had read Hofrath Schneider's posthumous work on the Emperor William, and added, "he did not appear to be well disposed towards you." "Certainly not," he rejoined; "and he had good reason for it. He hated me because I had spoilt a fine business for him. A cousin of mine, a Bismarck-Bohlen, wanted to marry one of his daughters, his senior by eleven years, who had driven him crazy by her coquetry. I pulled him away from her by his coat-tails. She might have captured a big estate with him." I further expressed the opinion that the death of the Emperor Frederick had saved us from an evil future, and in particular from English influence on the foreign policy of Prussia and of the Empire, and from an estrangement with Russia. "Yes," he rejoined; "he was in favour of the Orleans, used his influence for a daughter of Nemours, was on the side of Poland, of Denmark, and against the war of 1866, — always in favour of what fell in with the views of the English."

Before lunch on the 29th I begged Rottenburg to ask the Chief whether our business was now at an end, and I might consider myself at liberty to return home. I received no answer, however, although I reminded Rottenburg of the matter. I spent the day in my room, in a bad temper, having nothing to do and feeling bored, and could not go for a walk, as it rained up to dusk. After dinner reference was again made to the Crown Prince's incapacity, of which the Chief treated us to an exquisite example. He related: "We had at that time a secret treaty with the St. Petersburg people, which now no longer exists. Under it we were to remain neutral in case of war breaking out between England and Russia. On my mentioning the treaty to the Crown Prince he remarked: 'Of course England has been informed and has agreed to it.'" Great laughter, in which the ladies also joined. The deceased sovereign evidently stood badly in need of a wax candle to light up his head — more so, indeed, than even a certain uncle in Thuringia. (. . .)

On Sunday, the 30th of September, Rottenburg came up to my room about noon, and said: "I have asked the Chief as to

your going home, and he wishes you to stay at least for a few days longer, so that it may look like a visit, and not as if you had been specially summoned here for a purpose. How do you spell *Commercy?*" I replied: "With two 'm's' and a 'y.'" "He will probably question you about their stay there." I looked it up, and found that we had arrived at that place at 2 P.M. on the 23rd of August, 1870, and left it at noon on the 24th; that the Chief had had a conference with the King there, and that Waldersee and Alvensleben dined with us. Mentioned that to the Chief at lunch, when, by the way, as on the previous day, he returned my greeting with a "Guten Morgen, Büschlein"; and when, among the other good things provided, a basin of peasoup with bacon was served up to me by the Princess' orders. This is a favourite dish of mine, as I happened to let out on Friday in the course of conversation on various delicacies. The Prince spoke of the Crown Prince's inadequate acquaintance with modern history, as shown by his reference in his diary to the Emperor and Empire as new ideas emanating from himself and his party. "That was the aspiration of many a German long before he was born. The *Burschenschaft* sang and drank to it immediately after the War of Liberation, and when I went to Göttingen those were the ideals I carried with me, and if those students had not fought so shy of duelling and beer drinking, I might have joined them and got myself involved with them in the subsequent inquiry." He then related, as further evidence of his political views at that time, his bet with Coffin, whom he, by the way, knew to be still alive. "As far back as 1848 the idea of an Emperor was well to the front, but it was unworkable, principally because people were thinking of other things at the same time. The beginning of the Empire already existed in the North German Confederation, only Bavaria did not want to come in yet, as was indeed the case in 1870 also, when I had a great deal of trouble to secure her adhesion. On the other hand, I had a hard fight with our Most Gracious Master, who for a long time would not hear of being Emperor. 'But does your Majesty wish to remain a neuter for ever?' I said to him one day. 'What do you mean by that?' he said. 'Why, that hitherto you have *been* the Presidency' (das Sie bis jetzt *das* Präsidium sind)." If I rightly understood the Chief at lunch the reason of his question as to Commercy

was that it was there he recommended the King to confer the Iron Cross upon the South Germans. "Moltke," he said, "was entirely against it, asking whether he himself had any Bavarian Order."

At dinner in the evening the guests included General Leczinsky, who was in uniform, as was also the Chief. In conversation on a variety of subjects both at the table and afterwards, L. showed himself to be a well-informed man of sound views. He was engaged in the campaigns in Baden, Schleswig-Holstein, Bohemia, and France, and has in addition travelled a great deal. He is now stationed in Hamburg, whither he returns to-day. Brauer leaves for home to-night, starting for Berlin at 11 o'clock.

Monday, October 1st. — At 9 A.M. Rottenburg came to my room, and asked me once more the date of our stay at Commercy. I told him. It actually turns out that the point in question is, that it was here the Chief first spoke to the King about giving the Iron Cross to non-Prussians and to the Bavarians in particular. In the evening, Rottenburg and I took a long walk past the Aumühl into Holstein, and arranged to make similar excursions in other directions, principally through the Sachsenwald, where there are a number of good roads, and which is now beginning to take on autumn tints. Rottenburg is a frank and amiable man, with whom one is soon on good terms. He is intelligent and well-informed, particularly in social questions. He has an extensive knowledge of public men, and would appear in addition to be an excellent worker. He comes from Danzig, and spent five years in London for the purpose of study.

After dinner something in the conversation led me to inform the Prince of Andrae's letter to me, and of my meeting with him. He observed that Andrae was a vain intriguer, and that the story about Stirum was not true. Moreover, not only Holtz, but the majority of the others who signed the "Declaration" wrote to him, Bismarck, separate letters of excuse. The Princess remarked that Andrae was one of the worst of the "Deklaranten." I ascertained at the same time that her mother was a Gichtelite, and that Below-Hohendorf was their Grand Lama — an epithet which the lady did not use, however. The Chief then read a little of the book, "Bismarck unter drei Kaisern,"

but after looking through it for a while he soon laid it aside. In reply to my question whether there was anything in it, he said: "Ah, no; a mere hack's work! Put together with scissors and paste from the newspapers and such sources, without much knowledge of the subject or real coherence."

During our walk I had mentioned to Rottenburg my longing for some work to do, and had sought refuge from my boredom in three volumes of Hallberger's "Ueber Land und Meer," which I found in my room. He promised to send me Schmidt's work on the French Revolution, but did not do so. In my despair I plucked up courage and applied to the Chief himself, asking him if he could not give me something to do, if it were only ciphering, deciphering, or copying, perhaps some matter of no importance, — "for my part it may be making out lists or adding up accounts." He smiled, and, after reflecting for a moment, said: "Perhaps I can find some more interesting occupation for you to-morrow. I will see."

On Tuesday, October 2nd, took a walk through the wood to Dassendorf and back, which occupied from 11 to 1 o'clock. The weather was very fine. At lunch I ascertained from Rottenburg that the Prince wished to give me a number of letters to look through. When the Chief got up from table he whispered something to Rottenburg at the door, whereupon the latter came back to me and said the Prince was now going upstairs to look out the papers. In about a quarter of an hour I was summoned to his study, where he had several large packets of documents lying before him. He began: "I once promised you that you should arrange my papers. Here are some of them — letters and other things from the Frankfort and St. Petersburg period. Here for instance is the Gerlach correspondence, and there are letters from Frederick William IV. to me." He read over one of the latter to me, and then said: "I think you will find other matters of interest among them. I myself can no longer remember exactly all they contain. Take these upstairs with you, and settle how you are going to arrange them. I think the chronological order will be the best." Was I not delighted? Such confidence! and such a prospect of fresh information! the fulfilment of a hope that had almost died. Pleased beyond measure I hurried off with my burden and immediately set to work on them, first glancing through the various papers at hazard.

The sifting of this treasure was to commence next morning, and to be continued on the following days with as little interruption as possible.

On the 3rd of October we were joined at dinner by the Head Forester Lange, one of the Prince's managers, and an expert who was engaged in laying down meadows. On the 4th the technical controller of one of the Customs division at Hamburg dined with us. Schweninger arrived on the 5th. He behaved very nicely, and was, indeed, almost tender in his manner on my expressing my admiration of the unquestionable service he had rendered in restoring the Chancellor's health. He wished to visit a patient of his in Mecklenburg, a lady of the nobility, but on the 6th he was still at Friedrichsruh, where he was treated by all the members of the family as a friend of the house. On the 8th we again had the Head Forester at dinner, as well as a prosperous timber merchant and coal-mine owner from Westphalia. In two hours Minister von Bötticher was expected to arrive from Berlin. At table the Prince related that formerly, and even since he became Minister, he was sometimes obliged to dance with Princesses at Court entertainments until the old gentleman (King William) expressed his displeasure. He excused himself by saying: "What is one to do, your Majesty, when Princesses command?" The Princesses were accordingly informed of the prohibition. Keudell was also passionately fond of dancing formerly, and Radowitz too, but the King also broke the latter of this habit.

Addendum. — Yesterday the Chancellor once more returned to the subject of King William's anxiety in 1866 to utilise his victories in a different way to what he (Bismarck) advised. "His mind was set on Northern Bohemia, half of Saxony, half of Hanover, Ansbach, and Bayreuth, &c., and it was difficult to get the idea out of his head." At lunch to-day I told the Chief (in English on account of the servants) that I expected to finish my work in two or three days, and to return the papers to him in linen envelopes, arranged according to the years. He replied (also in English): "Then you have lost no time, seeing what a quantity of them there were. But I have also a number of others for you. The work is not yet over, as there is a lot more there, more recent and perhaps more interesting for you. Have you found anything of importance among the first batch?"

I said I had. He called attention to the contrast between Gerlach and Manteuffel, the Minister, which was evident from their letters. He also mentioned Niebuhr, of whom he remarked: "It is with him as with many pious people of his sort: he has no tact, regards himself as the envoy of an anointed King, and as his representative considers himself to be also anointed."

On the 9th of October I had been a fortnight at Friedrichsruh, and on the 10th the last envelope would be filled, but other important work intervened unexpectedly. Two documents arrived from the Ministry of the Household, a short and a long war diary of the Crown Prince, afterwards Emperor Frederick, both written in his own hand, the first presumably an extract, or perhaps the original of the harmless part of the latter, the second obviously written for the most part after the war, and with many additions. Both are to be speedily examined, and, as Rottenburg informed me on bringing me the documents, I was to do part of the work, examining the concluding first part of the two manuscripts, while the Chief dealt with the first part and he (Rottenburg) with the second. I also assisted Rottenburg with his task afterwards, as the papers had to be sent back to Berlin in two days. The diary in the *Deutsche Rundschau* is not from the shorter version, but from the far more comprehensive one of the Ministry of the Household, the interpolations of which are in great part of a political nature, and are often highly characteristic, although deficient in real statesmanship. The writer is in every respect mediocre and superficial, no talent and no character, although he is thoroughly at home in fault-finding and abuse. We collected and noted down some particularly fine specimens in our section of his manner of thought, and of these a small selection may be here given. They do not include the finest of all, which I had to leave to Rottenburg or for the Chief, who came into our bureau (at 11 o'clock at night) while we were making the extracts, and was pleased to find that I was so diligent in my efforts to be of use. On the 4th of January the author of the interpolated diary had read "with great satisfaction" the reflections upon the new year published by the *Volkszeitung*, and was "horrified" that the Minister of War had forbidden the circulation of the paper. On the 2nd of January an eulogy of the Queen of England, "who stands up for us Germans at every opportunity, knows

very well what are the issues involved, and understands German affairs." On the 8th of January he notes Odo Russell's satisfaction at Bismarck's having yielded in the matter of the English coal boats (a matter which H.R.H. had much at heart). — On the 11th of January Prince Luitpold's "unworthy" proposal respecting the military oath of allegiance of the Bavarians, had, like Bismarck's irritability, greatly worried his Majesty. — January 17th. Bismarck, speaking to Schleinitz in the antechamber, had "peevishly" exclaimed that he could not conceive why there should be a joint conference of the Chancellor of the Confederation and the Minister of the Household in presence of the King. Then a very detailed account of the interview respecting the Emperor and Empire at the Prefecture. On that occasion the King was very excited and vehement, and the Crown Prince was afterwards so unwell that he had to take medicine. — February 1st. Interesting addition respecting Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, "who, like myself (the Crown Prince) regrets the manner in which the Empire has been brought into existence, &c." — February 14th. A somewhat lengthy account (an addition) of an interview between the Crown Prince and Bonnechose. — 16th. Conversation with Russell on the consequences of English neutrality. (In another passage apprehensions for beloved England, owing to Bismarck's leaning towards Russia and the United States. — 22nd. Doubtless an interpolation of a much later date. That "after the peace our next task must be the solution of the social question." It is certain that the good gentleman with his narrow views and small brain never thought of that subject until Bismarck found time to take the matter in hand, and discovered ways and means for dealing with the evil which would never have occurred to his Royal Highness and his *Volkszeitung*. — 26th. Conversation with Père Hyacinthe on the Catholic Church (and also on Döllinger). As was to be expected, the Crown Prince has high praise for that superficial and sentimental individual, and feels that his words have actually given him a sense of exaltation and a feeling of deep peace. — March 10th (pp. 351, 352 of the MS.). Lengthy statement of political views, of which extracts have appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau*. The interpolated diary goes as far as the 17th of July, 1871, at Munich, and then a few pages follow respecting his stay in England and at Wilhelmshohe.

On the 10th of October his Excellency von Bötticher appeared at lunch. Intelligent, practical looking face, tall figure, and a moustache with a tuft trimmed after the fashion of Napoleon. On going to the chimney piece for a light for his cigar brings me one also. The Chief, who as usual occupied himself at lunch with reading through and signing official documents, looking up from a paper, suddenly remarked: "'*Unentwegt*,' Busch can't bear that word." The Minister looked at me and smiled. "That is so," I said, "and I consider '*diesbezüglich*' still more abominable. The former has come to us from Switzerland, and the latter from Vienna." The Chief then sang the praises of the herring to Bötticher also, mentioning that he eats it regularly, and adding some remarks on other means of promoting health, as, for instance, that here when the weather is favourable he rides or walks for two or even three hours daily, his quantum in the latter case being five thousand paces, and not infrequently more.

On the 12th of October the documents which the Chief had handed over to me to arrange had all been read through, put into chronological order, and numbered consecutively in red pencil from 1 to 308. These were packed in eight large envelopes, each docketed with the year and the dates and numbers of the first and last documents contained in them. Further particulars of the contents, which I offered to give, were declined by the Prince as superfluous. These papers consisted for the most part of letters, the remainder being reports, memorandums, drafts, and telegrams. The following is a survey of the contents.

First Envelope. The year 1851. (Also includes a letter from Prince Charles, dated March 21st, 1848.) Nos. 1 to 29. They begin with the 5th of June and end with the 24th of December, and consist in great part of letters from the Minister and General Manteuffel, from R. Quehl, from Bismarck to Manteuffel, and from General L. von Gerlach. Contents of the latter: That of the 23rd of November, against the new Hamburg Constitution, Senator Hudtwalker's mission, a scheme for giving the Estates a position side by side with Constitutionalism. That of the 4th of December, again on the Hamburg Constitution. That of the 20th of December, considerations on Bonapartism, after the *coup d'état*, request for an expression of

opinion on the situation, with the hope that their views coincide.

Second Envelope. 1852. Nos. 30 to 85. Begins with the 5th of January and ends with the 30th of December. Principally letters from General Gerlach and Minister Manteuffel, R. Quehl, King Frederick William, a rescript by that sovereign, four almost illegible notes from the Prince of Prussia, and, finally, a communication from Bismarck to Gerlach, dated the 5th of January, reporting on the change of Ministers in Nassau, the question of the fleet, the relations of Austria to France, and possible anti-Prussian schemes of Schwarzenberg, the views of the English Chargé d'Affaires, Edwardes, on Bonapartism. The first letter from the King begins with the words: "I would remind you, dearest Bismarck (theuerster Bismarck), that I reckon upon you and your assistance in the approaching debates in the Second Chamber respecting the shape to be given to the First Chamber." Further on there is a reference to "the low intrigues of the conscious or unconscious coalition of scabby sheep on the Right and stinking goats on the Left to defeat the Royal intentions." "A sad sight under any circumstances, and sufficient to make one tear his hair, but on the field of the dearly purchased, lie-producing machine of French Constitutionalism! (Ein trauriger Anblick unter allen Verhältnissen zum Haare Ausraufen, aber auf dem Felde der theuer angeschafften Lügenmaschine des französische Constitutionalismus.)" The rescript (of the 3rd of June) appoints Bismarck Chargé d'Affaires in Vienna, and summons him to Berlin to receive instructions. The second royal letter (of the 5th of June) introduces him to the Emperor Francis Joseph and says, *inter alia:* "I am pleased that your Majesty will be able to make the acquaintance of a man who is here honoured by many and hated by others, on account of his chivalrous loyalty and his irreconcilable opposition to revolution in every form. He is my friend and loyal servant, and comes to your Majesty with the fresh and lively impress of my principles, of my line of action, of my will, and, I may add, of my love for Austria. If it be deemed worth while, he can inform your Majesty, and your Majesty's advisers on various matters as I believe few are capable of doing, and if misunderstandings of an old date have not struck too deep a root, which God in His mercy forbid, his brief official sojourn in

Vienna will truly be rich in blessings. Herr von Bismarck comes from Frankfort, where what the middle States, with their leaning towards a Rhenish Confederation (die rheinbundschwangeren Mittelstaaten) call the weak P. of P. (Query — the weak points of Prussia) has always elicited a powerful echo and has frequently made recruits. He has watched all this and whatever was going on there with a sharp and penetrating eye. I have commanded him to answer every question that may be addressed to him by your Majesty and your Ministers as if I myself had addressed them to him. If your Majesty should be pleased to ask for an explanation of my views and my action in the matter of the Hessian Constitution, I feel sure that the course taken by me, even if it should not perhaps have the good fortune to meet with your approval, will at least secure your respect. The presence of the beloved and glorious Emperor Nicholas has been to me a real encouragement, and a certain confirmation of the strong hope that your Majesty and myself are at one in the truth that our triple, unswervingly devout and active union can alone save Europe and the froward, yet so beloved German Fatherland from the present crisis, fills me with gratitude to God, and increases my old and faithful affection for your Majesty. Do you also, my dearest Emperor, preserve for me your love from the days at Tegernsee, and confirm your confidence and your weighty and powerful friendship to me which are so indispensable to the common Fatherland. From the bottom of my heart I commend myself to this friendship as your Imperial Majesty's true and most cordially devoted Uncle, Brother, and Friend." Gerlach's letter to Bismarck of the 9th of March condemns the language used by B. in an interview with the King respecting the First Chamber, and in particular that he had not pointed out how his Majesty, "through the attitude which he had adopted, had estranged the nobility, disorganised the parties, and shaken the position of the Ministry." — 15th April. An inquiry at the instance of the King concerning the truth of the rumour that Prince Frederick of Baden was thinking of becoming a Catholic. Then an announcement that Nesselrode was coming to Berlin and that Bismarck was to be introduced to him. G. praises the excellent report on the situation in Bismarck's letter to Manteuffel on the representation of the Confederacy in the Danish negotiations. He

laments the death of Schwarzenberg, and expects nothing better from Bach and Buol. Reports that Rochow has arrived with very good news; regrets that England and Austria should fraternise with Bonapartism and that the Emperor Nicholas should have also allowed himself to be taken in by its anti-Constitutionalism. According to an enclosure of the 21st of April, the rumour respecting Prince Frederick was unfounded. — 12th April. Telegram: "There is no hurry with the answer in the (Baden) religious affair." — 18th April. Bismarck was to come to the debate on the First Chamber. The King counted upon his doing so. "We have now assembled the publicans and sinners, . . . and the speeches in the Chamber will soon begin again." — 9th May. Gerlach agrees with what Bismarck had said on the debates in the Chamber; reports that the King was greatly incensed at Arnim's speech, and that he doubtless recognises that "his whole salvation lies in the hands of the Junker party." He does not anticipate that all will go well in Berlin, although the Emperor of Russia remains there for twelve days, and Francis Joseph has ordered a Prussian Grenadier uniform. — 17th May. Gerlach shares Bismarck's indignation at a newspaper article which was probably inspired by Manteuffel; considers M. to be an honest man, but he has had a singular political past, and cannot come to a good end, unless he sends Quehl about his business. Examples of his inconsistency. "M. has a yearning towards Bonapartism," "which, after all, has no future." All is going well with the Emperor and Empress of Russia, "but when they see these things one cannot expect them to entertain much respect for our policy." Alludes further on to the Zollverein and the opening of direct negotiations for a commercial treaty with Austria; and concludes with a suggestion that Bismarck should come to Berlin, remaining there while the Chamber was sitting and until the departure of the Russians, "in order that one might consider what should be and what could be done." — May 19th. Gerlach reports that Manteuffel, in speaking to him, had defended Quehl, and declared that he would rather resign than part with him. Quehl asserts that he has received a very reassuring letter from Bismarck. Manteuffel is considered indispensable, and so the only course would be to take Westphalen, who deserves it "for sticking to a principle and

for his high-mindedness." His fall would signify a renunciation of the principle of restoring vitality to the Estates as against Constitutionalism. A marked opposition was now developing between Absolutism and the liberty of the Estates, between the atheistic and the Christian State, and the Manteuffels inclined towards Absolutism and political atheism. — May 29th. Under instructions from the King Gerlach calls attention to the circulation of Dulong's pamphlet, "Der Tag ist angebrochen," and observes that his Majesty wishes action to be taken against this state of things in the press. — July 21st. Gerlach censures Wagner's attitude towards Manteuffel, whose position, it is true, is scarcely tenable "unless he decides to enter into alliances with respectable people." G. regards the future with apprehension, "not that a revolutionary Parliament is now probable, but owing to fear of the rising bureaucracy with its measures of police and its weakness in the days of trial," days which must come, as Bonaparte will be driven into action abroad by the failure of his internal policy. Bismarck ought to "carry on a positive federal policy" in order that the others should not take the wind out of Prussia's sails. After the probable victory in the matter of the Zollverein, our dull-witted opponents will presumably lack material for fresh attacks. We should then assume the offensive. — July 23rd. Gerlach begs Bismarck to take up the question of the Hamburg Constitution (against the proposed reform of the new Constitution). Further on, the news that Gerlach has written to Manteuffel that he should not allow himself to be governed by the Conservative party, but that he should show himself their master, "and once under the yoke, govern with them." — July 26th. The Conservatives of Hamburg have begun to move and are anxiously awaiting the note of the Federal Diet; and Bismarck should meet this desire. "The position of affairs in Berlin is an extraordinary one." Gerlach spoke very strongly to the Premier but without any hope of success. Manteuffel "must be retained at all costs, as his probable successors are simply a terror." Gerlach's brother in Magdeburg wishes to visit Bismarck at Frankfort. — July 29th. Gerlach was highly pleased at Bismarck's letter of justification, and communicated its contents to the King, who has not entertained the suspicion therein mentioned. The Zollverein business promises to go

well. In dealing with it Austria has "behaved in a miserably intriguing fashion. What a pitiful policy in presence of the revolution, and of the sovereignty of the people, of which Bonaparte is the incarnation! On a smaller scale, however, our own policy is just the same." In connection with the Hamburg affair, Bismarck should publish the Notes and Rescripts of the Confederacy to the Senate by an indiscretion. This, which has hitherto been a mild request on my part, is now a strong expression of the King's desire. — August 3rd. Renewed request that Bismarck should take up the cause of the Hamburg Conservatives. It has now come to such a pass with Manteuffel that no one trusts him, and he trusts nobody. If this mistrust is to be removed, the Ministry must be supported in every possible way. — October 8th. Gerlach complains of Manteuffel and Wagner, and at the instance of the King urges intervention in the Hamburg affair. Hübbe, the leader of the Conservative party there, has been to see him and the King. — November 13th. Gerlach is of opinion that the internal situation is good, if Bismarck "will remain at his post as sentinel on the Rhine (not become Minister?) and keep a sharp eye on the inception and development of the Rhenish Confederation." If he comes to the Chambers he should get elected to the First "where there is a lack of talent." G. thinks him better off with Rechberg as a colleague rather than Hübener, because the former is opposed to Bonapartism, while the latter is in favour of it. There is nothing to be done in Hamburg except to procrastinate. The idea of revising the draft prepared by the nine deputies, instead of the old existing Constitution, is absurd.

Third Envelope. 1853. Begins with the 2nd of January and ends with the 14th of December. The first is a letter from Frederick William to Manteuffel on the Danish detachment in the Holstein federal contingent. It says: "In my opinion this should not be tolerated by the German Confederacy if it still retains a spark of honour. We must speak at Frankfort like honourable Germans, even if they through their ingrained dishonesty will not listen to us. Germany, however, shall and will hear us. If the particulars given by the newspapers should be confirmed, I authorise you to send this little note, in the original, to Bismarck, and to consult details with him."

The following letters are chiefly from Gerlach, Minister Manteuffel, and the Prince of Prussia, and include a further communication from King Frederick William to Bismarck, dated the 12th of September: "My dearest Bismarck, a misunderstanding prevails in my brother William's circles, a solution of which is necessary to the satisfaction of everybody concerned. At Doberan I received a letter from him, in which he loudly laments Manteuffel's now certain retirement, which he rightly characterises as a calamity. I asked William for a solution of this riddle, as, of course, everything had been settled three weeks ago, and my perseverance had been crowned with success. He wrote to me in reply about a week since, that he was glad of this, but you, my good Bismarck, had received a letter from Putbus, from the contents of which you, like himself, could draw no other conclusion. From Sans-souci I asked him who was the writer of this letter. He told me Gerlach (Polte); to-day I questioned Gerlach, and he assures me most positively that he has written nothing of the kind to you from Putbus. Here you have the puzzle Schlemassl, in the German-Jewish dialect. Unravel it for me and William as soon as possible. Let your pen be guided by the purest truth." Bismarck replied to this that Gerlach had written him that he wished to induce Manteuffel to remain, as it appeared impossible to replace him. He had only received this letter however on the 17th or 18th of August, at Ostend. The following letters from Gerlach are worth mentioning. January 8th. (Report of a conversation which Gerlach has had with Ex-Minister v. d. Decken on constitutional changes in Hanover, in which the King of Prussia should assist. The letter desires Bismarck to take up this matter, but first of all to write and give his opinion.) Another of the 28th of January. (For the present Bismarck is not to trouble himself about the Hanoverian affair. Opinion of Prokesch. Gerlach would like to have Bismarck in Berlin, as he fears grave crises, and, according to him, the people should be given clearly to understand that Bonapartism is our worst foe. . . . Bonaparte will direct his lust of conquest against Spain.) Finally, Gerlach's letters on his conflict with Manteuffel. This conflict was clearly indicated in the letter of the 23rd of February, in which it is stated, *inter alia*, that Manteuffel had through Quehl taken a turn downwards, because he

doubted the truth of what came to him from above; he wants to see the Conservative party destroyed, and he allows himself to be tempted by Quehl into secret opposition to Westphalen's measures.

Fourth Envelope. First half of the year 1854. Begins with an undated letter from Gerlach, probably written in January; it is followed by one from Manteuffel dated the 4th of January, while the remainder are mostly letters from the latter to Gerlach, together with reports by Bismarck, and finally, two letters of Seckendorff's from Stuttgart, the second of which is dated the 27th of June. The following are of special interest. A note of the 17th of March, from the Prince of Prussia, asking Bismarck for information on the Eastern Question, and the reply thereto, a rather lengthy draft by Bismarck; then his report as to an interview which he had with the Prince at Baden, with the result that the latter yields to the royal will, though opposed to his own convictions; a letter from Bismarck to Gerlach on the Bamberg results; an exhaustive report by Bismarck on Buol's view of the Eastern Question, which the former considers to be correct — doubtless addressed to Manteuffel; another report to the latter on the Bamberg Governments, Bismarck wanting apparently to keep them in check, and also respecting Bunsen and Gagern.

Fifth Envelope. Second half of the year 1854. Begins with a letter of the 1st of July from Gerlach (who finds that Manteuffel is now taking a proper course) and ends with a letter of the 31st of December. The intervening papers include among other things a confidential report by Bismarck to Manteuffel on the abstention of Würtemberg from the existing agreement between the other Governments in favour of the alliance of April 20th; letters from Manteuffel and Gerlach; an (autograph) memorandum by Bismarck on the attitude of the Bamberg people, and of Buol towards Prussia. It says: "We cannot consent to an aggrandisement of Austria, because the importance of Prussia in respect of physical force would be approximated thereby to that of Bavaria. The Western Powers will want to restore Poland, which would be less against the interests of Austria than against those of Prussia and Russia." The remaining papers include letters from Alvensleben, Bunsen, Pückler, Wolzogen, and Schulenburg.

Sixth Envelope. The year 1855, but only from the 2nd of

January to the 14th of August. Then comes breaks in the correspondence up to November, 1858. Chiefly letters from Gerlach and Manteuffel. Also a letter from Frederick William to King John of Saxony (dated 18th January); five or six from Savigny (in one of which he laments that Prussia has missed an excellent opportunity of placing herself at the head of Germany), and from Schulenburg, &c. There is a characteristic letter from Gerlach, dated the 4th of January, in which he writes: "I believe that we should be in agreement if you were here, that is to say, as to the measures to be taken, if not also as to principles — for I hold to the Holy Scriptures, which teach that we must not do evil in order that good may come of it, because those who act in that way are very properly damned. Now to coquet with Bonapartism and Liberalism is to do evil, and moreover, to my thinking, it is unwise in the present case. In this you forget (a mistake into which every one falls who has been away from here for some time). . . . How can you go on finessing indirectly with such an utterly unprincipled and untrustworthy Minister, who is involuntarily lured into the wrong path, and with a master whose peculiarities, to put it mildly, defy calculation. Just remember that F. D. (Fra Diavolo, pseudonym for Manteuffel) is a Bonapartist on principle, think of his behaviour in connection with the *coup d'état*, and of what Quehl wrote under his patronage — and if you want to know something new I can tell you that he has now written to Werther expressing the foolish opinion that if one wanted to be useful to Russia the way would be to adhere to the treaty of the 2nd of December in order to have a voice in the negotiations; indeed I believe that F. D. has actually advised the King to adhere to the treaty of the 2nd of December, that is to say, with modifications, these, according to the way in which things are done here, being of the nature of reservations which our adversaries would afterwards ignore, without paying any attention to us in the event of their non-observance. Our policy moves along a very narrow path, upon a tight rope, and so far one may say that it has maintained its equilibrium, *i.e.*, it has not fallen into the abyss on either side, yet its course remains anything but secure. . . . The King, and you also, appear to attribute an exaggerated importance to our participation in the conferences. What good is this gloriole to us, as we can turn it to no account

so long as Austria (as is clear from Gortchakoff's reports) is frightened into hobbling after the Western Powers? Shall we hobble with her, or shall we join England and France in the chorus against Russia, or shall we alone take Russia's part, a course that would require more courage and skill than can be expected of our deaf and invalid envoy in Vienna? I consider it more dignified, effective, and successful for us to take up an entirely independent attitude towards Austria and the Western Powers. We have met with a rebuff in Paris and London. (The *züffliche*[1] Usedom and his Radical wife ought never to have been sent there; but that has now been done, however.) Austria has treated us with consistent perfidy. We are, therefore, released from all ties. France, with 300,000 men beyond her frontiers, and England, without an army, will not begin war with us. I do not fear Austria in the least, first because she fears us, while, in addition to that, she has not a man to spare. It would be mere madness to irritate us, should she really want to pick a quarrel with Russia. She now demands with her usual impudence and recklessness that 100,000 men be raised as soon as possible, under the military convention which Hesse has concluded with her. (I shudder at the thought of the foolish and puerile proceedings of April of last year.) To this the reply is curt and bold; there is a firm conviction based on assurances as well as information received, that the Emperor of Russia has no idea of attacking Austria, either on her own territories or in the Principalities, so that no *casus fœderis* arises either for Prussia or for the Germanic Confederation. The Prussian army is ready for war, and can be brought into a still greater state of readiness. It is true that Austria has provoked Russia by the treaty concluded on the 2nd of December without the concurrence of Prussia and the Bund, but one is convinced that Russia nevertheless contemplates no attack. I certainly believed that, in face of this declaration on the part of Prussia, Austria would hardly secure her two-thirds majority, and, indeed, that she would probably not even try to force the matter through. Unquestionably, nothing can be done very speedily now. If, however, the negotiations in Vienna take such a turn that their success may be anticipated, they will

[1] The word "züfflich" is given in the original letter. Dr. Busch himself has never met with it before, and does not know what it signifies. — THE TRANSLATOR.

come to us, and not ignore our 300,000 men. That would be impossible, even now, if all confidence, as well as all sense of fear, had not been destroyed by swaying, not merely to and fro, as frequently happens, but in three different directions, which is of rarer occurrence. I am very anxious that you should come here, if only for a few days, in order to discuss matters. . . . Do, please, write soon, and criticise this my letter. Write also, if it can possibly be managed, that you are coming. . . . I yearn for political death. A man who has grown old and blunt and peevish is no longer the right man to wriggle his way through between such a singular master (for whom, all the same, I have an affection of forty years' standing) and such a premier. Indeed, my bodily conformation is a symbolic warning against doing anything of the kind."[1]

Seventh Envelope. Documents of the period extending from the 7th of November, 1858, to the 21st of June, 1861, chiefly letters from Minister Schleinitz to Bismarck, and from the latter to the former from St. Petersburg, including a very long one of the 12th of May, 1859, in which B. deals with the improvement of Prussia's position in Germany as opposed to Austria, indicating ways and means of bringing it about. . . . Then a very interesting communication, dated the 14th of May, from Bismarck to Alvensleben, which was accompanied by a copy of the letter of the 12th. According to this, the latter was really intended for the then Minister President, the Prince of Hohenzollern, yet the writer is "in the end in a state of doubt as to how his Highness is in his heart likely to regard this matter." The letter to Alvensleben then goes on to say: "I believe too that Schleinitz will not withhold my letter from H.R.H. the Regent, although I scarcely hope that it will be received with favour there. If you are so disposed and have an opportunity of kindling in the Prince a spark of royal ambition in this sense, I beg of you to make use of the contents of the enclosure, as if I had written to you privately on the same subjects upon which I wrote to Schleinitz. Of course, the only difference is in the head and tail of it, and whether in your case the title of Excellency already connotes externally the excellencies of the inward man. There is almost always an element of mistrust and discontent when I write to Schleinitz, sending you at the same time a copy

[1] Gerlach was very stout.

of my letter, and the Prince allows it to leak out." On the 29th of May, 1859, Bismarck gives his Minister a serio-comic description of the petty proceedings of the envoys of the German Middle States at St. Petersburg, with whom Gortchakoff has little intercourse, and who worry the more fortunate Prussian representative in their efforts to obtain some material to satisfy their love of gossip. The Hanoverian, Münster, is particularly active and importunate. The Saxon, Könneritz, manifests the warmest enthusiasm for Prussia, abuses Beust and Austria, and "speaks as if he were serving under a Carlowitz Ministry; but we have an old and good proverb[1] that teaches us never to trust a Saxon from Meissen. Montgelas is most profoundly depressed at the fall in the value of Austrian securities, and seems to think, strangely enough, that the remedy to this evil lies in bringing about a general war." Schleinitz's letters are almost always full of praise and thanks for Bismarck's excellent reports. Yet on one occasion (June 24) he acknowledges that many insinuations against him personally, and against his official conduct, have reached Berlin. But he adds: "With your reports in my hand I have, however, succeeded in effectually repelling them"; and continues: "if, nevertheless, I take the liberty of requesting you to conform as far as possible to the views of your Government in your non-official conversations and relations, that request is perhaps entirely superfluous, but I am induced to make it by a desire to prevent your laying yourself open in any direction to the attacks of opponents."

Eighth Envelope. Undated letters and other documents, as well as some of uncertain date.

On Friday, the 12th of October, we were joined first at lunch and then again at dinner by a plump lady in black silk, a Frau von Patkowski from East Prussia, a daughter of Kaiserlingk, an old friend of the Chief's. I begged the Prince's permission to absent myself for three days, and took leave of him and of the ladies of the house.

I started for Berlin at 12.45 P.M. on Saturday, the 13th. On my going down to his bureau to see Rottenburg, who wished to accompany me to the train, I met the Chief in the antechamber. He said, smiling: "It is lucky that I have met you before you leave. Frau von Patkowski is travelling with

[1] "Meissner sind Gleissner." The people of Meissen are double-dealers.

you, so please take care not to lay siege to the pretty plump little lady on the way!" "Those times are over, Serene Highness, and besides, she travels first class and I second." "Well, in that case she will no doubt be safe." I expressed a hope that during my absence he would have good weather, as it is necessary for his health, so that he may get his walks and rides. "I do what I can," he said, "to keep illness at a distance, but it will come all the same, and probably soon. It will be a sudden break down, just as I stand." Thanks be to God, his appearance in no way justified such a foreboding, as he proceeded to the station with the lady on his arm, walking erect and the very picture of health.

On Wednesday, the 17th of October, at 8.30 A.M., I again left Berlin for Friedrichsruh.

I had previously been accustomed every evening after dinner to spend some time romping in the next room with the three little Rantzaus. When I asked their mother at lunch how the boys were, she asked me not to let them have their usual game to-day as a punishment, the two elder lads having been rude and insolent to their governess in the morning. The Prince said they must be whipped for that. The Countess replied that she had deprived them of their bath and slapped them on the cheek for it. He rejoined, however: "That is not enough for such naughtiness. They ought to be well whipped." He then related how he had chastised Herbert and Bill on one occasion, when they took some hazel-nuts and then ran away from the ranger. "It was not on account of the nuts, but because they had obliged the old man to run after them through bush and brier until I caught them and gave them a good trouncing, at which the ranger seemed to be greatly surprised." I inquired of him whether governesses and other persons entrusted with the education of princes were at liberty to chastise them when they were naughty, or whether they had to tell the parents, who decided as to their punishment. He answered the first part of my question in the affirmative, and went on to say that the governess of the Emperor William II. said as she was administering physical chastisement to him on one occasion: "Believe me, Royal Highness, that it hurts me as much as it does you to do this." "Ah!" exclaimed the little Prince, "and does it hurt you in the same place?" Everybody laughed heartily at the

queer form taken by the boy's curiosity. As we rose from table and Lindau was taking leave before returning home, the Prince asked me: "Are you going to your room now?" "Yes, Serene Highness." "I will send for you there. I have something I should like to show you." In about a quarter of an hour I was summoned to the Prince's study, where the Chief handed me a large packet of letters. "These are from the old Emperor," he said, and then read me some passages from them. He wished to have them arranged like the former papers. "Again in mere chronological order, according to the dates." He asked: "But will not that be too much for you?" I replied with an emphatic negative. I was there for that purpose, and it was a pleasure to me to serve him, and at the same time to have something to read and take with me for my information. He continued: "And here, too, is one from old Bodelschwingh-Schwindelbod. And there are others (pointing to a second packet), the correspondence with Andrassy, for instance, in the summer of 1879. You will find information enough there." He took up the third pile. "These are from the Emperor Frederick when he was Crown Prince, and also one from her from the villa Zivio." He was about to return them to the drawer of his writing-table, but I begged him to let me have them also. He said smiling, "But, Büschlein, haven't you already enough?" — "It will be better for me to have everything there is at once, so that I may have a general idea of all the documents and arrange them more rapidly." — "But there are still plenty more, and that pile is already heavy enough to carry!" I took all he had by him, however, and carried them upstairs in order to begin my inspection of them next morning. But I could not rest until I had read through some of them as specimens in the afternoon. For example, a long letter from the Crown Princess, dated San Remo, the 22nd of November, 1887, giving the Chancellor particulars of her consort's illness and of the doctors; and also Bodelschwingh's communication, on the top of which the Chief had written in pencil "Old hypocrite." Then before dinner a further walk with Rottenburg in the wood where it is cut through by the road leading to Mohnsen. Lively conversation on a variety of matters serious and amusing, as for instance on Darwin and the high esteem in which he is held by the Chief.

Early on the morning of Thursday, October 18th, I began to assort the papers. The numbering and packing away in envelopes was to follow later, after a thorough inspection of the whole lot. Out of doors a beautiful autumn day, the sun, in a blue sky, casting high lights on the stems and branches of the trees in the wood. During lunch, at which Schweninger again joined us, I handed the Chief the Crown Prince's letter introducing Geffcken to him and his answer justifying his refusal by a description of Geffcken's character. I had found this among the papers on the previous day. He was pleased at the discovery, and the letters were handed to Rottenburg to be copied and used. Immediately afterwards Schweinitz, our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, arrived — a grey-headed, portly gentleman with a moustache, who speaks little and in a low voice. We were joined at dinner, in addition to Schweinitz, by a big-bearded gentleman in a shooting jacket. This was Major von Goldammer of Frankfort, the sportsman who recently — to the great regret of the head forester — shot the stag with fourteen antlers from the Chief's preserves, that had broken out on the shooting which he had rented. "If it had only been Count Herbert!" Bleichröder is to present his respects to-morrow.

On Saturday I spent the whole forenoon and two hours after lunch in arranging the papers in order of date. Bleichröder and his Jewish-looking Secretary took lunch with us. The banker related anecdotes of Amschel Rothschild and Saphir, and spoke of Lehndorff's businesses. At table I observed that since 1871 Bleichröder, whom I saw at dinner at Versailles, had hardly altered in the least. "Not in his person," rejoined the Chief, "but very considerably in his fortune."

On Sunday, the 21st of October, I began to examine and number the papers, which were now in chronological order, whereby I found that a good deal of rearrangement was necessary. Here follow some particulars.

The documents begin with a letter dated Oct. 19, 1862, from Bismarck to King William. Then follows a short letter from the Crown Prince to the Minister, dated Nov. 21, in which he says: "I trust that, as you express it to me, success may, in the present difficult phase of the constitutional life of our country, attend your efforts to bring about what you yourself describe as the urgent and necessary understanding with the

representatives of the nation. I am following the course of affairs with the greatest interest," and so on. Letter from Bismarck to the King, in which Eulenburg and Selchow are proposed as Ministers. (I shall not quote unimportant letters from the King and the Crown Prince, nor in future any matters of only slight interest.) A letter from Bismarck to the King, dated 20th February, 1863, on the convention with Russia. Goltz communicated it to Napoleon, but without the secret article, with which he himself was not acquainted. Probably the article by which Prussia was bound eventually to render assistance against the Polish rebellion.) The Minister wrote: "As matters stand in Poland we shall hardly be called upon for active coöperation there. By means of the convention we have, therefore, the advantage of securing at a cheap rate for the future the gratitude of the Emperor Alexander and the sympathies of the Russians."

Writing to Bismarck, from Stettin, on the 30th of June, 1863, the Crown Prince says: "I see from your letter of the 10th instant that at his Majesty's command you have omitted to communicate officially to the Ministry of State my protest respecting the rescript, restricting the liberty of the press, which I sent to you from Graudenz on the 8th of June. I can easily understand that the opportunity of treating as a personal matter an incident which, as you yourself have acknowledged, might, in its consequences, acquire widespread significance, was not unwelcome to you. It would serve no purpose for me to insist upon that communication being made, as I am justified in inferring from your own words that it will have been done unofficially. It is necessary for me, however, to speak plainly to you respecting the alternative which you place before me, namely, to lighten or to render more difficult the task which the Ministry has undertaken. I cannot lighten that task, as I find myself opposed to it in principle. A loyal administration of the laws and of the Constitution, respect and good will towards an easily led, intelligent, and capable people — these are the principles which, in my opinion, should guide every government in the treatment of its country. I cannot bring the policy which finds expression in the ordinance of the first of June into harmony with these principles. It is true you seek to prove to me the constitutional character of that re-

script, and you assure me that you and your colleagues remember your oath. I think, however, that the Government requires a stronger basis than very dubious interpretations which do not appeal to the sound common sense of the people. You yourself call attention to the circumstance that even your opponents respect the honesty of your convictions. I will not inquire into that assertion" (Bismarck's comment in pencil: "Not over courteous"), "but if you attach any importance to the opinions of your opponents, the circumstance that the great majority of the educated classes among our people deny the constitutional character of the ordinance must necessarily awaken scruples in your mind. The Ministry knew beforehand that this would be the case. It was also aware that the Diet would never have approved the provisions of that rescript beforehand, and it therefore laid no Bill before the Diet, and in a few days promulgated the ordinance under Article 63 of the Constitution. If the country does not recognise in this course of action a loyal administration of the Constitution, I would ask what has the Ministry done to bring public opinion round to its own view? It found no other means of coming to an understanding with public opinion except to impose silence upon it. It would be idle to waste a single word as to how far this ordinance harmonises with the respect and good will due to a willing and loyal people that has been condemned to silence because the Government will not hear its voice.

"And what is the success which you anticipate from this policy? The tranquilisation of the public mind and the restoration of peace? Do you believe that you can appease public sentiment by again offending its sense of justice? It seems to me contrary to human nature to expect a change when the existing feeling is being constantly confirmed and aggravated by the action of the Government. I will tell you what results I anticipate from your policy. You will go on quibbling with the Constitution until it loses all value in the eyes of the people. In that way you will on the one hand arouse anarchist movements that go beyond the bounds of the Constitution; while on the other hand, whether you intend it or not, you will pass from one venturesome interpretation to another until you are finally driven into an open breach of the Constitution." (Bismarck's comment: "Perhaps.") "I regard those who lead his

Majesty the King, my most gracious father, into such courses as the most dangerous advisers for Crown and country." (Bismarck quotes in pencil: "Leicht fertig ist die Jugend mit dem Wort" = Youth is hasty in its judgments.) "P.S. — Already before the 1st of June of this year I but rarely made use of my right to attend the sittings of the Ministry of State. From the foregoing statement of my convictions you will understand my requesting his Majesty the King to allow me to abstain altogether from attending them at present. A continuous public and personal manifestation of the differences between myself and the Ministry" (Bismarck's pencil remarks on this point: "Absalom!") "would be in keeping neither with my position nor my inclination. In every other respect, however, I shall impose no restrictions upon the expression of my views; and the Ministry may rest assured that it will depend upon themselves and their own future action whether, in spite of my own strong reluctance, I find myself forced into further public steps, when duty appears to call for them." (In face of the menacing attitude assumed in these threats, Bismarck's undaunted pencil shouts out, "Come on!" "Nur zu!")

On the 3rd of September the Crown Prince writes to Bismarck: "I have to-day communicated to his Majesty the views which I set forth to you in my letter from Putbus, and which I begged you not to submit to the King until I myself had done so. A decision which will have serious consequences was yesterday taken in the Council. I did not wish to reply to his Majesty in the presence of the Ministers. I have done so to-day, and have given expression to my misgivings — my serious misgivings — for the future. The King now knows that I am a decided opponent of the Ministry." At the end of the letter Bismarck added, apparently as part of a draft reply: "I can only hope that your Royal Highness will one day find servants as faithful as I am to your father. I do not intend to be of the number."

On the 5th of June, while at Dantzig, during a tour in the performance of his military duties, the Crown Prince, speaking in public to the Chief Burgomaster Von Winter, declared himself to be opposed to the policy of his father. The latter wrote, demanding a recantation, and stating that otherwise the Prince would be deprived of his dignity and position. The Crown

Prince declined to retract anything, offered to lay down his command and other offices, and begged to be allowed to retire with his family to some place where he would be under no suspicion of interfering in State affairs. Intimations as to the contents of this correspondence were published (of course, first of all) in the *Times*, then in the *Grenzboten* (through Gustav Freytag), and in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (through me, at Freytag's instance). A memorandum, dated Gastein, the 2nd of August, in Zitelmann's handwriting, and probably dictated by Bismarck, expresses the belief that the publication was due to the Crown Princess, "whether it be that she has herself attained to definite views of her own as to the form of government most advantageous for Prussia, or that she has succumbed to the concerted influences of the Anglo-Coburg combination. However this may be, it is asserted that she has decided upon a course of opposition to the present Government, and has taken advantage of the Dantzig incident and the excitement to which it has given rise in the highest circles, in order to bring her consort more and more into prominence by these revelations, and to acquaint public opinion with the Crown Prince's way of thinking. All this out of anxiety for the future of her consort." It is then stated that the Crown Princess' most powerful supporter is Queen Augusta, who is extremely anxious as to her own position towards the country. They have had a memorandum drawn up by President Camphausen on the internal situation in Prussia, attacking the present Government, which was laid before the King. In a marginal note the King observes that the principles therein recommended would lead to revolution. Meyer, the Councillor of Embassy, is Augusta's instrument, and it is beyond question that he is associated with the Anglo-Coburg party. The participation of Professor Duncker,[1] as also of Baron Stockmar, would appear to be less certain. The memorandum dictated to Zitelmann is accompanied by comments in the Chief's handwriting — either a long letter or a *pro memoria* for the King — in which the views expressed by the Crown Prince are refuted point by point. In the course of his criticism the writer says, *inter alia:* "The pretension that a warning from H.R.H. should outweigh royal decisions, come

[1] As a matter of fact, he was not concerned in it. See Haym's work, *Das Leben Max Dunckers*, pp. 294, 295.

to after serious and careful consideration, attributes undue importance to his own position and experience as compared to those of his sovereign and father. No one could believe that H.R.H. had any share in these acts of personal authority, as everybody knows that the Prince has no vote in the Ministry. . . . The *démenti* at Dantzig was therefore superfluous. The liberty of H.R.H. to form his own conclusions was not affected by his attendance at the sittings, and by keeping himself in touch with affairs of State and hearing the views of others and expressing his own, which we hold to be the duty of the heir to the throne. The performance of this duty, when it becomes known through the newspapers, can only elicit on all sides approval of the diligence and conscientiousness with which the Crown Prince prepares himself for his high and serious vocation. The words 'with my hands tied' have no meaning. It is utterly impossible that the country should identify H.R.H. with the Ministry, as the country knows that the Crown Prince is not called upon to take any official part in its decisions.

"Unfortunately, the attitude which H.R.H. has adopted towards the Crown is sufficiently known in the country, and is condemned by every father of a family, to whatever path he may belong, as a disavowal of that paternal authority which is an offence to our feelings and traditions to ignore. Even now clergymen are preaching from the text 2 Samuel, ch. xv., verses 3 and 4. H.R.H. could not be more seriously damaged in the eyes of public opinion than by the publication of this answer." (That of the Prince to his father's letter.)

Page 2 (of the answer). "It is true that H.R.H.'s situation is a thoroughly false one, because it is not the business of the heir to the throne to raise the banner of opposition to his King and father. He can only fulfil his 'duty' by retiring from that position and again adopting a proper attitude."

Page 3. "There is no conflict of duties, as the first of these duties is self-imposed. It rests with the King, and not with the Crown Prince, to provide for the future of Prussia, and the future will show whether 'mistakes' have been made, and on which side. In cases where the 'judgment' of his Majesty is opposed to that of the Crown Prince, the former must always be preponderant, and there is therefore no conflict. H.R.H.

himself recognises that in our Constitution there is 'no place for the opposition of the heir to the throne.' Opposition within the Council does not exclude obedience to his Majesty, once a matter has been decided. Ministers also oppose when they hold different views, but they nevertheless obey" (the last three words are underlined in pencil by the King, who added on the margin: "When it is not opposed to their consciences") "the will of the King, although it is part of their duty to carry into execution the measures they opposed."

Page 4. "If H.R.H. knows that the Ministers act in accordance with the will of the King, he cannot fail to see that the opposition of the heir to the throne is directed against the reigning King himself."

Page 5. "The Crown Prince has no call and no justification to enter upon a 'struggle' (Kampf) against the will of the King, for the precise reason that H.R.H. has no official status. Each Prince of the Royal House would be equally justified in 'laying claim' to the duty of offering public opposition to the King, where his views differed from those of the sovereign, and thus defending the eventual rights of 'himself and his children' against the effects of alleged mistakes by the Government of the King, that is to say, in order to secure the succession, after the manner of Louis Philippe, if the King were to be deposed by a revolution."

Page 6. "The Minister President is to give a more detailed explanation of the words used by him at Gustain."

Page 7. "His Majesty has not caused the Crown Prince to attend the sittings as one of the King's advisers, but only for the Prince's own information, and as a means of preparing him for his future calling. The attempt to 'neutralise' the measures of the Government would mean a struggle and rebellion against the Crown. More dangerous than all the attacks of the democracy and all 'gnawing' at the roots of the monarchy is the loosening of the bonds that still unite the people with the dynasty through the example of open and avowed opposition on the part of the heir to the throne, through the intentional disclosure of discord in the Royal House itself. If the son and heir to the throne revolts against the authority of the father and King, to whom can that authority still remain sacred? If a premium is set by ambition for the *future* upon present desertion from the sovereign, every

bond will be loosened, to the detriment of the future King, and the damage done to the authority of the present Government will bear evil fruit for its successors. Any government is better than one which is divided against itself and paralysed. The shocks which the Crown Prince may provoke affect the foundations of the structure in which he himself will hereafter have to preside as King.

"According to the constitutional law hitherto in force, it is the King who *governs* in Prussia and not the Ministers. Legislative and not governmental power is alone shared with the Chambers, and before them the Ministers represent the King. Therefore now, as *before* the Constitution, the Ministers are legally the servants of the King and his Majesty's authorised advisers, but they are not the regents of the Prussian State. Even since the Constitution the Prussian monarchy does not stand on the same level as the Belgian or English monarchy. On the contrary, in Prussia, the King still governs personally, and *commands* according to his own discretion, in so far as the Constitution has not otherwise provided, and it has only so provided in matters of legislation."

Page 8. "The publication of State secrets is an offence against the criminal law. What is to be treated as a State secret depends upon the King's command respecting official secrecy. Why is so much importance attached to giving 'outside' publicity to these matters? If H.R.H., as in duty bound, gives expression to his opinions in Council, he has satisfied his conscience. The Crown Prince has no official position whatever in State affairs, and no call to express himself publicly upon them. No one who has even a superficial knowledge of the system under which our State affairs are conducted would conclude that the Crown Prince agreed with the decisions of the Government merely because he (without a vote, and therefore without the possibility of effectual opposition) had listened to the discussions in Council.

"'Not appear better.' The mistake lies in the exaggerated importance attached to 'appearances.' The important point is what a man is and what he can do, and that is only the fruit of serious and well-directed labour.

"The participation of his H.R.H. in the Council is not 'active,' and no 'votes' are cast by the Crown Prince. The

communication to 'responsible'(?) persons without the authorisation of his Majesty would be an offence against the criminal law. Of course, there is no limitation of H.R.H.'s right to express his views; on the contrary, it is desirable that he should do so, but only in the Council, where, as a matter of fact, they can alone have any influence on the decisions that are about to be taken. The contrary course, 'to express them openly before the country,' can only be adopted as a means of gratifying H.R.H.'s *amour propre*, and must result in promoting discontent and disaffection, and thereby paving the way for revolution."

Page 10. "Unquestionably H.R.H. will render their work more difficult for the Ministers, and their task would be lighter if he did not attend the sittings. But can his Majesty shirk the duty of doing everything that is humanly possible to enable the Crown Prince to learn the business of State, and to become acquainted with the laws of the country? Is it not a dangerous experiment to leave the future King a stranger to the affairs of State, while the welfare of millions is dependent upon his familiarity with them? H.R.H. shows himself in the present memorandum unacquainted with the fact that the participation of the Crown Prince never involves any responsibility, and is only for the purpose of information, and that H.R.H. can never be asked to give a vote. The whole argument is based upon a misconception of this fact. If the Crown Prince had been more familiar with State affairs, H.R.H. could not have thought of publishing the proceedings of the Council in case the King did not accede to his wishes, *i.e.*, of committing an offence against the law, and what is more, the criminal law, and that too a few weeks after H.R.H. had himself severely censured the publication of the correspondence with his Majesty."

Page 11. "Certainly the reproach mentioned may naturally occur to every one in the country. No one charges H.R.H. with such an intention, but it is said that *others*, who do entertain such an intention, hope to see it realised through the unconscious coöperation of the Crown Prince; and that such wicked attempts now afford those who originated them a better prospect than formerly of a change of system."

Page 12. "The demand to have timely information of the business to be transacted at the sittings is perfectly legitimate,

has always been recognised, and shall continue to be so. Indeed a desire has been expressed that H.R.H. should do his part in keeping himself more *au courant* than was hitherto possible. For this purpose H.R.H.'s whereabouts must always be known and within reach, the Ministers must have access to the Crown Prince, and discretion must be secured. But it is necessary that the *Vortragende Räthe* (Councillors who have the privilege of direct audience), with whom alone H.R.H. can be authorised to transact current State affairs, should be not opponents but friends of the Government, or at least impartial critics having no *intimate* relations with the Opposition in the Diet and the press. The most difficult point of all is *discretion*, particularly towards foreign countries, so long as H.R.H. and the Crown Princess are not thoroughly conscious that in reigning houses the nearest relations are not always fellow-countrymen, but, on the contrary, must necessarily, and as in duty bound, represent other than Prussian interests. It is hard that a frontier should create a division of interest between mother and daughter, brother and sister, but to forget this fact is always a danger for the State. The 'last sitting of the Council' (on the 3rd) was not a regular sitting but only a meeting of the Ministers who had been summoned by his Majesty without their own previous knowledge."

Page 13. "Communication to the Ministers would give the memorandum an official character which the Prince's effusions do not in themselves possess."

On Monday, the 22nd of October, Count Herbert was present at lunch and dinner, returning to Berlin on the Tuesday. On Monday, after we had had our coffee, I told the Chief that the sorting of the papers was now well advanced. There was a great deal more to do, however, than had appeared at first, and it might take eight or ten days more before I could hand them over to him in good order like the previous set. He replied: "Take plenty of time. But the Emperor will be here in a few days, and you must not let yourself be seen then; or, better still, go to Hamburg while he is here, as otherwise he will ask who you are and what you are doing. I should then be obliged to tell him, and as he is curious he would eventually seize the whole lot, which would not suit me at all."

On Tuesday and Wednesday I was very busy sorting, num-

bering, and taking extracts. In the evening I took a walk with the Privy Councillor until an hour before dinner. We were joined at dinner on Wednesday by the Hamburg merchant, Merik, and his wife — she very pretty, twenty-seven years of age, and he between forty and fifty. On Thursday I was again hard at work on the Chief's treasury of letters. At lunch the Chief said that formerly the rich and influential Hamburgers were strongly Austrian in their sympathies, and he referred to the millions advanced to the politicians of Vienna in 1857, and also condemned the unamiable and stupid policy of Prussia in those days. The Princess observed that even now these circles do not care much for Prussia, but are impressed, and indeed very strongly, by Bismarck. She then explained to me that the Meriks were neighbours of theirs, and occupied a country house with forty acres of ground on the edge of the forest, the remainder of an estate which a Saxon officer had acquired by marriage, and of which the Prince afterwards bought six hundred acres. In reply to my question, the Chief informed me that the Emperor would arrive on Monday evening and leave after lunch on Tuesday. I must therefore make myself scarce for thirty hours. To-day, however, we shall return to our anthology, and continue it to-morrow. Here follow some further specimens of the selection.

Letter from Bismarck to the King on the 1st of December, 1863: "Your Majesty has been gracious enough to send me Herr von Gruner's communication of the 28th ultimo, and to observe that it reproduces the views adopted by your Majesty. Herr von Gruner's opinions are based on the same general principles as those of Herr von Vincke and Herr von Roggenbach, and the latter have found expression in the letter of H.R.H., the Grand Duke of Baden. These gentlemen, in addressing their proposals to your Majesty, doubtless proceed on the assumption that if your Majesty were to accept their advice, another Ministry would be summoned to office. Other influences are also being set in motion for this purpose, even outside *public* life, to which Herr von Schleinitz and other persons closely connected with the Court have either voluntarily or involuntarily devoted their services. When I entered into the Ministry I ventured to explain to your Majesty that I did not regard my position as that of a Constitutional Minister in the

usual sense of the word, but considered myself rather as your Majesty's servant, and that in the last resort I would obey your Majesty's commands, even if contrary to my own views. I still maintain that standpoint, but this should not deter me from explaining my views with the candour I owe to your Majesty and to the interests of the country. Speaking in this sense, I must first declare that I consider it would be of advantage for your Majesty's service, in carrying out a policy consonant with the views of Herr von Gruner, to select another Ministry, or at least another Minister for Foreign Affairs, who would enjoy in a higher degree the confidence of those upon whose support such a policy must mainly rely. Count Goltz has as yet had no occasion to come in conflict with those elements, and owing to his other qualifications may be regarded as best suited to take over the conduct of affairs."

From a letter of the Crown Prince to Bismarck, dated Headquarters, Flensburg, April 17, 1864: "I thank you heartily for your two letters of the 11th and 12th of April. I found the communication of the 11th very interesting; but I could not gather from it such a view of the objects of our policy as would enable me, from my standpoint, to support any particular measure with conviction. I do not agree that it is too early to come forward openly with a positive programme, and I fear that we shall gain *nothing* by protracting the solution of the question, but, on the contrary, thereby increase European complications. However that may be, we should at least have a positive programme *for ourselves*, the realisation of which it is true would still remain dependent upon circumstances. Instead of this, however, I find in your communication only the programme 'to act according to circumstances,' unless I am to infer from some isolated suggestions certain secret views which are ascribed to you, and which certainly appear to tally with many of your former utterances, particularly at the last Council which I attended before my departure for the army. With regard to any such *arrière-pénsees* of Prussian aggrandisement, I may state briefly my opinion, namely, that to pursue them would entirely falsify our whole German policy, and would probably lead to our defeat by Europe. It would not be the first time that Prussia sought to outwit the world, with the result that she ultimately fell between two stools."

A letter from Bismarck to the King, dated April 3, 1866: "Your Majesty has deigned to command me, through Abeken, to express my opinion whether the letter from the Duke of Coburg, which I respectfully return herewith, should be answered.

"I take the liberty to recall the fact that the Duke of Coburg has during the past four years shared in every intrigue against your Majesty's internal and foreign policy. His Highness has largely contributed to the return of democratic representatives in Prussia through his money and influence; he has associated himself with societies for arming the people (Büchsen Groschen Vereine), and has adopted such an attitude towards the monarchy that your Majesty made strong representations to him on the subject in a long letter, and declined a visit from him on account of the bad impression it would make on the army. The Duke, together with his officials, Samwer and Francke, is the leader of the anti-Prussian Augustenburg movement; and but for him the hereditary Prince would have listened to reason. The Duke brought about the recall of Lord Napier, a diplomatist, who was regarded as too Prussophil. I respectfully take the liberty of indicating the influence of the Duke upon H.R.H. the Crown Prince. I certainly do not go too far when I describe his Highness as one of the most irreconcilable opponents of your Majesty's policy, and state that no devotion to your Majesty's honour and interest is to be expected from him. The present letter from the Duke and that from Count Mensdorff, which was obviously ordered for the special purpose of being communicated to your Majesty, and which is utterly untrue, betray their connection with the communications from Queen Victoria which have reached your Majesty through H.R.H. the Crown Prince; and it is certain that similar insinuations will have been made to your Majesty in other quarters. There can be no doubt that all these steps are based upon a well-laid plan, according to which the open and secret opponents of your Majesty endeavour to persuade your Majesty to yield to Austria, and thus to pave the way for another policy, your Majesty's present Ministry and myself in particular being for this purpose represented in the first place as the root of all evil. Your Majesty is certainly convinced without any assurance from me that even if my health had remained unaffected during the past few years, I would at any moment willingly and

with lifelong gratitude to your Majesty for the many favours which I have enjoyed, retire into private life, even if my continuance in office involved *no* detriment to your Majesty. How much more willingly would I do so, therefore, if my retirement could be of any benefit to my King and country! I see, however, no possibility of another Minister of your Majesty being able honestly to recommend a policy different to that which has hitherto been followed, and which was sanctioned in the Council of the 28th of February; for this policy is independent of all partisan tendencies, is enjoined solely by the interests of Prussia, and is rendered inevitable by the situation. If the Duke of Coburg recommends another policy, such as would be in agreement with what Vienna prescribes, I beg respectfully to point out that the same gentleman has for the last four years recommended *everything* that was opposed to monarchical interests, and in particular to those of the Prussian Monarchy. Notwithstanding this your Majesty has done him the honour of answering his letter of the 22nd. If your Majesty were to answer the present letter, with its offensive and untruthful enclosure, that would be an encouragement to your opponents and a discouragement to your servants. My most humble advice is that your Majesty should leave the letter of the Duke unanswered, and not conceal from his aide-de-camp that you have been disagreeably affected by the enclosure. If the aide-de-camp is a person to whom such a communication might be properly made, it would perhaps be well to signify to him verbally that your Majesty has clearly seen through the intention underlying the whole manœuvre with the Mensdorff letter, and that the tone of the latter is not to your liking."

Letter from the King to Bismarck, dated April 8, 1866: "Numbers 78 and 79 of the *Kreuzzeitung* have just been laid before me by an unknown hand (as I have not taken in this paper since 1861 — Coronation article in June) on account of the abusive article against the Duke of Coburg. It is most unpleasant to me, as only you, the Queen, and the Crown Prince had a knowledge of the Duke's letters to me, and therefore the source of the article is immediately betrayed. Although you have always told me that the Government has no influence upon the *Kreuzzeitung*, this appears to be an instance which contradicts that statement. The manner in which I replied to the

Duke, and the fact that on the second occasion I sent no reply, showed him that I did not desire to continue the correspondence. But articles like that in question must render him still more hostile to us. From a political point of view this is not right, and on that account I request you to put a stop to these improper proceedings of the *Kreuzzeitung* towards the Duke.

"WILLIAM."

In reply to this Bismarck wrote as follows: "I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon if I have called down upon myself your Majesty's dissatisfaction through the article on the intervention of the Duke of Coburg, which was based not on his letter, but upon a number of other newspaper reports on this intervention. I would never venture to deceive your Majesty, and I frankly confess that the main part of this article was written at my instance, as I, — like every one of my colleagues, — while having indeed no influence over the *Kreuzzeitung* to prevent the insertion of matters to which I object, have yet enough to secure the insertion of what is not directly opposed to its own tendencies. The same connection exists with the *Spener'sche*, the *National Zeitung*, and many others, and I believe I have never denied the existence of influence of this description.

"It appeared to me as if your Majesty were yourself indignant at the insincerity of the Duke and of Count Mensdorff; but your Majesty generously pardons the disrespect manifested in such conduct, as also the former hostility of the Duke, who has done more harm to your Majesty and the Prussian State through the favour which he has shown to the democracy, and the disturbance of the relations with England, than he can ever make good through a military convention; and who gave evidence of his real sentiments towards your Majesty at the time of the Congress of Princes. Your Majesty, while entertaining no doubt as to my devotion and obedience, will not expect me to be superior to every human weakness and to preserve my composure at all times when I see how my heavy, and I may fairly say exhausting, duties are intentionally rendered more difficult by the displeasure of such highly placed personages, in whose hearts the success of Prussian policy and the renown of your Majesty and of the Royal House should naturally be expected to hold a first place. And why am I subjected to this

implacable displeasure and forced into this struggle with powerful influences which I have to meet at every step I take? Merely because I will not consent to serve two masters, nor carry out another policy than your Majesty's, nor reckon with other influences than your Majesty's commands. My offence is that I was ready to serve your Majesty according to your own will when others declined to do so, and that I did not hesitate to obey your Majesty at the risk of drawing down upon myself the displeasure of those who stand nearest to your Majesty. I could have peace if, like many of my predecessors, I were prepared to submit to your Majesty as my own convictions what was suggested to me in other quarters; and if, in particular, I were to advise you to give way in matters of internal policy and military organisation, as of course nothing is really being done in foreign affairs except what was formerly desired by those who now oppose me. I beg your Majesty to forgive me if in this struggle, owing to the feeling that I have been unjustly attacked for the sole reason that I have tried to do my duty towards your Majesty without looking to the right or to the left, I have lost that composure which I myself am desirous of preserving."

A letter from Bismarck to the King on the 1st of May, 1866: "I submit the enclosure to your Majesty in support of my urgent and respectful plea that your Majesty's kingdom be no longer left exposed to the danger which, in my most humble opinion, at present threatens it from the warlike preparations of Austria, whose forces are already superior to ours and are being daily increased notwithstanding all pacific assurances. The Minister of War will to-morrow submit to your Majesty a report of the Ministry of State and proposals for further precautionary measures. If your Majesty will give me credit for not being easily accessible to unfounded apprehensions I may venture to hope that your Majesty will graciously consider my request that the measures to be taken as a result of my legitimate anxiety may be speedily carried out."

Letter from Bismarck to the King, dated 2nd May, 1866: "I respectfully submit to your Majesty the communication which has just been received from Vienna. It vouchsafes no prospect that Austria will disarm, but seems to indicate that she merely wants to put us off for a few days in order to complete

her armaments before adopting another tone towards your Majesty, in the belief that she will then have secured a start of us which we could no longer make up. Information reaches me from the Bourse that it is intended to adopt financial measures of a ruinous character (forced loans?) and that the trading community here, including its representative bodies, regard the inactivity of the Royal House in presence of the superior armaments of Austria, as inconceivable, and in the highest degree alarming and detrimental to the country. This feeling, which has prevailed among your Majesty's Ministers before to-day, has now become general in the city since the facts which were previously known to the Government have found their way into publicity. This feeling would certainly find violent expression should the event show, which God forbid, that there had been any actual negligence in providing for the protection of the country."

On Friday at lunch the Chief asked me: "What is your opinion, Busch, of Goethe's tragedies, and of his dramas altogether?" I replied that he was less of a dramatist than a lyric poet, but that "Faust," setting aside the second part, was after all a most wonderful production. "Yes, certainly," he said, "and 'Götz' too, but 'Egmont,' the man in 'Stella,' Tasso, and the leading characters in the others, are all Weislingens — weak, soft, sentimental creatures — not men as in Shakespeare, always repetitions of himself, for he too had something feminine in him, and could only realise and portray the feelings of women." I finally recommended Victor Hehn's "Gedanken über Goethe," and referred him in particular to the first and second chapters. Towards evening another long walk with Rottenburg, while the Prince went to Schwarzenbeck and the Princess to Hamburg, probably to make purchases in view of the Emperor's visit. Both were back for dinner, at which the Ranger or Chief Ranger of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Head Forester Lange were also present. The conversation at table turned chiefly on forestry, the various species of trees, and other wooden subjects. A further selection from the Chief's papers, the arrangement of which will be complete in four or five days. A letter of the 5th of January, 1876, from the Crown Prince introduces Professor Geffcken, who has been to see him, and with whom he has been speaking about his book, *Staat und Kirche* (State and Church),

as a man "of ripe thought and great experience." The Chief replied on the 8th: "Dr. Geffcken belongs to that party in the Evangelical Church which, like President von Gerlach and some other Protestants, is in alliance with the Centre party and the Jesuits, and which has been and still is hostile to every phase of the German Empire's development." The letter goes on to say that his book is a superficial compilation; that his criticism of the Falk laws gives evidence of audacious presumption rather than of impartial consideration; and that his Augustenburg and Hanseatic Particularism has not been overcome by the restoration of the Empire, whose interests he opposes in Alsace. "If I were to see him without the presence of witnesses (which the Crown Prince seemed from his letter to desire), I should have reason to apprehend that my intercourse with such a tool of sectarian intrigue would arouse the mistrust of my colleagues and of public opinion."

The Crown Prince thinks otherwise. He replied on the 12th of January: "During the many years of my acquaintance with Dr. Geffcken I have never seen any leaning on his part to Catholicism, nor any opposition to Prussia as a matter of principle. On the contrary I could see from his whole attitude, as well as from the statements frequently made by him, that there is as little reason to doubt his ardent Protestantism as there is to question his patriotism."

In a letter of the 12th of May, 1876, H.R.H. cannot too strongly urge the Chancellor to give Friedberg the Imperial Secretaryship of State for Justice, which it was proposed to establish. He at the same time tried to meet the objections which Bismarck supposed the Emperor to entertain. According to a letter of the 30th of June from the Crown Prince to Bismarck, Friedberg had acquired a claim upon his gratitude by his long service, which frequently involved difficulties and sacrifices, but was always marked with the same devotion.

On the 13th of June, 1878, the Crown Prince, writing to the Chief on the death of King George of Hanover, says *inter alia:* "I am of opinion that now, the unfortunate Prince being dead, we must above all things adopt a generous attitude towards his relatives."

The Crown Prince now writes to the Chancellor more frequently than before. From the 6th of July, 1879, onwards,

the project of marrying Prince William to the daughter of the Augustenburger was repeatedly mentioned, Bismarck being asked to promote it. Bismarck submitted his opinion of the scheme. (Professor Schulz prepared a similar statement, in which he proved the Augustenburger's equality of birth, which had been strongly questioned.) In this opinion the Chief recommends as indispensable a previous renunciation by Duke Frederick.

Correspondence in Connection with the Negotiations respecting the German Alliance with Austria

Andrassy writes to Bismarck (neat handwriting in Latin characters): "Schönbrunn, 1st September, 1879. Honoured Prince! Before leaving Gastein I communicated *in nuce* by telegraph to my most gracious master, who went direct from Prague to Bruck, the tendency and the result so far of our conferences. I laid special stress on the fact that in view of the warlike preparations and the threatening language which was heard alternately, both in Vienna and in Germany, the question we had to deal with was that of a defensive understanding, a sort of guarantee of insurance, between our two sovereigns, in the sense that any attack upon either of the two empires should be repelled by their united forces, and that the *casus fœderis* should also arise in the event of an attack upon either by a third power with the coöperation of Russia. I afterwards emphasised the circumstance that I was strongly in favour of this combination, but nevertheless had not in any way pledged his Majesty. Hereupon I received on my arrival a telegram from Prague, in which the Emperor declares that he approves of the tendency and present results of our meeting from the *fullest conviction*, and invites me to go to see him in camp at Bruck. I was at Bruck yesterday, and had an opportunity of submitting a detailed report on the subject. I found the Emperor so fully convinced of the usefulness and, indeed, necessity of such an arrangement, that further argument in its favour proved to be superfluous. His Majesty sees therein not only no departure from the determination to maintain peace between the three empires, but the only possible way at the present moment of removing the sword of Damocles which constantly hangs over

our relations, and of securing peace for the benefit of both states, and, indeed, for the welfare of the *third*. As a matter of course, my Emperor is always glad to see you here, and will be particularly glad to do so on the present occasion. In the meantime, I am authorised, as soon as you are in a position to inform me that you have obtained the approval in principle of the Emperor William, to receive your draft text and to prepare one myself. I am to remain in office until this matter is completed, my successor only taking over the conduct of affairs after the understanding had been concluded. Besides, I have initiated him into the question, and he is in perfect agreement.

"Thus far as to what concerns his Majesty. The following is personal and quite confidential. I have not ceased to think over the matter for myself from all points of view, and my conviction has thereby been strengthened. If immediately after a war for which no one in Russia will to-day accept the responsibility and which has weakened the Empire both from a financial and military standpoint, and at a time when the Nihilist movement is momentarily suppressed and there is nothing to force the Government to seek a diversion abroad, Germany is to be threatened with France, and ourselves with an increase of the army, and that in connection with such questions as Mercovitch and the post offices of Eastern Roumelia, what is to be expected when the wounds of war are healed, when internal difficulties again make themselves felt, and when a foreign diversion may seem the only means of escape?

"I must confess that I can have no ease of mind so long as I do not see the torch extinguished which the Emperor Alexander half unconsciously swings about over the European powder barrel, and while I know the peace of Europe to rest in the hands of a Milutin, a Jomini, and doubtless presently of an Ignatieff. I believe that to-day every state (although our own less than others) has enough to do to protect its authority against the subversive elements in its midst. How is that to be done, however, and who will be able to do it if the state is constantly obliged to devote half its power and attention to dangers which are not of an internal but of a foreign character, and which come not from below but from above? I entertain no doubt as to the personal intentions of the Emperor Alexander. I am convinced that he does not wish for war at present.

But as the Minister of a neighbouring state I cannot forget that he had also no desire for the war just concluded, and that from the beginning to the end of it he was trying to master the movement which had originated in his immediate *entourage*. I consider it a European necessity to provide in some way against this danger, and however difficult I find it now to postpone my retirement, which is already widely known to be impending, it would be an immense gratification to me, as a servant of my Emperor and country, to be able to join with you, honoured Prince, in signing this guarantee for the future of our two realms. Austria once committed the mistake of declining the overtures of Germany, which would have secured our mutual interests. It is a satisfaction to me to be able to state that the same mistake will not be committed by us this time.

"In sincere friendship and genuine respect,

"Your most devoted

"ANDRASSY."

To this Bismarck replied on the 3rd of September: "HONOURED COUNT, — Yesterday evening I received your letter of the 1st instant, which is a source of much pleasure and satisfaction to me. I hasten to send you a provisional answer. And, first, I beg you to convey to his Majesty the Emperor my respectful thanks for the gracious manner in which he has referred to my intention to come to Vienna. I am pleased to see from your letter that his Majesty (unser Herr) has one foot in the stirrup, and do not doubt that our united efforts will succeed in placing him firmly in the saddle. Unfortunately, from the nature of things, geographical and political, my task cannot be so speedily completed as yours. A verbal report has not only the advantage of saving time, but also that of confining the replies to such questions as are actually raised in the most exalted quarter. In a written report I must, as a measure of precaution, discuss all the misunderstandings of which I may apprehend the possibility. It has, therefore, come to pass that I have been obliged to dictate to my son (who, with your kind permission, also writes this letter) sixty pages, the contents of which I was further obliged to expand in detail by telegraphic and other additions. Nevertheless, I have not succeeded, in spite of all my pains, in entirely removing the appre-

hension that our peaceful scheme may conceal some secret views of an aggressive character. This idea is unwelcome to a gentleman of over eighty-two years of age, but I hope I may be able to dispel it altogether, even if it costs me a somewhat lengthy postscript to those sixty pages. My master's disinclination to a speedy acceptance of new situations, which is a feature of his character, offers less scope for my activity. For his Majesty, the attitude recently adopted by the Emperor Alexander has for the first time illuminated, as with a lightning flash, a situation which I have been repeatedly obliged to recognise during the past few years. It will be a matter of extreme difficulty for his Majesty to find himself forced into making a choice between the two neighbouring empires, and he will therefore close his mind as long as possible to the conviction that the moment has come for such a course. In our Royal House habit exercises an enormous power, and the instinct of persistence grows stronger with age, and resists the recognition of undoubted changes in the outer world. Besides, the Emperor Alexander (I do not know whether it be due to the influence of others, or to his own determination) now endeavours to force the Jupiter Tonans into the background by a rapid transition to sunshine. In this sense the last threatening utterances were followed within a week by a friendly invitation to send a Prussian officer to Warsaw. This was accepted by my Emperor, who announced the despatch of Field Marshal Manteuffel and suite, without my previous knowledge of this step, as a military measure. Baron Manteuffel met at Warsaw with very considerable readiness to make advances, in the sincerity and permanence of which however, after all that has passed, I cannot place any confidence. I am not as yet aware whether the meeting which is to take place to-day at Alexandrovo was suggested by him or by the Russians. The objections on this side against a meeting on Russian soil have been disposed of by a reference to the difficulty of taking with equal promptitude outside of Russia the necessary precautions for the safety of the Emperor Alexander. So far as I know this meeting takes place to-day, our Emperor being accompanied by an aide-de-camp. According to a report of Minister von Bülow it is mainly inspired by a desire to obtain from the Emperor Alexander an explanation of his threatening attitude. Before this has taken place I cannot expect an answer to my report, which

was first communicated to the Emperor on the 2nd, and to which I have up to the present only received a telegraphic reply through Bülow. From Bülow's telegram, however, it appears that even now the Emperor approves of my re-opening at Vienna the conferences with you, upon which I have already reported to him (at first he was opposed even to Bismarck's returning home by way of Vienna), but that nothing must be settled without his approval. Of course that goes without saying, and you will not be impatient if my master requires before coming to a decision the time which his years, his habits, and the novelty of the outlook demand. There is also a further circumstance which indeed is favourable to our plans, namely, that H.R.H. the Crown Prince was consulted, and therefore that an exchange of ideas must have taken place between the exalted gentlemen. From my experience of my sovereign for years past I had hardly hoped that, within twenty-four hours after taking cognisance for the first time of such a comprehensive and novel statement of the situation, he would without more ado agree to the continuation of our conferences. As I shall not remain inactive in the meantime, I hope before I leave Gastein to obtain fuller powers. Like you, every day's further consideration confirms my conviction of the usefulness and necessity of the work which we have undertaken, and I trust God will grant us to secure for our two great states the guarantee of foreign and internal peace towards which our efforts are directed. I have considered it my duty to inform you of the stage at which I have arrived in my work, and I shall continue to do so as soon as I receive the more detailed expression of my master's views which has been promised. Should his Majesty commit this to paper at Königsberg on the 4th, it would come to my hands on the 7th or at latest the 8th instant. I was greatly tempted after your departure to go personally to Berlin in order to plead our cause verbally, but the state of my health and strength was too indifferent to permit of such a strain. Moreover, experience has taught me that in explaining important and difficult matters to my master I attain my object, not more rapidly, it is true, but more certainly, by writing than in verbal intercourse, as in the latter difficulties occasionally arise which have no real connection with the matter under consideration. I hope to complete my cure here by the 15th and 16th, and to be then once more equal to the demands

of the coming winter. Trusting that we shall soon meet again, I remain, with friendly and cordial respect,

"Your most devoted,

"Bismarck."

Stolberg writes to Bismarck from Berlin on the 17th of September: "In continuation of my official communication of to-day, I have the honour dutifully to inform your Serene Highness of the following. As the Emperor was almost on the point of giving his approval he suddenly became embarrassed, and said there was still another obstacle, which he had mentioned to you in his last letter, and which obliged him to attach importance to the exclusion of every possibility of our being placed under an obligation to support Austria in a war of aggression against Russia. After some hesitation his Majesty made me pledge my word that, with the exception of your Serene Highness, I would speak to no one on the subject, and then referred to an understanding entered into by the two Emperors at St. Petersburg in 1873 (with your previous knowledge, but without your counter signature), by which each was bound to render assistance to the other in certain circumstances. This has obviously been the chief stumbling-block, and has given rise to the notion of treachery towards the Emperor Alexander to which Herr von Bülow alluded from Stettin. Although this statement was too vague for me, in ignorance of the matter in question, to thoroughly appreciate the weight of the objection, I considered it my duty, in view of the approaching decision, to seize hold of the statement made by the Emperor, namely, that if the possibility above mentioned were excluded, his objection would cease, and therefore to propose the addition.

"Although this objection would be thus obviated, his Majesty nevertheless wishes to hear what your Serene Highness has to say upon that point, and desires me to inform you to that effect. After giving his sanction the Emperor was somewhat affected, and told me that this decision had cost him a great effort. He believed, however, that he ought to follow the advice of a tried counsellor like your Serene Highness. — I am, with the profoundest respect, &c."

Stolberg's suggested addition ran as follows: —

"The sanction of the Emperor William to the signature of the treaty with Austria might be obtained on condition that the Emperor might write to the Emperor Alexander: 'His Majesty is satisfied with the assurances given in Berlin by Saburoff as to Russia's love of peace, and desires, as an evidence of his loyalty and frankness, to communicate the fact that he *was on the point* (underlined in pencil by Bismarck) of concluding a treaty with Austria, in which the careful cultivation of good relations was promised, and mutual assistance was only provided for in cases of attack.'"

The letter from the Emperor to Bismarck, which Stolberg refers to in the above communication, is dated Stettin, September 15th, and runs as follows: "After I had completed my last letter to you, which you will have received to-day, Field Marshal Manteuffel forwarded to me your telegram to him of the 7th instant, with which I am greatly pleased, as I can see from it that it will be possible to bring about an understanding between us. Fortunately this opinion is confirmed by your fourth report, which reached me yesterday. But an important point has occurred to me in connection with the pourparlers which you will hold in Vienna. That is the Convention dated St. Petersburg, 1873, which was only signed by the two Field Marshals, Moltke and Barjatinsky, and was ratified by the Emperor Alexander and myself, while you declined to sign. A circumstance which goes to confirm the —— (illegible) which you then and so often raised against *binding* Conventions, in circumstances where there was as yet no positive object in view, for which reason I found much difficulty in making up my mind to sign the St. Petersburg Convention. How can you now desire to enter into a convention without giving notice of withdrawal from that concluded at St. Petersburg? Both are intended to be defensive conventions. Now, that of St. Petersburg binds Prussia and Russia to render each other *assistance* in case either should be attacked. The projected Convention is to contain the same stipulation, but against Russia. How are these two to be reconciled? It therefore appears to me that Bülow's idea (?) of leaving out the 'against Russia' would afford us an opportunity of drawing Russia into the new Convention, and thereby fulfilling that of St. Petersburg. As I do not believe

Bülow junior to be initiated into the secret of the St. Petersburg Convention, I have not been able to speak of it to him, all the more so as from his silence on the subject when stating his views he seemed to have no knowledge of it.

"WILLIAM."

To this was added a postscript of no particular importance: review of troops, inspection of fleet, patriotic reception, &c.

Bismarck to Andrassy from Gastein on the 20th of September: "Honoured Count, in continuation of my humble communication of the 3rd instant, I have the honour now to complete the answer therein begun to your Excellency's kind letter of the 1st instant. I have, in accordance with our conferences here, sent repeated and detailed reports on the situation to the Emperor, my most gracious master. The conformity between my views, which are known to your Excellency, and those of my colleagues who represent me, have made it possible for me to overcome the difficulties which were created by distance and opposing influences from other quarters in so far that I am now in a position to state that the Emperor agrees in principle with the views by which I was guided at our recent conferences. According to an official communication from my substitute, Count Stolberg-Werniggerode, the Emperor is prepared to sanction an agreement under which both Powers mutually undertake to continue to promote the maintenance of peace, and in particular to cultivate peaceful relations between both States and Russia, but, in the event of either of them being attacked by one or more Powers, to jointly repel such attack with their entire united strength. According to this I am empowered by my most gracious master to propose an unconditional defensive alliance between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire, either with or without a limit of time. I humbly beg your Excellency to enter upon a verbal discussion of this proposal. I shall have to submit the result of our negotiations to my most gracious master for approval. I entertain no doubt as to my being able to obtain this sanction, if your Excellency be in a position to agree in the name of the Emperor Francis Joseph to the proposal made on our side, in the same simple and general terms in which it is submitted. In any case I shall consider myself fortunate if our conferences lead to

this or other results calculated to promote the mutual interests of both Empires and the peace of Europe.

"With friendly and cordial respect,

"I remain your most devoted,

"V. BISMARCK."

Letter from the King to Bismarck, dated Baden-Baden, October 2nd, 1879: "I regret to see from your letter of the 24th ultimo, as also from the memorandum enclosed therewith, from the protocols of your negotiations in Vienna, and from the draft treaty which has been based upon them, that my views with regard to the latter have not found acceptance on any side. As I expressed these views in my letters from Dantzig and Stettin of the 10th and 12th ultimo as clearly as it was possible for me to do, you can see for yourself how far they differ from the results arrived at, so that there is no necessity for me to repeat them. Notwithstanding this circumstance, however, I return herewith your letter of the 24th in order that you may form an idea from my marginal notes (which, I regret to say, are only in pencil) of the impression which it has made upon me.

"Germany and Austria are desirous of attaining the same end — security against unprovoked attacks by foreign foes. But owing to the special mention of Russia as the foe in question, I cannot agree to the present proposals nor to the immediate conclusion of a treaty. After again extending the hand in friendship to the Emperor Alexander after the removal of misunderstandings (at Alexandrovo), am I now to conclude an alliance against him, even of a defensive character, in which he alone is referred to as the presumable aggressor, and keep this intention a secret from him? I cannot be guilty of such an act of disloyalty. In mitigation of this objection it has been urged that, *le cas échéant*, Russia would be informed of the existence of an alliance, if indications of a war against us became evident. This very uncertain expression is so elastic that the notice would either come too late or would only cause still greater irritation. It was further argued that in the state of ferment now prevailing in the internal affairs of Russia the knowledge of the alliance in question would give her the leverage and self-command necessary to master that ferment. But surely for that purpose official knowledge of that honourable intention is

necessary. And yet it is of course impossible to give official knowledge of the fact that Russia is regarded as the sole enemy. Therefore in order that it may be possible to communicate the treaty to Russia, the reference to her must be omitted from it, and the enemy be only described in general terms, while it must be incidentally mentioned that in entering upon it the parties have this honourable intention in view. That is what I desire. I am opposed to an immediate ratification of the treaty, because there is at the present moment absolutely nothing which could lead to a war against Germany and Austria, and it is notorious that binding treaties entered into without urgent necessity are double-edged weapons. Austria urges the immediate ratification on the ground that the favourable situation which for the moment exists in France may be endangered, and that the intimacy between Austria and England may cool down. I cannot conceive how such far-reaching political combinations can possibly be made to depend upon the hazard of a Minister of the French Republic who is on the point of being overthrown. The Anglo-Austrian intimacy must after all be very shaky if it depends upon the date of the ratification of a treaty. In view of the consideration shown by Austria for the susceptibilities of France, and her apprehensions as to a coolness with England, Milutin's opinion as to the possibility of a Triple Alliance may after all not be entirely unfounded.

"Now, another circumstance has arisen which may open a way out of the dilemma in which I find myself between my conscience and honour so far as Russia is concerned, and the objections raised to my views on the Austrian side. In reply to my telegraphic inquiry, you have informed me by wire of what Saburoff told you under instructions from the Emperor. You infer from these communications that Russia has already got wind of our Austrian negotiations (as is quite natural), and you wish to conclude from the defensive attitude, which, according to Saburoff's assurance, Russia intends in future to maintain that this assurance must have been a consequence of the knowledge obtained respecting our negotiations. In these circumstances it might be possible to immediately carry out the suggestion made by me on page 3 as to the manner of communicating our proposed arrangement with Austria, and to give the treaty a general character, not only by omitting the name of

Russia, but by inviting her to join in the treaty. You yourself have said to Saburoff that you are thoroughly in favour of the maintenance of the Three Emperors' Alliance; and the same idea occurs in the memorandum, the protocol, and the treaty. What, then, could be simpler than to confirm in a real written treaty the Drei Kaiser Bündniss which has hitherto been merely verbal, or, at most, only had a written basis in the St. Petersburg-Vienna arrangement? You yourself have further told Saburoff that you would not be able to coöperate in any policy by which Austria would be endangered. It is as right as it is important that Russia should thus receive the first official intimation of that of which it has already got wind. Inasmuch as our Ambassador at St. Petersburg will have informed Minister Giers of your interview with Saburoff, I would ask whether his assurance that Russia would henceforth only pursue a defensive policy based on the Treaty of Berlin is authentic, and whether it signifies a defensive policy as against Germany and Austria. If a satisfactory answer were received, and this were immediately communicated to Austria, there would be no further obstacle in the way of ourselves and Austria acquainting the Emperor Alexander in the manner above-mentioned (page 3) with the projected Treaty, and inviting his adhesion.

"This would render necessary a modification of section 1; section 2 would drop out entirely; section 4 would be redrafted in accordance with my marginal notes, should it be considered desirable that the draft itself should constitute the first invitation to Russia to join in the treaty, as the whole treaty would be submitted as an instrument affecting so far only Germany and Austria. I consider the omission of section 2 to be necessary, because it is directed exclusively against Russia; and furthermore because it is specially stated in your letter of the 24th ultimo that in case of an attack by France upon Germany, Austria would be dispensed from supporting the latter, and only bound to observe a benevolent neutrality. That is as much as to say that we should support Austria against Russia with our whole power (section 1), while Austria is dispensed from rendering a like service if France should attack us. But the latter eventuality is unquestionably more possible and indeed more probable than a Russian attack, at least up to the present, since there the desire for the *revanche* is only slumber-

ing, has never been abandoned, and will show itself again directly a suitable opportunity arises. With regard to our — Germany's — position in a war with France, I differ from Field Marshal Moltke, inasmuch as I cannot endorse his view that our forces are sufficient to enable us to carry on such a war without allies. In that event we should find ourselves in presence of an army entirely different to that of 1870, as the progress which it has made is undeniable. Besides, there is a further consideration, namely, the almost hermetically sealed French frontier, extending from the Swiss to the Belgian frontiers, a continuous line of fortresses and forts, which — even if broken through — would render it impossible to send reinforcements to the front, and would, moreover, enormously hamper the strategic advance of our forces. It is on this restricted field that, according to Field Marshal Moltke, we are to deliver battle. If we are victorious, we cannot pursue the defeated enemy as we did in 1870, being stopped by this girdle of fortresses, to which, instead of engaging in a pursuit, we should immediately have to lay siege. Months might pass before we could capture any of them, and this would give the defeated army time to refit at its leisure behind this line and to meet us well prepared in the event of our breaking through it at the risk of our communications with our base. But if the German army is defeated in the first battle, then the left bank of the Rhine is immediately lost, and we must withdraw across the river.

"For this reason Austria ought not to remain neutral in such a war, but, on the contrary, must be bound by treaty to support us with her whole power, in the same way as the treaty binds us to do with regard to Russia."

Continuation of this Imperial communication to the Chancellor, dated Baden, October 4th: "I had not finished the enclosed letter to you yesterday when your long telegram arrived, so that I had still to add the last three-quarters of a page. The standpoint taken by me in this letter has not been affected by my resolve to approve *conditionally* of the Vienna proposal. But I again ask you what are we to reply if, in reference to the Memorandum to be communicated to him, the Emperor Alexander should ask: 'What, then, have you decided to do in connection with this Memorandum? most probably

concluded an agreement? Until I am acquainted with it, I can come to no decision, therefore show me this agreement.' But as the agreement in its present form cannot be shown to Russia, we must decline to produce it; and what impression must this refusal make upon the Emperor Alexander? Certainly the very worst. The wording of section 2 is, to my mind, so very strange that I merely wanted to sum up the enclosure by proposing that the neutrality of Austria in case of our being attacked by France be struck out, and Austria be called upon to assume the same obligation to stand by us with her entire strength that we undertake towards Austria in section 1, in case of a Russian attack. Otherwise the conditions are not equal. Strongly impress this upon Andrassy once more.

"WILLIAM."

Letter from Andrassy to Bismarck, dated 3rd October, 1879: "I have received your much-esteemed letter of the 29th of September, for which I return my warmest thanks. I have since then received through Prince Reuss some communications referring to the position of the negotiations. I enclose them herewith in the form in which they were written down by Prince Reuss himself. I am in a position to declare myself in agreement with the intention manifested in this proposal, but I have nevertheless some scruples as to two points. The first is that a treaty is spoken of, and the second that the conclusion of the treaty is described as impending *in the future.* My objection to the first is that, if the intention to conclude a treaty is expressly emphasised in the letter of his Majesty the Emperor William, it follows necessarily that they will ask for the text at St. Petersburg, and this will afford the Russian Cabinet, before things are settled between us, an opportunity to commence negotiations *à trois* from which I do not anticipate a satisfactory result for any of the parties. For this reason I venture to submit a counter, or, more correctly, a parallel proposal, the adoption of which would, it seems to me, be of advantage to both sides. This is:—

"*After having sanctioned the signature of the Treaty* (underlined by Bismarck in pencil) his Majesty the Emperor William can *communicate the entire contents* (underlined in pencil by Bismarck) of the Memorandum agreed upon and signed by us,

which, of course, implies an agreement, adding on his own part the explanation that this agreement at the same time involves a tacit understanding by both Governments that an attack upon either Empire will be regarded as directed against both, and will also be construed by his Majesty in that sense. His Majesty, satisfied with the statement made by Saburoff, respecting Russia's love of peace, makes this communication as a proof of his loyalty and frankness. His Majesty may, perhaps, add that this understanding is of an entirely defensive character, and that there is nothing to prevent Russia from removing any antagonistic tendency by herself adhering to the principles laid down in the Memorandum. (Pencil marked in the margin by Bismarck.) By this means the object of the Emperor William would be fully attained, namely, to communicate the significance of our understanding, while on the other hand no mention would be made of the existence of a more precise agreement, and, therefore, the necessity of communicating it would be avoided.

"Such a communication of the text would have among other things the disadvantage: first, that the adhesion of Russia to this text is inconceivable; secondly, that the passage in it referring to France and Italy would become known there almost immediately, and would, at the present time, give rise to quite unnecessary combinations; and, thirdly, that the affair might transpire in Parliament, and lead to undesirable discussions. These considerations commend my proposal. Should you not be able to secure its acceptance in the competent quarter, I could agree to any other method, including the suggestion made by Stolberg, my most gracious master having before his departure declared that he would not make a *conditio sine quâ non* of preserving secrecy as to the Treaty *after signature.*

"There is, on the other hand, one point which I would regard as entirely out of the question, namely, any communication of the existence and contents of the Treaty before the sanction of his Majesty the Emperor William is actually given or is assured. (Bismarck added in pencil: "Quite right.") Without desiring to forestall the decision upon this point of my most gracious master, I should prefer to *renounce altogether the conclusion of an agreement*, and in any case I should be obliged to forego for my own part any further share in the negotiations

upon such basis. Pray excuse, dear Prince, the somewhat improvised tone of this statement; but as the matter appeared to me to be pressing, I desired to let Prince Reuss have the letter to-day. Begging you to present my respects to the Princess, I remain, with unalterable and cordial respect,

"Your sincerely devoted,

"ANDRASSY."

The Crown Prince writes to Bismarck (quite confidentially) from Baden-Baden, on the 4th of October, 1879: "Count Stolberg will have already informed you prior to the receipt of these lines of the course of affairs up to the signing of the draft Treaty by the Emperor. I therefore say nothing more about this very exciting crisis, the result of which I confidently anticipate will be of far-reaching importance for the position of Germany. I must point out, however, that his Majesty is quite miserable, and keeps on repeating that he has dishonoured himself by his decision, and has been disloyal to his friend the Tsar; so that one clearly sees how fearfully difficult the decision was for him, with his extreme conscientiousness."

Draft (dated Varzin, October 30, 1879) of a verbal answer to be made to the Emperor Alexander in reply to any question which he might ultimately put: "An institution which arose under the influence of Alexander I., and which preserved the peace of central Europe for half a century, had to be sacrificed in 1866, to irresistible necessity. The German Confederation was an excessive burden to us Prussians, while it did not satisfy the aspirations of the other Germans. The discontent thus created was utilised by the revolutionary party, for the purpose of threatening every German Prince. It was necessary to deprive them of this weapon and to satisfy the national sentiment. This was done at the expense of the security which the Confederation afforded, almost without cost, to its weaker members.

"That the breach caused by the secession of Austria, which extended from the Carpathians to the Lake of Constance, would have to be filled up, was recognised even in the *Paulskirche*. Later on, after the war of 1866, attempts were unceasingly made to bind Austria to the States, with which it had been formerly united in the German Confederation, so as

to prevent her from allying herself with France against them. This object has now been attained without any obligation on our part to defend Trient, Trieste, or, indeed, Bosnia, against Italians, or Turks, or Southern Slavs. Our agreement with Austria no more involves anything in the nature of a threat to our neighbours than would do the erection of a fortress on the frontier, which, of course, has never been regarded in that light, and it is even less of a menace, for instance, than the construction of strategic railways. It has, indeed, the character of a mutual assurance society, which every one having similar interests is at liberty to join."

Report of the Emperor William to Bismarck of his interview at Alexandrovo, from a copy made for the Crown Prince: —

1. *September 5th.* — "The Emperor Alexander began the conversation by an explanation of his letter to me. Nobody knew anything of it. (Marginal note by Bismarck: "Gortchakoff revised it.") (1) He had shown it to no one *before* it was despatched, and *after* it had been sent he only communicated it verbally, without naming the persons. If, therefore, I had found anything offensive in the letter, as he saw from my answer, he alone was to blame, and he recognised that it was possible for me to have misunderstood him. (2) He was *very sorry* for that, and since it had had such a serious result as to cause me personal offence, he wished to regard it as if it had never been written. Nothing was farther from his intention than the idea of a threat. He had only wished to call my attention to the fact, which was perfectly true, that if the press of both countries continued to rail at each other it must lead in the course of time to a feeling of hostility between the two States, and his sole object was to avoid that. (3) He considered that the preservation of the peace of Europe was only possible in the future, as it had been in the past, so long as good relations between Prussia and Russia were maintained under all circumstances. (3A) The votes given, mostly against Russia, by my Commissioners in the proceedings of the European Commissions in the East had betrayed a hostile attitude on the part of Germany towards Russia, which had caused great irritation in the latter country, and gave rise to the excited comments of the press. (4) In these Commissions Russia was

pursuing the object which she had had exclusively in view during the war, namely, to improve and render more assured the fate of the Christian populations, but not to make conquests. If opposition were now offered thereto in the delimitation of the frontier, and more and more Christians were restored against his wish to Turkish sovereignty, the Commissioners must have received instructions to that effect. (5) The German votes had already produced a bad effect in Turkey also, inasmuch as the disagreement which was there seen to exist between Germany and Russia rendered the Turks more obstinate, and caused work to drag on interminably. (6) Prince Bismarck, whom he had hitherto known only as the friend of the Russo-Prussian relations, seemed unable to forget Prince Gortchakoff's — stupid — circular of 1875. *He* had strongly advised Prince Gortchakoff *against sending this circular*, and pointed out to him the evil consequences (of his vanity, *en parenthese*) because, if there actually were anything to smooth over, that was not the way to set about it. Prince Gortchakoff had his way, however. Bismarck's grudge, and his inability to forget, which began with this irritation against Gortchakoff, appeared to him to have been transferred to Russia, and it was to this that he referred in his letter to me when he said that he could not reconcile such conduct with the character of so eminent a statesman. This expression of his in the letter to me did not refer to the instructions given to the Commissioners with respect to Eastern affairs. Moreover (7), Prince Gortchakoff is a man who has outlived his usefulness, and whom he hardly ever consults now." "In reply to No. 1, I said I could not deny that I had been painfully affected by his letter, particularly because I had considered that his remarks referred only to the votes in question, and they seemed to me a matter of such slight consequence that I could not understand his irritation on that score. It was only through his declaration to the effect that his expression referred to the subject dealt with in No. 7 (doubtless No. 6 is meant) that I now for the first time understood it. I could assure him that Prince Bismarck still regards the relation between Prussia, Germany, and Russia as he always did, but that he saw a feeling gaining ground in Russia, chiefly owing to the press, which he could not understand, in view of the existing laws there, especially as semi-official organs con-

tributed to this detrimental state of feeling. I added that I was prepared to admit that our press was also guilty of similar excesses, but, after all, these were mainly in self-defence against the Russian attacks. We are so tied by our press laws that we can only intervene in the way of personal *appeal* to the editors of the newspapers, but not legally unless a state of siege were proclaimed in certain districts. Nos. 2 and 3. If the words in question were to be understood as containing no threat, I should feel reassured; as the interpretation which the Emperor gave to this passage of his letter was in perfect accord with my own convictions. As his Government had quite recently issued a serious reprimand with regard to improper articles in the newspapers, it was to be expected and hoped, from the power with which the Governor-General was invested, that energetic action would be taken. I, on my part, had caused certain *advice* to be given to the editors, the law did not *permit* any more. 3A. Our instructions to the Commissioners in question had remained the same from the very beginning: if Russia and Austria were in agreement always to vote with them; when points arose where that was not the case to submit to the majority, where the Russian proposal was flagrantly untenable. That had been the case in the matter of Silistria, where I was entirely in favour of the Russian proposal to appoint a Commission to inquire into the question of the bridge on the spot, and also with regard to the military road through Eastern Roumelia. 4. This view was quite new to me, as nothing of the kind had previously been brought to my notice. At the same time, these little frontier details were after all so trifling that they could hardly affect the question of the Christians to any important extent. Unfortunately, the Greek frontier question had only been mentioned at the Congress as the expression of a desire, and not as a *demand*, and I foresaw, from the first, how it would be *mais pendant le congrès je n'avais pas voix au chapitre*. In the same way I regarded the Jewish question in Rumania, the broader solution desired being, to my mind, impracticable, and therefore I wished to see the Greek modification adopted."

Continuation of this report, dated September 12, 1878: —

"Nos. 6 and 7. I had never noticed that Prince Bismarck was inspired by particularly hostile feelings towards Prince Gortchakoff on account of the latter's circular of 1874. My

opinion and his upon that note was exactly the same as that of the Emperor Alexander himself; but at the Berlin Congress the same view with regard to Prince Gortchakoff was manifested as was expressed above by the Emperor, and I therefore understood the peculiar position which was now assigned to him. I believe that in my answer to the Emperor I adequately emphasised how little change there has been in Prince Bismarck's political views so far as Russia is concerned. He had always agreed with me that, remembering the attitude adopted by Russia towards us in 1870, we for two whole years, 1876 and 1877, tried to manifest our gratitude to the Emperor by our *neutralité bienveillante*, and actually succeeded in preventing a coalition of the Western Powers, including Austria. This seemed to me to disprove the suspicion of the Emperor that Prince Bismarck had out of spite against Prince Gortchakoff changed his political views, and on that account had adopted towards Russia an attitude to which expression had been given in such trifling questions. Up to the present Prince Bismarck's sentiments towards Russia remained unaltered.

"On the forenoon of the 4th the Emperor came to see me again in order to take leave of me after lunch. He had received a telegram from Jugenheim, from the Empress Marie, who desired to be remembered to me, and was very pleased at our meeting at Alexandrovo. He added: 'C'est a elle que j'ai communiquée la première ma lettre a Vous dont le brouillon était par differentes correctures presque illisible. I afterwards showed my letter and your answer to Adlerberg, Milutin, and Giers; they know exactly what my political opinions are concerning Prussia and Germany, and being in perfect agreement with me on this subject, they are pleased that erroneous impressions will be dispelled by our meeting.' The Emperor then read me a letter from the Russian envoy reporting a conversation which he had had at Kissingen with Prince Bismarck on the political situation; and a great deal had in particular been said about Prussia and Russia acting together. The envoy found that Prince Bismarck's former view of the Three Emperors' Alliance had remained entirely unchanged. The Emperor repeated, *en aperçu*, the views which we had exchanged, and was heartily glad the misunderstandings had been cleared up and that the old friendship would be maintained between the two States in

association with Austria. As to the latter, he now added for the first time: 'Certainly I had reason to be dissatisfied with her, as her attitude towards me during the war was *louche* as usual. Without firing a shot she occupied two Turkish provinces, of course never to surrender them again, as the English will never give up Cyprus, respecting which they entered into a separate treaty during the Congress without making any communication to the Great Powers.' I interrupted him here, saying I believed there had been negotiations at Reichstadt respecting the occupation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. 'Yes,' said the Emperor, 'but under quite different conditions, that Austria should take part in the war in some way or other. All the same, the main point is that we should hold together *à trois*.' Of course I could only confirm that view as my own conviction.

"On the same morning I spoke to General Count Adlerberg, Minister Giers, and Minister of War Milutin, one after the other. The first two spoke with equal warmth in favour of the old relations. They were aware of the Emperor's letter and of my answer, which I mentioned as *entrée de conversation*, and they were at one with the Emperor in his satisfaction at the removal of the misunderstandings which they would have thought to be impossible, knowing, as they did, exactly the views to which the Emperor desired to give expression in his letter. I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of these sentiments. I nevertheless told them quite plainly that it was the press that led to an estrangement between our countries. As a strongly worded rescript had now been issued in Russia, decidedly disapproving of the hostile attitude adopted by the press towards Germany, an improvement was to be anticipated, that is, if the Governors by whom a state of siege had been proclaimed throughout almost all Russia — a measure to which I could only wish every success — made use of their power to immediately seize all newspapers, pamphlets, &c., which published inflammatory matter. If that were not done, the dangerous consequences which the Emperor had foreseen would certainly follow, namely, discord between the two States. In dealing with our own free press, my hands were tied by the law and our representative Constitution, and hence the defensive attitude against the Russian press taken up in our newspaper

articles. I had, however, given orders that the editors should be advised to exercise, if they went on, greater restraint upon themselves should an improvement take place in the Russian press. The gentlemen in question agreed with me in all this, and hoped for an improvement.

"The conversation with General Milutin began with the subject described above. I then expressed my appreciation of the new organisation introduced during the war, and said I could not understand where the money was found for it. But all Europe had been alarmed at seeing the efforts and the monetary sacrifices made for carrying on the war suddenly retained on a peace footing. He replied: 'It was precisely the war which proved that the Russian army was not strong enough even to overcome the power of Turkey, its enormous forces being dispersed over the whole empire from Siberia to the Vistula. Therefore a nucleus must be maintained which shall be equal to European requirements. This cost can be met out of Russian resources that are unknown to other countries. We have war frontiers against China, against the countries on the Indian border, countries against Persia and against Turkey. We have received news that a coalition is being formed between Austria, England, and perhaps France. That points to a new conflict in the East. England is organising and arming Asia Minor, which is being inundated with State officials, generals, and officers in the guise of consuls, a sure indication of hostile intentions upon our position in the Caucasus. The Eastern conflict is near at hand.' I demurred to the latter statement, and asserted that if once the decisions of the Berlin Congress were carried out in their entirety, no fresh war was to be anticipated there, as Turkey required peace above everything else.

"(Signed) WILLIAM, 9/9/79.

"While the Emperor was with me on the 4th a telegram from London was brought to him, according to which England declared that although not in favour of the appointment of a technical commission *ad hoc* for the settlement of the bridge question at Silistria, she would be pleased to see the Servian Frontier Commission entrusted with that task. The Emperor said he could agree to that, and that only technical members should be appointed to the Commission."

These papers also include the letter from the Emperor William to Bismarck, dated 10/9/79, which accompanied the foregoing report: "Herewith I send you the conclusion of the notes of my conversation with the Emperor Alexander. My letter from Berlin, which crossed your memorandum No. 1, showed you that your views, which you now repeat with more detail in No. 2, are in contradiction — first in principle, and then that an answer could not be given until I had spoken with the Emperor Alexander. Your premises in the memoranda could be transformed into truth for me only after I had spoken to the Emperor, and — as I wrote you through Minister von Bülow — after light had been thrown upon the correspondence. Up to that time I regarded your memoranda *comme non avenus*. For me my notes have brought this light. The Emperor regrets having written the letter, as it has given rise to misunderstandings; as the words 'ce qui doit avoir des suites fâcheuses et dangereuses' should absolutely not be regarded as threatening a rupture, but only as directing my attention to the fact that if some restraint were not placed upon the press, ill feeling might arise between our two countries, which neither of us desired, and therefore that measures should be taken accordingly. That being as true as anything in this world can be, I could only express my complete approval, all the more so as the Russian Government had already taken such steps, and I had ordered similar measures prior to my departure. As you will see from the notes, I corrected the view taken by the Emperor Alexander of the votes given by my commissioners in the East, and he fully understood this, although he stated that he had already received news of the unfavourable consequences of these votes, which was quite new to me, but which explained the Emperor's dissatisfaction on that score. You will also read how I defended you against the passage in the Emperor's letter. He fully agreed that our policy during the war in the East was of the greatest benefit to Russia, which involves the highest recognition for yourself. I could assure him that *till now* you had maintained your old sentiments towards Russia, as was sufficiently proved in 1877 and 1878. On this occasion the Emperor expressed his conviction that peace could only be preserved for Europe by our holding together *à trois*, as we had done since the meeting in Berlin in 1872. Having hitherto held the same convic-

tion myself, I could only agree with him. As the three persons, Adlerberg, Giers, and Milutin, spoke in exactly the same sense, the light which I looked for at this meeting at Alexandrovo, respecting the sentiments of the Emperor and those persons who stand highest in his confidence, has been forthcoming *so far as I am concerned.* None of them has the slightest wish to wage war upon us. The great additions to the Russian army, which were raised as a reserve during the Turkish War, are retained as a permanent increase because they believe themselves to be threatened by a European coalition, and therefore must be in a state of preparation which would enable them to meet this *alone.*

"Since, therefore, for me the premises in your memoranda fall to the ground, namely, that owing to the danger threatened from Russia we should give up the policy we have hitherto pursued in our relations with that country, and not only seek but actually conclude a European coalition of a defensive nature against Russia, I cannot lend myself to this project in its present extension. In view of the explanation given by the Emperor Alexander of his letter to me, which *I* originally did not regard as a threat, but only as a desire to see the existing good relations between our States maintained by means of restrictions upon the press, it could *only be a source of satisfaction to me* to see the milder tone which prevailed in your answer sent by me to the Emperor, the moderate pressure and the truths which it contained being sufficiently intelligible *and also understood.* The words 'une entente séculaire, les legs de nos pères de glorieuse memoire' were written according to my own heart, and went to the heart of the Emperor, so that he repeated them to me twice. I could not therefore understand your hostility to Russia, which increases with each memorandum, nor could I see how the expressions quoted above could be interpreted as a mere empty phrase! I was just as deeply affected by the words that we should outwardly maintain a friendly attitude towards Russia, while at the same time concluding a coalition against her with Austria, with England, and perhaps with France. And you have its conclusion already so fixedly in view that you have not only communicated your whole project to Count Andrassy, but have also permitted him to speak of it to his Emperor (seinem Kaiser), who also immediately accepts

it. Then you invite me to send you instructions, on your way back through Vienna, to conclude a defensive alliance there with Austria against Russia, which would be followed by the larger coalition. Put yourself in my place for a moment. I am in presence of a personal friend, a near relative and an ally, in order to come to an understanding as to some hasty and indeed misunderstood passages in a letter, and our interview leads to a satisfactory result. Shall I now at the same time join a hostile coalition against this sovereign, that is to say, act behind his back in a manner contrary to that in which I spoke to him?

"I will not absolutely deny that the dangers set forth in your memoranda may arise one day, particularly on a change of rulers in St. Petersburg. I am, however, utterly unable to see that there is any imminent danger. How often have you warned me against treaties with other Powers, which tied one's hands, when there is no positive object in view, and there is only room for conjecture as to an uncertain future! My brother and Minister Manteuffel in particular burnt their fingers over the three years' treaty with Austria, which was concluded after Olmütz, and impatiently awaited the expiry of that term. The present case is quite similar. It is against my political convictions and my conscience to bind my hands for the sake of a *possible eventuality*.

"At the same time, I must not disavow you and the steps which you have already taken in dealing with Andrassy and his master. Therefore in Vienna, whither all the newspapers already say you are going, you may speak of the *eventuality* of disagreement with Russia developing into a possible breach, and enter into *pourparlers* respecting the joint measures to be then taken with Austria. But, following my conscience, I do not authorise you to conclude a convention, to say nothing of a treaty.

"In this way I hope our views will again agree. If it be God's will that this should be the case, I can look forward with confidence to the future, which would otherwise for me be very dark, and anticipate a genuine continuance of the relations with Russia, which are growing more friendly. I cannot tell you how painful the episode has been to me, when it seemed, for the first time in seventeen years, as if we could not come to an

understanding. I impatiently await your answer to the above authorisation, and am convinced that we shall be able to come to an agreement. God grant that it may be so!

"Your faithful and devoted

"WILLIAM.

"Finished at Stettin 12/9/79."

"As Herr von Bülow, after taking a copy of my additions to the Alexandrovo notes, had the original immediately despatched to you, there is a corresponding change in the opening words of this letter."

Letter from Bismarck to Prince Reuss, dated Varzin, 28 January, 1880 (on the left top corner, the note: "Copied a second time in the interest of history" — doubtless in Holstein's handwriting): —

"In connection with your report, No. 11 of the 10th, I take the liberty to send your Serene Highness a few words confidentially, and only for your personal information, on the relations between Austria and Italy.

"I consider it natural that Baron Haymerle should have made no official complaint respecting Urezzana, and, furthermore, that he was tactically right in taking that course. I should not regard it as good policy, however, to adopt a purely passive attitude towards similar permanent threats. Such a course would, I fear, only encourage Italian Chauvinism, and the semi-complicity of the Government therewith. According to my political convictions a purely defensive attitude, *i.e.*, one of mere complaint, is not an effective weapon against such permanent threats or incitement. It is open to Austria to parry such attacks, by assuming the offensive, on similar lines to the Italian demonstrations. It is not the Italian Government which adopts a threatening attitude. It only suffers Italian subjects to do so. Now I am convinced that there are elements and movements in Austria that favour the restoration of the Papal States, and of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, just as the Irredentists work for the acquisition of the Trentino. If these elements in the press and public life of Austria were to come or to be drawn into greater prominence, that would involve a counteraction against the Irredenta, which would compel the Italians to fall back upon the defensive, without being able to make any complaint. Even the plea that Austria, in

view of such threatening movements, requires a better line of defence than that which she now possesses, would be quite as legitimate as a craving for the Trentino, Triest, and Dalmatia. Italy by herself would scarcely venture to attack Austria, but her present attitude is a constant encouragement to the war party in Russia. For about twelve months I have had the impression that Italy is inclined to place herself at the disposal of a Russian policy of war, if in return she were offered an accession of territory and a stretch of the Adriatic coast. The relations which it has been sought to establish between the two armies, the Italian and the Russian, and the shifting of the centre of gravity of the Italian army towards the north, support this impression, not less than the indications furnished by various votes which the Great Powers have given among themselves. This whole attitude shows that Italy must not be numbered to-day among the peace-loving and conservative Powers, who must reckon with this fact. I beg your Serene Highness also to think over this matter for yourself, and to kindly send me your views in an autograph private letter. Of course any initiative in opening up this subject must be carefully avoided, but Baron Haymerle, or Count Andrassy when he comes to Vienna, can hardly fail to bring it up in conversation with your Serene Highness, and thus give you an opportunity of introducing observations in the sense of the foregoing remarks, not as the expression of German policy, but as your own opinion in the character of a friendly expert. In certain circumstances the Nuncio also might afford an opportunity for an expression of opinion in this sense which would excite no suspicion. It would in any case be of interest to assure one's self of the present feelings of the Italian Prelacy with regard to strategic moves of this description.

"I cannot deny that, to my mind, the Italy of to-day offers Germany small prospect of useful coöperation with us in the possible crises of the future. On the contrary, we have much more ground to fear that Italy will join our adversaries than to hope that she will unite with us, seeing that we have no more inducements to offer her. Every encouragement to Italian policy to join the bellicose and predatory Powers in Europe is contrary to *German* interests, and in the present instance still more contrary to those of Austria. For the protection

of the latter it would, I think, be useful to call the attention of the English Cabinet to the encouragement to breaches of the peace which the attitude of Italy involves. Perhaps your Serene Highness can ascertain whether anything has been done or is intended in this direction.

"BISMARCK."

The Emperor William to the Imperial Chancellor, Berlin, November 13, 1885: "Enclosed I return you *brevi manu*, your two extremely important and interesting letters, with my observations. I beg you to excuse me for selecting this method of answering them, but you know how badly I write long explanations, and from the marginal notes you will see my complete agreement with your views, so that I believe I may adopt this shorter form of answer. I may mention to you at the same time that I consider the moment has now come to lay before my son the views with which it was all along intended to acquaint him, as to the utter inexpediency, now no less than formerly, of the marriage in question, which, of course, he himself has also always held to be impossible. Now, however, that Prince Alexander has come forward as a rebel against the peace of Paris (doubtless Berlin was meant), and the signatories thereto, whether he remains in Bulgaria or not, a marriage of this kind has become more than ever impossible. Your political explanations are quite to the point.

"Your grateful

"WILLIAM."

I left for Hamburg at 12.20 on the 29th of October, shortly after the Emperor passed through that city. On the evening of the 30th I returned to Friedrichsruh, where I arrived about 5.30 P.M. At dinner, the Prince, who was in excellent spirits, said that the most gracious master had in all taken up five hours of his time. Afterwards, over our coffee, he observed to me: "This afternoon he let me talk to him for three hours on end. I stood as if in the pulpit, and I am tired out." Everybody said that the Emperor was extremely unaffected and amiable, and the Princess noticed in particular that he could laugh most heartily. I heard that Minister Mittnacht would arrive next day. By 12 o'clock, on the day of my journey to

Hamburg, I had read through the last of the Bismarck papers, which went as far as the year 1887 and concluded with No. 735. Among the most recent of the papers are three letters of the year 1880 from King Lewis of Bavaria, full of recognition for Bismarck, the second expressing regret at his wish to retire, and the hope that he would remain. A letter from the Emperor William to the Chief, dated 31/5/86, on the "horrifying news from Munich," says towards the close that there is little to be hoped from Prince Luitpold, while King Lewis is credited with having "shown more good will . . . for the German cause." Then two autograph letters from the Crown Princess (the present Dowager Empress). One is dated 23/12/85, and accompanied a present of Moselle wine which he had liked at her table; while the other, dated from Villa Zivio 22/11/88, deals with the illness of her consort, and reports the unanimous opinion of the German doctors. Finally, a letter of 23/11/87 from the Emperor William, which is very illegibly written and runs somewhat as follows: "Enclosed I send you the nomination of your son as Wirklicher Geheimrath with the title of Excellency, in order that you may hand it to him, a pleasure which I would not deny you. I imagine that this pleasure will be threefold: for yourself, for your son, and for me! I take this opportunity (to explain) to you the silence which I have observed up to the present respecting your proposal, in view of the sad condition of health of my son the Crown Prince, to initiate my grandson, Prince William, more fully into State affairs. In principle I entirely agree with you that this must be done, but it is a very difficult matter to carry into execution. You will of course know that the very natural decision which I took on your advice, that in case of my being prevented my grandson William should sign the current Cabinet rescripts in civil and military affairs with the superscription 'By Order of his Majesty,' greatly irritated the Crown Prince, as if, in Berlin, a substitute were already being thought of. On considering the matter quietly my son will doubtless have reassured himself. But such reflection would be more difficult if he ascertained that his son were allowed a still greater insight into State affairs, and were even given a Civil aide-de-camp, as I used to call my *Vortragende Räthe*. Things were, however, quite (different) then. As there was nothing that could induce

my Royal father to appoint a substitute for the then Crown Prince (although my succession to the throne could be anticipated long beforehand), my introduction to State affairs was put off till I was forty-four years old, when my brother suddenly nominated me a member of the Ministry of State with the title of Prince of Prussia. It was necessary in this position that an experienced man of business should be appointed to prepare me for each sitting of the Council of Ministers. At the same time I received the diplomatic despatches every day, after they had passed through four, five, or six hands — according to the seals! A mere *conversation*, such as you propose, the appointment of a statesman in attendance on my grandson, would not have the character of a preparation, as in my case, for a *specific object*, and would certainly still further irritate my son, a thing which must absolutely be avoided. I would therefore suggest that the course of occupation hitherto followed — learning the manner of dealing with State affairs — should be continued, that is to say, that (my grandson) should be attached to single Ministries or perhaps to two at a time, as during this winter, when my grandson was attached in a voluntary capacity to the Foreign Office as well as to the Ministry of Finance. This voluntary course should cease with the New Year, and perhaps (be replaced) by the Ministry of the Interior, my grandson being permitted in special cases to obtain information at the Foreign Office. This *continuation* of the course hitherto followed may cause my son less irritation, although you will remember that he was strongly opposed even to this. I therefore beg you to let me have your opinion on the matter. Wishing you all a pleasant festival,

"Your grateful

"WILLIAM."[1]

(. . .) On Thursday, November 1st, I told the Prince, at lunch, that I would either immediately or next morning return him the papers, sorted and arranged. He replied, however, that he had found some more which belonged to the collection. He took me with him to his study, and handed them to me for ar-

[1] The text of this letter is very confused, as well as incomplete, and parts of the foregoing version cannot pretend to be more than an attempt to convey its probable meaning. — TRANSLATOR.

rangement, adding that there were very many more at Varzin, a whole box full, including private letters of historic significance. I should also go through these later on, and put them into chronological order.

On the morning of Friday, the 2nd of November, read, sorted, and numbered new documents, which were afterwards put into a fresh envelope. Among these was the announcement of March, 1877, by the Emperor William, that he had appointed Bismarck Hereditary Grand Huntsman of Pomerania, reports respecting the illness of the Crown Prince, afterwards Emperor Frederick, from San Remo, Charlottenburg, and Potsdam, a letter from the Emperor William II. to Bismarck, transferring him to the second regiment of Guards, a telegram from the same, dated October 21, 1888, expressing his satisfaction at his journey to South Germany, Vienna, and Rome, whence he had just returned, and his thanks for the Chief's counsels, which had been justified by his experience while away, and, finally, the letter already alluded to from the Empress Augusta. Nothing of importance among them.

At midday, before lunch, I personally handed over to the Chief the envelopes containing the papers. He appeared to have looked through them in the afternoon, as, when he was passing by in the evening, before dinner, as usual, with his two dogs, he gave me his hand and thanked me, expressing his surprise that I had been able to deal with such a mass of letters and papers in so short a time. I said if he wished to have those at Varzin also arranged, and could find no more suitable person to do it, I should be glad if he would let me know when he was next going to his estate in Further Pomerania, so that I might come there and complete my task. I should be delighted to serve him and learn something for myself at the same time. Rottenburg was absent from dinner. He had gone to Hamburg to meet some relatives. During dinner there was some talk of a Herr von Bülow, who had been the Chief's guest at lunch. I ascertained that in this gentleman I had had before me the famous leader of the Lauenburg nobility, to whom Bismarck had clearly explained his standpoint, first on the Ratzeburg Lake, and again on taking the oath of allegiance in the church there. He is much more harmless than I had fancied him. The Chief said: "I should have invited him to

remain to dinner, and he doubtless expected it, but he is so tedious that I did not know what to do with him during the five hours before dinner." Then, after referring to the letters of the Crown Prince in 1863, which I had arranged, and to his own pencil notes, he came to speak of the Crown Prince himself. I said: "Absalom! And from what you wrote on the back you doubtless wrote him in reply that you did not intend to be ever included among his ministers." "Yes," he rejoined, and the quotation *Leicht fertig ist die Jugend mit dem Wort!* (Youth is hasty in its judgments). He then gave a survey of the various phases of the Crown Prince's attitude towards himself in the course of his life. "First, in 1848 or 1849. At that time he was still very thin and lanky. He showed great attachment to me, and, when they forbade him to do so at Potsdam, he used to try to meet me in the dusk of the evening and shake hands with me. Then the rude letter of 1863; afterwards, since 1864, in Flensburg, better. Then again Liberal counsels, Augustenburg sympathies, the Geffcken and Friedberg introductions, and his siding with Cumberland." I said: "The Englishwoman, the Guelph." We then spoke of the latter, also over our coffee, when the Princess said she could be very amiable when she liked, as she herself had experienced; a statement which the Chief also confirmed from his own experience. (. . .)

On Saturday I took leave of the Prince and Princess in the dining-room, after I had fulfilled my promise to the little Rantzaus to go with them to see a "house" that they had begun to build on the roadside leading to Dassendorf. I suggested some architectural improvements, and the eldest one, with child-like politeness, thanked me for the "good advice I had given them," and hoped I would soon come back again. A prospect of doing so was held out to me on my taking leave at the house. The Chief said, as I was shaking hands: "Adieu, Büschlein, perhaps we shall resume our business soon at Varzin. But I must first return to Berlin." The Princess asked me to present her compliments to Bucher, and the Countess came down to accompany me to the station with her children. But first she showed me the handsome clock and writing-table presented to her father by the German manufacturers, and gave me a porcelain penholder from one of the drawers as a souvenir. (. . .)

On Sunday, the 10th of February, 1889, I received through a Chancery attendant an appointment to call upon the Chief at 3 P.M. I appeared punctually at the hour named, in his antechamber. (. . .) Minister Bötticher was called in to the Prince before me, and I talked to Rottenburg until my turn came. On entering the room I found the Prince in uniform. He asked about my health, and I inquired as to his. He complained of insomnia, and said he could no longer get any sleep without artificial means. On his then asking me what I had been doing in the interval, I mentioned the *Grenzboten* article on his attitude, and that of the Crown Prince at the Versailles negotiations with the Bavarians, and he expressed a wish to see it, and said: "I should like you to add something to it, and to return to Geffcken's extracts from the diary of the Crown Prince, or more correctly from one of the three or four diaries of the war, and of later years. A diary is a series of daily notes in which one writes down immediately afterwards what he has ascertained and experienced, just as a tourist does; and that too is the character of the first original diary. It is short, and as was natural enough in war time, it deals mainly with military affairs, and contains scarcely any political considerations. The others are interpolated later, from conversations which he had with good friends, or those whom he considered to be such — Geffcken, Roggenbach, &c. Thus he imagined that he had thought of all these things himself, as far back as 1870. English letters and influences will also have affected him. I say he imagined that and believed it, because he was a man who was very devoted to the truth. The good friends were malcontents, ambitious place-hunters, and intriguers, people who felt that they had a vocation for great things, who knew more and could do better than the Government, and who would very willingly have lent a hand if they had only been allowed to do so. They were men of unappreciated talent, the wallflowers, the pettifogging attorneys and quacks of politics. He showed them the diary, and they made their observations upon it, which he then inserted. They found that in this shape it would come in usefully in the future. That accounts for the various transformations it underwent. The Crown Prince, like all mediocrities, liked copying and other occupations of the same sort, such as sealing letters, &c. And he had time enough for it, as the

King kept him apart from almost all political work, seldom or never spoke to him on such matters, and would not allow me to make any communication to him on subjects of the kind. From 1863 onward there was an uninterrupted struggle between the two, in the course of which there were several violent scenes when the Crown Prince was pulled up sharply, and he (imitating the gesture) cast up his eyes and raised his hands in despair. It was the same at Versailles in connection with the Emperor question, where the most gracious master would not at first hear a word of our proposals, and got so angry on one occasion that he brought down his fist violently upon the table, and the inkstand nearly flew out of the window. And here you may supplement the report in the diary as to this incident. Fragmentary and incomplete in every respect, it leaves out the first act in the negotiations, in which I had to wean the Crown Prince of the notion, which doubtless originated at Baden, that the Emperor idea was unGerman and would damage the country. He was thinking only of the mediæval emperors, the Roman expeditions, and Charles V. For that reason he wished to have only a King of Germany or of the Germans, while the other three Kings were to resume the title of Dukes — Duke of Bavaria, of Suabia, and of Saxony. And to this he added the idea of coercion — they should be invited to Versailles, and once we had got him there it was to be a case of needs must when the devil drives (*jetzt friss Vogel oder stirb*). I replied to him that that would be treacherous, disloyal, and ungrateful, and that I would not lend myself to it, as, moreover, it would have no permanency. No friendly persuasion could possibly induce the Kings to submit to this degradation. I then pointed out to him the advantages of the Emperor idea, somewhat in the same way as I did afterwards in my letter to the King of Bavaria. The Kings would prefer to subordinate themselves to a fellow-countryman, who bore the title of German Emperor, and to grant him certain rights in war and peace, than to a King of Prussia, who would only be a somewhat more powerful neighbour. Among the people, however, the Emperor had left a deeper impression than had the few Princes, who, after the time of Charlemagne, called themselves, like Henry the Fowler, German Kings. In the restoration of the Empire they looked forward to the Emperor as the keystone of the arch. The Em-

peror still sits enthroned in Kyffhäuser in North Germany, and in the South German Untersberge. This idea should not be connected with that of a Roman Emperor, Roman expeditions, or any pretensions to universal sovereignty would be against the true interests of the nation. It was, on the contrary, a purely national idea which the Emperor would represent and which we also had in view, the idea of unification after discord and decay, of new power and security through unity, of the concentration of the whole people upon the same objects. As far back as 1818 such ideas were held by the students' associations, and in 1848 they found expression in the *Paulskirche*. In 1863 Austria had something similar in view with her draft constitution to be laid before the Congress of Princes, only her first thought was for her own interests." "Later, on the foundation of the North German Confederation, there was some talk of an Emperor of the Confederation, and the idea was only dropped because it would have led to a division and because in such circumstances Bavaria and Würtemberg would certainly not have joined us then, nor probably later on. For similar reasons I declined Lasker's suggestion, in February, 1870, to admit Baden into the Confederation, because that would have been an attempt to exercise pressure upon her South German neighbours. The excessive number of Kings gradually convinced him, and he was then in favour of the Emperor idea. In the diary he has forgotten this whole first act. He writes as if he had discovered the idea and had been the first to put it forward, while it had long been kept alive, as a hope among the people, and he himself at first would not hear of it. Then came the second act, when it is true we acted together at the Prefecture in order to win over the old Master to our view. He at first vehemently rejected our proposal, and fell into a rage when we insisted. I asked if he wished to remain a neuter for ever. 'What do you mean?' he said crossly, 'what sort of a neuter?' 'Why, the Presidency' (*Nun das Präsidium*), I replied. But that also was of no avail. Then he agreed to it up to a certain point, if he were allowed to bear the title of Emperor of Germany. I explained to him that this would be opposed to the treaties, and would express territorial sovereignty over all Germany. He said the Tsar called himself Emperor of Russia. I denied this, and stated that his title was Russian Emperor. (He quoted the Russian term.) He main-

tained his opinion, however, until he asked Schneider, who was obliged to acknowledge that I was right." On one occasion he mentioned in a report that Schleinitz had been present at these negotiations. I now asked: "What was he doing there? In what capacity was he present, as Minister of the Household, former chief of the foreign service, or in what other capacity?" He smiled and said: "As confidant of the Queen, who had sent him to oppose the bombardment and to persuade the King against it. He had nothing to do with the Emperor question. He had always been Augusta's favourite, and while he was still a poor man she had on several occasions sent him money, 300 thalers, in order to enable him to visit her at Coblentz. It was solely through her favour that he became Minister."

We then spoke of Sybel's "Die deutsche Nation und das Kaiserreich" (The German Nation and the Empire), which he gave me; of Morier's rude letter to Count Herbert, which was quite uncalled for, as there had been no charge made against that gentleman of having given direct information to Bazaine respecting the movements of the German troops; then of the wretched attitude of the German Liberal press, which in this — as in the Mackenzie, Geffcken, and other questions — took the side of every enemy of Germany and of German interests, whose hand was against him too; and finally about Samoa, in which connection the Chief censured the arbitrary conduct of the German Consul there. The conversation had lasted for about half an hour, and the Chancellor said as I was leaving that he would now try to get a little sleep. The article desired by him was written in the course of the following week, and was to appear in No. 8 of the *Grenzboten* under the title "The Emperor Question and Geffcken's Diary Extracts." I, however, first submitted a proof to the Chancellor for revision, and he made a number of alterations, which Rottenburg dictated to me in his bureau in order that I might reproduce them in my copy. Thereupon I despatched the latter to Grunow (Saturday, February 16th), but a few hours later Rottenburg, with whom I had dined at Professor Scheibler's, came back there with a message from the Chief requesting me to telegraph that the article should be returned for the present. Even after it had been toned down it was too dangerous for publication.

At noon on Sunday, the 17th of February, a Chancery

attendant brought me a note from Rottenburg (begging me to call upon him at 3 o'clock at the Imperial Chancellerie. He had important instructions to give me).

On my going to see him at 3 o'clock, he told me that the Chief now wished to have the article printed, but with a further slight change. We therefore telegraphed to Grunow to forward me that evening the proofs I had sent him, which I would return to him immediately. They arrived at 10 o'clock, when I at once took them to Rottenburg. We then inserted the last alterations of the Chief, and sent back the proofs to Grunow in a registered letter so that the article should appear in No. 8. *Per tot discrimina rerum.*

CHAPTER XI

SIGNS OF FRICTION BETWEEN THE CHANCELLOR AND THE YOUNG EMPEROR — WITH THE CHIEF DURING THE CRISIS — HIS ANXIETY ABOUT HIS PAPERS — HOW TO GET THEM AWAY — HIS RETIREMENT A FACT — THE EMPEROR WANTS TO BE RID OF HIM IN ORDER TO GOVERN ALONE WITH HIS OWN GENIUS — COURT FLUNKYISM — HIS RETIREMENT IS NOT DUE TO HIS HEALTH, NOR IS IT IN ANY SENSE VOLUNTARY — LETTERS FROM BISMARCK TO WILLIAM I. — THE CHIEF ON THE INITIATION OF PRINCE WILLIAM INTO PUBLIC AFFAIRS — THE GRAND DUKE OF BADEN'S ADVICE TO THE EMPEROR FREDERICK — THE CHIEF TALKS OF WRITING HIS OWN MEMOIRS — BUREAUCRATIC INGRATITUDES — FOREIGN OFFICE APOSTATES — ACCORDING TO BUCHER THE NOTES DICTATED FOR THE MEMOIRS ARE MERE FRAGMENTS, SOMETIMES ERRONEOUS — THE CHIEF'S LIFE AT FRIEDRICHSRUH — SCHWENINGER'S APPREHENSIONS

IN February, 1890, a few days after the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on the labour question, Bucher had already pointed out to me in conversation the difficulties in the way of an international settlement of the question, and said he imagined the Emperor was going further in this matter than the Chancellor could approve of.

Monday, February 24th, he said to me: "I have a commission for you which I must carry out before the Chancellor of State arrives. The 'dragon' sent for me to-day and asked if I still had any connection with English newspapers, as he wished to get them to insert an article on the elections. I was sorry that I had no longer any such connection, but I thought perhaps you might write to the *Daily Telegraph* and get it to publish the desired article. He said: 'Busch! Why, how is he getting on? I understand he has had an apoplectic attack.' I replied: 'Oh! no, he only caught a bad cold last Whitsun-

tide, and suffered in particular from great hoarseness, but he is quite well again now.' You will observe that the apoplectic attack comes from friend Holstein." (Probably reached the Chief's ears in quite a harmless way from Scheibler through Rottenburg.) I replied: "As a matter of fact I have not written for that paper for years, but they still send it to me daily, and Kingston, one of their editorial staff, and a leader writer, has translated my book *Unser Reichskanzler* into English. I fancy, therefore, they would take an article from me on the subject suggested by the Prince." He then drew an envelope from his pocket and said: "I have here jotted down our conversation on the subject. They are for the main part his own words, pointing out the chief cause of the way in which the elections turned out, the result of which he attributes chiefly to the Rescript. Work them up into an article and see that you get it published in London. He attaches great importance to it and would like to see a copy when it appears." I promised to write and send off the article next morning, and if it were accepted, to hand in a copy of it personally to the Chief, when I should ask him whether I could be of any further use in the matter. He then mentioned to me that the Prince was not at all satisfied with the Rescript, nor was he pleased in other respects with the intentions of the young Majesty, who had become very self-confident and arbitrary, and that he had only remained in office up to the present because he had hoped that the Emperor would appoint Herbert to be his successor. He knew already, however, that this desire will not be fulfilled, as the Emperor objects to Herbert on personal grounds. (. . .)

"By the way, when you next visit the Chief, you should speak in a loud, clear voice, as his hearing is not so good as it was. You should also avoid contradicting him in any way, as, according to Rottenburg, he is now very short tempered and irritable." Bucher's notes (the original of which I have retained) ran as follows: "Explain the influence of the Imperial Rescript on the elections. The old Social Democrats (Republicans) acted as if the Rescript were a victory for their efforts. Many malcontents — and who in this world is contented? — who were hitherto deterred from joining the Social Democracy by their monarchical sentiments (and at bottom the bulk of our people are monarchical), now believe that they can vote for

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them with an easy conscience. The Emperor has offended the bourgeoisie, and has actually embittered the large manufacturers, who regard the Rescript as an incitement to their workmen. The lower middle classes, middlemen, and shopkeepers do not see that their own interests are directly threatened, as they know how to shift from their own shoulders any increase in the price of goods, but they see their political position threatened by the fourth estate. Many of them have therefore fallen away from the *cartel* candidates who were in favour of the Government, and for whom they had formerly voted, and took up with the Progressists, whose leaders are double faced. The experience obtained during the period of conflict showed the importance of the sentiments entertained by the bourgeoisie. At that time they wished to seize the reins of power, *à la Louis Philippe.* The masses did not care, or did not see, yet repeated elections always yielded the same results. The Emperor does not understand that, he has had no experience of it; and it is difficult to make him recognise it as he is surrounded by too many servile flatterers (*Byzantinern*) who confirm his self-confidence. Among the 'Sunday' polling cards in the eastern provinces there were a great number with the name of the Emperor William. Conclusion: Had it not been for the Rescript, the elections would have turned out much as they did three years ago." I worked this up into an article for the *Daily Telegraph*, and forwarded it to the office in Fleet Street on the 26th of February.

It was not accepted, however, probably because they considered themselves to be better informed by their regular correspondent, or did not think themselves justified in taking sides against the Emperor.

On reaching home on the evening of the 15th of March, I found waiting for me an invitation to do Prince Bismarck the honour of visiting him on the following morning at 11.30. (Original retained.) I went to the palace, No. 77 Wilhelmstrasse, at the time appointed, and was speedily shown in. The Chief, who was in undress uniform, was sitting in the front study. He shook hands with me: "Good morning, Büschlein," and added with a smile, "you still keep your fine beard." Proceeding to the large back room, he called me in to him. There were several boxes and also a big trunk with papers, while a large cupboard containing documents was half emptied. He drew out one

drawer of the writing-table and took out a dark green portfolio in which the correspondence with Andrassy had been kept at Friedrichsruh, as also the envelopes containing the papers which I had sorted for him, and said: "I wish you would look through these for me; first glance through those from Friedrichsruh once more, and then those from Varzin and other new ones; there is still a great number of them. I said to you at the time that we would resume the business. Do you still care to do so?"

I: "Most certainly, Serene Highness; I am only too happy to have the opportunity. I thought several times of reminding you, but I do not like to appear importunate and so preferred to wait for your invitation."

He: "Well, there are others (pointing to the trunk), and here in the green portfolio are more recent ones. You should look through these from Friedrichsruh once more and make a note of those that are of importance from an historical standpoint, then number all the rest in chronological order and add a list of the important ones. I now want to write my memoirs, and you can help me with them. That means I am going to retire. You see I am already packing. My papers are going to be sent off immediately, for if they remain here much longer, it will end in his seizing them." I expressed my amazement.

He: "Yes, I cannot remain here any longer and the sooner I go the better."

I: "But surely not immediately, Serene Highness?"

He: "It is a question of three days, perhaps of three weeks, but I am going for certain. I cannot stand him any longer. He wants even to know whom I see, and has spies set to watch those who come in and go out. For that reason, too, I do not well see how I am to get the papers away. They might be sent to you, but how?"

I replied: "I could take the more important ones away with me, a few small packets at a time, carrying them in the first place to Hehn's and then perhaps to Leipzig."

He: "Hehn? Who is he?"

I told him, and that he was perfectly trustworthy.

He: "I could also have sent them to Schönhausen, and you could go there from Friedrichsruh to fetch them. I want you to have the most important of them copied and to keep the copies for the present."

I: "But if a stranger were to copy them he might betray the contents to others."

He: "Ah, I am not afraid of that. Of course he might, but I have no secrets among them — none whatever. Come to Friedrichsruh when I am there and we will work together. But I should like you first to get a letter from Frederick William IV. into the press. I saw it at the end of a new book, of which I do not remember the title, but it was a fabricated version, inaccurate in form and full of impossibilities and absurdities. I have a correct copy of the original, but I cannot find it in your envelopes. (Searched in that for 1852.) Ah, yes, here it is. Take it with you, copy it, and then return me the original."

I suggested that it should be printed in the *Grenzboten.*

He: "All right, but it must be given as coming from Vienna, and the publication of the false version must serve as a reason for publishing it."

While I was helping him to pack the papers in one of the boxes he came to speak about the Rescript, and said: "It comes of an over-estimate of himself, and of his inexperience of affairs, and that can lead to no good. He is much too conceited, however, to believe me that it will merely cause confusion and do harm."

I: "It is the disgusting —— of the press and of the Court menials that are to blame for his self-deception." He laughed. I told him that the article on the influence exercised by the Rescript on the elections had been written and sent off, but was not published by the *Daily Telegraph.*

He: "It was quite correct, however, as reports reached us from all sides as to the bad effect which the Rescript produced on the electors." He then asked how old I was.

I: "Sixty-nine, but my father was eighty-six and my mother eighty-four."

He: "Well, I should not mind living till I am eighty, out in the country." He promised when I left to send me the latest papers (those in the green portfolio) to look through, arrange in chronological order, and copy. I thanked him for his great confidence in me, which was justified, for as I had already said to him on one occasion in 1870, he was my Master, and my Messiah.

He: "Blasphemy! But you have deserved my confidence."

At 11 A.M. on the 17th of March a Chancery attendant arrived

in a cab with a message that the Prince requested me to come to him immediately. On my entering the antechamber, Bleichröder was with him, and afterwards Herbert, and so I had to wait. At length Rottenburg, who had already declared that he, too, would retire, told me that they had gone upstairs to lunch, but that he would immediately again announce my arrival to the Prince. He returned in a few minutes with an invitation from the Chief to take lunch with him. At table upstairs I met a nephew or cousin of the Prince, to whom I was introduced as "Büschlein," and who remembered having seen me at dinner in Versailles—doubtless the then lieutenant of Dragoons with the red collar. The Princess and Count Herbert came in later. The conversation first turned on a foreign diplomatist, who would have married Countess Marie if her father had not been warned against him as a spendrift. "Besides, I am altogether against marriage with foreigners," said the Chief, "and particularly in the case of diplomatists." He then spoke of the alleged second visit of Windthorst. It had displeased the Emperor, but it was merely a newspaper invention and ought to be contradicted. "Such intercourse, however, is useful," he said. "It is well that I should in that way keep in touch with the parties, and for that reason I have always been accessible to them. Every member of Parliament could come to me at any time, day or night, and be received immediately. But they have taken little advantage of this. They do not want to be considered by their party as having Government sympathies, and prefer to be able to abuse me for having no relations with them. It is only the Ultramontanes who comes sometimes, such as Windthorst, Schorlemer and Hüne, also Frankenstein, who is now dead. The *cartel* parties hardly ever put in an appearance." He recommended me to try the caviar. "It has been sent to me by the Minister of the Imperial Household at St. Petersburg, and I take it that it is the same as that which is served to the Emperor Alexander. It is the best I have ever had." He also praised the Moselle and Yquem. On Herbert coming in he laid before the Chief a portfolio connected with the negotiations in progress respecting a partition of East Africa, and the latter gave his opinion as to the frontiers. I accompanied him downstairs, and he handed me out of the green portfolio on the table in the large room nine or ten copies in his own handwriting of letters ad-

dressed by him to the Emperor William I., during the years 1872 to 1887. "Copy these and keep the copies by you, and bring me back the originals, as well as that of the letter of introduction of 1852."

He also gave me a large envelope containing more recent letters and reports to be arranged in chronological order, with dockets on the more important ones for the purpose of the memoirs. "Return me these to-morrow or the day after," he said; and I promised to bring them back on Thursday. We then went into the other study, and I said that even now I could not bring myself to realise that he was retiring; it seemed to me utterly impossible. He: "Impossible? It is now a fact. Things have gone more rapidly than I imagined they would. I thought he would be thankful if I were to remain with him for a few years, but I find that, on the contrary, he is simply longing with his whole heart to be rid of me in order that he may govern alone — with his own genius — and be able to cover himself with glory. He does not want the old mentor any longer, but only docile tools. But I cannot make genuflections (Ich aber kann nicht mit Proskynesis dienen), nor crouch under the table like a dog. He wants to break with Russia, and yet he has not the courage to demand the increase of the army from the Liberals in the Reichstag. I have succeeded in winning their confidence at St. Petersburg, and obtain proofs of it every day. Their Emperor is guided by my wishes in what he does and in what he refrains from doing. What will they think there now? And also other expectations which I cannot fulfil, together with the intrigues of courtiers, rudeness and spying, watching with whom I hold intercourse! My retirement is certain. I cannot tack on as a tail to my career the failures of arbitrary and inexperienced self-conceit for which I should be responsible."

I: "When he falls into distress and difficulty he will himself come and fetch you back, Serene Highness! He will have to beg and implore you."

He: "No, he is too proud for that. But he would like to keep Herbert, only that would not do — that would be a sort of mixed goods train, and I should always have to bear part of the responsibility. Moreover, although Herbert would doubtless stand being lectured and censured by me, he would not

stand it from Imperial Chancellor Bötticher." (He therefore seemed to think that the latter had been selected as his successor, and knew nothing as yet of the choice of Caprivi). "Besides, they have treated his father badly." I said: "The Emperor William seems to have the same notion as King Frederick William IV. had, according to Sybel: namely, that Kings in virtue of their office know everything better than their best servants." He: "Yes, obedient Ministers! He has altogether a great deal in common with him." . . . I proposed to publish the letters of William I., or at least a few of them, and mentioned the *Grenzboten* as a paper from which they would be largely quoted. He seemed to like the idea. "I will see about it when you bring me back the originals. If you do not then see me, report yourself at Friedrichsruh in a short time. I shall now go out riding for a while." As I was leaving the room, he clapped me on the shoulder in a friendly way. In the antechamber, Rottenburg again said he would also retire. His nerves could no longer stand it. Very nice of him, but we shall see how the cat jumps.

On Thursday, March 20th, I took back to the Chief the originals of his letters to William I. He looked through them and sanctioned the publication in the *Grenzboten* of the first three, adding at the same time: "We shall first publish these which refer to family matters, and see what impression they make. Then we can let the others follow, and perhaps later on still more from the collection."

I: "Perhaps articles also?"

He (smiling): "Yes, perhaps. Hamburg newspapers would also accept something of the kind. I have recommended the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*, which the company that owns it placed at my disposal, to the Conservatives (doubtless those belonging to the Free Conservative wing) as their organ."

On Saturday, March 22nd, I returned to him in an envelope the thirty-nine new papers chronologically arranged and numbered, the most important ones being specially docketed. The latter were: No. 14, letter written by William I. in 1884; on the Battenberger and his projected marriage, 16, 18, 21, 31, and 33; a letter to the Chief from the Crown Prince Frederick at Portofino, describing his eldest son as inexperienced, extremely boastful and self-conceited; a letter from Crown Prince William

to Bismarck in 1888 on the "Battenberger" business and Albedyll's plan for "nailing down" Prince Alexander by a written declaration; a letter of the Battenberger from Sofia to the Queen of England, sent to the Chancellor with a letter from the Crown Princess Victoria (two copies); a report by Professor von Bergmann on the illness of the Emperor Frederick; a letter from the Grand Duke of Baden respecting an interview with the sick monarch, which had taken place according to arrangement with him alone (without the Englishwoman), when the Emperor listened with deep seriousness to the statement made to him by the Grand Duke: "You cannot govern without Prince Bismarck (Ohne Fürst Bismarck kannst Du nicht regieren)." The Chief looked through the particulars of the contents which I had written on the envelope, and observed: "Those are really important papers, but take them back with you and keep them at your house for the present." He then reflected, however, and said: "I am being watched, and you also, and if you are seen coming and going with a large envelope — this will be better. Come here!" He then went into the middle of the room. I followed him, and he raised the cover of a green portfolio which was packed up in it under a round box. "Those are maps," he said. "Lay these papers between them, and remember where they are in case I should forget it, when we proceed with the Memoirs at Friedrichsruh. I am sending about 300 cases and other things away, and 13,000 bottles of wine. That is a great deal, but it includes many presents. Besides, while I still had money I bought several lots of good sherry, which will come in for my children. Write to me a fortnight after I reach Friedrichsruh and ask when you can come on a long visit and help me with the Memoirs. I must have a private secretary so that I may be able to dictate and dispose of minor affairs by letter. That is not for you, however, as I intend to employ you on something better. I have accordingly asked Schweninger to find a young doctor for this purpose, who would also be at hand in case of indisposition and accident, as, for instance, if I were to hurt myself out riding. It would be something for him, too, as it would in any case bring him in a couple of thousand marks. Keep yourself free for our business." I replied that I would arrange for the present to remain with him for six months, and if necessary for a further

period later on, after a short holiday. We then returned to the front room and sat down, when he said: "There is one thing I would ask you to do now if you still have any influence in the press, that is, to correct a mistake which I have repeatedly noticed in newspaper articles within the last few days, as also in communications from exalted places, as, for instance, from England — with suppositions and reproaches — namely, that I had sent in my resignation owing to my apprehension of great crises, and left the Emperor in the lurch through fear of the increased Opposition in the new Reichstag. A glance at my past history and character ought to have discredited that notion, and a remembrance of the conflict of 1866, when the Opposition was much stronger and more dangerous, and of my loyalty to my royal master, which I likewise showed and proved on later occasions. But, as a matter of fact, it is quite wrong. On the contrary, I did not want to retire until the summer, and, in the meantime, offered to defend the Imperial policy in the Reichstag, and to take up the struggle with the Opposition. I was not permitted to do so, however. . . . He wants to do everything himself, and he fancies that he can." He then spoke once more of spying, and of the Emperor setting a watch upon him to see with whom he held intercourse. (Probably Windthorst's visit.) "That is one of the final reasons that have induced me to tender my resignation." He stood up, bent across the table, resting on his two hands, and smiling as he looked me straight in the face, said: "But, tell me, do you drink much wine?" I replied: "During the daytime no spirituous liquors whatever, not even at table. In the evening two pints of thin, sour Moselle." "So!" he rejoined. "You certainly gave me the impression of having stowed away a bottle of Burgundy, and yet a short time ago you had some little trouble. (Apoplectic attack?) Otherwise I do not in the least disapprove of it, as I myself drink my whack. But take care of yourself, for I wish to keep you with us for a long time yet." It was then arranged once more that I should write to him a fortnight after his arrival at Friedrichsruh, but in the first only to arrange for a shorter visit, during which we should talk over and settle about a longer stay later on.

On Monday, March 24th, the Chief again sent, by a Chancery attendant, to fetch me in a cab. I had to wait in the ante-

chamber from 11.45 to 1 P.M. as Caprivi was taking lunch upstairs with the Prince. I then saw the new Imperial Chancellor, as he was going away. Scheibler congratulated Rottenburg on a second quality Red Eagle and oakleaf, which may possibly soothe his nerves. On being called in, I found the Chief seated in a *causeuse* before his writing-table. I handed him to-day's *Post*, which Rottenburg had given me for him. He read out to me the short leader of the 23rd (which I have kept), and said: "They, too, want to curry favour. That comes from gentlemen at Court, who want to hush up things. Please say something against that! Could the Liberals themselves abuse me worse? Not the worst, but, on the contrary, the best service that could be done to me, would be to give a correct answer to the question whether my retirement has been voluntary or involuntary; and that answer is: involuntary. It is a patriotic duty not to maintain the utmost reserve, but, on the contrary, to tell the truth. The young man would, however, like to have it hushed up. Indeed, he has gone so far as to summon Schweninger, and to try to make him believe that it was due to considerations of health. Yes, there is a great deal of flunkyism (*Byzantinerthum*) here, and they all crawl on their bellies before him, in order to attract one gracious look upon themselves." I asked if he would stay on much longer. He said: "No, to-morrow or the next day."

I: "Then I am to write to your Serene Highness in fourteen or fifteen days about my visit?"

He: "You can write even earlier, and come very soon."

The desired article was despatched to the *Grenzboten* as an appendix to that recently ordered. It appeared in No. 14, immediately following a longer article (probably by Kayser), which preached from the same text as the *Post*. The first three letters from Bismarck to William I. appeared at the head of No. 14. They ran as follows:—

I

"VARZIN, *August* 1st, 1872.

"Your Majesty has given my wife and myself great pleasure by sharing in our family festival, and we beg your Majesty graciously to accept our respectful thanks. Your Majesty is

right in giving the first place among the blessings for which I have to thank God to my domestic happiness, but happily in my house that happiness both for my wife and for myself includes the consciousness of your Majesty's satisfaction; and the extremely gracious and friendly words of recognition contained in your Majesty's letter do more to soothe disordered nerves than all the art of the physician. In looking back upon my life I have had such inexhaustible reasons to thank God for His unmerited mercies that I often fear I cannot remain so fortunate to the end. I regard it as a particularly happy dispensation of Providence that my vocation on earth should be the service of a master for whom I can work with pleasure and affection, as — under your Majesty's guidance — the inborn loyalty of the subject need never fear to find itself in opposition to a hearty devotion to the honour and welfare of the Fatherland. May God continue to grant me strength, as well as will, to serve your Majesty in such a manner that I may preserve your Majesty's satisfaction with my efforts, of which such a gracious evidence now lies before me in the shape of the letter of the 26th. The vase, which arrived in good time, is a truly monumental expression of royal favour, and is at the same time so substantial that I may hope that not the 'fragments' only, but the whole, will go down to my descendants as a proof of your Majesty's gracious participation in our silver wedding.

"The officers of the 54th regiment, in a spirit of comradeship and friendliness, sent their band from Kolberg. Otherwise, as usually happens in the country, we were restricted to the more intimate family circle, with the exception that Motley, the former American Minister in London, a friend of my youth, chanced to be here on a visit. In addition to her Majesty the Empress, his Majesty the King of Bavaria and their Royal Highnesses Prince Charles and Frederick Charles, and H.I.H. the Crown Prince have honoured me with telegraphic congratulations.

"My health is slowly improving. It is true I have done no work whatever, yet I hope to be able to report myself to your Majesty as fit for service in time for the Imperial visit.

"V. BISMARCK."

2

"VARZIN, *November 13th*, 1872.

"MOST GRACIOUS KING AND MASTER,

"I am greatly depressed at being unable on receipt of your Majesty's gracious communication of the 9th instant to proceed to Berlin at once and place myself at your Majesty's disposal in the present crisis, all the more so as towards the end of last month I believed I should soon be sufficiently restored to do so. Since my return from Berlin I found my strength constantly increasing, and for that reason and also through my interest in the matter I allowed myself to be tempted, in opposition to the urgent warnings of the doctor, to yield to Count Eulenburg's frequent appeals, and endeavour to influence the course of affairs by communications to your Majesty and correspondence with the Ministers and with Members of the Upper House. That is certainly a very hazardous proceeding in such a fashion, and at such a distance, in the absence of discussions which might throw light upon the questions at issue, without knowledge of the opposing views, and also without sufficient assistance. I had hoped, however, that it would only last a few days, and that things would soon again enter upon a more peaceful course. Unfortunately, this attempt only too speedily convinced me that my doctor was right, and that my store of newly recovered strength was very slight. I am greatly discouraged, as my intervention will have exercised rather a disturbing influence than otherwise, while the few days' work and excitement, with the nervous irritability which it involves, have sufficed once more to prove to me clearly the lassitude of my intellectual powers. I fear I am more exhausted than I should like to confess to myself. This anxiety, as well as the feeling of shame that I am unable to be at my post and at your Majesty's service at such an important moment, is a source of great depression, even when I say to myself that I must humbly submit to the will of God, who does not require my coöperation and puts limits to my strength. My uneasiness is counterbalanced by the confidence which your Majesty expresses at the close of your letter and which I fully share, that the grace of God which has hitherto blessed your Majesty's Government will continue to assist it. The course which your

Majesty has sanctioned in Council can lead to the same ends just as well as that proposed by me, provided there is no breach with the present Parliament and my colleagues remain united among themselves. They will do that for your Majesty's sake, although up to the present there have been many indications of differences. I fear that my correspondence with some of them individually, in reply to questions addressed to me, may have sometimes increased the elements of discord, and that misunderstandings may have arisen with respect to myself, owing to the fact that the contents of my reports were fully known only to those to whom they were addressed. I have therefore requested Roon only to consult me at your Majesty's express command, and I have informed him that I shall no longer correspond with my colleagues individually.

"In this manner my coöperation, so long as God does not give me better strength, will rest in your Majesty's gracious and considerate hands. My hope and my prayer to God is that it may be soon granted to me once more to do my duty in person under your Majesty's eyes, and to again find that peace which lies in work.

"V. BISMARCK."

3

"BERLIN, *December* 24th, 1872.

"I thank your Majesty respectfully and heartily for the beautiful Christmas present, conferring fresh distinction upon me.

"My father entered the regiment of Carabineers of the Life Guard in 1783, and also had the honour, at the review, of being presented to Frederick the Great as a Junker, on which occasion the great King condescended in gracious recognition to hold up to him as a model his grandfather, Major von Bismarck (of the Schulenberg, afterwards Bayreuth, Dragoons), who fell at Czaslau.

"This and many other impressive reminiscences, which my father handed down to me from the time of Frederick the Great, as reproduced in the work of art now standing before me, and which I can supplement with a well-preserved series of letters from my grandfather in the field during the Seven Years' War, form the permanent impressions of my childhood. I

have always regretted that, by the will of my parents, I was not allowed to prove my devotion to the Royal House and my enthusiasm for the greatness and renown of the Fatherland in the fighting ranks of the army, rather than behind the writing-desk. Even to-day, after your Majesty has raised me to the highest honours as a statesman, I cannot entirely suppress my regret at not having been able to win similar advancement as a soldier. I beg your Majesty, as it is Christmas Eve, to forgive this expression of personal feelings in a man who is accustomed on Christian festivals to look back upon his past. I might have been, perhaps, a worthless general, but I should have preferred to win battles for your Majesty, like those generals who adorn the monument, rather than diplomatic campaigns. By the will of God, and your Majesty's favour, I have a prospect of seeing my name recorded in books and in bronze when posterity immortalises the memory of your Majesty's glorious reign. But, independently of the loyalty of every honourable nobleman to his sovereign, the cordial attachment which I entertain for your Majesty's person, and the pain and anxiety which I feel at not being always able to serve your Majesty as I wish, and no longer with my whole strength, can find expression in no monument. Yet in the last resort it is only this personal feeling which makes the servant follow his monarch and the soldier his leader with uncalculating devotion on such paths as under divine Providence Frederick II. and your Majesty have entered upon. My strength for work is no longer equal to my will, but up to my last breath the latter shall be devoted to your Majesty.

"VON BISMARCK."

The letter from Frederick William IV. was also published, in No. 13, and all were reproduced by numerous other papers.

I insert here, first, the remaining letters from Bismarck to William I., which I copied at his desire, and then some of the more important papers in the new batch.

FURTHER LETTERS FROM BISMARCK TO EMPEROR WILLIAM I

4

"VARZIN, *August 13th*, 1875.

"I have received with respectful thanks your Majesty's gracious letter of the 8th instant, and am pleased above all things to see that the cure has agreed with your Majesty in spite of the run of bad weather in the Alps. With respect to the letter from Queen Victoria, I have the honour to add again that it would have been very interesting if her Majesty had expressed herself more fully as to the origin of the rumours of war circulated at that time. The sources must have been regarded as very trustworthy by that exalted lady, as otherwise her Majesty would not again have referred to them, and the English Government would also not have taken in connection with them measures of such an important character and such an unfriendly nature towards us. I do not know whether your Majesty considers it possible to take Queen Victoria at her word when her Majesty asserts that 'it is an easy matter for her to prove that her apprehensions were not exaggerated.' It would also be doubtless of importance to ascertain from what quarter such 'serious errors' could have been despatched to Windsor. The hints as to persons who must be regarded as 'representatives' of your Majesty's Government would appear to refer to Count Münster. He, like Count Moltke, may very well have spoken academically of the usefulness of a timely attack upon France, although I do not know that he has, and he was never instructed to do so. It may indeed be said that it is not calculated to promote the maintenance of peace for France to have the assurance that she will never be attacked under *any* circumstances, do what she may. Now, as in 1867, in the Luxemburg question, I would never advise your Majesty to begin hostilities at once, merely because it was probable that the enemy would shortly enter upon them. One can never foresee the ways of Providence with sufficient clearness to do that. But it is also of no use to give the opponent the *assurance* that one will wait for his attack *under all circumstances*. I should therefore not blame Münster if he had spoken in that

sense occasionally, and the English Government would have no right to take official steps upon non-official remarks of our Ambassador, and, *sans vous dire gare*, to invite the other Powers to bring pressure to bear. Such a serious and unfriendly course of action gives reason to suspect that Queen Victoria had yet other grounds for believing in warlike intentions than incidental remarks by Count Münster, the authenticity of which I do not even credit. Lord (Odo) Russell declares he has always reported his firm belief in our peaceful intentions. On the other hand, all the Ultramontanes and their friends have charged us secretly, and openly in the press, with wishing to bring on war in a short time, and the French Ambassador, who moves in these circles, sent these lies to Paris as trustworthy information. But at bottom that too would not be sufficient to inspire Queen Victoria with such trust and confidence in falsehoods that had been denied by *your Majesty* in person, as she still expresses in her letter of the 20th of June. I am too little acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of the Queen to be able to form an opinion as to whether the phrase about its being 'easy to prove' may possibly be intended merely to conceal, instead of openly confessing, a hastiness of action which could no longer be recalled. I beg your Majesty to excuse me if my 'professional' interest has led me, after three months' forbearance, to dwell at such length upon an incident which has already been settled.

"The Turkish question can hardly assume large proportions if the three Imperial Courts remain united; and that end can be promoted most successfully by your Majesty, because we are the only Power that has now, and for a long time to come will have, no direct interests at stake. Moreover, it can only be of advantage to us if public attention and the policy of other Powers should, for a while, be directed elsewhere than to the Franco-German question.

"As your Majesty has been gracious enough to mention my health, I beg respectfully to report that the six weeks' cure at Kissingen has affected me more than that of last year. I feel very exhausted, can walk little, and cannot ride at all as yet. This is now to be remedied by a course of malt and brine baths, and, as a matter of fact, the first four have had a good effect. I therefore hope that the next six weeks will render me more fit for work, though I fear that I must rely upon your Majesty's

consideration more largely than my sense of duty would fain allow. My wife and daughter thank your Majesty respectfully for your gracious remembrance of them, and commend themselves to your Majesty's favour.

"V. BISMARCK."

5

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, *December 3rd*, 1878.

"I am deeply afflicted at not being in a position to offer my respectful greetings to your Majesty the day after to-morrow, in common with my colleagues. I can only lay before your Majesty's feet, in writing, the heartfelt wish that, in resuming the reins of Government your Majesty may find, in God's blessing, consolation and satisfaction for the crime and ingratitude of mankind, which must have cut as deeply into your Majesty's heart as the wound externally inflicted.

"The sudden transition from the cure at Gastein to the work in the Reichstag appears to have hindered my recovery, so that even to-day I am not as well as I was in September. But if your Majesty will be gracious enough to allow me four to six weeks' further leave of absence and forest air, I may hope, with the help of God, that in January I can, with fresh strength, place myself at your Majesty's disposal for the preparing the work in the Reichstag. This year, owing to the necessity for far-reaching financial and economic reforms, the proceedings in the Reichstag will be particularly laborious; and it is to be foreseen that they will be accompanied by severe struggles between the parties themselves, and against your Majesty's Government. I do not, however, doubt that, in the financial and economic questions, the result will ultimately be favourable, if concord can be maintained in the Ministry of State and with the more important Federal Governments, and if the Ministry preserves that firmness and decision which your Majesty's leadership has secured to us in all difficult situations, and to which, next to God, we owe all our great success.

"V. BISMARCK."

6

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, *December 25th*, 1883.

"I thank your Majesty respectfully and cordially for the gracious Christmas present, and in particular for the gracious wishes that accompanied it. They afford me that full gratification which I should have felt in the Niederwald, had I been able to attend the festival. For me your Majesty's satisfaction has a higher value than the approval of *all* others. I thank God that He has so disposed my heart that I have been able to secure your Majesty's commendation, while I seldom obtain the approval of others, and then only temporarily. I also thank your Majesty for the immutable confidence always reposed in me for the long period of over twenty years, and for your Majesty's constant graciousness to me as a master, in spite of the attacks of my opponents and my own well-known failings, in the most arduous as well as in quiet times. I require nothing more in this world, in addition to peace with my own conscience before God. God's blessing has rested upon your Majesty's rule, and has favoured your Majesty above other monarchs who have achieved great things, in so far as your Majesty's servants can look back on their service with gratitude to your Majesty. The loyalty of the ruler generates and maintains the loyalty of his servant.[1]

"My wife returns her respectful thanks for your Majesty's gracious greetings in the gracious letter of the 21st instant, to which I send a separate reply. She is slowly improving in health after a few weeks, during which I was very anxious as to her condition. She requests me to lay her most humble respects and good wishes for the New Year at your Majesty's feet. At the present moment I myself am physically stronger than I have been for many years, and yesterday was able to take a ride of several hours in the woods with my two sons, who are staying here on a holiday. Although I may not as yet strain my nerves in intellectual work to the extent demanded by my position, I hope for a further improvement in this direction also if your Majesty will graciously permit me to remain here until

[1] On the 20th of March, the Chief called my attention to this sentence in particular, in view of the present situation.

the end of next month. God grant your Majesty a happy Christmas, health, and contentment.

"V. BISMARCK."

7

"VARZIN, *September 2nd*, 1884.

"Your Majesty has made the anniversary of Sedan a day of exceptional joy and honour to me by graciously investing me with the Order *Pour le Mérite*, at the same time increasing the significance of the distinction by the exceedingly gracious words which accompanied it yesterday. I am happy to see from this, and to realise on looking backwards over a long series of years, that your Majesty's favour and confidence have been my constant and unalterable support, and that your Majesty's consideration also compensates for my failing strength. Your Majesty's recognition and good will is in itself the highest satisfaction to which I aspire in this world, but it is also a pleasure to me when the world ascertains that I have always been, and still am, in possession of the boon for which I have ever striven, viz., the favour of my earthly master. I will always faithfully and zealously endeavour to deserve it, so that your Majesty, as the highest and most competent authority, may recognise in me the heart and sentiments of a Prussian soldier. I desire no higher praise than that contained in those words, when they bear your Majesty's signature.

"On the 11th I hope to lay my renewed thanks personally at your Majesty's feet, and to see your Majesty in good health.

"V. BISMARCK."

8

"BERLIN, *December 25th*, 1884.

"I respectfully thank your Majesty for the beautiful Christmas present. The work of art reminds me to some extent of my own position. While the centaur has both hands engaged in lifting the huge horn to his shoulder, the woman hangs on to his beard with her whole weight. So it is with me! While I have my hands full in the service of your Majesty and the country, the Opposition in Parliament pulls and drags at me, at the risk of overthrowing me while bearing the burden of affairs.

Moreover, the Opposition is unfortunately much uglier than the female form that clings to the centaur's beard. I will not, however, allow this to prevent me from gladly and firmly carrying the burden on my shoulders, so long as God gives me strength to do so, and I enjoy your Majesty's favour. With the heartiest and most respectful wishes for your Majesty's Christmas, I unite those for the coming year, reserving to myself the pleasure of reiterating them verbally.

"V. BISMARCK."

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, *September 26th*, 1887.

"I thank your Majesty respectfully for the gracious letter of the 23rd instant, and for the gracious present of the picture of the palace, in which I had the honour for so many years to make my reports to, and to receive my orders from, your Majesty. For me the day received a special consecration, through the greeting with which I was honoured at your Majesty's bidding, by their Royal Highnesses Prince William and Prince Henry. But even without this further evidence of favour, the feeling with which I greeted the twenty-fifth anniversary of my appointment as Minister was one of the heartiest and most respectful gratitude towards your Majesty. Every monarch appoints Ministers, but there is scarcely an instance in recent times of a monarch retaining and protecting his Prime Minister against every kind of hostility and intrigue, during twenty-five long years of vicissitudes, when not every measure succeeds. During this lapse of time, I have seen many former friends change into opponents, but your Majesty's favour and confidence in me has remained immutably the same. In this thought I find a rich reward for all my work and consolation in sickness and solitude. I love my Fatherland, the German as well as the Prussian, but I could not have served it joyfully if it had not been granted to me to do so to the satisfaction of my King. The foundation and the indestructible core of the high position which I owe to the favour of your Majesty is the Brandenburg liegeman and the Prussian officer, and therefore your Majesty's satisfaction is a source of happiness to me, without which every form of popularity would be worthless and distressing. In addition to numerous telegrams and letters

received by me on the 23rd, from Germany and abroad, I have had very gracious greetings and congratulations from their Majesties of Saxony and Würtemberg, H.R.H. the Regent of Bavaria, the Grand Dukes of Weimar, Baden, and Oldenburg, and other reigning personages, as also from his Majesty the King of Italy, and Minister Crispi. The two latter communications touched on politics, and were difficult to answer. As your Majesty may perhaps be interested in the text, I have instructed the Foreign Office to submit them.

"I pray God to grant me the pleasure of continuing my service to your Majesty's satisfaction.

"V. BISMARCK."

10

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, *December 30th*, 1887.

"I thank your Majesty respectfully for the gracious letter of the 23rd, and for the evidence of favour with which it was accompanied, and first for the drinking horn with the hunting trophies, which I regard as intended for your Majesty's Grand Huntsman of Pomerania, and shall keep at Varzin. But my chief happiness arises from the recognition accorded to my son by his official promotion, which shows me that your Majesty is satisfied with his work, and therefore that he fulfils the end for which I have educated him. I crave your Majesty's further indulgence towards him, feeling certain that he will deserve it by his attachment even in those matters in which he still lacks experience.

"With reference to my most humble suggestion respecting the further preparation of H.R.H. Prince William for State affairs, I appreciate and share the anxiety with which your Majesty is inspired by your solicitude for the health of his Imperial Highness. I considered it my duty to raise the question, but I do not venture to urge it any further, not wishing to make myself responsible for the consequences upon the health of H.I.H. which any irritation might produce. Perhaps the object which it is sought to attain in the interests of the State may be approached in a manner less calculated to attract attention; and this would not be difficult if the Prince resided in Berlin instead of at Potsdam. I therefore respectfully beg your Majesty's permission to submit my views on the

subject when I return to Berlin, which I hope to do next month. In the meantime, I humbly beg your Majesty to allow me to try and move H.I.H. to submit to your Majesty, on his own initiative, the proposed scheme for a Civil Adlatus to be attached to the Prince. Count Radolinski, who called upon me to-day, thinks there is some prospect of this attempt being successful, as the Crown Prince's irritation in the matter was connected with the question whether his parental authority would be taken into consideration or not. If H.I.H. could be moved himself to propose the object in view, which would be of advantage to the State, the entire difficulty would be at an end. Should the attempt fail, no great harm would be done, as the Crown Prince could easily give *me* a negative answer, which he could not give to your Majesty. Meanwhile, the present system of giving the Prince occupation at some of the Ministries may be continued as heretofore, in accordance with your Majesty's intention.

"I have ascertained through Count Stolberg that H.I.H. has suggested the promotion of Count Radolinski to the title of Excellency. I beg respectfully to recommend this proposal of the Crown Prince, in the first place because granting it would have a favourable, and refusing it an unfavourable, effect upon the sentiments and health of H.I.H.; and then furthermore because Count Radolinski is worthy of such a distinction. With a large fortune and very considerable private interests, he has given up an easy position in the diplomatic service, and, solely in obedience to your Majesty's wishes, has willingly undertaken his present duties, which, often very onerous, are rendered specially difficult by the rivalries to which they expose him; and it is desirable that a nobleman of his prestige and uprightness should continue to discharge them. Moreover, he is one of the few Polish noblemen who, like the deceased Count Raczunski, may be relied upon with perfect safety by your Majesty and the Prussian State, and in my opinion this attribute alone deserves to be recognised by a distinction. Indeed, custom alone would have secured him such a distinction even if, without being a Court official, he had lived on his estates in Posen as a magnate loyal to the Government.

"I beg your Majesty graciously to accept my hearty and respectful good wishes for the New Year. I hope to renew

them verbally in the course of January, and to be permitted to report myself to your Majesty, at the same time as the Reichstag, in as good health as I have any prospect of enjoying in this life.

"V. BISMARCK."

SPECIMENS OF THE NEW (BERLIN) SERIES OF PAPERS

. . . No. 31. — Letter from Prince William to the Imperial Chancellor, dated Berlin, April 2nd, 1888: —

"Albedyll has been to see me and talked over the whole Battenberg affair (die ganze Battenbergerei) once more. On this occasion a letter was also mentioned, which the Empress is understood to have received yesterday, in which the Battenberger informs her that he would only marry with my consent — a point deserving mention. In this connection Albedyll was of opinion that a positive acknowledgment, repeating this phrase, should be demanded from the Battenberger in order to have a more certain hold over him. Would your Serene Highness approve of my sending a cipher telegram ordering Henry to go to him and demand from him for me a note containing the above declaration? If that were in my hands, and the Battenberger were nevertheless to take any steps or to enter into any intrigues, we could prove by documentary evidence that he had been guilty of a direct breach of his word.

"Awaiting your Serene Highness' kind decision, and hoping that you enjoyed your birthday celebration, I remain always,

"Your faithful and devoted,

"WILLIAM,

"Crown Prince."

No. 33. — The Grand Duke of Baden to the Imperial Chancellor: —

"SERENE HIGHNESS, — I hasten to let you know in this inadequate form that I had occasion to-day to speak to the Emperor Frederick *alone*. In the manner arranged yesterday I explained to him how I came to know your sentiments and state of health. My explanation greatly impressed the Emperor, and I took advantage of this to proceed to the general situation of political

affairs in Europe, and — referring to the firmly established position of Germany during the reign of the Emperor William, as compared to the troubles and confusion in the rest of the world — emphasised the necessity for us and for Europe of perseverance in the course adopted.

"The Emperor manifested a friendly disposition, and warmly approved of my statement. He is anxiously expecting your visit. His features wore an expression of deep seriousness when I said to him: 'You cannot possibly govern without Prince Bismarck.'

"This, in bare outline, is the result of my weak endeavours.

"Your cordially devoted,

"FRIEDRICH GR. V. BADEN.

"CHARLOTTENBURG, *March* 31*st*, 1888."

A few days after our last interview, the Chief left for Friedrichsruh. On the 11th of April I wrote him (respecting my proposed stay there). I received no answer for a week. The newspapers, however, published a report that the Prince had selected as his private secretary a Dr. Chrysander, who had hitherto been Professor Schweninger's assistant, and who would help him in preparing his memoirs. According to a second press notice, he was also to be assisted by a member of the editorial staff of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. Bucher ultimately wrote me that he was going to Friedrichsruh, and hoped we "should be harnessed together." (. . .)

I called upon him the same day to congratulate him, and mentioned to him my fear that nothing would now come of my proposed visit to Friedrichsruh. Perhaps my letter of the 11th had not reached the Chief's hands; or perhaps he had been turned against me by an article on his retirement, published in the *Grenzboten*, which was, however, written by Kayser, and reached Grunow just before mine. Bucher reassured me as to this supposition, but said that Kayser, like Lindau and Holstein, had actually gone over into the other camp. (. . .) Although he considered it quite impossible that the Prince could now give up the idea of employing me in connection with the papers, I did not feel sure of this, and so a few days afterwards I wrote again to the Prince, and registered my letter. Count Herbert

replied that "the Prince intends to invite you here in order to sort some papers. In the meantime, however, he is too much occupied by visits and the arrangements rendered necessary by his removal to take these papers in hand immediately."

A fortnight later, after I had received a post card from Bucher informing me that he had started for Friedrichsruh, I wrote to him there (as to the proposed visit, and giving him an account of my future movements). This crossed the following letter, which Bucher sent to me under cover to Frau Hedwig Hämmerling: —

"FRIEDRICHSRUH, *May 15th*, 1890.

"I have two reasons for sending you this letter under cover to another person: first, because you have not informed me of your whereabouts, and secondly, because there is some reason to suspect the existence of a Dark Cabinet. Therefore be prudent when you write to me here. I have had a large bundle to sort and register, and in doing so have satisfied myself that you have exhausted the materials. What came into my hands was very unimportant, — congratulations, letters of thanks, telegrams, reports from aides-de-camp, and such like. (. . .) I am expected to remain until H. returns from England, probably towards the end of this month. He (the Chief) is physically well, and is gradually quieting down."

I immediately acknowledged the receipt of Bucher's note, and reminded him of the concluding request in my former letter. He replied on the 17th of May, 1890, again under cover to Hedwig Hämmerling: "To enable me to answer your questions I should be obliged to ask him, and up to the present I have had no opportunity of doing so. (. . .) After your registered letter and the reply thereto, it seems to me not to be in your interest that I should also press the matter. Besides, he talks of presently starting on a lengthy tour in countries[1] which he has not yet visited — certainly a very happy idea. I take it that he will not begin work before his return in the autumn; and then he will doubtless remember his arrangement with you. I will write you as soon as the departure is approximately settled."

[1] To the United States — according to what Rottenburg told me at lunch at Scheibler's on Sunday, the 18th of May. He added: "In that case you should accompany him."

On the 20th of May I had an attack of apoplexy combined with paralysis, from which it took me six months to make an almost complete recovery; that is to say, with the exception that my handwriting had changed and my voice remained hoarse.

On the 10th of July, Frau Hämmerling received a note from Friedrichsruh (from Bucher, inquiring as to my illness). On Frau Hämmerling informing him of the truth, he wrote me as follows: —

"DEAR BUSCH, — I need not tell you how heartily I sympathise with you. I now write to put your mind at rest on one point, to tell you that you have missed nothing here, and will not miss anything during the next few weeks. I have had five or six thousand letters, extending from the fifties to the present day, to arrange in chronological order. They are all mixed up anyhow, both as regards dates and matter. They contain little on politics, and of that little again but a small portion refers to foreign affairs. He was not prepared to accept my suggestion that it would be well to put the begging letters, medical counsels, schemes for the improvement of the world at large, thundering hurrahs and fiery 'salamanders' into the fire. Therefore, when the preliminary work begins you will have to wander through a desert from which I have only removed tradesmen's bills, &c. It is as yet impossible to say when that will be. He complains, with that humorous self-mocking air of desperation which you know, that he has now no time to set about anything. His excuse for the present is that of course the whole material must first be chronologically arranged, which will doubtless take a fortnight longer, although I am keeping hard at it. And then he will certainly be obliged to make some change in his way of living and in the apportionment of his time. The projected journeys will hardly come to anything; but even if he remains here he will not begin work before you are recovered — according to what F. H. (Frau Hämmerling) writes me. There is no idea of calling in Poschinger. He knows that the man is incapable of giving shape or form to anything of the kind.

"He himself and Herbert desire me to express their sympathy to you. With good wishes for your improvement,

"Truly yours (in English), BUCHER."

In the days immediately preceding and following this letter, the newspapers published many things from Friedrichsruh which were anything but pleasant reading to me, or were at least at variance with my conception of the greatness and distinguished character of the Prince, and also to some extent with the opinions which he had himself formerly expressed. He allowed it to be seen too often and too plainly, for the benefit of the Court and to the delight of the Radical Thersites, how mortified he felt at his base dismissal; he expressed himself, as I thought, too confidentially, and indeed it would appear sometimes with conscious untruth, in speaking to importunate Jew press spies and other eavesdroppers and talebearers from the newspaper factories. The most inexplicable of all to me was what he was represented as having said to Kingston, of the *Daily Telegraph*, concerning the excellence of the late Emperor Frederick — which was diametrically the opposite of what he had said to me in Berlin and at Friedrichsruh. The principal passage in the Englishman's report runs as follows: "Finally, the conversation turned on the Emperor Frederick, of whom Prince Bismarck spoke with the profoundest admiration. He was in truth a man of rare and most estimable character, thoroughly amiable, exceptionally good-hearted, and at the same time intelligent, clear-sighted, and determined. He knew exactly what he wanted, and when once he had come to a decision he held to it immutably. If he had only lived he would, as German Emperor, have amazed the world." (Retranslation — translator's note.) Really! That would then be a case of a farthing candle developing into a first-class lighthouse! Was it Bismarck or Kingston who said that? If the former, he must have had some particular object in view. But what could it be? To elevate Frederick III. at the expense of William II.? (. . .)

I afterwards received from Bucher the following letter from Berlin: —

"I must send you another short contribution to your Memorabilia. When Count Herbert gave a farewell dinner to the officials, four of them — Holstein, Lindau, Kayser, and Raschdau — declined the invitation. All four owed everything to the Prince. Not a word has been heard from Keudell since the 20th of March. Lehndorff, Stirum, Krupp, Stumm, and

Kardorf have defied the royal displeasure by visiting Friedrichsruh. After Bötticher, who owes his promotion to the Prince, had told the Emperor that Bismarck was a slave to morphia, his Majesty sent for Schweninger, and questioned him on the subject. Schweninger answered: 'Your Majesty, that is a wretched calumny, and I know the curs with whom it originated.' (. . .)

"As a contrast to this pretty set! Shortly before my departure from Friedrichsruh, Bismarck, while out driving, dropped into conversation with an old peasant on the bad weather. 'Yes,' the latter remarked, in Low German, 'the good God has forgotten us altogether. He gives us no summer, and takes away our Chancellor.'"

On the 5th of September I had a visit from Bucher, who had returned from Laubbach on the 3rd or 4th, and on the 6th I called upon him. Of his communications the most noteworthy is that at Friedrichsruh he found a letter from Hermann Wagener to the Prince, from which it appeared that, as far back as 1876, W. was instructed to draw up a memorandum on working-class insurance. At that time, when Bismarck doubtless first seriously took up the labour question and thought of positive measures for opposing the Social Democracy, it was the old *Kreuzzeitung* man who was his assistant and counsellor, and not Bucher, who belonged to the school of Lassalle and Rodbertus, as alleged by Poschinger. Bucher expressly denied that the Chancellor had ever discussed this question with him. On the 20th of September Bucher wrote to me that he had received an invitation to visit Bismarck at Varzin.

Shortly afterwards I received the following letter: —

"VARZIN, *October 3rd.*

"DEAR BUSCH, — I have delivered your message. He is glad you are better and wishes you permanent recovery. Here the condition of affairs is the same as at Friedrichsruh. Nothing is being done and much time is spent over the newspapers. Owing to the articles in Nos. 431 and 433 of the *Boersen Zeitung*, referred to in No. 459, a desire has been expressed to see the numbers of the *Grenzboten* which started the controversy — reproaching the bourgeoisie with opposing the paternal inten-

tions of the Sovereign. Can you lend us the numbers in question from your file, or, if you have not got them, procure copies from Grunow? Lord Rosebery, who ran across from Scotland, was here for a few days, and is now visiting Dantzig and Marienburg. With lots of good wishes.

"BUCHER."

. . . In another letter from Bucher of October 14th, the following passage occurs: "The Chief still occupies himself far too much with the press. In the meantime he has begun to dictate during the past few days, but without any real coherence, alternately from various years. It is, therefore, for the present, only raw material. Now and again news reaches here from the Foreign Office. Holstein, who for ten years was taken seriously by nobody, now does everything. He not only slanders the Prince, which he did twelve months since, but also abuses Herbert, who, with inconceivable blindness, had supported him up to the last. Paul Hatzfeld too, Sardanapalus, as his cousin Landsberg christened him, has proclaimed his apostacy in London. But I will also mention a decent man, Count Arco, Minister at Washington, who is here on a visit for a few days. *Rara avis!*"

I sent him a long jocular epistle congratulating him on his birthday on the 25th of October. But I received no answer for over seven weeks, and was already worrying myself with all sorts of fancies, when on the morning of the 22nd of December he himself called upon me. He told me that physically the Prince was in excellent health, and, as it appeared, took exercise, had a good appetite, and at table drank rather too much than too little, and besides he no longer complained of insomnia. Mentally, however, and in particular so far as his memory is concerned, "he is falling to pieces." By this Bucher meant that he could no longer concentrate his thoughts sufficiently, had no longer a firm hold of the details in a narrative, and was easily turned aside from his subject. He also tells a story one way to-day, and quite differently to-morrow. "He wished me to go to Friedrichsruh for Christmas, but they gave me to understand — and indeed very plainly — that that would not be agreeable to them; and so I am my own master for a couple of weeks." "Urged by Schweninger, he has at length decided

to dictate his reminiscences to me for an hour daily, when I take them down in shorthand. But they are merely disconnected fragments, and contain many errors, particularly in the matter of dates. For instance, there were some very interesting particulars respecting 1848, but they must first be compared with Wolf's 'Chronik' and corrected. Chrysander is making himself very useful, also in his capacity of doctor, and has, for instance, done me good service with my gout. The Prince has ascertained on good authority that Lindau has been to the *Korrespondenten* (or the *Nachrichten*) in Hamburg, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Munich, setting them against his old Chief and patron, and 'threatening' the latter paper with disciplinary measures if it continued to take the Chancellor's part. The Princess' 'dear Rüdchen,' who is a shameless Judas for other people! Kayser, his countryman from the east, who is indeed less of a stock jobber and less worthless for official purposes, was recommended to the Foreign Office by Herbert, while Rashdau, also one of the children of Israel, who has married a millionairess of his tribe, was — if I understood Bucher rightly — introduced by Bill. (. . .) I asked what the Prince thought of Caprivi. He only knew that the Chief had had an interview with his successor (doubtless while he was still in Berlin — at lunch), when Caprivi said that if the Emperor sent him with an army corps into a position where its destruction might be anticipated, he would remonstrate; if the order were then repeated, he would remain at his post and await events. Bucher feared that nothing would come of the projected autobiography. 'He has indeed dictated quite a pile of notes, which of course include a great deal of new and valuable matter; but his account is not always reliable, and in particular he often believes that he said or did something which he ought to have said or done but omitted to do, or at least could not have said or done in the manner alleged by him. And in the most important matters he sometimes stops, like a well that runs dry, and does not return to the subject. In that way he recently began to speak of his relations with Napoleon previous to 1870, but then let the subject drop, and since then I have never been able to bring him to give a coherent account of it. There is yet another drawback. In these notes he might think of history, of a legacy for the future, and that would certainly be most praiseworthy and

useful, as there are many things of which he alone has a complete and accurate knowledge. But he seems to be thinking rather of something else. His thoughts are still with the present, which he desires to influence. He wishes to warn and to teach, and for that reason he often selects a subject that has nothing whatever to do with his own life, and sometimes one of which he has not a thorough knowledge, but which seems to him to offer a suitable opportunity for introducing his own reflections. For instance, he is afraid that the Emperor will not be careful and thoughtful enough in tacking between Vienna and St. Petersburg, and may, perhaps, on some occasion forget himself and draw too near to the Austrians; all the more, as of course he is aware that the gentleman in Berlin cannot endure the other in St. Petersburg, because the latter had treated him somewhat *de haut en bas*. Now Bismarck does not want to say that straight out and give a plain warning, but tries to work it into a survey of the treaty of Reichenbach, as the relations were then somewhat similar, the people in Berlin not rightly knowing what they wanted or with whom they really had to deal. The idea was merely to show that one was also a power—(in English) a mere show of power! I have now read it up in Ranke, however, and according to him the situation was not all as the Chief represented it. At that time, Herzberg still had charge of the conduct of affairs, and he knew exactly what he wanted, namely, Dantzig and other towns on the Vistula, in order to round off West Prussia.' "

Bucher continued: "What I have done up to the present could be done equally well by any shorthand writer, the only difference being that yet another stranger would have to be taken into his confidence. But I have no taste for criticising and editing it, however much Schweninger may beg and urge me to do so. That would be too much trouble and responsibility. Besides, there are not the necessary books for reference and comparison. It is true that for twenty-five years hardly a historical or political book has been published of which a copy has not been sent to him, but she has acted as librarian and has divided them between the different rooms, putting some of them in the cellar, where they rot and fall to pieces, and others in the visitors' apartments, so that nothing can be found when it is wanted."

Bucher agreed with me that the Chief was not prudent in his dealings with the eavesdroppers of the press; that his attitude towards the Court was not sufficiently elevated, and that he let his anger be too easily seen. At the same time, Bucher, speaking of those who came to question the Prince, observed not inaptly: "Whoever wants to know much learns a great deal, even though it be not always unadulterated truth, and that applies with particular force to the commercial travellers for newspaper firms, who, of course, do not deal in truth." As to the Prince's state of feeling, Bucher said: "He diligently reads the newspapers, but on the whole he is indifferent to politics. 'I am no longer so very much interested even in the management of my own estate.' There is no longer the old devil-may-care spirit arising from that high sense of easy superiority and ready power of mastery — no longer the unconcerned glance cast down as from a great height, but only apathetic indifference, weary satiety."

January 2nd, 1891. — Called on Bucher this morning. Schweninger is trying to provide the Prince with occupation on hygienic grounds. He fears that otherwise he would become still more sulky, cross-grained, and peevish, and, indeed, might in the end become mentally affected. (. . .)

In the course of conversation on the Prince's notes, Bucher, in speaking of their didactic aim, referred to Nicoll's "Recollections and Reflections" as a model for that kind of writing. He believes he must soon return to Friedrichsruh, "although it will probably lead to nothing." "God grant that there may be an improvement!" he sighed on our parting at the door. I heartily joined in that prayer.

It was not until the 21st of February that I again received a sign of life from Bucher, and then in the form of an unsigned note enclosed in an envelope to Hedwig. It ran: "You will probably soon receive an invitation to the place from which I write. The enclosure is for publication, with an introduction or note to the effect that the letter was read to the guests on the 28/7/72, and that several of them took copies of it. Do not forget to write to G. to impress upon the sub-editorial ass and on the proof-readers that not a single letter is to be omitted, and that the abbreviations, &c., and the Latin characters in 'Borussia' and 'Material' are to be retained. The Chief will

have it so. If you happen to write to me, remember the Dark Cabinet."

The "enclosure," a letter from the Emperor William I., ran as follows: —

"COBLENTZ, *July 26th*, 1872.

"On the 28th instant you will celebrate a beautiful family festival which God in His mercy has granted to you. I may not, and cannot, withhold my sympathy on this occasion, and therefore you and the Princess, your consort, will accept my heartiest and warmest congratulations on this elevating festival. That your domestic happiness should always have held the first place among the numerous blessings which Providence has elected to bestow upon you both — it is for this that your prayers of thanksgiving should rise to Heaven! But our and my prayers of thanksgiving go further, inasmuch as they include thanks to God for having placed you at my side at a decisive moment, and thereby opened up a path for my Government far beyond imagination and understanding. But you will return thanks to Heaven for this also — that God granted you to achieve such great things. And in and after all your labours you have constantly found recreation and peace in your home. It is that which sustains you in your difficult vocation. My constant anxiety for you is that you should preserve and strengthen yourself for this vocation, and I am pleased to learn from your letter, through Count Lehndorff, and personally from the Count, that you now think more of *yourself* than of the documents.

"As a souvenir of your silver wedding you will receive a vase representing a grateful Borussia, of which — however fragile its material may be — every fragment will, nevertheless, express what Prussia owes to you for her elevation to the pinnacle on which she now stands.

"Your faithful, devoted, and grateful King,

"WILLIAM."

CHAPTER XII

I AM INVITED TO FRIEDRICHSRUH — BUCHER AND THE PROPOSED "MEMOIRS" — HE DOUBTS WHETHER THE LATTER WILL BE COMPLETED — THE CHIEF — "BÜSCHLEIN" AS BEFORE — THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT — THE EMPEROR AND RUSSIA — "THREE KINGS IN THEIR NAKEDNESS" — "BÜSCHLEIN WILL WRITE THE SECRET HISTORY OF OUR TIMES" — THE PRINCE GIVES ME IMPORTANT PAPERS TO EXAMINE IN MY ROOM: HIS RESIGNATION IN 1890, A DRAFT OF A CONFIDENTIAL STATEMENT OF THE MOTIVES OF HIS RETIREMENT, AND NOTES ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE INDIVIDUAL MINISTERS ON THAT OCCASION — STILL ANOTHER BOOK ON BISMARCK IN VIEW; CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT WITH BUCHER AND THE CHIEF HIMSELF; THE PLAN DROPPED — LAST VISIT TO BUCHER IN JANUARY, 1892 — HIS DEATH — LAST STAY AT FRIEDRICHSRUH IN MAY, 1893 — "GOOD-BYE, DEAR OLD FRIEND."

ON the 23rd of February I again received a letter from Bucher, also under cover to Frau Hedwig Hämmerling: "23/2/91. He says he would like to see you once more, and requests you to visit him. You may choose the time most convenient to yourself, but give two days' notice in advance, so as to avoid clashing with an invitation to Hamburg. Be sure to bring your sleeping garments with you, if you are as little in favour with the lady of the house as I am."

I replied that I should have preferred to go the day after to-morrow, but that as I was at liberty to name my own time, and was now engaged in reading over papers, arranging and packing for my removal on the 16th of March, I would come on the 18th. I further requested him to say by what train I should come, and called attention to the fine cartoon, and verses, "Dropping the Pilot," in *Punch*, of the 29th of March, 1890, which an acquaintance had sent me the previous day, and which I should bring with me if they had not already seen it.

Bucher replied that they had the "Pilot" from *Punch* at Friedrichsruh; and that he himself had travelled by the slow train. I arrived at Friedrichsruh at 3 P.M. on the 18th of March. The Prince had gone out for a drive with Buhl, the member of Parliament, who had come on a visit. A servant showed me upstairs to No. 4 as my room, where Grant, Bancroft, and the busts of Washington and Hamilton kept me company. I immediately visited Bucher, whose room was opposite mine. He complained that the work of the "Memoirs" stood exactly where it did before. In dictating, the Prince wandered from one point to another, told many things several times, and almost always differently, &c. A huge pile of dictated notes had already been transcribed, he calculated some sixty printed sheets. It would, however, have to be sifted and worked up, and the Chief had not as yet looked through a line of it. Hardly anything would come of it, and, in any case, he had not as yet decided whether it should be published during his lifetime or after his death. Bucher intends to leave again for a time at the end of the month, and is very dissatisfied with his occupation hitherto. He showed me in the pile on the chair a thick packet, endorsed, "Nicolsburg," and observed that it dealt less with the important events that took place there than with a variety of other matters. He had seen few of the papers arranged by me in 1888, none at all of those relating to the alliance with Austria, only two or three letters from the Gerlach correspondence, and he had also seen nothing of the correspondence with Manteuffel and Schleinitz. He believes that the Chief has sent all those that are missing to a bank in England for safety. But a few days later he modified this surmise, and said he thought the papers were in the keeping of some trusty friend.

Downstairs before dinner, Buhl, a lean old gentleman with a grey beard, introduced himself to me. I now made the acquaintance also of Dr. Chrysander, a slight young man. The Chief appeared shortly afterwards with the Princess. He greeted me with the customary "Büschlein," was pleased to see from my appearance that I was well again, and said I must sit next to him at table on his right, while President Buhl sat on his left between himself and his consort. The Prince looked very well, was most good-humoured and talkative during dinner,

was surprised that I still had so much hair, told amusing stories and expatiated with knowledge on various fine wines and judges thereof. (. . .)

Dinner was followed by some more serious conversation in the coffee-room. In reply to a question by Buhl, the Prince disapproved of Caprivi's East African policy: "Zanzibar ought not to have been left to the English. It would have been better to maintain the old arrangement. We could then have had it at some later time when England required our good offices against France or Russia. In the meantime our merchants, who are cleverer, and, like the Jews, are satisfied with smaller profits, would have kept the upper hand in business. To regard Heligoland as an equivalent shows more imagination than sound calculation. In the event of war it would be better for us that it should be in the hands of a neutral Power. It is difficult and most expensive to fortify" — a point which he then explained in detail. "That does not make one an 'extender of the realm,' not even to the extent that I was in the old days when I travelled back to Berlin with the cession of a strip of land on the Jahde in my pocket, thinking not a little of my achievement!" The Prince is also opposed to building any more large ships: "rather two small vessels than one big one; the North Sea and Baltic Canal doubles our naval strength." (. . .)

On Friday, March 20th, after lunch, at which the Chief was again very bright and communicative, Bucher at my request allowed me to read the chapter on Nicolsburg from the material dictated for the "Memoirs," in the first place that I should note the numerous digressions from the real subject. These excursions included, among other things, references to the anti-German Queen of Holland, intended annexations, Frederick the Great, an intrigue during the Regency, the indemnity, the impression made in Russia by the events of the summer of 1866, the Dantzig Pronunciamento, the German question in 1848, dynastic sentiments, a lost opportunity in 1848, factions, the *Wochenblatt* party, Augusta, the removal to St. Petersburg, and the Italian war. In doing this I ran through the greater part of the manuscript, and found some new and interesting matter respecting the King's desire for annexation, Bismarck's reasons for moderation, and a speedy conclusion of peace;

Moltke's strategic plans; a visit of the Crown Prince, who comes to Bismarck and promises to support him at a time when he was almost despairing of carrying through his scheme; and the final consent of the King, who complains, however, that it is an "ignominious peace." Further matters of interest are: Augusta's influence on the Regent, Bismarck's audience before his transfer to St. Petersburg, his condemnation of the Ministers of the new era, as, for instance, of Schwerin, and afterwards of Usedom and his English wife; the remarkable allegation that Frederick the Great was also vain, supported by references to the King's own judgment of a poem written by himself immediately after the battle ("*n'est pas trop mal après une battaille*"), and to his flute playing. In conclusion, the views expressed as to our relations with Austria and Russia, and the policy which they impose upon us, well deserve to be taken to heart. Irritation against the Russians has arisen (this doubtless refers to the Emperor William) out of personal impressions (due to inadequate appreciation); yet we cannot be quite certain of Austria, as the possibility of a breach with her depends upon one person. Bucher says that the Chief would doubtless speak to me about Windthorst, as to whom there were still many things to be said, and suggested that I should start the subject when opportunity offered. This was done indirectly over our coffee after dinner, but the Prince did not take it up. Later on, however, it was suggested that such excessive honours would never have been paid to the old Guelph advocate at his death, if the Emperor had not set the example. To-day the Chief dictated to Bucher on "questions of State rights," but was unable to get properly under way, and could not verify or complete what he had to say, as he had not got his books, "his tools." (. . .)

At noon on Sunday, the 21st of March, the Chief sent Bucher, to whom he had again been dictating in the morning on questions of State rights, to ask if I would go for a walk with him. (. . .)

I took an opportunity of inquiring how his "Memoirs" were getting on, mentioning that I knew he had begun to dictate his reminiscences and views. "That is so," he rejoined; "but it is probable that in the end it will come to nothing. I have no documents, and even if I remember the main points — quite clearly — one cannot after all carry in his head every detail of

what has happened in the course of thirty years. Then as to the publication during my lifetime. Ever since 1847 I have constantly represented the monarchical principle, and held it aloft like a banner. Now I have seen three Kings in a state of nakedness, and frequently these three exalted gentlemen did not make altogether a very good show. Still it would not do to say that openly before the world — it would be inconsistent — opposed to principle. And yet I can just as little keep silent when once I come to deal with that point, to say nothing of asserting the contrary. And if it (the publication) takes place after my death, then they will say: 'There you have it! Even from his grave! What a detestable old wretch!'" I could only reply that one has duties towards himself, and his own honour, — duties towards that which one has created; that one ought as a man of experience and judgment to warn the country against wrong courses into which it may be led through the impetuousness or thoughtlessness and excessive self-confidence of new politicians; and furthermore that one has duties towards history, to dispel misunderstandings and chimeras, and the falsehoods of flattering courtiers; and that truth, which stands above all things, must have its rights — truth, of which Jesus said that it will make us free. He listened in silence to this eager and audacious outburst; and I then spoke of another subject — namely, Kingston's report in the *Daily Telegraph* of an interview with him, and in particular of the very favourable opinion of the Emperor Frederick, therein ascribed to him, which could not be reconciled with the views I had heard him express. He replied: "I know nothing of any Kingston, or of any interview in an English newspaper. The report must be an invention (*Schwindel*)." He then mentioned the picture (in *Punch*), "Dropping the Pilot," and said: "The Emperor was delighted with it. He saw in it a recognition of his right to smash the pot — you know, as in the witches' kitchen: '*Entzwei, entzwei, da liegt der Brei.*'"

At lunch among other things the Prince related the history of some excellent old Jamaica rum, of which a bottle stood on the table. The conversation then led to a few corrections. It was Kayser and not Rudchen Lindau who had warned and threatened the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Munich; and Bötticher had not told the lie about the morphiomania of the Chancellor

direct to the Emperor, but to the Grand Duke of Baden, who then related it to his Majesty. The statement that the latter questioned Schweninger is true, as also the rough answer given by the doctor. "And as a matter of fact," said the Chief, "I have only taken morphia when in great pain, and it has never done me any harm; although Bötticher asserted that he found me quite deranged mentally and irresponsible for my actions."

After dinner, while reading the papers, the Chief remarked, I now forget in what connection: "One day, long after my death, Büschlein will write the secret history of our times from good sources." "Yes, Serene Highness," I replied, "but not a real history — I cannot do that — rather a compilation of good materials, conscientiously collected and placed in a proper light. Nor shall it be long after your death, which of course we pray may be as remote as possible, but immediately, without delay, as in these corrupt times one cannot too soon vindicate the rights of truth." He then came to speak of the newspaper reports to the effect that more friendly relations were gradually growing up between himself and the Emperor, a statement which he denied as something obviously impossible. He referred to the new communal regulations, which he disapproved of. He said they had offended the farmers, whom they put on a level with the small traders and artisans in communal affairs. He then spoke at some length of Minister Herrfurth, addressing himself for the most part to me, much to the following effect (Bucher afterwards recapitulated his statement to me upstairs): while the Emperor was still Prince and lived at Potsdam, he, Bismarck, desired to prepare him for the government, and to provide him, so to say, with tuition in the various branches of the art of governing. Up to that time he knew little, and indeed did not trouble himself much about it, but preferred to enjoy himself in the society of young officers and suchlike. The plan was to get him to remove to Berlin, somewhere near Bellevue. But the financial authorities at Court were of opinion that that would be too expensive. The Prince was then to hear lectures at Potsdam, and Bismarck proposed Herrfurth, the Under Secretary of State — who was reputed to be well informed, particularly in statistics — as his tutor on internal questions. The Prince agreed and invited Herrfurth to lunch with him, and then told the Chancellor he could not stand him,

with his bristly beard, his dryness and tediousness, and asked whether the Prince could not suggest some one else. Yes, he would send him Regierungsrath von Brandenstein. The Prince had nothing to say against that, so Brandenstein was written to. But H.R.H., although it is true he lunched with him several times, paid so little attention to his explanations that Herr von Brandenstein lost patience, and begged to be given some other employment. In the meantime, shortly before the death of the Emperor Frederick, Minister Puttkamer was dismissed. When Prince William ascended the throne, Bismarck spoke to him on the subject, and he said he would of course make Puttkamer Minister again, but a certain interval must be allowed to elapse — for appearance's sake. Bismarck proposed that Herrfurth should hold the post in the interval, and told him that he must carry on the policy which Puttkamer had adopted, and resign his place to the latter after a certain time, receiving in return a post of Chief President. Would he agree to that? Yes, he would; he had always followed the course laid down by his superior, Puttkamer, and would willingly make way for him when the time came. But when Bismarck, after a few weeks or months, observed to his Majesty that the time had come to reinstate Puttkamer, the Emperor replied, no, he did not think of doing so any longer, as he had in the meantime grown accustomed to Herrfurth, and was now quite satisfied with him. The change had come about in this way. Herrfurth had, without previous consultation with the Prime Minister, put himself in direct communication with the Emperor, and, taking advantage of the Sovereign's wishes, recommended a liberal reform of the Communal Regulations, as a measure by which he could gain numerous friends and secure imperishable fame. "After a few days," concluded the Prince, "my Schönhausen people came to me and asked, 'What does this mean?' They had received papers, and were, it would seem, to report whether they desired to have all the old arrangements upset, and every one put on the same level. And this was done throughout the seven old provinces, much to the surprise and dissatisfaction of the peasantry. That, too, was one of the causes of my retirement." The Chief afterwards said that when I left he wished to give me some papers to take with me and keep for him. I was to make copies of them, which I could publish at a future

day. I promised to remind him, and also offered my services for other purposes in the future; "I had always regarded myself as his little archer, who at his call would even shoot my bolt at the sun himself." He smiled, and said: "Many thanks, perhaps."

Sunday, March 22nd. — During the forenoon the Chief dictated to Bucher some notes on the question as to how the German Constitution might be altered in case it should no longer work. He also told him that he wished to give me certain important documents to take with me. (. . .)

Monday, March 23rd. —(. . .) I had waited yesterday in vain to see the Chief on his return from lunch to his study, in order to remind him of the documents which I was to take with me. To-day, after lunch, I called upon him in his own room for this purpose. I apologised for disturbing him, but, as I intended to leave to-morrow, I thought it was of importance to him that I should take the papers with me. "So it is," he rejoined, "and it is well that you have reminded me of it while I am alone. But why are you going away so soon?" "I do not wish to be any longer a burden to you, Serene Highness." "But you are nothing of the kind. On the contrary, I am glad to see such a faithful old comrade of the war time; and, moreover, you are so quiet that you disturb no one." We then agreed that I should remain for a few days longer, and remind him of the papers once more later on. (. . .)

During the day workmen were engaged unpacking large cases of silver plate — a valuable treasure which German manufacturers had presented to the Prince as a token of their esteem. At dinner the old gentleman, who still remains the same lover of nature and of animals, had a great deal to tell about the starlings, for whom he had had a few dozen small wooden shelters put up in the trees behind the house. "They held a public meeting to-day," he said, "probably in connection with the approach of spring. As I was going for my walk I first saw seven of them sitting together in one place and making music. Shortly after their numbers increased, and finally there were thirty of them sitting together, wing to wing." He then cast a glance at the grey bull-dog waltzing round the room, and observed, "That reminds me of the funeral honours paid to Windthorst. I should never have thought of getting

him (the dog), but the Emperor presented him to me. If it had not been for the Emperor's intervention at the beginning, they would never have made such a fuss about Windthorst." After dinner the conversation turned on newspaper tattle, as, for instance, that he had sent twelve cases full of important papers to an English bank to keep for him. "Twelve!" he exclaimed, smiling; "I wish I had even one such case full." The gossips of the press also reported that he had recently purchased a house in Berlin, such and such a number in the Königgrätzerstrasse, — better-informed authorities had it that it was two houses, — at a very high price. From this he went on to say that they once assessed the rent of his palace (the Palais Radziwill) in the Wilhelmstrasse (for the inhabited house duty) at 50,000 marks. On his remonstrating, they replied that the English Ambassador had assessed his own house, which was not so large, at as high a figure.

In the forenoon of Tuesday, March 24th, the Chief sent upstairs for me and handed me, first, three metallographic copies of documents, with two letters and a memorandum. All these were from the year 1885, and referred to the protection of municipalities against arbitrary school rates. "They are metallographs," he said, "and as such I dare say I may publish them at some future time. You can take them with you for that purpose, but they should be returned to me afterwards." "Then I will copy them." "Yes, but that means a great deal of work, twenty or more pages, in parts closely written." "That does not matter, it shall be done." "And then here is my resignation, and this is the statement of my motives. You may read that through —" (and, as I boldly assume, with tacit permission to take a copy away with me, at present merely for my own information). "This is about Herbert — you can read that also, and then bring them all back to me." I went immediately to my room and began to copy the resignation and the statement of motives, as well as the answer of the Chief to the Imperial acceptance thereof, which he had given me instead of the paper referring to Herbert. The metallographic documents will be dealt with later on.

RESIGNATION

"B(erlin) 18.3.90. — On the occasion of my respectful report of the 15th instant, your Majesty commanded me to submit the draft of an Order which should revoke the Royal Order of the 8th of September, 1852, by which the relations between the Minister President and his colleagues have hitherto been regulated.

"I take the liberty most humbly to submit the following statement of the origin and significance of this Order. Under the absolute Monarchy the office of a President of the Ministry of State was not required; and it was in 1847, in the United Diet, that the Liberal members of that time (Mevissen) first pointed to the necessity of paving the way for constitutional arrangements by the appointment of a 'Prime Minister' ('Premier Minister'), whose task it should be to take charge of and provide for the maintenance of a uniform policy by the responsible Ministry, and to undertake responsibility for the entire results of the policy of the Cabinet. This constitutional arrangement came into force with us in 1848, and the 'President of the Ministry of State' — in succession Count Arnim, Camphausen, Count Brandenburg, Baron von Manteuffel, and the Prince of Hohenzollern — was responsible, in the first place, not for any single department, but for the entire policy of the Cabinet, and, therefore, for the departments as a whole. Most of these gentlemen had no separate department, but only the Presidency, as, for instance, prior to my entrance into office, the Prince of Hohenzollern, Minister von Auerswald, and Prince von Hohenlohe. It was their duty, however, to maintain that unity and continuity in the Ministry of State itself and in the relations between the latter and the monarchy without which Ministerial responsibility, such as arises under a constitutional system, would be an impossibility. The relations of the Ministry of State and its individual members to their newly instituted Minister President, however, soon required to be regulated in more strict accordance with the Constitution. This was done, in concurrence with the Ministry of State, in the Order of the 8th of September, 1852. Since that time this Order had governed the relations of the Minister President to the Ministry of State, and through it alone the Minister President was invested

with the authority which enabled him to assume that degree of responsibility for the policy of the Cabinet as a whole which was attributed to him in the Diet and by public opinion. If each individual Minister can receive commands from the Sovereign without previous arrangement with his colleagues, a coherent policy in the Cabinet, for which some one is to be responsible, is an impossibility. It would be impossible for any of the Ministers, and especially for the Minister President, to bear the constitutional responsibility for the Cabinet as a whole. Such a provision as that contained in the Order of 1852 could be dispensed with under the absolute monarchy, and could also be dispensed with to-day if we returned to absolutism without Ministerial responsibility. But according to the constitutional arrangements now legally in force, the control of the Cabinet by a President under the Order of 1852 is indispensable. All my colleagues agree with me upon this point, as is shown by yesterday's sitting of the Ministry of State, and also that no one who succeeds me as Minister President can assume responsibility for his office if he lacks the authority vested in him by the Order of 1852. This necessity will be felt even more strongly by any succeeding Minister than by me, as he will not be immediately sustained by that authority which I have hitherto enjoyed, owing to my long tenure of the Presidency and to the confidence reposed in me by the two late Emperors. Up to the present it has never been necessary for me, in dealing with my colleagues, to expressly appeal to the Order of 1852. Its existence and the certainty that I possessed the confidence of the two late Emperors, William and Frederick, was sufficient to secure my authority in the Cabinet. To-day, however, this certainty exists neither for my colleagues nor myself. I have therefore been obliged to fall back upon that Order for the purpose of securing the necessary unity in your Majesty's service. For the reasons stated above, I am not in a position to carry out your Majesty's command, in accordance with which I should myself introduce and countersign the revocation of the Order of 1852 (to which I myself recently called attention), and nevertheless continue to hold the Presidency of the Ministry of State.

"According to the communications made to me yesterday by Lieutenant-General Hahnke and *Geheimer Kabinetsrath* von

Lucanus, I can entertain no doubt that your Majesty knows and believes that it is not possible for me to revoke the Order and yet remain Minister President. Notwithstanding that fact your Majesty has maintained the command given on the 15th instant and indicated that my resignation, which is thereby rendered necessary, would be accepted. From previous conferences which I had with your Majesty on the question whether your Majesty desired my continuance in office, I gathered that it would be agreeable to your Majesty that I should resign my position in the service of Prussia, but continue in that of the Empire. After considering this matter more closely I took the liberty to call attention to some critical consequences of such a division of my offices, particularly so far as the future action of the Chancellor in the Imperial Diet is concerned, and therefore refrain from repeating here all the consequences which would attend such a divorce between Prussia and the Imperial Chancellor. Thereupon your Majesty deigned to agree that for the present everything should remain as it was.

"As I have had the honour to explain, however, it is not possible for me to retain the post of Minister President after your Majesty has repeatedly ordered it to be subjected to the *capitis diminutio* involved in the revocation of the fundamental Order of 1852.

"On the occasion of my respectful report of the 15th instant your Majesty was pleased to confine me, as regards the extent of my official authority, within limits which do not allow me that degree of participation in the affairs of State, that supervision of the latter, and that freedom in my Ministerial decisions and in my intercourse with the Imperial Diet and its members, which I require if I am to accept constitutional responsibility for my official acts.

"But even if it were possible to carry on our foreign policy so independently of our home policy, and our Imperial policy so independently of Prussian policy, as would be the case if the Imperial Chancellor had as little share in the policy of Prussia as in that of Bavaria and Saxony, and had nothing to do in the Imperial Diet with the decision as to the Prussian vote in the Federal Council, it would nevertheless — after your Majesty's recent decisions on the direction of our foreign policy, as laid down in the confidential letter with which your Majesty yester-

day accompanied the report of the Consul at Kieff — be impossible for me to undertake to carry out the instructions respecting foreign affairs contained therein. I should thereby endanger all the important results for the German Empire, which our foreign policy, in agreement with the views of your Majesty's two predecessors, has for decades past under difficult circumstances secured in our relations with Russia, results that have attained a significance beyond all expectations great for the present and for the future, a circumstance which was confirmed by Count Schouvaloff after his return from St. Petersburg.

"Attached as I am to the service of the Royal House and of your Majesty, and accustomed for many years to conditions which I have hitherto regarded as permanent, it is very painful to me to sever my wonted relations with your Majesty, and to break off my connection with the entire policy of the Empire of Prussia. Nevertheless, after conscientiously weighing your Majesty's intentions, which I should have to be prepared to carry out if I were to remain in office, I have no alternative but most humbly to beg your Majesty graciously to relieve me of the offices of Imperial Chancellor and of Minister President, and Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs, under the usual regulations as to pension.

"From my impressions of the last few weeks and the communications made to me yesterday by your Majesty's Civil and Military Cabinet, I may respectfully take it for granted that I meet your Majesty's views in thus tendering my resignation, and therefore that I may reckon with certainty upon its being graciously accepted.

"I would have submitted to your Majesty the petition to be relieved of my offices a year ago if I had not been under the impression that your Majesty desired to take advantage of the experience and capacity of a faithful servant of your predecessors. Now that I am assured your Majesty does not require them, I may retire from political life without fearing that public opinion will condemn my decision as ultimately.

"(Signed) VON BISMARCK."

At the present stage of international affairs I consider it hazardous to publish the "Draft of confidential statement as to the motives of my retirement from office." The interest

of Germany in keeping it secret for the immediate future seems to me to be greater than interest of history in its publication now.

"NOTES ON MY RETIREMENT

"The Vice-President of the Ministry of State (von Bötticher) declared that he and his colleagues were deeply grieved at my retirement. He had hitherto hoped that the only differences of opinion between his Majesty and myself were connected with home domestic policy, and therefore that the arrangement indicated by me, namely, that I should confine myself to the control of foreign affairs, would prove a satisfactory solution. My withdrawal from all my offices involved incalculable difficulties; and although he could understand my displeasure, he could only beg me urgently to come to a compromise.

"I replied: The expedient of withdrawing from the Prussian service and confining myself to the position of Imperial Chancellor had met with objections from the Federal Governments and the Imperial Diet. It is felt to be desirable that the Chancellor should have an official position in which he can control the casting of the Prussian vote; and I, too, could not accept a position in which I should be obliged to take from the Prussian Ministers instructions in the preparation of which I had had no part. Therefore this expedient also would not be free from difficulties.

"The Minister of Finance declared that the Order of the 8th of September, 1852, by no means went beyond what was necessary, and could not form an insurmountable difficulty. And also so far as the difficulties in the matter of foreign affairs were concerned, he could only agree with the Minister of State, von Bötticher, that a compromise ought to be sought. Besides, if the retirement took place not for reasons of health, but on political grounds, and from all offices, then the Ministry of State itself would have to consider whether it should not take part in this step. Perhaps that would contribute to avert the fatal event.

"The Ministers of Public Worship and of Justice considered that the differences referred to were due solely to a misunder-

standing, which it might be possible to clear up for his Majesty. The Minister of War added, that for a long time past his Majesty had not let fall a single word that had any reference to war-like complications with Russia.

"The Minister of Public Works (Maybach) described my retirement as a misfortune for the security of the country and the peace of Europe. Every possible effort should be made to avert it. In these circumstances he considered that the Ministers should place their offices at the disposal of his Majesty, and he at least was determined to do so.

"The Minister for Agriculture declared that if I were convinced that my retirement was desired in the highest quarter I could not be dissuaded from this step. But in any case the Ministry would then have to consider what course it should adopt."

Answer to the Acceptance of the Resignation

(*From Bismarck's autograph pencil draft*)

"Most August Emperor, King and Master,

"I thank your Majesty respectfully for the gracious words with which your Majesty has accompanied my discharge; and I am highly gratified at the bestowal of the likeness, which ——(illegible) will remain an honourable souvenir of the time during which your Majesty permitted me to devote my strength to your Majesty's service.

"Your Majesty has at the same time graciously invested me with the dignity of Duke of Lauenburg. I have respectfully taken the liberty to explain verbally to *Geheimer Kabinetsrath* von Lucanus the reasons which render it difficult for me to use such a title, and at the same time requested him not to make public this second act of grace. The fulfilment of this request was not possible, as at the time when I expressed my scruples on the subject the publication had already taken place —on the 17th of March. I venture, however, most humbly to beg your Majesty graciously to allow me in future to bear the name and title which I have hitherto borne. I beg to be allowed to lay at your Majesty's feet my most respectful thanks for the high honour bestowed upon me by my military promo-

tion as soon as I am able to report myself, which at the present moment I am prevented from doing through indisposition.

"With the most profound respect, &c."

Wednesday, March 25th. — The Chief started for Hamburg to-day, first to pay a return visit to Waldersee at Altona, and afterwards to make a few calls in Hamburg. He had not left, however, before lunch, at which he joined us, in undress uniform and wearing an order. He was back again in time for dinner. He had not found Waldersee at home, and at the other houses also had only met the ladies. At table there was a great deal of talk about the torchlight procession with which the Prince's Hamburg admirers wished to celebrate his birthday here on the 1st of April. It was anticipated that 3,000 to 4,000 persons would come to Friedrichsruh by special trains to take part in the procession. They could marshal their torches and go through their evolutions with tolerable ease in the meadows on the right bank of the Aue.

At lunch the Chief said that after all it was not necessary that I should copy the metallographic documents here. I could do that at my leisure in Leipzig — a blessing, as it would, otherwise, take me three days to do it, and the Princess expects some visitors on the 28th, for whom she wants my room. Therefore off and away at noon to-morrow! Baron Merck and his wife, whom I have known since 1888, were with us at dinner to-day. Among other things the Prince spoke of his new silver-plate. It was very rich and beautiful, but his household was not at all prepared for it, and silver-plate and dishes had never been used at his table. He would, perhaps, have the chandeliers hung up, but the other things would doubtless be sent to the bank for safe keeping.

Friday, March 27th. — Took lunch alone, and somewhat earlier than usual on account of my departure. After a while the Princess, who was on this occasion particularly good-humoured and communicative, came. Among other things she related that Schweninger's predecessor, a celebrated doctor recommended by Bleichröder, had once treated the Prince for cancer of the stomach; and that it is Versen and the "detestable Hinzpeter" who have most influence with the Emperor and who stimulate the high opinion he has of his own capacity and

encourage his arbitrary tendencies. Finally the Prince also came in to say good-bye, and invited me to report myself again shortly at Friedrichsruh. Then back to Berlin, and a few days later, on the 2nd of April, to Leipzig, my new home. (. . .)

I had hoped that at length I might rest, but it was not to be. The mill must still grind on! Indeed, there is no alternative, as people would not otherwise know how I came to the extraordinary notion of writing yet another book on Bismarck, and how that scheme fared. On the 23rd of June Kommerzienrath Kroener, of Stuttgart, previously only known to me by name, called upon me and proposed that I should write for him a biography of the Prince. I agreed to do so in case the latter approved. With this object I next wrote the following letter to Bucher, who was again at Friedrichsruh with the old gentleman: —

"DEAR FRIEND, — I yesterday had a visit from a Stuttgart gentleman, hitherto unknown to me, who asked if I would write a biography of the Prince, three or four volumes; I could speak out exactly as I liked, and also lay down such other conditions as were convenient to me. As he came direct from Friedrichsruh, and had there spoken to the Prince and also to you, his intention in putting this question to me was possibly known and approved of at Friedrichsruh. If that be the case, and if the Prince gives his permission, I am disposed to make the attempt, particularly as I may then hope also to be assisted with contributions on doubtful points. I would take time and provide for complete freedom from interference on the part of the publisher and would serve the truth so far as it is known to me.

"Please, therefore, inquire to-day or to-morrow whether he gives his blessing to the affair or not, and let me know the result." (. . .)

The following answer came from Bucher: —

"FR. 26/7/91.

"DR. FR., — Your letter of the 24th, which curiously enough bears the Leipzig postmark of the 26th, reached me last evening, and I have this morning communicated its contents. The reply ran literally: 'I have nothing whatever against it. I have sometimes a feeling that the end will come suddenly for me one

day. I should like to have the opportunity of correcting many errors *viva voce*, as Busch has a great deal of material. Things are going badly with me. I have pains in my hand, and other pains which I cannot write about. When I have pushed the stone a little way uphill it rolls back again to the bottom. I wish you better luck."

On receipt of this information I finally agreed with Kroener to write the book, and entered into a contract with him. A few weeks later, however, in thinking over the prospect, I was half sorry that I had done so, and wrote to Bucher (pointing out certain objections in the event of the Prince's "Memoirs" being published, and competing with the book: and suggesting that in case they were not to appear until after Bismarck's death, judicious extracts from them might be included in the biography, &c.).

Bucher's reply:—

"LAUBBACH BEI COBLENTZ, *September 1st*, 1891.

"DEAR FRIEND, — Nothing will ever come of the 'Memoirs,' even if He[1] and I were to live for ten years to come. The chief hindrance is laziness, as He himself expresses it. My work can only consist in dividing up the chaos of dictated material, and uniting the pieces into mosaics, as also in correcting his chronology, which is quite untrustworthy, and of course falsifies the casual relations of things. What He has to do is to read over the chapters which I have put together, and at the same time the letters referring to the subject, which I put with them. He cannot, however, be brought to do that. Of the fourteen chapters which I have submitted to him since last September he had on my departure from Kissingen read one through, and a portion of another! In correcting his chronology in four important instances I have forced him to acknowledge that the affair cannot really have happened in the way in which he had dictated it; but it was impossible for me to squeeze out of him any statement as to what actually had occurred. I am well-nigh desperate, and should be very pleased if my work were stopped and the whole thing handed over to you. I do not know what he will think, but in any case make the attempt.

[1] "He" is given with a capital letter in original. — THE TRANSLATOR.

"Schweninger, who is very anxious to get him to take up some serious, continuous occupation, persuaded me to go to Kissingen, assuring me that he would keep the two disturbing elements, the Princess and Herbert, at a distance; we two should have him to ourselves, and he would therefore begin a new life. Nothing of the kind has occurred. It was the old lazy life in the Castle of Indolence (Schlaraffenleben) — guests and drinking every day. And, as I had suspected, the baths did me no good whatever. My right hand is greatly swollen, and it is only since I repeated my former cure here that a slight improvement is perceptible. In any case I shall be back in Berlin at the beginning of October, although He has expressed a wish that I should go direct from here to Varzin. For months together last year there was a temperature of 12 degrees in my room there, and that has ruined me.

"Ever yours (in English),

"B."

I wrote in reply from Leipzig, on September 2nd, 1891, *inter alia:* that if the "Memoirs" were never to be completed but remain mere materials, there was all the more reason for rescuing at least a portion from destruction. . . . I would do nothing in the matter before consulting him, but I was not without hope that the Chief would allow himself to be persuaded by my arguments, and would assist me with the dictated matter in my otherwise desperate undertaking. (. . .)

After some consideration, however, I addressed my request to the Prince direct, . . . and in the course of a week, on the 17th of September, the following answer came by post: —

"VARZIN, *September 14th*, 1891.

"I have received your letter, and will willingly accede to your wish that I should — before its publication — look through the work which you have arranged to write. I cannot, however, as yet place what I have myself written and dictated at your disposal. It is not possible for the present to publish any part of it either directly or indirectly. Even if made public in an indirect way its accuracy would be questioned, and I should be challenged to produce my proofs.

"I should be glad to receive a short provisional communica-

tion, either written or verbal, as to the plan and contents of the work.

"v. Bismarck."

(Probably written by Chrysander, but signed by the Prince in his own hand. Not the most favourable answer, still the "as yet" and "for the present" leaves room for hope.) (. . .)

On the 5th of October I paid Bucher a visit in Berlin in connection with this matter. I showed him the draft of a reply I had sent within the course of a week to the Chief, and he told me he had already been informed by Schweninger. He said I ought first to have arranged with him before writing to the Prince, and mentioning his name. As it was, Bismarck would believe that he had suggested my plan respecting the "Memoirs." I was mistaken in thinking that Kroener had come to me about the biography with the knowledge and at the instance of the Prince. Kroener (who hoped to secure the publication of the "Memoirs") probably thought I would enter into competition with him, and therefore decided to come to me, and thus become his own competitor. Not very clear! As publisher of the "Memoirs" that will never be completed, and which according to Bismarck's verbal and written assurances are never to be published! It did not tally either with Bucher's present statement that the Prince was thinking of leaving two copies of the "Memoirs," one for the Emperor and one for his own sons. Moreover, the text of these two could not be the same. One of them would have to be first trimmed and Bowdlerised, *in usum Delphini*, as — according to Bucher's own assertion — it contained a variety of things calculated to give offence. Referring to the differences between the Prince and the Emperor, Bucher stated that their origin was to be sought in the following incident, as well as in the demand with regard to the Order of 1852, and the steps which — according to Bismarck's statement — had been taken in connection with Windthorst's visit. (The Prince's account of the Windthorst incident appeared to him, Bucher, not to be credible, at least so far as the date was concerned.) On the 15th of March, as the Emperor was returning home from a drive with Bismarck, he told the latter that he wished to inform the Tsar that he intended paying him a visit of some days' duration at his estate — (I have forgotten the name of it). Bismarck dissuaded him on the ground that the Tsar liked to be alone

there, and because the Emperor had not made a very favourable impression in St. Petersburg. His Majesty asked how he came to know that. B. replied through a private letter; whereupon the Emperor desired to see it. B. at first did not wish to show it; but finally, yielding to further pressure, drew it out of his pocket. The Emperor, after he had read it, ordered the carriage to stop, and set down the Chancellor at his residence.

It was evident from the foregoing that in my affair the Prince wanted to know—and in certain circumstances to alter, and probably to a great extent—what I was in a position, and might perhaps be inclined to say about himself, and indeed generally. Hence Kroener's proposition. In that case, however, I could not, as I had hoped, do a service to the truth and to history, and therefore could only write an empty book. I therefore informed Bucher I would tell Kroener that an alteration in my health would prevent me from carrying out our contract, and beg him to cancel it. This was done in a letter from Leipzig on the 11th of October; and I was relieved from that burden and anxiety.

On the morning of the 5th of January, 1892, I again spent an hour with Bucher at his place in Berlin, and found him the same dear old friend. His hopeless feeling with regard to the "Memoirs" had only grown deeper since I saw him last. In the interval he had paid a further long visit to Friedrichsruh, where he remained till shortly before Christmas. He was to return again soon on the Prince's invitation, although the gout in his hands had begun again on the previous Sunday to give him great trouble, and the outlook and condition of affairs in the Sachsenwald pleased him less than ever. "Thank your stars that you are not in my place with these 'Memoirs,'" he said. "One's work is in every respect void of profit and pleasure. One exhausts himself on an utterly hopeless task, which will yield nothing for history. It is not alone that his memory is defective, and he has little interest in what we have done—up to the present he has looked through very few of my packets—but he begins also intentionally to misrepresent even plain and well-established matters of fact and occurrences. He will not admit his own share in anything that has failed, and he will acknowledge no one to be of any consequence compared to himself, except perhaps the old Emperor (to whom he now, as a

foil to the young Emperor, gives a much higher place than he is fairly entitled to) and General Alvensleben — I cannot say why — who concluded the treaty with Russia and commanded at Vionville. Falk also is now praised, perhaps because he fears he might otherwise retort with disclosures. (But of course these 'Memoirs' are not to be published at all.) He insists that he is in no way responsible for the Kulturkampf, that he did nothing to oppose Pio Nono's views respecting the Infallibility, and just as little against Arnim's mischievous ambition — although everybody knows the contrary to be the fact. As if he and his work did not shed enough light to enable men to overlook such shadows! Even in cases where his policy was brilliantly successful he will not hear of acknowledging anything, as for instance the trap which he set for Napoleon in the Spanish affair. He denied the letter to Prim until I reminded him that I myself handed it to the general in Madrid, and that the world is now well aware of it through Rothan." (So I understood the name, but perhaps he meant Grammont.) On this occasion Bucher also referred once more to his zigzag journey with Salazar and his audience with King Wilhelm at Ems. "The whole candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern," said Bucher, "is now represented by Bismarck as having been a purely private affair of the Court, a mere family matter, although he was obliged to confess that it was discussed at a sitting of the entire Ministry." — I also added some reminiscences, but observed in conclusion that in spite of all that, the Chief remained the great political genius and saviour of the Germans. But he was not qualified to be a historian. He was to such a large extent the author of the history of the past decades that it might be called his history, but he did not understand how to relate it. Bucher, of course, agreed with me, and then continued his account of the last few weeks. "Bismarck wanted to attend the Reichstag at all costs, in order to speak against the Commercial Treaties. It was in vain to point out to him the danger of malicious and coarse attacks from the Richter and Bebel corners of the House, and to warn him that the President would now be at liberty to call him also to order. 'In that case I would answer him ironically' was the laughing reply. It was only Schweninger who succeeded in dissuading him on medical grounds. — Hoffmann, of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*,

comes every week, and prints whatever the Prince says to him, quite indifferent to the fact whether it is a well-considered statement, or the contrary." "An old copying clerk has now been set to work on the 'Memoirs,' as Chrysander, to whom I dictate my notes, is over-burdened with other things, and can no longer manage all the copying." "They are to be left as a bequest to the sons, but will hardly be published by them, — because they know that they contain too many misrepresentations of a kind which people could detect and easily disprove, and because they are full of unjust judgments on prominent personages, as, for instance, on most of the Prince's former colleagues. At the very most, a last chapter might ultimately be published on the preliminary stages of his disgrace, and ultimate retirement. Herbert has made copious and reliable notes on this subject, in which, however, the old gentleman has made all sorts of inaccurate and false corrections. The Princess is still the same." . . . On my asking after the daughter, Bucher fetched a bottle of old Hungarian wine from behind the green curtain of a bookcase. Countess Rantzau had brought it with her from Hamburg for him, and we drank a glass of it to the health of the honest and excellent lady who had always been a friend to him. "And not forgetting our old master," I added. "How is he getting on?" "Our old lion is well," he replied, "and is always in good humour at table; eats and drinks heartily, cracks a joke, and is equal to the youngest of them in paying court to the fair ones."

In the course of his remarks Bucher mentioned as "not inconceivable" that the Prince might return one day to his old place in Berlin. — He did not give his reasons for thinking so. In the absence of such reasons, and they would have to be very good ones, I cannot believe in such a possibility, so far as he personally is concerned. It is not impossible, after the ill-success of the present régime, that the spirit of his policy may return to the palace in the Wilhelmstrasse.

We were not destined to meet again. Bucher died on the 12th of October, 1892, after he had lived away from the Prince for a few months. I gave a sketch of his life and character in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* of the 29th of October, which was accompanied by a good portrait.

Next spring I could find no rest until I greeted the Prince

once more; and I was permitted to do so. I arrived at Friedrichsruh at 1.30 P.M. on the 1st of May. Chrysander and a servant waited for me at the station, and conducted me to the house where I was lodged in room No. 4. After a snack, which took the place of lunch, I went for a walk with Chrysander, who then showed me in one of the ground-floor rooms a number of presents and beautiful addresses from Costa Rica and California, which had come to the Prince on his birthday, a month previously. Before dinner I met the old gentleman in the coffee room, where hung the portraits of his ancestors. He has changed very little. I must sit down with him on the sofa, and am "Büschlein" as before. Had I written anything lately, and what about? Complained of faceache, "which, however, comes no doubt from the sharp atmosphere out of doors during my walk this morning." — At dinner, at which we were joined by the Princess, Countess Rantzau, Dr. Schweninger, Count Herbert, and von Kardorff, member of the Reichstag, my place is again next the Prince on his right. As is almost invariably the case on such occasions, he is amiable, lively, and good-humoured. (. . .)

May 2nd, at 11 *a.m.* — Schweninger called at my room as he was going away. We spoke once more about Bucher, whom he praised highly. Long before the 15th of March the doctor had known, "through his connections at Court," of the Emperor's intention to get rid of Bismarck, and had informed the latter. At 12 o'clock Chrysander summoned me to the Prince, whom I met alone in the dining-room, where he was waiting for me. I first handed him back the three metallographic copies, which I should get published in some weekly paper, as they were still of interest. After I had turned the conversation on Bucher, I mentioned his mission to Madrid and the letter to Prim, giving him clearly to understand that I had been fully informed by my deceased friend of every detail of his Spanish journey, and also knew that at one time he wished to deny the letter to Prim and the trap set for Napoleon, which he had baited afresh by condensing the Ems despatch. But to repudiate that would be to remove the finest leaf from his wreath of laurels, and so on. These details recalled to him the whole circumstances, and he no longer denied anything. He brought the conversation to a close with the words: "We will talk it over some other time.

Of course you will remain for a while yet, and I must now speak to Kardorff." No opportunity, however, occurred of returning to the subject. (. . .)

After dinner in the evening, Commerzienrath Kroener, over our coffee, recommended the Prince to pay an early visit to Leipzig. The Chief Burgomaster Georgi had told him that they longed to see the Prince there, and that he would be received with universal enthusiasm. I considered it right to tone down the effect of this statement by pointing out that, in addition to sincere but silent veneration for the Prince, there was also a great deal of loud and obtrusive fustian and party self-seeking, whose sole object was its own advancement; that, together with a certain understanding for Bismarck's methods and aims, there was also a great deal of unreason; and that the great lights of the National Liberal persuasion, who held the upper hand at Leipzig, would think less of manifesting their gratitude to him than of once more giving prominence to themselves and their party, and gaining popularity for future elections to the Municipal Council or the Reichstag. Our *Geheimer Commenzienrath* was obviously unable to appreciate such an unbusiness-like argument. What I said was, however, perfectly true.

May 3rd. — Took a walk in the morning. In the garden, near the road leading to the station, was a block of sandstone with the inscription: "From Grotenburg, near the site of the monument to Arminius in the Teutoburger Wald," which was recently presented to Bismarck "by a German," a bookbinder of Detmold. He doubtless knows no more than the learned themselves where the Teutoburger Wald was really situated, but he certainly knows better than many of the learned that Bismarck is the founder of the German Empire. In addition to the Chief and his wife and daughter, only Chrysander and myself were present at lunch. Conversation: On the newspaper report that Rottenburg was about to pay the Prince a visit, of which, however, the latter knew nothing, and which is all the more improbable, as Rottenburg is just engaged to Miss Phelps, the daughter of the American Minister. The Chief mentioned that Mr. Phelps wrote to him recently, and asked for an expression of opinion on the World's Fair at Chicago — of course a favourable one. The Prince, however, does not seem inclined to do this. He said: "If I were to give an honest expression

of my view it would not be what he requires. These exhibitions are of little value for industry and art, and are more for the benefit of hotel keepers and such people. They are good for those who feel bored, who want a new sensation, new amusements, and who have money enough to gratify their inclinations and afford themselves such pleasures." The Most Gracious and his intimates were then discussed — a General von Versen is one of the favourites. The conversation then turned on the diplomatic world, and first on Marschall, who has little capacity, but has been recommended by his Grand Duke and a relative (or an official); on von Schweinitz, who has nine children, and also on "Sardanapaul" Hatzfeld. The Chief afterwards referred to Maximilian Harden (Witkowski), whom he praised as "a quiet, unpretentious man of great tact; not at all like a Jew — and also not like my intimate friend Blum," he added, laughingly, as he looked towards the Princess. On the mention of the Grand Duke of Baden I reminded him of his letter with the words, "You cannot govern without Bismarck," and of the letter written by the Crown Prince Frederick from Portofino in which he described his son. The Chief said that he no longer had the original, and asked me to send him a copy of it. "But not direct through the post, and also not to Dr. Chrysander," suggested Countess Rantzau. "No, he will also be watched. Send it to Baron Merck, Sachsenwald bei Reinbeck; I shall then get it safely." I further referred to the King of Saxony and his regard for Bismarck, and I mentioned that a doctor, who at the time acted as Physician in Ordinary to the King at Pillnitz, told me how, immediately after the Prince's dismissal, the King travelled alone by night from Pillnitz to Berlin, probably for the purpose of a conference with the Emperor or Caprivi.

On Bötticher's name coming up after the diplomatists, the Prince placed him even below Caprivi, and concluded as follows: "Moreover, he is under petticoat government." Of Marschall he said: "He writes bad French, even in official documents, speaking, for instance, in a recent communication to Italy of '*l'empereur et l'empereuse.*'"

May 4th. — At lunch we were joined by Baroness Merck and a professor from Giessen, who plied the Prince with all sorts of questions, and whom we shall here entitle Herr Y. In the course of this inquisition we ascertained, among other

things, that "Dutken Sommer" (in Hesekiel's book), whom I had hitherto taken to be a countrywoman, is in reality of the masculine gender, and the son of the Pastor at Reinfeld. The Prince said he was blind, and somewhat of a simpleton, while the Princess described him as musical. Y. hastily jotted that and other facts down in his pocket-book while discussing his cutlet and omelette. Phelps, Chicago, and the Prince's opinion of these "World Fairs" once more. The Chief then spoke of Prince and Princess Reuss at Vienna, and of the position she took up towards the notorious rescript. ("The Uriah Letters.") She said: "My husband is a (public) servant. I am not." Somebody brought up Ahlwardt's name, and the Prince said: "He, too, has one merit. He brings a change into the commonplace tediousness of the Reichstag." He observed with regard to the good reception accorded to the Emperor by the Swiss: "They do nothing gratis. We shall be made to pay for it with a higher customs duty." The professor informed us that he was a vegetarian, and that it was an illness which had converted him. I mentioned the approaching advent of the editor of the *Kladderadatsch* and his friend Jacobsen, praising both of them highly. After a glance at his pocket-book, Y. inquired about the attitude of France in 1866, mentioning Moustier. The Prince corrected his pronunciation of the name, and then went on to say: "Once in the course of conversation he reminded me in a threatening way of Jena. I said to him, 'If you talk to me of Jena, I will talk to you of Leipzig.' I might also have mentioned Waterloo. Moustier then complained to Manteuffel, and he reported the matter to the King, who, however, said that I had acted rightly." Coming in the further course of the conversation to speak of the policy which was at that time pursued by the Italians, he said: "La Marmora was a scoundrel, and was paid by France, but Govone was a respectable man." He gave his reasons for both opinions in detail. The Prince then added, having perhaps noticed the eavesdropping publicist: "I would not have said that to Sybel if I had had any idea that he would publish it — a remark which applies to other matters mentioned to other good people, such as my worthy friend Blum, whose statements are very indiscreet and mostly false."

At 4 P.M. the professor came to my room, "in order to be-

come better acquainted with his neighbour"; that is, thought I to myself, to pump me too for his own purposes, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, according to all the rules of the art. And so it proved. He suggested a walk, and I proposed that we should go to the mill on the Aue. We had not gone a hundred yards before he set to work as I had anticipated, with a hardihood which was only equalled by its many-sidedness. Truly a thirst for knowledge of the most naïve kind, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, although it was only two hours since he set eyes on me for the first time. As at lunch, the result was in each instance immediately committed to his pocket-book. What a lingual pumping apparatus that was! Now here, now there, sounding and boring, screwing and sucking! First about myself, then as to Bucher, his character as an official and in social life, &c. The Prince's turn came next, and after him the Princess, the sons, the daughter, and the grandchildren. What did I think of Schweninger? How did I like Lange, who, by the way, also took lunch with us; in short, his inquiries, conducted with a peculiar thoroughness and charm, extended to everything upstairs and downstairs, chick and child, *ad infinitum*. I was even expected to give information respecting Baroness Merck. Had I observed at table that her eyes looked as if she had been crying, and that she sobbed a couple of times? And whether I knew or suspected why? In return he spontaneously revealed his own inner man unasked, and as a reward for my patience I ascertained a variety of things about himself, and also obtained some information which appeared to me to be of importance. He is to write an obituary of the Prince for the *Kölnische Zeitung*—now? He will publish an account of his visit to him—where? He had been to see him last year, if I rightly understood, at Varzin, and had been for a walk with him for nearly two hours. He is an intimate friend of Aegidi, whom, doubtless as a congenial soul, he praises to the skies, and who, he says, once gave him a document from the archives of the Foreign Office for perusal. He is a vocalist, and intends to sing something to the Princess, &c. I answered his questions for the most part with an expression of regret at my ignorance, and where this was not possible with that description of truth which is alone expedient in the presence of embarrassing or dangerous curiosity: *Sanheden ved*

modification, truth with modifications, as the Danes jestingly define lies. I took an opportunity before dinner to speak to Chrysander about this odd fish. He was, however, just on the point of fetching him to see the Prince. I thought to myself that Bucher ought to have postponed his death for a while. At dinner Y., who again diligently pumped the Prince for the benefit of his note-book, strongly urged him soon to pay a visit to South Germany and the Rhine, and held out a very tempting prospect there. The Chief, however, replied that, like Parson Primrose, he now preferred the journey from the brown bed into the blue to all others. "Were I to go, however," he continued, "I should prepare a speech once for all and learn it by heart." He added an experience of his at the time of the Erfurt Parliament: "There was one of them there who spoke often and well, and who, on one occasion, delivered a speech which I heard and liked. On my mentioning it to an acquaintance, however, he said: 'Yes, but you should have heard it last year; it was much finer then!'"

May 5th. — In the morning a letter from my little Gretchen, with greetings to the dear Prince and the whole Princely family. Y. called for me again and we took a walk through the wood along the road leading to Möhnsen. The octopus again applies a new sucker: he wants to know about the Memoirs. Had formerly on one occasion (I believe he said in 1891) seen the Prince over a pile of folio sheets. Could these have been the Memoirs? I did not know but doubted it. "I did not wish to ask him," observed the good creature. At lunch he cheerfully proceeded with the work of extracting information from the Chief. He had evidently turned a deaf ear to the indirect warning as to "indiscreet friends," or considered that full-blown professors formed an exception.

I delivered Gretchen's greetings, and was instructed to thank her very kindly. In the afternoon Chrysander came to my room and begged me to send him from Leipzig my opinion of the professor and the "intimate friend." "It is my duty," he said, "to protect his Serene Highness against tactlessness."

After dinner, when the Mercks, who had also been present, had withdrawn, there was a scene in the coffee room. The indefatigable Y. once more addressed a series of questions to the Prince, whose newspaper hour had arrived, but who never-

theless listened to him politely, until suddenly — I did not notice to what special point the sucker had been applied, but it must have been an exceptionally tender spot — he exclaimed angrily: "You should not put such questions, professor. I cannot imagine how any one can put such idiotic questions." Tableau! A thunder bolt! Silence for a moment, and then the conversation is resumed with the ladies on matters of no importance, while the Chief studies his paper. On Y. rising to leave, the Countess makes a sign to me to remain, and I talk for some time to her and the Princess. On taking leave I kiss the Chief's hand for the first time, and doubtless also for the last. He says: "Good-bye, dear old friend, but come back again soon."

In the meantime may God protect our dear old master from his new friends — his business friends! Amen!

THE END

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