

**BADEN and HESSE**  
**(DARMSTADT)**



## DARMSTADT

### FO 30/258: William Nassau Jocelyn to Earl of Granville, No 24, Darmstadt, 26 March 1884

[Received 31 March by messenger. For: The Queen / Gladstone / Berlin; G[ranville]]

*National Liberals meet at Frankfurt and Heidelberg to galvanize support ahead of elections*

The prospect of the Elections for the German Diet<sup>1</sup> has determined the Leaders of the National Liberal Party in South Germany to endeavour to arouse their adherents from the condition of apathy into which they had lately fallen, and to define more accurately the characteristic attributes which should distinguish the Party as a whole, and as freed from those minor divisions which have so lamentably weakened it during the last few years.

In order to do this effectually, it was determined to make a stand against the recently formed Free thinking Party (freisinnige Partei) which had risen from the fusion of the Socialists [*sic*]<sup>2</sup> with the Party of Progress, and threatened to entice into its ranks many of those whose principles were known to be in reality opposed to its extreme opinions.<sup>3</sup>

The meetings were therefore convened at Frankfort and at Heidelberg, in order to exchange opinions and to express the determination of the genuine National Liberals of South Germany to continue on the path of patriotism and loyalty in legislation for the Empire.

The more important meeting was held at Frankfort on the 23<sup>rd</sup> Instant, and was chiefly composed of Hessians from the three Provinces,<sup>4</sup> represented by One Hundred and twenty delegates.

After a debate of four hours, in which the speakers were unanimous in rejecting any compromise with the new Party, the following Resolutions were carried.

<sup>1</sup> Elections to the *Reichstag* were due to take place on 28 October 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Secessionists.

<sup>3</sup> On the *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*, see n. 3 in Berlin section.

<sup>4</sup> Provinces of Oberhessen, Rheinhessen, and Starkenburg. The meeting in question was the *Landesversammlung* of the Hessian *Fortschrittspartei* (Hessian Progressive party), the regional branch of the National Liberal Party.

The Hessian Party of Progress refuses to join the German free-thinking Party. It sees in the fusion forming this party, the strengthening of the German Party of Progress in an evil sense, – that of a systematic opposition to the Policy of the Imperial Chancellor,<sup>5</sup> and to the consolidation of the Empire contemplated by him by means of the promotion of Industrial and Agricultural Independence.

At the close of the meeting the Committee were entrusted with the formation of a Programme to be subsequently submitted to the Electors.

The second Meeting took place in Heidelberg on the same day, and was well attended by delegates from Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and the Bavarian Palatinate. The results of this gathering were essentially similar to those obtained in Frankfort and pointed more especially to the maintenance of the national liberal programme of May 29, 1881.<sup>6</sup>

These indications would seem to prove that the intentions now proclaimed by Prince Bismarck<sup>7</sup> of consulting more especially the agricultural interests of the nation are likely to receive efficient support from the National liberal party in both the Grand Duchies, and indeed throughout Southern Germany.

### **FO 30/258: William Nassau Jocelyn to Earl of Granville, No 80, Darmstadt, 31 October 1884**

[Received 3 November by messenger. For: The Queen / Gladstone / Sir W. Harcourt / X, Ch.W.D. [Charles Wentworth Dilke]; G[ranville]]

*Provisional Reichstag election results; increase in Social Democrat representation; remarks on electoral success of Social Democrats and their more moderate outlook*

The Elections for the German Diet took place throughout the Grand Duchies of Hesse and Baden on the 28<sup>th</sup> Instant, but the definite Result of them is not yet known, owing to the delay in obtaining the Polling-Papers from the outlying Villages of the Districts; and, besides this, the last Elections (Stichwahle [*sic*])<sup>8</sup> which are still in abeyance, will not be taken before the 11<sup>th</sup> of November.

<sup>5</sup> Otto von Bismarck.

<sup>6</sup> The meeting resulted in the 'Heidelberg Declaration' which adhered to the programmatic Berlin declaration of 29 May 1881. The National Liberal Party had sought to reinvigorate itself through this declaration following the secession of the Liberal Union in 1880.

<sup>7</sup> Jocelyn is probably referring to Bismarck's *Reichstag* speech of 20 March 1884.

<sup>8</sup> Run-off vote.

The present aspect, however, of the result in Hesse and Baden is on the whole favorable to the National Liberals, but a very great increase in the Socialist Democratic element has become evident and this unexpected augmentation in the Rank of that Party through the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and especially near the Rhine is causing the present concern.

In the Electoral District of Darmstadt alone, whereas, on the last occasion about fourteen hundred Socialists went to the Poll, there are now upwards of 4000. It is calculated that in Bessungen, a suburb of Darmstadt, one half of the adult males belong to the Party and in the large manufacturing town of Offenbach the proportion can scarcely be smaller, and here the Ultra Socialist member Liebknecht has been chosen by an overwhelming majority.

The sudden accession of members has been obtained in a very quiet and unobtrusive manner. All public meetings for the propagation of socialist doctrines are prohibited, the agitation has therefore been carried on through the house to house visitation of Agents and through their mixing with the workmen at the factories in the large towns – a certain number being told off by the leaders to engage themselves as skilled hands for this purpose.

The Political objects set forth by the Party have also been considerably modified, and the violent and subversive doctrines which prevailed some years ago have given way to more moderate counsels. Hence the Votes of many have been secured, who would have recoiled from the revolutionary and anarchical programme of the former propagandists.

Whatever may be the case, there is no doubt that a great accession of strength has accrued to the Party throughout Germany, whose Leaders having shewn their skill in obtaining adherents in the teeth of arch opponents, may, it is feared, extend their influence indefinitely.

**FO 30/262 [sic]: William Nassau Jocelyn to Earl of Granville, Confidential, No 8, Darmstadt, 5 February 1885**

[Received 9 February by messenger. For: The Queen; G[ranville]]

*Prussian government conniving to purchase Hessian railway; political consequences*

Your Lordship will doubtless recollect that a few years ago the Main-Weser Railway, which connects Frankfort-on-the Main with Cassel, was purchased by the Prussian Government at a very favorable rate, after considerable opposition on the part of the Hessian

population, who viewed with apprehension the interference of their powerful neighbour in what they considered their internal concerns.<sup>9</sup>

Ever since that time it has been the ambition of the Prussian Minister of Public Works M. Maybach, to become if possible the possessor or at least the comptroller of the Hessische Ludwigs'bahn, a private Railway Company, whose lines run almost exclusively through Hessian territory, whose interests are likewise entirely concerned with the transit traffic from the Rhine to Switzerland, Italy, Bavaria, South Germany, and Austria, besides being the shortest route from England and Belgium to the above named countries.<sup>10</sup>

In order to effect this, and to compel the company to sell their property at a lower price than it would naturally fetch, M. Maybach has not scrupled to employ means, which would not be tolerated by any fairly trading firm – or company.

The first attack upon the Hessian Railway, was made some years ago,<sup>11</sup> when the Prussian Government, owning the line on the right Bank of the Rhine between Coblenz and Frankfort, asked the Rhenish Railway Company to let all goods addressed to Frankfort and beyond, from the Lower Rhine and the Moselle, pass the bridge at Coblenz thence to be forwarded over the Government line from Coblenz to Frankfort instead of by the direct route *viâ* Bingen, offering to carry them at the same rates as were charged by the other way, and to indemnify the Rhenish Railway Company for the loss they would sustain on freights between Coblenz and Bingen, where the Hessian Railway begins. This was to be done by paying them the full charges from Coblenz to Bingen, they themselves carrying the goods for nothing from Coblenz to Rudesheim opposite Bingen, the sacrifice in question being intended solely to deprive the Hessian Railway of its share in the carriage of goods from Bingen to Frankfort, and by thus reducing its trade profits to force it ultimately to accept the Minister's conditions.

To the credit of the Rhenish Railway Company, however, it must be recorded that they indignantly refused to become a party to any such unfair arrangement, and for the time, therefore, the design of the Minister failed, until, the Rhenish Railway becoming itself a Prussian Government Road,<sup>12</sup> M. Maybach was at liberty to carry

<sup>9</sup> Hesse and Prussia, as the legal successors to Hesse-Nassau and the Free City of Frankfurt, were co-owners of the Main-Weser railway, and agreed on the acquisition of the remaining shares by Prussia on 20 November 1878. The transfer of ownership was effected on 1 April 1880.

<sup>10</sup> The privately owned Hessische-Ludwigs-Eisenbahngesellschaft was founded in 1845.

<sup>11</sup> In 1879.

<sup>12</sup> The Rheinische Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft (founded in 1836), was nationalised by the Prussian law of 14 February 1880.

out his project, whereby a loan of about £30,000 per annum is sustained by the Hessian Railway.

Subsequently similar negotiations were opened with the Bavarian Government, in order to induce them to send their goods to Frankfort and the Rhine from Gemünden over the Prussian State Railway viâ Elm, instead of, as at present, viâ Aschaffenburg and the Hessian line to Frankfort or Mayence – the Prussian Minister offering a similar compensation to the Bavarian Government for the loss incurred on their line between Gemünden and Aschaffenburg, as had previously been held out to the Rhenish Railway Company.

This proposal was met by a decided refusal on the part of Bavaria, who declined to inflict in favor of Prussia, a gratuitous injury upon the Hessian Railway, which had always fulfilled its engagements, besides being by many miles the shortest route for traffic.

Towards the close of last year the Prussian Railway administration notified to the Hessian Railway<sup>13</sup> the cessation after next April of the through traffic from Prussia over its line, thus compelling consigners of goods to send them by a longer route though at the same rate as formerly.

The animus of this proceeding was so obvious, that a notification was issued on December 31<sup>st</sup> by the Directors of the Hessian Railway requesting the Public to label their goods “to be sent viâ Bingen or Aschaffenburg” as the case might be. The Prussian Administration, however, lost no time in issuing a counter-notification,<sup>14</sup> in which they endeavoured to establish the monstrous proposition that consigners of goods have no right to determine the route by which they shall be sent, and that in the case of consignments from Prussia such a proceeding would be illegal.

Every attempt having hitherto failed to bring about an understanding between the Hessian Railway and the Prussian Government, with a view to induce the latter to reconsider its decision, it is feared that the Private Company will eventually succumb to the designs of its powerful and unscrupulous rival, who will then be enabled to step in and purchase this valuable property at a moderate price, and to the great detriment of the present Bondholders. Should the designs of the Prussian Government be successful it is estimated that a further annual loss of Two millions of Marks will be suffered by the Hessian Line, that is, nearly one quarter of its Revenue for the gross traffick.

The Dividend hitherto paid has been four per cent, the shares being chiefly in the hands of the peasants and small landed proprietors in the neighbourhood, and almost entirely in Hesse.

<sup>13</sup> On 30 September 1884.

<sup>14</sup> Notification of the Königliche Eisenbahndirektion zu Frankfurt, 4 January 1885.

In future a dividend of three per cent would scarcely be possible, and a heavy loss will fall upon the shareholders, while there is every fear that M. Maybach will then attain his object, and purchase the line at a very low rate.

The Political consequences of the sale and transfer of the line to Prussia will be disastrous to the independence of the Grand Duchy, for, with this purely Hessian road in her hands, Prussia will be enabled to use means, hitherto impossible, for undermining the loyalty of the Hessian people, and for rendering them less than ever averse to forming before long part of the Prussian Nation.

The officials and others employed on the line in the pay of Prussia will, moreover, exercise an undoubted influence upon the Elections, most decisively in her favor: and, considering the forces already at work in this direction, it is to be deplored, that the creation of one, more formidable than the rest should be imminent.

### **FO 30/261: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 81, Darmstadt, 21 November 1885**

[Received 23 November by messenger. For: The Queen / Eastern Department / Copy to Sofia; S[alisbury]]

*Hessian sympathies towards Bulgaria; creation of Bulgarian Assistance Association at Darmstadt*

Recent events in the Balkan Peninsula culminating in the War between Bulgaria and Serbia, have called forth an amount of feeling, and sympathy among the population of this Grand Duchy which was hardly to be expected.<sup>15</sup>

The deeply rooted affection existing between the Grand Ducal family and the people of Hesse has been displayed in the intense interest taken with regard to all that concerns The Prince of Bulgaria<sup>16</sup> – his present critical position – and his uncertain future: and no stronger proof of this could have been given than the establishment of the Bulgarian Assistance Association<sup>17</sup> which has just been founded in this town under the auspices of many of the

<sup>15</sup> The Serbo-Bulgarian War, triggered by the proclamation of unification between Bulgaria and the Ottoman province of Eastern Rumelia on 18 September, took place from 14 to 28 November 1885. The Bulgarian victory over Serbia led to the recognition of the status quo; in April 1886, on the basis of the Tophane Agreement, Abdul Hamid II appointed the Prince of Bulgaria as Governor-General of Eastern Rumelia.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander I was the second son of Alexander of Hesse.

<sup>17</sup> Jocelyn is referring to the provisional *Hilfs-Comité* for the relief of wounded Bulgarian soldiers; the collecting point in the palace of Prince Alexander was established on 17 November 1885.



most influential members of the community and of all classes of society.

The committee holds its sittings daily at the Palace of Prince Alexander of Hesse: and the Association has already been very successful in obtaining assistance in money and in kind to be sent without delay to meet the requirements of the unhappy victims of the War.

Although it is generally feared that Bulgaria will eventually succumb to the unprovoked hostility of her superior and better equipped antagonist, it is equally felt that the bravery and moderation displayed by the Prince under trying circumstances have won for him a position in the subsequent settlement of affairs by the council of Europe, which His Highness might otherwise not have been entitled to claim.

### **FO 30/264: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 4, Darmstadt, 13 January 1886<sup>18</sup>**

[Received 18 January by messenger. For: Consular ? [sic] Department; 'I think this has been given due scrut[iny] and recommend that it sh[oul]d be done. Alston concurs in this recommendation', H.P.A. [Henry Percy Anderson], 21 January; Qy: Appoint Mr Goldbeck Consul accordingly, 8 February; S[alisbury]]

*Proposal to raise vice consul Goldbeck at Frankfurt to rank of consul; benefits of such an arrangement*

I trust Your Lordship will pardon my troubling You upon a subject, which, although but indirectly affecting the countries to which I am accredited, is one with which the efficiency of the recently established Consulate General at Frankfort on the Main is concerned.<sup>19</sup>

The business of that Consulate, under the active Superintendence of M<sup>r</sup> Oppenheimer has acquired very considerable proportions, and besides the duties undertaken by the Consul General it occupies the entire time of the Vice Consul, M<sup>r</sup> Goldbeck.

This is more especially the case during the travelling season, when Frankfort is full of English visitors, either passing through, or resorting to the City from the neighbouring watering places, but especially from Homburg, with requests on matters of business involving only too frequently applications to the local Authorities.

<sup>18</sup> This dispatch is not marked 'Consular' but is included in the consular section of the volume FO 30/264.

<sup>19</sup> The British consulate at Frankfurt was raised to the status of consulate general for Frankfurt, the Province of Hesse-Nassau, the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and the Grand Duchy of Baden in October 1882.

Moreover, on the occasions of the absence of the Consul General on leave, it is the duty of M<sup>f</sup> Vice Consul Goldbeck to take sole charge of the Consulate General, and in discharging the duties which the post requires, he is frequently brought into very close contact with the local Authorities.

It has been shewn by two well known cases which occurred last summer, that M<sup>f</sup> Goldbeck, as holding the rank and Authority of British Vice Consul only, is placed at some disadvantage in maintaining these interests, and the difficulties which were then experienced in bringing matters to a favorable termination, owing to M<sup>f</sup> Goldbecks inferior rank, were only partially surmounted by the energy and excellent judgment he displayed.<sup>20</sup>

It might be, therefore, a matter for consideration, whether, as such a step would involve no public expenditure whatever, it would be advisable that M<sup>f</sup> Goldbeck should hold the rank of Consul, a position, in which he would doubtless be more free to act in support of British interests, and, moreover, in discharging the delicate and often unpleasant duties which the peculiar nature of his instructions involves, he would be enabled to apply there to the persons with whom he has to deal, with greater authority than he can as a mere Vice Consul.

M<sup>f</sup> Goldbeck is a hardworking and energetic public servant, and would, I feel sure, be much gratified were it possible to give effect to the above suggestion.

I have also every reason to believe that the arrangement would be acceptable to M<sup>f</sup> Oppenheimer.

### **FO 30/264: William Nassau Jocelyn to Earl of Rosebery, No 43, Darmstadt, 17 July 1886**

[Received 20 July by messenger. For: The Queen; R[osebery]]

*Decision to appoint Dr Haffner as Bishop of Mainz has met with widespread satisfaction*

The appointment of D<sup>r</sup> Paul Leopold Haffner as Bishop of Mayence has been received throughout the Diocese with real satisfaction. The Episcopal See had been so long vacant,<sup>21</sup> and the consequent difficulties attending ecclesiastical preferments had so increased, that it was

<sup>20</sup> In his capacity as acting consul throughout July and August 1885 Goldbeck had provided a statement for the German authorities about the marriage of the British consul general for Borneo, and took steps to secure the release of five British subjects who had been arrested in Frankfurt.

<sup>21</sup> Since Bishop Ketteler's death in 1877.

with a feeling of relief that the news was received of the Roman Curia having decided upon naming a Bishop sure to be approved of by the Grand Ducal Government. D<sup>r</sup> Haffner, tho' a native of Wurtemberg, has for many years past formed part of the Cathedral Chapter, and has lately filled the post of dean. He is well known for his moderation and peaceable disposition, so that there is a prospect of a satisfactory solution of the Catholic Question in the Grand Duchy being attained.

The Consecration of the new Bishop is fixed to take place on the 25<sup>th</sup> instant in the Cathedral of Mayence, and is to be carried out upon a scale of unusual pomp and ecclesiastical splendour.

The Seminary for the Education of Priests at Mayence, which has remained closed by the Hessian Government ever since the promulgation of the May Laws against the Curia,<sup>22</sup> will, I am informed, be shortly reopened; but, in a conversation which I had with Monsieur Finger on this subject a few days ago, His Excellency declared that its scope was to be strictly limited to the theological training of persons about to enter Holy Orders, and not, as in former times to undertake the education of the Catholic Youth of the country, who will continue, by law, to attend the Government schools equally with their Protestant fellow subjects.

**FO 30/264: William Nassau Jocelyn to Earl of Iddesleigh,  
No 58, Darmstadt, 10 September 1886**

[Received 13 September by messenger. For: The Queen; I[Iddesleigh]]

*Alexander of Bulgaria enthusiastically received in Darmstadt*

The Prince of Bulgaria, accompanied by his brother Prince Francis Joseph of Battenberg, arrived at Darmstadt this afternoon from Sofia, having performed the journey without stopping.

Although but short notice had been given of His Highness' arrival, the authorities of the town and the inhabitants had prepared for him a most enthusiastic reception, and several thousand persons had arrived to bid him welcome.

His Highness was met by His Grand Ducal Highness Prince Alexander of Hesse, and Prince Louis of Battenberg; and his sister the Countess of Erbach-Schönberg.

<sup>22</sup> After the promulgation of the Hessian church laws of 23 April 1875, and especially the *Gesetz betreffend die Vorbildung und Anstellung der Geistlichen*, no new candidates were admitted to the seminary. It was not, however, formally closed. For the Prussian May Laws of 1873–1875, see n. 17 in Munich section and n. 131 in Berlin section.

I had also the honour of being present, and had been charged by The Queen to make special enquiries after His health, and that of Prince Francis Joseph, and at the same time to deliver to the Prince of Bulgaria a Bouquet from the Queen.

His Highness, though appearing much worn and fatigued by his long journey, and by all that he had lately undergone, was otherwise well in health, and evidently felt highly gratified at the warmth and enthusiasm with which he was greeted by the very large assembly at the station.

He proceeded, after half an hour, to Jugenheim by a special train. I have reported the above to Your Lordship by telegraph.

**FO 30/264: William Nassau Jocelyn to Earl of Iddesleigh, Confidential, No 62, Darmstadt, 25 October 1886**

[Received 1 November by messenger. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Lord Salisbury / Lord R. Churchill / Print (South East Europe); I[[ddesleigh]]

*Conversation with Prince of Bulgaria; his remarks on changeable attitudes of German press and developments in Bulgarian governance*

During a conversation which I had this morning with Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, His Highness expressed much astonishment at the unfriendly attitude lately taken up by the semi official Press of Berlin towards Him and at the unfair tone of the North German Gazette,<sup>23</sup> in blaming Him for quitting Bulgaria, and in attributing to His conduct the present general feeling of insecurity, whereas, upon His return to Sofia some weeks ago; the German Consul<sup>24</sup> there had been incessant in urging Him to abdicate, and to quit the Country forthwith, as the only means of averting a Russian occupation.<sup>25</sup>

His Highness could only account for this abrupt change, on the supposition that, the conditions upon which Germany had at the time agreed to forego interference with the action of Russia – namely the cessation of the hostile attitude of the Russian Press – not having

<sup>23</sup> Alexander was referring to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of 27 September 1886, which alleged that Alexander had left Bulgaria in a cowardly fashion and out of self-interest.

<sup>24</sup> Conrad von Saldern.

<sup>25</sup> After the successful counter-revolution against the Russian controlled provisional government (which had assumed power on 21 August 1886) Alexander returned to Bulgaria on 28 August and to Sofia on 3 September. Ultimately, Alexander, the return of whom was disapproved of by Russia, left Bulgaria on 8 September 1886, one day after his abdication as prince (*knyaz*) of Bulgaria.

been fulfilled – Prince Bismarck had sought this way of displaying his irritation at Russia's want of good faith.

Prince Alexander assured me that if he were reelected by the Sobranje,<sup>26</sup> he would not return to Bulgaria, unless satisfied of the approval of the Powers,<sup>27</sup> and especially of that of the Porte.

His Highness was inclined to believe that some Republican form of Government was that best suited to the country, and to the character of the people – the constitution<sup>28</sup> moreover, being eminently favorable to such a development.

The present Government<sup>29</sup> were placed in a serious dilemma, for even if they yielded to Russian demands, they would probably be driven from power by their own troops.

He anticipated serious trouble should General Gourko be appointed Russian Commissioner, an eventuality which appeared not unlikely to occur.

His Highness appears to be in good health, and to have recovered from the fatigue and trials which he had undergone.

**FO 30/266: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 5, Darmstadt, 22 January 1887**

[Received 24 January by messenger. For: The Queen / Circulate; Copies confidential to: Paris / Berlin / Brussels, P.L. [printed letter], 26 January; S[alisbury]]

*Concerns about a French attack on the Alsatian frontier*

I was informed by an officer of high standing who had just returned from Strasbourg that considerable apprehension is felt in that neighbourhood, shared in even by The Governor Prince Hohenlohe, and the Commanding General<sup>30</sup> at the continued concentration of French troops near that frontier.

He said that the numbers now occupying the district are far in excess of what is required to garrison the frontier fortresses, and that not only are these overflowing with men, but a large camp is in course of formation, the object of which can only be to insure

<sup>26</sup> *Narodno sybranie*, the National Assembly of Bulgaria.

<sup>27</sup> Signatory powers (Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and the Ottoman Empire) of the Treaty of Berlin (1878) through which Bulgaria became an autonomous principality of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>28</sup> Tarnovo Constitution of 1879.

<sup>29</sup> The incumbent government, under Minister President Vasil Radoslavov, had taken power on 28 August 1886.

<sup>30</sup> Wilhelm von Heuduck.

the success of a sudden coup de main<sup>31</sup> directed against that part of the German frontier.

Altho' this information does not directly refer either to Hesse or Baden, I venture to trouble Your Lordship with it, and I am also unable to report for its accuracy, but the apprehension of a French attack at no very distant period is doubtless felt in military circles here, and the possibility of a rush upon the Alsatian frontier simultaneously with a principle attack on the Rhine through Belgium gives rise to grave fears.

### **FO 30/266: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 9, Darmstadt, 11 February 1887**

[Received 14 February by messenger. Circulate; S[alisbury]]

*Minor state of siege declared at Offenbach following exodus of socialists from Frankfurt; electoral prospects in Hesse*

During a conversation which I had with Monsieur Finger yesterday, His Excellency informed me that the Hessian Government had on the previous day proclaimed the Minor State of Siege at Offenbach on the Main.<sup>32</sup>

This measure has become necessary owing to the number of Socialist Democrats recently expelled from Frankfurt and its neighborhood in virtue of a similar proclamation made there some weeks ago.<sup>33</sup>

Many of these have taken refuge in Offenbach, and have received a cordial welcome from the Socialist Operations in that democratic centre.

The Elections for the Diet being now near at hand,<sup>34</sup> disturbances were not unlikely to occur, and it was considered expedient to place in the hands of the Authorities, the means of at any moment ridding the town of its obnoxious visitors.

His Excellency seems to be sanguine as to the results of the Elections and hoped to win two Seats for the Government.

Of the Nine Members contributed by Hesse to the last Diet, six had been National Liberals. One seat at Friedberg then held by a

<sup>31</sup> French: 'surprise military attack intended to take out opposing forces in one swift manoeuvre'.

<sup>32</sup> Section 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law of 1878 (see n. 10 in Dresden section) authorized federal governments, with prior approval of the Federal Council, to impose a minor state of siege (*Kleiner Belagerungszustand*) in towns and districts where activities of the Social Democrats jeopardised public safety. The measures restricted the freedom of assembly and dissemination of publications, allowed for the expulsion of persons suspected of endangering public security, and imposed a general ban on weapons.

<sup>33</sup> On 16 December 1886.

<sup>34</sup> The *Reichstag* elections took place on 21 February 1887.

Social Democrat, is now almost certain to be gained by D<sup>F</sup> Miquel, the former Burgomaster of Frankfurt, and at Mayence, either a National Liberal or a Clerical Conservative will be returned in the place of the Social Democrat last elected.<sup>35</sup>

### **FO 30/266: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 26, Darmstadt, 9 April 1887**

[Received 11 April by messenger. For: The Queen / Print (South East Europe); Embassies / Sofia – M.S.; S[alisbury]]

*Prince Alexander's views of situation in Bulgaria; Stoilov's mission to European powers; Bulgarian affection for prince*

The Newspapers both English and German have been very full of rumours lately as to the mission of Monsieur Stoiloff to Vienna, his projected visit to Darmstadt, and the possibility of Prince Alexander being invited by him to return to the throne of Bulgaria.<sup>36</sup> It may interest Your Lordship to learn something of His Highness' views in respect of the situation: I have obtained my information from an excellent source.

The Prince looks upon the present action of the Regents, and the journey of Monsieur Stoiloff, as due to the difficulties which these gentlemen experience in the Government of the Principality. They find themselves unable to control the military element in the country, and, knowing the devotion of the Army to the Prince, would endeavour to induce His Highness to return, not so much because they wish to reinstate him on personal grounds, as because they consider that his restitution would be the easiest means of solving the present difficulties of the situation. They cannot manage the horse themselves, so they would place a rider on his back whom he knows, in the hopes of a better result, not quite regardless of whether the horseman should experience another fall or not.

The Prince has however no inclination to risk his fate a second time: he will return to Bulgaria on one condition only, namely, that he does so as the mandatory of the Great Powers, or at any rate of a sufficient combination of them, and with a guarantee that

<sup>35</sup> The serving candidate at Friedberg was a *Freisinnig* Liberal, while the serving candidate at Mainz was a member of the Catholic *Zentrumsparlei* (Centre). The only socialist elected in the previous elections of 1884 was Wilhelm Liebknecht at Offenbach. Miquel was simultaneously elected in three electoral districts.

<sup>36</sup> The Bulgarian minister of finance, Konstantin Stoilov, arrived at Vienna on 30 March 1887 on a special mission to the European powers. For Alexander's abdication in 1886, see n. 25 in this section.

his position, should he accept the mission, will be secured to him. His Highness is fully aware of the continued antipathy of Russia, and of the relentless personal animosity of the Czar against him. As an illustration of the latter I may mention that I am informed that the Emperor of Russia has himself headed a subscription list for the families of the officers recently executed at Sofia, and has provided their widows and children with pensions.

In the meantime Prince Alexander loses no opportunity of exhorting the Bulgarian Government to maintain a peaceful demeanour, and discourages all attempts to excite popular demonstrations in favour of his recall. On the occasion of his birthday,<sup>37</sup> a few days ago, the Prince received some one hundred and fifty telegrams from Bulgaria, not merely congratulating him on the anniversary but encouraging him to return to his people, and he receives daily letters and Newspapers couched in the same language. To all these His Highness has replied in the sense sketched above, He has even endeavoured to discourage Monsieur Stoiloff from seeking an audience of him here, and, should that Gentleman persist in coming to Darmstadt, it is very uncertain that the Prince will receive him.

### **FO 30/266: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 60, Carlsruhe, 10 September 1887**

[Received 19 September by messenger. For: The Queen; J. P. [Julian Pauncefote]]

*Grand Duke of Baden's birthday; speech by Turban in which he admonishes hostile attitude of Catholic party*

Yesterday being the Birthday of the Grand Duke of Baden, I was invited to take part in the official Banquet presided over by The Minister of State, Monsieur Turban in celebration of the Day.

His Royal Highness being at the Castle of Mainau on the Lake of Constance, the Congratulations of those present were despatched to Him by telegraph, and a gracious Reply was received before the guests had separated. The Health of His Royal Highness was proposed by Monsieur Turban in a Speech of which I have the honor to annex a short translation,<sup>38</sup> because under the present circumstances it assumes an interest, which in general it would not possess.

The attitude of the Ultramontane party has lately been becoming more openly hostile to the Government, and the influence of The

<sup>37</sup> Alexander's 30<sup>th</sup> birthday was on 5 April 1887.

<sup>38</sup> Enclosure: translation of speech by Ludwig Karl Friedrich Turban, undated.



Archbishop of Freiburg,<sup>39</sup> from whose apparently loyal and pacific disposition, the best results had been expected, has unfortunately not been exercised in the right direction.

The character of that Prelate is weak, and his disposition yielding; while some of the Members of the Chapter, influenced, no doubt, by instructions from the Vatican, are endeavouring again to create dissension, and to regain for the Catholic Clergy the ascendancy which was lost to them eight years ago.<sup>40</sup>

The *Badische Beobachter* – the organ of the Party, has lately displayed considerable acrimony and hostility in its articles, by stirring up the Catholic fraction in view of the coming elections to the Second Chamber;<sup>41</sup> venturing even to introduce the name of The Grand Duke, representing His Royal Highness as being at variance with His Government, and disposed in their favor.

It was, consequently, against these attacks that Monsieur Turban in unmistakable language protested, maintaining that The Grand Duke, instead of being led by His Government into paths of intolerance, has even striven to promote the welfare of the State, by upholding freedom of thought, and religious equality among His subjects.

Had the Minister failed to notice the present state of things, and the calumnies of which his Government has been the object on such an occasion, his silence might have been misinterpreted, and he therefore was at some pains to shew that on this question The Head of the State and His political advisers were entirely agreed.

### **FO 30/268: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 5, Darmstadt, 13 January 1888**

[Received 16 January by messenger. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Print (South East Europe), by Wednesday / Constantinople / Sofia; S[alisbury], 18 January]]

*Prince Alexander approached by Albanian chieftain; proposition to unite Albania and part of Macedonia in a new principality under Alexander's rule*

During a Conversation which I recently had with Prince Alexander of Battenberg, His Highness took the opportunity of informing me that overtures of a very singular nature had recently been made to

<sup>39</sup> Johann Christian Roos.

<sup>40</sup> Jocelyn is referring to the reconciliation between the Baden government and the Catholic Church in 1879–1880 and the so called 'Peace Law' (*Friedensgesetz*) of 5 March 1880.

<sup>41</sup> The elections took place later in October 1887.

a former private Secretary<sup>42</sup> of His now at Sofia, by certain Albanian chieftains of high position.

These Persons had come to him, and had requested him to propose to His Highness to place Himself at the head of a movement for the Union of Albania with part of Macedonia – to form a Principality under His Rule, and subject to the Sultan as Suzerain.

They declared themselves able and willing should the Prince consent, to bring about a general movement throughout the Provinces in this direction, and expected that when the first part of the Programme has succeeded, the Bulgarian People would not be slow in following and annexing themselves to the New Principality.

His Highness appeared amused at this wild proposition, which, of course, he could not entertain for a moment, or do otherwise than entirely discourage, but He told it to me as a touching proof of the undiminished anxiety felt by the Bulgarians for His return under any circumstances, as He felt sure that Bulgarian influence was at the bottom of the whole scheme.

### **FO 30/268: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 22, Darmstadt, 21 April 1888**

[Received 23 April by messenger. Copy, inclosure in original, to Education Department, P.L. [printed letter], 25 April; T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]]

#### *Regulation to preserve eyesight of Hessian school pupils*

It has been generally observed that in some parts of Germany the eyesight of young persons belonging to the middle and better educated classes, is apt to become defective, so as to necessitate the use of glasses at an early age – a circumstance which has in a great measure been attributed to the manner in which school work is carried on.

In the Grand Duchy of Hesse, where premature failure of sight is of frequent occurrence, the Minister<sup>43</sup> who presides over the School System has endeavoured to do all in his power to mitigate this evil, and various rules have been framed with a view to the preservation of the eye sight of the Students.

A regulation has recently been promulgated, which has received the approval of the oculist faculty, and from which successful results are expected: I venture therefore to transmit a Copy of it to Your Lordship accompanied by a Translation.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Most probably Aleksandr F. Golovin.

<sup>43</sup> Jakob Finger.

<sup>44</sup> No enclosures included in FO 30/268.

**FO 30/268: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 36, Darmstadt, 23 June 1888**

[Received 25 June by messenger. Mr Charles Heneages' views are not of great moment. Qy: Approve; Consular Department for observations; 'Appointment quite unnecessary', T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]; H.P.A. [Henry Percy Anderson]]

*Reasons why a resident consular officer at Baden-Baden is unnecessary*

I have the honor to inform Your Lordship that some time ago Mr. Charles Heneage, brother to Mr. Edward Heneage M.P. wrote to me, urging the necessity of a Consular officer being appointed to reside at Baden-Baden, during the season, for the convenience of British residents and Visitors.

I pointed out to him, in reply, that a British Vice Consul<sup>45</sup> was already established at Mannheim – at a comparatively short distance, and that I myself made frequent visits to Karlsruhe – in the immediate neighbourhood, offering, as it appeared to me – sufficient opportunities for transacting any official business required by Visitors to Baden.

As Mr Heneage has now renewed his representations, I have thought it advisable to bring the matter to the knowledge of Your Lordship in case of any question being asked with regard to it in Parliament.

Any person leaving Baden at 11.30 can reach Mannheim at 1.40 and return in the course of the evening, whereas, by leaving Baden at 9.30 he would be at Mannheim at 12.45 viâ Heidelberg; and, returning viâ Schwetzingen at 2.30, would reach Baden at 4.30.

With these facilities, I venture to submit to Your Lordship whether a resident Consular Officer at Baden would be required.

On the occasion of my own visits to Karlsruhe, where I generally spend two clear days, I have frequently had occasion to transact business for persons coming from Baden and even from Freiburg.

**FO 30/270: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 41, Carlsruhe, 3 July 1889**

[Received 8 July by messenger. For: The Queen; Circulate; Qy: Copies to: Berlin / Berne; Print (Western Europe); S[alisbury]]

*Turban's views on the Bismarck's punitive policy towards Switzerland; effects on Baden*

During a conversation which I had with Monsieur Turban yesterday, His Excellency appeared much depressed at the serious character of

<sup>45</sup> Ferdinand Ladenburg.

relations now existing between Germany and Switzerland, and more especially so, as in case of punitive [*sic*] measures being resorted to by the Imperial Council, the duty of carrying them out would principally fall upon the Government of the Grand Duke...<sup>46</sup>

I could plainly perceive that his Excellency was very far from satisfied with the course adopted by the German Chancellor in this affair, regarding it rather as the consequence of an unfortunate outburst of temper, than as a stroke of statesmanlike policy.

His Excellency stated that the number of Subjects of Baden alone at present living and domiciled in Switzerland, exceeded Forty Thousand, and that upwards of One Hundred Thousand Germans would be ruinously affected in case of retaliatory measures being adopted against Switzerland.

At the same time he said that not Eight Thousand Swiss citizens were domiciled in Germany, so that the injury inflicted upon the latter would be enormously greater than any corresponding disadvantage sought to be applied to the country which it was intended to punish.

He portrayed very strongly the serious consequences which would be brought upon general traffic and railway communication by such a catastrophe, and the sudden cessation of the intercourse between the Grand Duchy and Switzerland at Basle and Constanz alone, where it is of the most intimate character; besides which, it must not be forgotten that many miles of the Baden State railway run through Swiss territory...

He told me that he had, with the consent of The Grand Duke, represented these facts very strongly to the Federal Council,<sup>47</sup> and, though declaring himself and his Government prepared to execute any orders given them, which might be considered necessary for the safety of the Empire, on the maintenance of its Dignity abroad, he deprecated in the strongest manner any step being rashly taken to bring about a state of things so obviously disadvantageous to the Country itself, and so likely to perpetuate a feeling of intense irritation and hatred towards Germany on the part of a nation so independent and sensitive as that of Switzerland.

His Excellency promised on my taking leave of Him to inform me of the nature of the reply which he might receive to his representation from Berlin.

<sup>46</sup> Bismarck's campaign against Switzerland concerned German and European socialists and radicals residing in that country, and the arrest of a German police inspector (who had been investigating the smuggling of socialist newspapers into Germany) by Swiss authorities in April 1889. At the time of the dispatch – in addition to tighter border controls and rigorous customs inspections – closing the frontier to the canton of Aargau and the abrogation of the Swiss German treaty on settlement rights of 1876 were being deliberated.

<sup>47</sup> Turban was referring to the instructions of 11 and 19 June 1889 he gave to the Baden plenipotentiary to the Federal Council, Adolf Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein.

**FO 30/270: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 69, Carlsruhe, 21 November 1889**

[Received 25 November by messenger. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

*Opening of Baden chamber; only small gains of Ultramontane party; importance of principle of indirect elections*

The Session of the Baden Legislature was opened today by Monsieur Turban, the Minister President, acting as Commissioner for His Royal Highness The Grand Duke, and I have the honor to enclose herewith a Copy and Translation of the Speech which His Excellency delivered on the occasion.<sup>48</sup>

In a conversation which I had with him yesterday, Monsieur Turban said he was not dissatisfied with the result of the recent elections.<sup>49</sup> They had, it was true, given five Seats to the Ultramontanes, but, considering the exertion the party had made in order to overthrow the National Liberal Majority, the gain was comparatively small.

In a former despatch I had reported to Your Lordship the apparent preponderance of the Ultramontane Electors chosen by the people.

It appears, however, that, during the interval which elapsed between their own Election, and that of the Members, the views of many were considerably modified, with the result that these had voted for National Liberals even in such constituencies as that of Freiburg, hitherto, a stronghold of the Papacy.

This His Excellency said, shewed the importance of maintaining the principle of indirect Elections, – the crude opinions of the ignorant uneducated Masses being modified by the more mature judgment of the Electors themselves.

**FO 30/270: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 56, Carlsruhe, 10 September 1889**

[Received 17 September by post. For: The Queen; Berne, 30 September; S[alisbury]]

*Grand Duke of Baden's Sedan Day speech to military association at Überlingen; unusually forthright on dangers within German society*

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> Instant The Grand Duke of Baden, who is at present residing at the Mainau [palace] on the Lake of Constance, went to Überlingen, the principal town of the district, to be present at a

<sup>48</sup> Enclosures: original (clipping) from *Karlsruher Zeitung* and translation, both undated.

<sup>49</sup> Elections of the Baden *Landtag* took place on 9 (electoral delegates) and 23 October 1890.

meeting of the Military Association (Kriegerverein),<sup>50</sup> organized for the purpose of celebrating the anniversary of the Victory of Sedan.<sup>51</sup>

This Society had formed part of the great assembly of Veterans which, on the occasion of the Visit of the German Emperor to Karlsruhe some weeks before,<sup>52</sup> had welcomed His Imperial Majesty to the Capital, as I reported in my despatch N<sup>o</sup> 54 of the 22<sup>nd</sup> ultimo.

The Grand Duke was received with great enthusiasm – an Address being presented by General von Deimling who presided at the Festival.

His Royal Highness replied in a Speech, of which I have the honor to enclose a translation,<sup>53</sup> containing expressions of much significance, with reference to the internal dangers which appeared to Him to threaten the Peace and well being of Society.

To anyone who knows the somewhat reticent style of His Royal Highness when speaking in public, the words He used on this occasion will carry the conviction that He felt most strongly on the subject, and was determined that his hearers should not remain unwarned of the hidden dangers which He considered to exist in their midst.

On the occasion of the Grand Duke's birthday on the ninth instant, I was present at the annual Ministerial dinner given in His honor, and in the course of conversation Monsieur Turban expressed to me how entirely he approved of the words spoken by His Royal Highness.

Moreover, it may be presumed, that the Speech delivered, as it was, close to the Swiss frontier, will have produced an impression not only upon the immediate hearers, but also have had a beneficial effect in the neighbouring country.

### **FO 30/272: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 11, Darmstadt, 12 February 1890**

[Received 17 February by messenger. Chancellor of the Exchequer; Commercial Department to see; S[alisbury]]

#### *Financial relations between imperial and federal exchequers*

At the sitting of the Upper Chamber of the Baden Legislature on the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant, during a Debate upon the Report of the Financial Committee, some unexpected light was thrown upon the financial

<sup>50</sup> The meeting of the *Seegau Kriegerbund* took place on 1 September, not on 3 September as stated in the dispatch.

<sup>51</sup> For Sedan Day (2 September), see n. 50 in Dresden section.

<sup>52</sup> On 19 August 1889.

<sup>53</sup> Enclosure: translation of speech by the Grand Duke of Baden in which he referred to an 'internal Foe, – a concealed enemy, going about closely veiled, and who must be overcome'.

relations of the Minor German States to the Empire by The Minister of Finance Monsieur Ellstätter.

His Excellency explained that the financial condition of each separate State depended upon that of The Imperial Exchequer,<sup>54</sup> and not vice versa, as was very generally believed.<sup>55</sup>

For, said he, with the increase or decrease of the contribution of each State to the Imperial Treasury the financial condition of such State is materially altered.

This somewhat unpleasant condition of affairs would continue until the Separate State had sufficiently consolidated its finances to render it independant [*sic*] of its Imperial contribution.

The Government were exerting themselves to bring about this most desirable result, which could only be done by a constant Augmentation of the Sinking Fund which now amounted to Twelve Millions of Marks, – Six Hundred Thousand Pound[s].

The Speaker, in conclusion, declared himself decidedly opposed to further construction of State Railways, and the Government would decline to entertain any Proposal which might be laid before them by those interested.

The Chamber then adjourned until after the Elections for the Imperial Diet.

### **FO 30/272: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 14, Karlsruhe, 8 March 1890**

[Received 17 March by messenger. For: The Queen / ~~Circulate~~ / Qy: Home Office for perusal; S[alisbury]]

*Reichstag election results in Hesse and Baden; Ultramontane gains*

The Elections for the Imperial Diet in Hesse and in Baden took place on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February, but so many second Ballots became necessary, that the final Result remained unknown until their termination on the 28<sup>th</sup>.

In the Nine Electoral Districts of the Grand Duchy of Hesse there were elected Two Socialist Democrats, Three Radical Progressists, One antisemite, and the remainder National Liberals.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Helmuth von Maltzahn.

<sup>55</sup> According to Article 70 of the imperial constitution of 1871, the federal states paid per capita contributions to the empire (*Matrikularbeiträge*) in order to balance the deficit of the imperial budget. The federal states, for their part, received indirect taxes and tariff revenues that exceeded 130 million *Reichsmark* ('Franckenstein Clause' of 1879).

<sup>56</sup> The final results for Hesse were: two anti-Semites, two Socialists, two Progressives and three National Liberals.

Three years ago the District of Mainz returned an Ultramontane,<sup>57</sup> who has now been replaced by a Socialist<sup>58</sup> – a remarkable result, considering the purely clerical nature of the Electorate, and the fact that no other opponent save an Ultramontane<sup>59</sup> was in the field.

The other Socialist<sup>60</sup> was elected in the district of Offenbach, a large manufacturing centre, the representation of which remains unchanged,

The fourteen Elections in the Grand Duchy of Baden have been less favorable to the Imperial Government.

Altho' only one Socialist<sup>61</sup> was elected in Mannheim, no fewer than nine Ultramontanes will represent their respective districts. Two conservatives were chosen at Heidelberg and Bretten, and not a single national liberal member has been returned from the Grand Duchy.<sup>62</sup>

This unexpected result is no doubt to be traced to the energy with which the Clerical Party have been organising their forces since the rejection by the National Liberals of the measure in the Chamber in favor of the employment of brothers of the monastic orders as assistants to the permanent clergy in the cure of souls.

This proposal, which was supported by the Government, and considered by them of importance as supplying a want severely felt throughout the country, was violently opposed by the majority in the Chamber, and, in spite of all explanations on the part of Ministers, finally rejected.<sup>63</sup>

Hereupon the clerical element, urged on by the Archbishop<sup>64</sup> and Chapter of Freiburg – and doubtless with the Sanction of the Vatican, organised a regular crusade against the National Liberals, and persuaded the Ultra Socialist party to join with them against the common enemy...

Monsieur Turban, whom I saw this morning though foreseeing an unfavorable result, was evidently much depressed at the signal victory gained by the clericals, and attributed entirely to the cause I have above stated, a defeat, which might have been averted had greater moderation prevailed in the ranks of the Liberal party on a question, which the Government well knew to be a vital one to the Catholics of

<sup>57</sup> Nicola Racke.

<sup>58</sup> Franz Jöst.

<sup>59</sup> Philipp Wasserburg.

<sup>60</sup> Carl Ulrich.

<sup>61</sup> August Dreesbach.

<sup>62</sup> The final results for Baden were: eight members of the Catholic *Zentrums*partei, three Conservatives; one left liberal; one Progressive; and one Socialist.

<sup>63</sup> The proposal was part of the government bill to revise the Baden church laws (Article 4); it was rejected by the *Landtag* on 17 April 1888.

<sup>64</sup> Christian Roos.



the Grand Duchy, and should have been left to their better judgment to decide.

**FO 30/272: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 64, Darmstadt, 8 November 1890**

[Received 10 March by messenger. For: The Queen / S[alisbury]]

*Jews petition Grand Duke for protection against anti-Semitic treatment*

The Public feeling against the Jews which has assumed such formidable proportions in some parts of Germany, has not failed to shew itself in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and more especially so in the Province of Upper Hesse and the towns of Giessen and Mayence where on the occasion of the last Election for the Diet an Antisemitic member was returned for each constituency.<sup>65</sup>

In Upper Hesse the Cattle trade is almost entirely in Jewish hands, and no doubt the hostility against them which has now assumed a very aggravated form, was to some extent owing to the usurious terms exacted and the hard bargains driven by the Jews with the farmer in selling cattle – much exclusive dealing being employed on both sides, and the Jews, being in the minority, suffering severely from the continued and increasing bitterness of their opponents.

Matters at length reached such a stage, that an application was made to the Grand Duke by a Deputation from the three Provinces<sup>66</sup> of the Grand Duchy and headed by the Chief Rabbi<sup>67</sup> of Mayence, recounting in glowing, and, as I am informed not altogether justifiable terms, their wrongs, and imploring His Royal Highness to extend His protection to the exercise of their lawful rights and occupations.

The Deputation was received by The Grand Duke, and the written petition of its Members taken into consideration.

The Minister of Justice, Monsieur Finger received orders, on the first Instant to address to them the Reply of which I have the honor to enclose herewith a Copy and a translation.<sup>68</sup>

This Answer, while expressing His Royal Highness['] horror and detestation of the treatment received by one portion of His Subjects at the hands of another, and the Royal injunction that

<sup>65</sup> Wilhelm Pickenbach and Oswald Zimmermann.

<sup>66</sup> See n. 4 in this section.

<sup>67</sup> Siegmund Salfeld; on 29 October 1890.

<sup>68</sup> Enclosures: original newspaper clipping, Finger to Salfeld (undated), and translation, 1 November 1890.

such proceedings should speedily cease, does not fail, as will be observed, to admonish the petitioners to be more careful in future not to give cause for complaint to those who are so ready to use it as justifying a fresh attack and persecution.

The Document has been criticized by the Press much in accordance with the Principles upheld by each journal, but the qualification attached to the Grand Ducal censure of the Antisemitic party throwing some of the blame upon their opponents, has, tho' in general approved, not been very palatable to the Jewish part of the community.

Monsieur Finger informed me that the Petition, as presented to the Grand Duke, has been withheld from publication owing to its somewhat exaggerated statements and intemperate language.

### **FO 30/274: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 31, Carlsruhe, 2 August 1891**

[Received 5 August by post. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales; S[alisbury]]

#### *Death of Baroness Bos du Thil*

A Person of considerable interest connected with the Court of the Grand Duke of Hesse – and almost the last remaining link with the period of Napoleon's rule in Germany, passed away a few days ago – the Baroness Bos du Thil, who for many years held the Post of Obersthofmeisterin or Mistress of the Robes to Her late Royal Highness The Grand Duchess,<sup>69</sup> and, previously, to The Grand Duchess Mathilda.

She was the widow of The Baron Bos du Thil, who, as Minister of State to The late Grand Duke for upwards of a quarter of a century, filled that high office during a time of exceptional agitation in Germany, ending with the Revolution of 1848, after which His Excellency, in company with many other German Ministers, was compelled to resign His Post.

During the earlier part of his career, the very existence of Hesse as a State was owing to his exertions, – for, after the Battle of Leipsic,<sup>70</sup> when Hesse was fighting on the side of Napoleon, Du Thil, with consummate ability, succeeded in convincing the Allied Sovereigns that the apparent friendship of the Grand Duchy for the French Emperor had been forced upon her at the swords

<sup>69</sup> Alice.

<sup>70</sup> Battle of the Nations, 16–19 October 1813.

point, and that the loyalty of The Grand Duke to the German cause was in truth unquestionable.

The funeral of the Baroness, who died at the age of 82, on the 28<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, took place two days ago, and was attended by The Grand Duke and the members of the Grand Ducal family, who took part in the procession to the grave, and remained to the end of the Service.

### **FO 30/274: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 38, Carlsruhe, 10 September 1891**

[Received 14 September by messenger. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

*Grand Duke of Baden's 65<sup>th</sup> birthday; speech by Turban discreetly urges political loyalty to royal figurehead*

Yesterday being the sixty fifth anniversary of the Birthday of The Grand Duke of Baden, I was, as usual, invited to to [*sic*] take part in the festivities and dinner given by the Ministers in honor of His Royal Highness.

Owing to the absence of almost the entire garrison of the town at the military manoeuvres, the attendance was comparatively small, and my Russian Colleague<sup>71</sup> and myself were the only representatives of the Diplomatic Body at the dinner.

Monsieur Turban, whose health has recently become much impaired by overwork, proposed the Health of His Royal Highness in a speech containing no direct allusion to the actual unsettled condition of public feeling, in the Grand Duchy; but dwelling with considerable meaning upon the essentially patriotic and wise character of the Sovereign, and thus tacitly urging, which he did not express in words, the duty of every loyal subject to rally round the Leader in the present emergency.<sup>72</sup>

This was perfectly well understood by the majority of the guests, who received the toast with the greatest enthusiasm.

In view of the present political agitation prevailing in the country, the Ministers have thought it desirable to present an address of congratulation to The Grand Duke, containing a short summary of His Royal Highness' and their own conduct of affairs during the last few years.

<sup>71</sup> Vladimir Alexandrovich Fredericks.

<sup>72</sup> In his address, which was sanctioned by the Grand Duke, Turban hinted at the struggles of the Baden government with the Democratic and Catholic parties in the run-up to the elections of the Baden chambers. Contested fields of policy included constitutional and electoral reforms and further revisions of church laws, especially the admission of religious congregations and male religious orders.

I have the honor to inclose a Translation of this address, and also of the Reply which it elicited from His Royal Highness, in which He expresses a wish that it might be published, and that both His own, and His Governments['] views on subjects now being discussed, might be widely known.<sup>73</sup> As might have been expected, the Ultra Radical party with the “Frankfurter Zeitung” at their head, do not hesitate to criticize this somewhat unusual step of the Ministry, declaring it to be not only an Electioneering desire, but an unmanly attempt to make The Grand Duke responsible for what they themselves had failed in, and to compel Him to side with the Government Party on questions, with regard to which He should remain altogether unbiased.

**FO 30/277: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 8, Carlsruhe, 31 January 1892**

[Received 2 February by post. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales; S[alisbury]]

*Debate in chamber respecting appointment of Eisenlohr to new ministerial department; opposition on grounds of misuse of public money*

As I had the honor to inform Your Lordship at the time, the Elections for the Second Chamber of the Grand Duchy of Baden resulted in a majority of one vote for the National Liberal Party; and the opposition, consisting of the clerical and Socialistic fractions, had determined to lose no opportunity of placing the Government in a minority.<sup>74</sup>

Owing to declining health, and pressure of work, the Prime Minister, Monsieur Turban had in the month of August withdrawn himself from the presidency of the Ministry of the Interior, and of several minor Departments, and had with the Consent of the Grand Duke created a new Department<sup>75</sup> over which Monsieur Eisenlohr had been called upon to preside.

The step was one which could only be of benefit to the country, and at the same time by relieving the Prime Minister of one of the most onerous of his functions enable him to devote increased energy to those which he still retained.

The Salary attached to the New Ministers' post was to be paid out of the very considerable Surplus in the hands of the Exchequer<sup>76</sup> so

<sup>73</sup> Enclosures: translations of Turban's address (8 September) and Friedrich I's reply (9 September 1891).

<sup>74</sup> Elections took place on 24 September (electoral delegates) and 2 October 1891.

<sup>75</sup> An independent ministry of the interior.

<sup>76</sup> Moritz Ellstätter (minister of finance).

as to be – for the present at any rate – independent of the Legislative Vote.

The change was, however, made during the recess, and previous to the Elections and of course without consulting the Chamber.

While the Elections were going on, the matter was much discussed, and was used by the Opposition party as a powerful Lever against the alleged misappropriation of the Public Money, – independently of the Representative Body. [*sic*] and, as might have been expected several Votes were lost to the Government in consequence.

A few days ago, when the Chamber reassembled after the Christmas Vacation an attack was at once directed against the Ministry on this ground and after a very hot discussion the motion, which was virtually one of want of confidence, was finally rejected by only six votes, twenty eight voting against, and thirty two in favour of the appointment of the new Minister.<sup>77</sup>

During the debate which was on the attacking side, of an exceptional violent character, grave accusations were brought against the Government for tampering with the freedom of Election, which, however, were triumphantly disproved by Monsieur Turban and his colleagues.

The Government appear to be fully aware of the formidable nature of the forces arrayed against them, and, on the Question of the Education of Priests at Catholic Seminaries, and the admission of the Monastic Orders into the Grand Duchy which will, before long, come on for discussion, it will require all their skill and tact to avert a defeat which might drive them from Office, and place the Ultramontane party in power.<sup>78</sup>

### **FO 30/277: William Nassau Jocelyn to Marquess of Salisbury, No 43, Darmstadt, 26 July 1892**

[Received 30 July by post. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales; S[alisbury]]

*Six thousand people from Hesse and Baden attend demonstration at Kissingen in support of Bismarck*

An imposing demonstration took place on the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> Instant, when more than six thousand persons from the Grand

<sup>77</sup> The Landtag reconvened on 18 January 1892; the debate (including the vote on the motion of the *Zentrum* faction) took place on 26 January.

<sup>78</sup> The education of priests was regulated by the laws of 5 March 1880 and 5 July 1888 which, amongst other things, stipulated attendance at a university. New religious orders were, as regulated by the Church Law of 9 October 1860, subject to approval of the Baden government.

Duchies of Hesse and Baden and from the Bavarian Palatinate set out for Kissingen in order to express the assurance of their regard to Prince Bismarck before His Highness' departure from that town.

Special trains were organised and started from Mannheim, Heidelberg, Darmstadt, and Frankfort, at an early hour, arriving before noon at Kissingen, and returning the same evening.

The Deputation[s], including many Ladies, were very cordially received by the Prince, who was quite overcome by the magnitude of the assembly, and responded to the several speeches, which were delivered by the Representatives of the different countries, expressing his thanks and passing in review the principal events which had marked his administration – alluding also to the recent circumstances connected with his visit to Vienna,<sup>79</sup> which had led to the expression of feeling so forcibly manifested by those whom he was addressing.

Your Lordship will probably have received a report of His Highnesses speech on this occasion from Her Majesty's Legation at Munich, but some expressions contained in the address of M. Eckhard, the veteran leader of the National Liberal party in Baden are deserving of special notice.

After referring to the work which Prince Bismarck had achieved in the unification of Germany in 1870, the Speaker said:

“I say, therefore, that what happened in the year 1890<sup>80</sup> and much of what occurred later was quite unintelligible to our South German feelings and understandings, and what is more it remains to this day unintelligible to us. For we feel that it is the Duty and the honorable Duty of a Nation to be proud of its greatest Statesman, and we also know that it is a Shame for a Nation to depreciate and seek to weaken the work of her great men. Against this Kind of National Education and teaching we do here this day protest most loudly and energetically, and I trust that we shall not be alone in doing so.”

These words were received by the thousands present with thunders of applause sufficiently indicating the sentiments which animated the whole assembly.

<sup>79</sup> Bismarck visited Vienna on the occasion of his son's wedding from 18 to 22 June 1892. His audience with the Austrian emperor was impeded by the intervention of Leo von Caprivi and Wilhelm II.

<sup>80</sup> Eckhard was referring to Bismarck's resignation from office on 18 March 1890.

**FO 30/277: Horace Augustus Helyar to Earl of Rosebery, [unnumbered], Darmstadt, 14 November 1892**

[Received 16 November by post. For: The Queen; R[osebery]]

*Sadness of Grand Duke at Jocelyn's death*

I had the honor of being received in audience this morning by His Royal Highness The Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt.

His Highness, who was very gracious, expressed his deep regret and sorrow at the lamented death of the late M<sup>r</sup> Jocelyn, for so many years Her Majesty's Representative at this Court.<sup>81</sup>

His Royal Highness said that the death of M<sup>r</sup> Jocelyn had come as an unexpected blow on all who knew and liked him, and that is was difficult for those to realise that he was taken away who had seen him in full health and strength only the day before.

I begged respectfully to thank His Royal Highness for the magnificent wreath which he had sent in token of regard to the late Minister.

His Royal Highness concluded by reiterating his feeling of the loss which Darmstadt had sustained and of the universal popularity of M<sup>r</sup> Jocelyn.

Lord Powerscourt<sup>82</sup> likewise had the honour of being received in audience, and His Royal Highness expressed to him His sincere sympathy with the family in their grief.

**FO 30/278: George W. Buchanan to Earl of Rosebery, No 46, Baden Baden, 7 June 1893**

[Received 9 June by post. For: The Queen; R[osebery]]

*Grand Duke of Baden's speech at Offenburg; endorses army bills*

At a Meeting of a Society of Old Soldiers held a few days ago at Offenburg the Grand Duke of Baden took occasion to deliver a Speech on the Army Bills, copy and translation of which I have the honour to enclose,<sup>83</sup> which has attracted considerable attention in the Press.

<sup>81</sup> Jocelyn died on 11 November 1892.

<sup>82</sup> Mervyn Wingfield, 7th Viscount Powerscourt, represented the family at Jocelyn's funeral on 14 November.

<sup>83</sup> Friedrich I attended the meeting of the *Badischer Militärvereinsverband* on 4 June. Enclosures: original (clipping) from *Karlsruher Zeitung* of 6 June 1893 and translation.

After referring to the misconstructions which had been placed on his Speech at Heidelberg, reported in my despatch No 40 of the 16<sup>th</sup> ultimo, His Royal Highness proceeded to say that, in order to avoid any similar misconceptions of his meaning, he had preferred to commit his Speech to writing.<sup>84</sup>

Everyone, He said, ought to ask himself what was the real issue of the pending Elections<sup>85</sup> and ought only to vote for those Candidates who placed the honour and safety of the Empire above the interests of party and who recognised in the Army Bills a safeguard against a possible humiliation of their country.

The step which the Grand Duke has thus taken in making a direct appeal to the Baden Electorate in favour of the Army Bills has been severely criticised by the Opposition Press, and, although the National Liberal and official organs are loud in their praises of His Royal Highness['] Speech, some Members of the Government, as I have reason to believe, do not entirely approve His Royal Highness' action in entering thus personally into the Electoral contest.

**FO 30/280: George W. Buchanan to Earl of Kimberley,  
No 26, Darmstadt, 21 May 1894**

[Received 22 May by post. X; K[imberley]]

*Constitutional revision in Baden; lower chamber in favour of electoral reform and direct elections; upper chamber and government favour indirect elections; ongoing discussions*

The question of the Revision of the Constitution<sup>86</sup> of the Grand Duchy of Baden, in the sense of the substitution of a Direct for the present Indirect Electoral System, has for some time past engaged the attention of the Second Chamber of the Landtag.

As far back as the years 1871 and 1876 motions in favour of Direct Elections were introduced, though without success, in the Chamber. In the year 1883 a Resolution to the same effect was, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the National Liberals and of the Government, actually carried by a majority of one; but it remained inoperative in consequence of the opposition of the Upper Chamber.

A similar resolution, coupled, however, with a proposal for the total revision of the Constitution and for an increase of the powers

<sup>84</sup> In press reports on the speech of 14 May, the Grand Duke reportedly said that it was not the number but the quality of soldiers upon which Germany must rely. For the army bill (Imperial Military Law), see nn. 312 and 322 in Berlin section.

<sup>85</sup> Elections to the *Reichstag* took place on 15 June 1893.

<sup>86</sup> Constitution of 22 August 1818.



of the Upper Chamber, was again carried during the Session of the late Landtag,<sup>87</sup> but no effect was given to it by the Government.

The Revision Committee of the Lower Chamber has now,<sup>88</sup> by a unanimous vote, expressed itself in favour of the adoption of Direct Elections based on a system of Proportional Representation. Though all parties have thus joined in recommending this reform of the Electoral System, it is more than doubtful whether any immediate result will follow from the decision of the Committee. The Government have, indeed, expressed themselves as not absolutely and unconditionally attached to the existing system of Indirect Elections, and have thus departed from their former irreconcilable [*sic*] attitude towards this question. They do not, however, according to the Ministerial statement,<sup>89</sup> consider that the guarantees offered by the Proportional Representation are sufficient in themselves to guard against the dangers apprehended from the proposed change in the Constitution. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether, in the event of their embodying the suggestions of the Committee in a Bill, the further safeguards which they may propose, will be such as to recommend themselves to the acceptance of the majority of the Chamber.

### **FO 30/281: George W. Buchanan to Earl of Kimberley, No 33, Darmstadt, 29 June 1894**

[Received 2 July by post. X; K[imberley]]

*Debates at closing session of Baden Landtag on admission of religious orders, progressive income tax and revision of constitution*

The Session of the Baden Landtag was closed yesterday by the Grand Duke in person, the Speech from the Throne, copy and translation of which I have the honour to enclose, being read by His Royal Highness.<sup>90</sup>

Apart from the many important measures discussed during its course, the Session attracted unusual interest from the fact that at the Elections,<sup>91</sup> which preceded it, the National Liberal Party lost the absolute majority which they had for more than twenty years

<sup>87</sup> On 14 May 1892.

<sup>88</sup> The committee which discussed the two diverging motions of 24 November (Democrats) and 15 December 1893 (*Zentrum* faction) presented its report to the second chamber on 6 June; it was passed on 22 June 1894.

<sup>89</sup> Declaration by minister Eisenlohr before the committee on 17 May 1894.

<sup>90</sup> Enclosures: *Rede seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Großherzogs bei dem Schluß der Ständeversammlung am 28 Juni 1894* (printed copy and translation).

<sup>91</sup> The elections took place on 20 (electoral delegates) and 27 October 1893.

possessed in the Lower Chamber. They still formed indeed the largest and more important party in the House, numbering thirty out of a total of sixty three members, and could, when the two Conservative members voted with them, defeat any combination of the Centre,<sup>92</sup> Radicals and Social Democrats. On more than one occasion, however, they were not only defeated by this coalition, but had the additional mortification of seeing proposals, to which they were bitterly opposed, accepted and supported by the Government.

Of the measures alluded to in the Speech from the Throne that on the subject of the holding of Missions by Members of Religious Orders<sup>93</sup> gave rise to a long and very heated debate. The discretionary powers<sup>94</sup> possessed by the Government to sanction or refuse the admission of Religious Orders have at present only been made use of in the case of two Female Orders; – a fact which, the Centre maintain, proves that the Catholic Church in Baden is not treated as it ought to be in a country so equally divided between the Catholic and Evangelical Confessions. They accordingly submitted three Resolutions to the Chamber, demanding the free admission and right of settlement of Religious Orders, the right of such Orders to hold Missions and a relaxation of the regulations which prescribe, among other conditions, a three years residence at a German University of all Candidates for Holy Orders. These proposals encountered the strongest opposition on the part of the National Liberals, and in the five days' debate,<sup>95</sup> which ensued the violent and abusive language used on both sides has seldom, if ever, been surpassed in the worst days of the "Culturkampf" debates. The occupants even of the Visitors['] Galleries, which were densely crowded throughout, made repeated demonstrations for one side or the other and were more than once threatened with expulsion by the Speaker.<sup>96</sup>

The Government, whose conciliatory attitude towards the Centre was in marked contrast to that of the National Liberals, accepted the Second Resolution, which sanctions the holding of Missions by Members of Religious Orders subject to the provisions of the Common Law, but they declined, as regarded the other two Resolutions, to do more than promise to grant dispensations whenever they could safely do so.

<sup>92</sup> *Zentrumsparthei* (Catholics).

<sup>93</sup> The law which readmitted missions in Baden was passed by both chambers on 19 and 26 June 1894 and was promulgated on 28 June.

<sup>94</sup> Law of 5 March 1880.

<sup>95</sup> 13 to 17 February 1894.

<sup>96</sup> Albert Gönner.

The second Resolution was eventually carried by 34 to 27 votes, three National Liberals and the two Conservatives voting with the Centre, the Radicals and the Social Democrats. The first and the third Resolutions were defeated respectively by 32 to 30 and 31 to 30, the National Liberals voting in a body against them.

Among the other measures referred to in the Speech from the Throne may be mentioned the reform of the Income Tax in a progressive sense.<sup>97</sup> The old Income Tax was in a manner also progressive, inasmuch as, while all Incomes of £1500 and over paid the full tax, those under that amount paid it at a graduated degressive rate. According to the law now passed Incomes between £1000 and £1250 will pay the full tax, the old abatements below £1000 being retained, while with Incomes of £1250 the real progression will begin.

This is to take the form of Surtax on the amount of the tax paid, rising by successive gradations of 5% till with incomes of £10,000 a year the maximum surtax of 40% is reached. Thus when the rate of the Income Tax is 4%, an Income of £10,000 will, in addition to the £400 formerly levied, have to pay a surtax of £160.

The Bill also enacts severe penalties against any fraudulent evasion of the tax.

As regards the question of Constitutional Revision, reported in my despatch No 26 of the 21<sup>st</sup> of May last, the Landtag<sup>98</sup> before separating adopted a resolution in favour of the introduction of Direct Elections based on a system of Proportional Representation.

The Government, however, who fear that the influence of the middle classes and the representation of local interests will suffer by the proposed reform, have, while accepting in principle the decision of the Chamber, declared<sup>99</sup> that they cannot allow the minority of the educated and propertied classes to be overridden by the masses, nor the representation of local interests in the Landtag to be imperilled. The measure, therefore, which they have promised to prepare for the next Session of Parliament, will endeavour to combine the system of Proportional Representation and its large Electoral Districts with a system of smaller Districts returning but one member in places where there are special local interests to be represented.

The Landtag will not meet again till November 1895, previous to which date the usual biennial elections for the partial renewal of the Lower Chamber will take place.

<sup>97</sup> Law on the modification of income tax of 26 June 1894, passed by the second chamber on 21 May.

<sup>98</sup> On 22 June 1894.

<sup>99</sup> Buchanan is referring to August Eisenlohr's speech in the Baden *Landtag* of 22 June 1894.

**FO 30/283: George W. Buchanan to Earl of Kimberley,  
No 9, Darmstadt, 2 April 1895**

[Received 5 April by post. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Lord Rosebery; K [imberley]]

*Bismarck's birthday celebrated in grand style at Karlsruhe and Darmstadt; speech by Grand Duke of Baden extolling the patriotic virtues of Bismarck and his legacy*

Prince Bismarck's Birthday was celebrated yesterday with great enthusiasm both at Darmstadt and at Karlsruhe. All the public and most of the private buildings were decorated with flags, the schools were closed and numerous Banquets were held, at which the great services rendered by the Prince to United Germany were extolled in a series of patriotic speeches.

The Grand Duke of Hesse sent Prince Bismarck a cordial letter of congratulations, and the Grand Ducal Government in a congratulatory letter assured His Serene Highness that the Hessian people – in common with all Germans – were deeply conscious of the debt of gratitude which they owed him.

The Grand Duke of Baden, who had already, on the occasion of his recent visit to Berlin, personally conveyed his congratulations to Prince Bismarck,<sup>100</sup> gave yesterday a further proof of his admiration for the old Chancellor by presenting the Municipality of Karlsruhe with the Prince's Portrait, to which the following inscription was attached:

“In commemoration of the never to be forgotten services of Prince Bismarck, and in the hope that future Generations as they look upon his picture may be stirred to deeds of patriotism.”

At a Banquet held in the evening in the Town Hall the Grand Duke made a lengthy and important speech. After referring to all that the first Chancellor had done for Germany and to the recent speech,<sup>101</sup> in which the Prince had remarked that, without the Emperor William I and the army which He had created, the German Empire would never have been founded, His Royal Highness said that the great and noble qualities of the Emperor William I should ever serve as a pattern to all those who were called on to cooperate in the task of maintaining and developing the greatness of the Empire.

“The States of Germany”, His Royal Highness continued, “must work loyally together to this end. We must, moreover, keep a careful

<sup>100</sup> Friedrich I stayed at Berlin from 21 to 29 March; on 27 March he visited Bismarck at Friedrichsruh.

<sup>101</sup> Friedrich I was referring to the speech Bismarck gave to members of the first and second Prussian house and the German *Reichstag* at Friedrichsruh on 25 March 1895. See also n. 107 in this section.

watch so as to preserve the foundations of the Constitution intact and to protect them against any attempts to bring destructive and disorganising germs into our Institutions.”

After having for a period of forty years steered the Ship of State, I feel myself entitled to speak these words of warning: Let us be on our guard against the disturbing tendencies of unpatriotic ideas and utopian schemes, which would introduce under the guise of liberty an arbitrary and selfish tyranny.

It is for us to preserve to our country the fruits of more than thirty years labour in the field of social legislation, so that its further development may advance the highest interests of our land and tend to its lasting welfare.”

### **FO 30/283: George W. Buchanan to Earl of Kimberley, No 13, Darmstadt, 3 May 1895**

[Received 6 May by post. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Lord Rosebery; K [imberley]]

*Political views in Hessian Landtag regarding anti-revolutionary bills*

I have the honour to report that the Second Chamber of the Hessian Landtag has for the past two days been engaged in a discussion of the Anti Revolutionary Bills. The debate was occasioned by a resolution moved by a Member<sup>102</sup> of the National Liberal Party, requesting the Government to oppose these Bills in the Bundesrath,<sup>103</sup> should they be passed, by the Reichstag either in their original shape or in the form in which they had been amended in Committee.<sup>104</sup> The Members of the Centre<sup>105</sup> announced their intention of voting for this Resolution, while the Social Democratic Party proposed that its terms should be extended to any Anti Revolutionary measure that might receive the sanction of the Reichstag.

Eventually, after a prolonged debate, the House passed by a large majority an amendment moved by another National Liberal Deputy,<sup>106</sup> to the effect that the Government should be requested to strenuously oppose the Anti Revolutionary Bills if passed in the amended form which they had received in Committee.

<sup>102</sup> Ignatz Metz.

<sup>103</sup> Federal Council.

<sup>104</sup> For the ‘subversion bill’ (*Umsturzvorlage*), see n. 381 in Berlin section; the bill was dismissed by the *Reichstag* in its second reading on 11 May 1895.

<sup>105</sup> *Zentrumspartei* (Catholics).

<sup>106</sup> Alexander Friedrich.

The Debate has attracted some attention in the German Press on account of the attitude adopted by the Hessian Ultramontanes in this question being in striking contrast to that of their party in the Reichstag, and also because the Hessian Landtag, in occupying itself with a question appertaining to the competence of the Reichstag, has been the first of the Parliaments of Germany to follow the advice recently given in this sense by Prince Bismarck.<sup>107</sup>

### **FO 30/283: George W. Buchanan to Marquess of Salisbury, No 31, Darmstadt, 5 November 1895**

[Received 6 November by post. For: The Queen / ~~Prince of Wales~~; S[alisbury]]

*Electoral results to the Baden Landtag; no party majority*

The Elections, which have first been concluded for the partial renewal of the Second Chamber of the Diet of the Grand Duchy of Baden, have not brought about any great change in the position of parties.<sup>108</sup> The National Liberals, who up to 1893 had for more than twenty years possessed an absolute majority in the Chamber, have gained one Seat, while the Ultramontanes have lost two and the Antisemites have for the first time succeeded in returning a Representative to the Diet. The strength of the other parties remain[s] unchanged, the composition of the Chamber being as follows: –

National Liberals	31
Ultramontanes	21
Democrats & Radicals	5
Socialists	3
Conservatives	2
Antisemites	1

The chief feature of the Elections was antagonism to the National Liberals: a striking illustration of which was afforded by the return of an Antisemite<sup>109</sup> in the place of a National Liberal at Weinheim,<sup>110</sup> in consequence of the support which he received at the Second Ballot

<sup>107</sup> Buchanan is referring to the speech of 25 March (see n. 101 in this section) in which Bismarck stated that he was happy when imperial policy was criticised by state parliaments as it proved their shared interest in German affairs.

<sup>108</sup> Elections took place on 12 October (electoral delegates); the second ballots were concluded on 30 October 1895.

<sup>109</sup> Georg Philipp Pfisterer.

<sup>110</sup> Albert Klein.

from the Democratic Party. The Antisemite Candidate was, the Democrats considered, the lesser of the two evils which they had to choose between. He had declared himself in favour of Direct Elections to the Diet and of various social reforms, and as the solitary Representative of Antisemitism he could not be regarded as a source of danger. The National Liberal Candidate on the other hand had refrained from pledging himself to any Electoral Reform and would, had he been returned, have given his Party the absolute majority in the Chamber.

The campaign thus opened against the National Liberals is likely to be followed up in the approaching Session of the Diet, but, as their party is still by far the strongest in the Chamber, it will be necessary for the Ultramontanes, the Conservatives, the Democrats, the Socialists and the Antisemite to join their forces in order to bring it to a successful issue.

The fact that there is no party commanding an absolute majority in the Chamber is not altogether displeasing to the Government. The National Liberals have indeed for a number [of] years been regarded as the Government Party, but now that they no longer dispose of the absolute majority of the Chamber, the Government is relieved of the pressure which they often brought to bear on it, and is able to adapt its policy to what it considers best for the general interests of the country rather than to the wishes of a particular party.

### **FO 30/285: George W. Buchanan to Marquess of Salisbury, No 11, Darmstadt, 24 June 1896**

[Received 29 June by messenger. For: The Queen / Mr Balfour; S[alisbury]]

*Closure of Baden Landtag by Grand Duke; constitutional revision still outstanding with regards to electoral reform*

The Session of the Landtag of the Grand Duchy of Baden was yesterday closed by the Grand Duke in person, the Speech from the Throne being read by His Royal Highness.

After thanking the Chambers for the readiness with which they had agreed to the measures submitted to them by his Government, for the generous manner in which they had passed the Budget without alteration and for their acceptance of the Government proposals for relieving the distress caused by the serious inundations of last winter,<sup>111</sup> the

<sup>111</sup> On 16 June the second chamber of the Baden *Landtag* granted 3.3 million marks to remedy the damage caused by the floods of March 1896, which had affected areas west and south-west of the Black Forest.

Grand Duke expressed his satisfaction that an increase of taxation had been rendered unnecessary in consequence of the favourable condition of the finances of the Empire. His Government was, however, he remarked, still convinced of the necessity of an organic reform in the matter of Imperial Finance, and would, in conjunction with the Allied Governments, continue its efforts to bring about a satisfactory solution of this question in the Reichstag.

After citing the various measures passed by the Landtag – among which may be mentioned a Bill for connecting Karlsruhe by a Canal with the Rhine<sup>112</sup> – His Royal Highness concluded by expressing the hope that the new Code of Civil Procedure would become law during the present Session of the Reichstag.<sup>113</sup>

The late Session of the Landtag has been barren of results so far as regards the question of Constitutional Revision. In the preceding Session of 1894 the Second Chamber adopted a Resolution<sup>114</sup> in favour of the introduction of Direct Elections based on a system of Proportional Representation, and the Government, while declining to be bound by the terms of this Resolution, promised nevertheless to prepare a measure of Constitutional Revision before the next Session of the Landtag.

During the Session, which has just closed, several Resolutions in favour of Direct Elections were discussed, but, in consequence of the state of parties in the Second Chamber, where the National Liberals are in a majority of one, not one of them was supported by an absolute majority. The National Liberals, in the hope of disarming the opposition of the Government, did, indeed, withdraw their proposal that the Direct Elections should be based on a system of Proportional Representation.<sup>115</sup> The Government, however, who are opposed to any radical reform of the present system of Indirect Elections, declined, in view of this want of unanimity, to lay any measure of their own before the Chamber.

<sup>112</sup> In his speech the Grand Duke referred to the construction of the Karlsruhe Rhine Port (opened in 1901); on 20 May the second chamber approved the payment of the first instalment (200,000 marks) to the city of Karlsruhe.

<sup>113</sup> The Civil Procedure Code of 1877 was amended in May 1898. At the time of the dispatch the Imperial Office for Justice (*Reichsjustizamt*) adjusted the provisions of the bill to the new German Civil Code which was passed in July 1896 (see n. 456 in Dresden section).

<sup>114</sup> On 22 June 1894.

<sup>115</sup> The motion by the National Liberal faction was passed on 15 June 1895; it requested the Baden government to present a bill on the election of the *Landtag*, and for directly and indirectly elected members to be in equal proportion.



**FO 30/285: George W. Buchanan to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 30, Darmstadt, 21 October 1896**

[Received 26 October by messenger. For: The Queen / Duke of Devonshire / Mr Balfour; Confidential to: Berlin / Paris / Vienna / St Petersburg; S[alisbury]]

*Exchange of visits between German Emperor and the tsar*

The recent exchange of visits between the German and the Russian Emperors has given rise to so many comments in the Press, that I venture to report what I have heard on the subject in Darmstadt.<sup>116</sup>

The initiative in the matter was taken by the German Emperor, who considered that the vicinity of Wiesbaden, where His Majesty happened to be staying, rendered a meeting with the Emperor Nicholas an act of ordinary courtesy. The necessary steps were therefore taken and an exchange of visits was ultimately arranged.

In proposing to visit the Emperor of Russia at Darmstadt the German Emperor acted, and I hear on very good authority, entirely on his own responsibility and even contrary to advice which was actually tendered Him. Influential personages of His Majesty's Suite have even, I am informed, expressed their regret that the Emperor did not abandon his visit to Wiesbaden altogether, rather than allow himself to be suspected of having forced an interview on the Emperor of Russia.

That the Emperor Nicholas would have preferred to have enjoyed an uninterrupted rest at Darmstadt is evident from the very plain language of several Russian officials here, who have all along hinted that a second meeting of the Emperors was unnecessary. Some newspapers have even attempted to draw certain inferences from the facts that His Majesty did not go to the Station to meet the German Emperor, as he did on the arrival of the Empress Fredrick,<sup>117</sup> and that, in returning the visit at Wiesbaden, His Majesty wore the uniform [of] the Hessian Regiment, of which the Colonelcy in chief has first been conferred on Him by the Grand Duke, instead of that of His Prussian regiment.<sup>118</sup>

The German Empress did not accompany the Emperor William to Darmstadt, on the grounds, I believe, that it was of the Empress of Russia to pay Her Majesty the first visit.

<sup>116</sup> Wilhelm visited Nicholas II, who stayed at Darmstadt from 11 to 29 October, on 19 October. The tsar returned the visit the following day (at Wiesbaden).

<sup>117</sup> Victoria arrived 22 October 1896.

<sup>118</sup> From 19 October 1894 Nicholas II was *Regimentschef* (colonel-in-chief) of the 24th (2nd Grand Ducal Hessian) Life Dragoon Regiment. On 17 November 1894 he was likewise made *Regimentschef* of the 8th (1st Westphalian) Hussars, known thenceforth as the Emperor Nicholas II of Russia's.

**FO 30/287: George W. Buchanan to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 24, Darmstadt, 6 October 1897**

[Received 11 October by post. Interesting. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Duke of Devonshire / Mr Balfour, A.J.B. [Arthur J. Balfour] / Eastern Department; S[alisbury]]

*Audience with tsar; his views on international affairs*

I had this morning the honour to be received in Audience by the Emperor of Russia.

After referring to matters of local interest and to his recent visit to Poland,<sup>119</sup> the Emperor spoke of the Greek Question and of the new Greek Ministry. The exclusion of Monsieur Delyannis from the Ministry was, His Majesty said, a very good thing, while the mixed character of the Government would enable the King to exercise greater control over their policy – a decided advantage for Greece. He had, His Majesty continued, seen a good deal of Greek politicians during His visit to Athens, and the opinion which he had formed both of them and of the working of the Greek Constitution was not high.<sup>120</sup>

Alluding next to the disturbances on the Indian Frontier,<sup>121</sup> the Emperor expressed His satisfaction at the progress being made by our Troops, adding that, where a civilized Power was the neighbour of a semi barbarous State,<sup>122</sup> such disturbances must occasionally occur.

In the course of our further conversation the Emperor spoke of the policy of “Buffer States”, remarking that to be of real service such States must be strong and independent. The idea of Russia and England ever becoming neighbours in Asia was, He believed, regarded with some apprehension in England, but, in His opinion, such an eventuality, were it even to take place in the distant future, would rather tend to improve than to endanger the relations of the two countries. Russia, His Majesty added, had no desire to increase her existing possessions, which were quite as large as she could administer with advantage.

From some remarks made by the Emperor respecting Afghanistan, His Majesty would appear to regard that country as fulfilling the conditions of a strong Buffer State, while He spoke of Persia, of the ill

<sup>119</sup> The tsar visited Warsaw from 31 August to 4 September 1897.

<sup>120</sup> Nicholas, as tsarevich, visited Athens in November 1890. Theodoros Deligiannis was dismissed as premier in April 1897 in the course of the Greco-Turkish War. By the time of the dispatch Deligiannis' successor had been replaced as well.

<sup>121</sup> Buchanan is referring to the rebellion of Pashtun tribes in the Tirah valley which led to the Tirah Campaign of 1897–1898.

<sup>122</sup> Afghanistan.

health of the Shah<sup>123</sup> and of the weakness of the Government, as if that country did not possess the strength and vitality essential to an independent State.

In the course of the conversation which lasted over half an hour I ventured to remark to His Majesty that at Darmstadt one was naturally entirely outside politics, but that an Englishman, who lived in Germany and read the German Papers, had opportunities of learning a great deal that was new to him respecting the aims and policy of his Government.

The Emperor laughed, and said that he always made a point of reading the foreign papers, as it both amused and interested Him to know what others thought of Him and of His Government.

### **FO 30/287: George W. Buchanan to Marquess of Salisbury, Confidential, No 30, Darmstadt, 27 October 1897**

[Received 11 October by post. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales; Confidential to: Berlin, 2 November / St Petersburg; S[alisbury]]

*Grand Duke of Baden's proposed visit to the tsar declined; press speculation rife*

The announcement made in the Karlsruhe Court Circular<sup>124</sup> respecting the proposed visit of the Grand Duke of Baden to the Emperor of Russia, on which I had the honour to report in my despatch No 29 of the 24<sup>th</sup> instant, has given rise to a series of sensational stories in the German Press. While some Journals hint that the Emperor's refusal of His Royal Highness' visit is to be attributed to political motives, others explain it by laying the blame for what has happened on the Hessian Court, and by raking up old stories to prove that the relations between the Courts of Karlsruhe and Darmstadt are far from friendly.

The Grand Duke of Baden occupies such an exceptional position among the Sovereign Princes of Germany,<sup>125</sup> that it is but natural perhaps that anything like a slight on His Royal Highness should be generally resented. The only motive, however, which led the Emperor to decline His Royal Highness' visit was His Majesty's desire to keep his annual stay at Darmstadt<sup>126</sup> as quiet and as private as possible. A

<sup>123</sup> Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar.

<sup>124</sup> *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 24 October 1897. The Grand Duke's request to visit the imperial couple on 23 October was declined on 22 October.

<sup>125</sup> Friedrich I's position among the German princes was distinguished by his long reign and marriage to Princess Luise of Prussia, aunt to Wilhelm II of Germany.

<sup>126</sup> From 2 to 28 October 1897.

similar proposal on the part of the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar had, I am confidentially informed, been already declined by His Majesty, without any notice whatsoever being taken of the refusal, and the curt and somewhat unfriendly manner in which the Karlsruhe Court Circular has given publicity to the present incident has caused much pain and surprise in official circles here. The Emperor's reply to the Grand Duke's Telegram was, I am assured, couched in much more cordial terms than those given in the Court Circular, and was moreover followed by a Letter, written on the same day by the Empress to the Grand Duchess of Baden, to which Her Majesty has received a most friendly reply.<sup>127</sup>

One report, which is credited by many persons here, has not as yet found its way into the Newspapers – namely that the Grand Duke of Baden's proposal to visit Darmstadt was made at the instigation of the German Emperor. His Royal Highness' Telegram to the Emperor of Russia was sent very shortly after the Emperor William's departure from Karlsruhe,<sup>128</sup> and during the latter's short stay in Darmstadt a hint was dropped by one of His Majesty's Suite that a visit from the Grand Duke of Baden might be expected.<sup>129</sup>

Though I cannot vouch for the truth of this report, I have reason to believe that the initiative as to the exchange of visits between the German and Russian Emperors came from the former, and that the Empress of Russia was especially invited to accompany the Emperor Nicholas to Wiesbaden. The fact that Her Majesty declined to do so and that the Emperor Nicholas again appeared on this occasion in His Hessian, instead of in His Prussian Uniform,<sup>130</sup> is said to have caused the Emperor William much displeasure, to which, I believe, His Majesty gave expression in conversation with some of the Court Officials here, whom he appears to have held responsible for what has taken place.

The Emperor and Empress of Russia will leave Darmstadt early tomorrow morning.

<sup>127</sup> The letters from Alexandra Feodorovna and Luise are dated 22 and 23 October 1897 respectively.

<sup>128</sup> On 21 October; Wilhelm II departed for Darmstadt.

<sup>129</sup> Nicholas II visited Wilhelm II at Wiesbaden on 20 October; the visit was returned on 21 October 1897.

<sup>130</sup> See n. 118 in this section.