SAXONY

(DRESDEN)

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DRESDEN

FO 68/168: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 1, Dresden, 4 January 1884

[Received 9 January by post. For: The Queen / X, Ch.W.D. [Charles Wentworth Dilke]; G[ranville]]

Press views of Bismarck's foreign policy and Germany's leading role in Europe; England's marginal role

On the occasion of the New Year, the Saxon Press has spoken in very optimist language of the state of Europe, as guaranteeing a continuance of peace. The Germans seem to have a belief in the existence of a separate diplomatic faculty, to whose agency they ascribe events due more to the natural evolution of affairs than to the forethought and contrivance of statesmen. Prince Bismarck is credited with the monopoly of this force, with which he regulates at will the European alliances, bringing the continent into an international system controlled by Germany. The feeling that the Reichskanzler has created a German hegemony in Europe, is expressed in the 'Dresdner Nachrichten'[1] in some remarks of which the following is the purport.

'With admirable moderation and self-restraint, Prince Bismarck has so used the military and diplomatic preponderance of Germany, as to establish a certain moral order amongst the European states, which is maintained against all interrupters by the menace of the interference of the Empire. This gives it's importance to the German-Austrian Alliance of 1883.[2] Originally directed against France and Russia, the central European League of Peace has grown to be "the sole decisive factor and regulator of Europe".

Furthermore, around the central sun it has been possible to gather a circle of satellites. Into this European system even Russia herself has now been drawn, and France, standing aloof, is held to peace by the absorption of her energies in distant enterprises.

[1] On 1 January 1884.

[2] In the protocol of 22 March 1883 Austria-Hungary and Germany prolonged their Dual Alliance of 7 October 1879 (see n. 489 in Berlin section).

It is characteristic of such articles in the German press, that they generally efface England from the international map. We may be named as exercising a certain indirect influence on Europe, through some Egyptian, or Chinese, incident, but, on the whole, the diplomatic position assigned to us is that indicated in the well-known line of Virgil

'penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos'.[3]

FO 68/168: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 14, Dresden, 23 February 1884

[Received 25 February by post. For: The Queen; X; G[ranville]]

Spirited participation of Social Democrats in Saxon Landtag *debates; other politicians beginning to tire of it*

The Social-Democrats in the Landtag are discharging their assumed duties as Tribunes of the People with an activity not shewn by them in any previous session. They intervene in every sitting with questions, motions, remonstrances, and explanations, denouncing things and persons in language which, but for the privilege of Parliament would involve them in endless prosecutions for libel and sedition.

Lt. von Vollmar is a ready & incisive debater: Liebknecht would be an ornament to the most illustrious of Assemblies: and such is the eloquence of Bebel, that no topic is so mean that he cannot raise it in a few sentences to first-rate interest and importance.

Hitherto the combined majority of Conservatives (42), National-Liberals (15), and Progressists (19), has heard them with attention and tolerance, the President,[4] who is a Conservative, shewing himself admirably impartial, and a determined stickler for the liberty of debate.

However the daily Philippics of this 'fourth Party' – their defiant manner, interruptions, and altercations with the chair – their invectives against officials – their hardly covered appeals to eventual Revolution – (I am using the language of Saxon politicians) – all this which, in effect, if not in intention, is obstruction, is tiring the Chamber.

Accordingly, the majority are beginning to resort to the clôture,[5] for which justification might be given on other grounds. I find, for

[3] Latin: 'The Britons, separated from all the world' (Virgil, Ecl.1.66).
[4] Ludwig Haberkorn.
[5] French: 'close' (of session).

instance, that of 54 speeches delivered in certain recent debates, 25 were made by the 3 Social-Democrats. The other 76 members can hardly be expected to go on submitting to this, especially, as the torrent of Bebel's and Liebknecht's eloquence far overflows the limits of time traditional for parliamentary speaking here. Their oratory can never influence the house: its' object is the utilisation, for the benefit of their partizans out of doors, of the only place except the Reichstag where Social Democracy is not gagged.

FO 68/168: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 27, Dresden, 11 April 1884

[Received 15 April by post. For: The Queen / Qy: Berlin; G[ranville]]

General Fabrice on Saxon initiative in the Federal Council against suggestion to form an imperial ministry

General Fabrice told me yesterday, in reply to a question of mine as to the real authorship of the debate in the Bundesrath[6] on the responsible Imperial Ministry, that this step had been provoked by himself and his colleagues on their own initiatives.[7] They had not acted on suggestions from any other quarter, but on their own sense of the necessity and policy of some such interchange of ideas between the Governments of Germany. The interpellation had not been preceded by any correspondence with other Courts: the only preliminary was, that the King's agents in the Bundesrath had, to a certain extent, felt the pulse of some of the other representatives before moving in the matter.

When the General went on to speak of the motives of Saxony for taking this step, his expressions were so chaotic and incoherent, and his delivery was so ejaculatory and intermittent, that I could only obtain glimpses of his meaning. He talked with a certain emphasis of the necessity of shewing the German public, on the eve of the forthcoming election,[8] that the allied Governments took their stand on Treaties, and were determined to resist the encroachments of the Democrats and Socialists. By 'Democrats' His Excellency meant Liberals in general, and, in particular, the new liberal party[9] whose programme was next door to Socialism. The Democrats

[6] Federal Council.
[7] For the debate in the Federal Council on 5 April 1884, see pp. 33–34.
[8] Elections to the *Reichstag* were to be held on 28 October 1884.
[9] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.

were giving trouble in Prussia, and Saxony thought it desirable to keep the cause of Government and order in the way supposed.

I remarked, that the ostensible accusation against the United Liberals was, that they wanted to centralize, whereas His Excellency had now been denouncing them as Democrats: must I, then, understand, that the Saxon move in the Bundesrath was, after all, a mere electioneering manoeuvre designed in view of the coming appeal to the constituencies? The General replied – 'well! not absolutely that:' – but, nevertheless, refrained from claiming for his policy that higher political purpose affirmed in the Bundesrath as the basis of the whole proceeding.

FO 68/168: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 31, Dresden, 7 May 1884

[Received 9 May by post. For: The Queen; X, Ch.W.D. [Charles Wentworth Dilke]; G[ranville]]

Conditions and constraints on the Social Democrats in Germany; attitudes of crown adherents towards this party

General Fabrice expects the Reichstag to pass the Bill for renewing the repressive measures of 1878 against Social-Democracy.[10] In Germany the persons in the service of the Crown form a caste apart, no individual of which dares, or desires, to differ from the opinions which they all profess. The views of every one about everything political or administrative are absolutely identical with those of every one else in the given State, and of this rule the question on which I am writing is a signal exemplification. There is a perfect consensus of official opinion here, not only that under the law of 1878 Social Democracy has been silenced, but that the influence of Bebel and Liebknecht has been partly broken, and that the numbers and enthusiasms of their followers have diminished. Not long ago, the Saxon employé[11] who is best versed in the subject assured me that the Catiline restlessness,[12] the obstructive parliamentary tactics,

[10] The Anti-Socialist Law (Law against the Publicly Dangerous Endeavours of Social Democracy) of 21 October 1878 banned social democratic and socialist societies, associations, meetings, and publications which aimed at 'the overthrow of the existing political or social order'. The law, which was originally limited to two and a half years, was prolonged by the *Reichstag* on 12 May 1884. It was renewed a total of four times until 1890.

[11] Hermann von Nostitz-Wallwitz.

[12] Strachey is referring to the Catiline conspiracies to overthrow the Roman Republic in the 1st century BC.

the aggressive language, of the Socialists in the Landtag indicated their consciousness that they were now the generals of a diminished and demoralized army – a description of Bebel and Liebknecht from which the King, who was present at the conversation, visibly dissented.

It is a natural consequence of the application of the coercive law, that the materials on the ground of which propositions of this sort might be safely affirmed or denied are no longer available. No Saxon newspaper propagating the obnoxious doctrines now survives. Permission to hold meetings for discussion of topics likely to provoke the utterance of their peculiar opinions is systematically refused to prominent agitators or adherents of the party. Public meetings proper very seldom occur in North Germany, and any speaker who ventured to enunciate Socialist ideas, in however diluted a shape, would be immediately silenced by the Police. Last winter, however, Bebel and others were allowed to lecture in Dresden on neutral topics, such as strikes, commercial crises, the condition of the Bricklayers, the Arabian Culture-period in History &c, &c.

The control of writings is very strict. Even the stupidity of Russian censorship has been equalled here. There has been a prohibition of the 'Quintessence of Socialism',[13] a scientific and conservative work, by the Ex-Austrian Minister Schäffle: also of Bebel's recent book on 'Woman',[14] an interference which the King (who is not affected by Caste views), thought absurd: but these prohibitions did not originate in Saxony.

I see in the English London periodicals "To day" and "Justice", the statement that "the principal townships in Germany are in a state of siege". In Leipzig the so-called "lesser state of siege" is still in force.[15] This institution looks very formidable in the text of the anti-Socialist law, but in Leipzig, (as in Hamburg and Berlin), the authorities have only taken advantage of the paragraph which enables them to withdraw the right of residence to persons whose presence may be considered to endanger the public peace.

In 1882–3 there were 13 cases of such removal under the Act, and 65 of the usual requests for temporary leave to return from partizans previously expelled. Last year the persons who now assert that Socialism is in process of extinction were desirous to arouse a belief

[13] *Die Quintessenz des Sozialismus* (Gotha, 1874).

[14] *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (Zurich, 1879) [*Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Zurich, 1879)].

[15] At Leipzig the minor state of siege was imposed on 27 June 1881; it was annually renewed until 1890. For Section 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law which underpinned these measures, see n. 32 in the Darmstadt section.

in its increase, and the above figures were quoted in proof that there had been a local augmentation of the enemy's forces, and that the old agitators of Leipzig were pertinaciously adhering to their former plans and connections.

One of the individuals who returns at intervals by permission of Herr von Nostitz-Wallwitz to his former head-quarters is Bebel. The Socialist leader, who was originally a working turner, & is joint owner (with a Conservative partner)[16] of a small manufacturing of door-handles, frequently asks for leave of absence to attend to his affairs in Leipzig. The Minister of the Interior recently told me that the great orator's door-handles are nearly as excellent as his speeches, and that he should not think it fair to prevent Bebel from time to time looking after his interests in that department.

The coercive system having driven the party to earth the police are gradually losing sight of its wire-pullers and organization. But for the Reichstag, and the Saxon Landtag, German Social-Democracy would be a secret conspiracy like that of the 'Carbonari', or 'Mary-ann'.[17] When the Saxon Government had to show reason last year in the Bundesrath[18] for the continuance of the 'lesser state of siege' in Leipzig, the following statistics were all they could add to the figures above given.

On 3 occasions in the previous annual period, there were seized packets of the Zurich 'Social-Democrat'[19] which contained copies of that periodical far in excess of the wants of the local market. The inference was natural, that Leipzig is still a centre of Socialist agitation, from which numerous sympathizers, undeterred by risks, disseminate the literature of the party. Again: – the reports in Socialist journals on provincial Saxon incidents connected with the movement shew a familiarity with details of things and persons which proves how deeply the connexions of Social-Democracy ramify into the various circles of Society. Further: the two leading personages of the party (Bebel and Liebknecht), after their expulsion from Leipsic [*sic*], established themselves in a small village[20] on the immediate boundary of the proclaimed district, where they were joined by two other agitators,[21] in view, as might be surmised, of subterraneous study and Encouragement of the Socialist propaganda.

[16] Ferdinand Ißleib.

[17] The *Carbonari* was an Italian secret society which existed in the first decades of the nineteenth century; *Marianne* was the name of a republican secret society during the Second French Empire.

[18] Federal Council.

[19] *Der Sozialdemokrat* (weekly periodical, established in 1879).

[20] Borsdorf; on 2 July 1881.

[21] Theodor Otto Burkhardt and Max Preißer.

What, then, could be plainer, than that if Social Democracy had been silenced its vitality was unimpaired?

This seems a very meagre minimum of fact to set forth by a Government which disposes of such a highly disciplined army of local administrators and such an inquisitorial police. Their proper interpretation is doubtful, and equally ambiguous, I think, is the information yielded by the electoral statistics of the periods previous, and subsequent, to the passing of the Act of 1878. As the present despatch has already attained an inconvenient length, I will defer to another opportunity my observations in this point, which it will be in my power to elucidate by some local figures prepared for my use at the Ministry of the Interior.

FO 68/168: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 46, Dresden, 1 November 1884

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

Increased votes for Social Democrats in Reichstag *elections*

The elections have rudely dissipated the illusions wh [= which], as my Correspondence has shown, have been entertained here on the subject of Social Democracy.[22]

It has been a cardinal point of Conservative and official faith, that Socialism was being stamped out by the coercion initiated six years ago,[23] and that it's diminished followers were beginning to contrast the empty promises of demagogues with the philanthropic realities of State-Socialism. Tuesday's polls show, that what has been happening is the reverse of this.

The Social-Democrats have completely emerged from the eclipse into which they temporarily fell after the Proscription of 1878, and have made a new departure in energy and enthusiasm, which is as obviously a consequence of the political persecution that was to intimidate them, as their improved party organisation and discipline is the undoubted result of the attempt to draw them, by the offer of official nostrums, from the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht.

Complete figures cannot be given until after the casting elections, when the socialist vote may be largely augmented. I can say at present that whereas after the dissolution of 1881, that vote in Saxony was

[22] Elections to the *Reichstag* were held on 28 October 1884.
[23] For the Anti-Socialist Law of October 1878, see n. 10 in this section.

80,000, on Tuesday it reached nearly 127,000, the highest mark yet attained in the Kingdom.

As special examples of the increase I will take the cases of Leipzig, and Leipzig county, and the manufacturing city of Chemnitz, which is the German Manchester and Newcastle combined: (of Dresden nothing definite can yet be said). Leipzig, and Leipzig county, as I have often reported, have enjoyed an extra touch of the repressive screw. In order that Bebel and Liebknecht might be got rid of, both the city and district have been kept under the so-called "Little State of siege".[24] The utility of that measure may be judged from the circumstance that Bebel has just polled 9,676 votes, while in 1881 the Candidate[25] of his party only received 6,482 votes. In Leipzig county the effects of the 'Little State of siege' have been still more remarkable. The seat was held by a popular National-Liberal manufacturer, or capitalist, to whose enterprise and intelligence the district had been largely indebted. Doctor Heine[26] has lost it to a Social-Democrat,[27] and it is noteworthy that his defeat has been the most crushing in the particular villages where his opportunities for personal influence were the greatest. Connecting these two Saxon facts with the portentous growth of Socialism revealed in Berlin and Hamburg, which have been under the same regime as Leipzig, I cannot resist the belief that the cause in each case has been the "Little State of Siege".

On the instance of Chemnitz I will not dwell further than to say, that in 1881, with a much lower poll, the "Parties of Order"[28] received a much larger vote than now, while the Socialist (an editor from Stuttgart)[29] who, at the first election then was in a minority, has now obtained on the first trial a vote far in excess of the prescribed "absolute" majority. (More than half of the entire poll.)

This large increase of votes has effected no corresponding change of seats. The Saxon contingent of the Socialist faction in the Reichstag will hardly be above it's former strength of four members. It is characteristic of the Dresden press, that it persistently ignores the statistics above given, which I have had to compile for myself, and makes the shameless assertion, that this favoured Kingdom offers

[24] For the 'minor state of siege', see n. 15 in this section.

[25] The candidate in 1881 was also August Bebel – who stood simultaneously in thirty-five constituencies.

[26] Heine was *Reichstag* deputy for Leipzig (county) from 1869 to 1880; in 1884 the defeated incumbent was Johann Gottfried Dietze.

[27] Louis Viereck.

[28] *Kartell der Ordnungsparteien*, i.e. the National Liberals and the conservative parties. See n. 208 in Berlin section.

[29] Bruno Geiser.

an exception to the alarming growth of the Social-Democracy throughout the Empire!

Of the other parties, I can only say at present that the New Liberals (Freisinnige)[30] appear to have suffered the same ill-fortune which has overtaken them everywhere. Official spheres will see in the collapse of this party a perfect compensation for the alarming advance of Social-Democracy.

FO 68/168: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 54, Dresden, 17 December 1884

[Received 19 December by post. X; G[ranville]]

Saxon press attacks on British colonial policy and diplomacy regarding Angra Pequena

The publication of the 2nd part of the German 'White Book'[31] has elicited in the Press, and otherwise, a renewal of the bitter comments on British policy and diplomacy with which the various steps in the acquisition of Angra Pequena have been received here. The sentiment from which they proceed scarcely rises to the importance of hostility: it is rather simple contempt. The 'Dresdner Nachrichten'[32] puts, as usual, a stronger point upon it than many other journals, but its' expectorations[33] do not depart in essentials from average German feeling. That paper believes, as Germans frequently do, in the existence of a separate Diplomatic black art of which the higher secrets are at present possessed by Prince Bismarck alone. The Reichskanzler's superior energy, endurance, finesse, and tact are described as having frustrated our equivocations, frauds, and greed, and as benefiting the whole world by scattering to the winds, once for all, our pretension that all the unoccupied lands of the globe are England's natural inheritance, to deprive her of which is robbery. The feints and subterfuges of Her Majesty's Government were unmasked and baffled, till, in the end, the presumptuous power that swaggers on the strength, not of might, but

[30] See n. 3 in Prussia section.

[31] The so called *Weißbuch*, a collection of diplomatic papers on Angra Pequena submitted by Bismarck to the *Reichstag* on 11 December, was published on 12 December 1884 . The first *Weißbuch* on colonial policy – pertaining to the Togo area and Biafra Bay – was presented to the *Reichstag* on 4 December. On the Angra Pequena question, see pp. 36–37 and n. 26 in Berlin section.

[32] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 16 December 1884.

[33] This word is underlined in pencil in the dispatch and accompanied by '!!' in the margin.

of the pretence of might, was driven to creep to the cross with excuses, and congratulations to the new neighbour of the British Colony at the Cape.

I need not pursue the writer's amenities, – (the original is more stinging than my abridgement) – or repeat his compliments to Count Münster, who is called 'a phlegmatic Anglican'. It may be affirmed, without risk of error, that the transactions relative to Angra Pequena have opened a new depth within the old deeps of German ill-feeling towards Great Britain.

FO 68/169: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 1, Dresden, 1 January 1885

[Received 3 January by post. For: The Queen / X, Ch.W.D. [Charles Wentworth Dilke]; Qy: Colonial Office, P.L. [printed letter], 5 January; G.Dl. [George E. Dallas]; G[ranville]]

Demonstrations in favour of Bismarck as sole director of Berlin foreign office; colonial protectorates behind his increased popularity

The movement provoked by the vote of the Reichstag on the Foreign Office incident[34] has extended to Saxony. The unusual, and indeed, hitherto unseen spectacle has been witnessed of corporate bodies, societies and private persons, spontaneously coming forward, in English fashion, with emphatic expressions of their opinions on a topic of the day. Small towns have forwarded addresses and telegrams to the Reichskanzler; Dresden and Leipzig have been conspicuous in their sympathy with Prince Bismarck, and demands for a reversal of the adverse vote in question.

Such a movement, arising without official suggestions on a public question, is doubly interesting: as it shows that political education is advancing, and that the old Saxon particularism has nearly vanished under the growth of the new German spirit. As regards Prince Bismarck, this sudden blaze of popularity is, without doubt, to be ascribed to his having laid the beginnings of what German imagination magnifies into a Colonial Empire. There are not wanting those who remark that possibilities of trade have been mistaken for opportunities of emigration, and that these new possessions are likely to involve the Empire in difficult and costly enterprises, but the dominant statement is strongly and indeed enthusiastically in favor

[34] On 15 December 1884 the *Reichstag* refused to grant the post of an additional director in the Berlin *Auswärtiges Amt*.

of the Protectorates.[35] This is tantamount to saying, that the feeling of Germany is now unfriendly to ourselves. It is unnecessary for me to enlarge again on the illiberal interpretations of British policy current in the German press, which in Foreign Affairs, is largely prompted by the "Kölnische Zeitung", and also by the less malignant, but, as far as we are concerned unfriendly lithographic "National-Liberal" correspondence sheet.[36]

FO 68/169: George Strachey to Earl Granville, No 9, Dresden, 9 March 1885

[Received 12 March by post. Qy: X; G[ranville]]

Frequent impertinent reports about British policy in the Saxon press; German self-exaltation

Today's "Anzeiger"[37] has an article on our policy, apparently derived from the National-Liberal lithographed sheet,[38] and being therefore representative of the views of that party, or even, as is constantly the case, having been written by one of its leaders, has more than local significance.

The mere language is not offensive, but it overflows with the national self-exaltation which now possesses the Germans – or, at least, their journalists, and speaks of us in a supercilious and dictatorial style more appropriate for the subjects of King Bell[39] than for the people of Great Britain.

The purport of the article is, – that we have been false, that we have been insolent, that we have made the humblest apologies possible, that we are forgiven on probation of future good behaviour – "Laudabiliter se subjecit"[40] – says the writer "would have been Count Herbert Bismarck's proud telegram yesterday, announcing the grand success of his London mission."[41] And it goes on to speak of complete recantation under pretext of "error", of "misunderstanding altogether", and consequent triumph of Prince

[35] At the time of the dispatch German protectorates were Angra Pequena (Lüderitz Bay; from 1885 German South West Africa), Kamerun (German Cameroon), and Togoland.

[36] *Nationalliberale Korrespondenz*, Berlin.

[37] *Dresdner Anzeiger*.

[38] *Nationalliberale Korrespondenz*, Berlin.

[39] Ndumbé Lobé Bel, leader of the Duala.

[40] Latin: 'laudably he has submitted himself'. The phrase *Auctor* (the author) *laudabiliter se subiecit* refers to the Roman Congregation of the Inquisition.

[41] On 3 March Herbert von Bismarck was sent to London in consequence of ongoing colonial disputes between Great Britain and Germany (see pp. 44–49 in Berlin section). The 'grand success' refers to Granville's conciliatory statement in the House of Lords on 6 March.

Bismarck and this nation, over a statesman[42] who has hitherto set such remarkably little store on his relations with Germany.

It would be idle to reproduce further samples. The "Nachrichten"[43] has been dwelling on the same subject day after day, with the disregard of truth and fact, and the insolent brutality and vulgarity of language, which characterizes this influential organ of the "Philistine" elements of the ornamental upper class and the lower middle social strata.

In pursuance of one of the objects for which I am placed here, I forward from time to time controversial extracts from this paper, but their [*sic*] are limits imposed by respect for Your Lordship, and they would be passed if I were to transmit some of the recent utterances, or I should say, war[w]hoops, of the "Nachrichten".

The semi-official and Conservative "Journal"[44] has no great weight, and official persons cannot be held responsible for its mild assaults on our policy, which are never personal, and usually see in our domestic and foreign troubles examples of the calamaties [*sic*] which befall nations which have lost all reverence for the Throne and Altar, and delivered up their destinies into the hands of radical doctrinaires.

FO 68/169: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 26, Dresden, 28 June 1885

[Received 30 June by post. For: The Queen / Berlin; S[alisbury]]

Rumoured appointment of Count Fabrice as Governor-General of Alsace-Lorraine; no progress with Germanisation of province under Manteuffel

Rumours have been connecting the name of the Saxon Minister President General Count Fabrice, who holds the portfolios of War and Foreign Affairs, with the vacant Government of Elsass-Lothringen. His Excellency asserts that these are mere newspaper stories, and no one who knows the General would be likely to ascribe to him the capacity for originating the new departure which is said to be desirable in the Reichsland.

The policy of the late Statthalter[45] is generally thought to have been a failure. It was the belief of the previous administrator, Herr von Müller [*sic*],[46] that all attempts to conciliate the elder generation of Elsassians would, in the nature of things, be fruitless, and that

[42] Earl Granville.
[43] *Dresdner Nachrichten.*
[44] *Dresdner Journal.*
[45] Edwin von Manteuffel died on 17 June 1885.
[46] Eduard von Moeller.

Germany must be contented to wait for the result of that natural process of transformation which is silently converting the youth of the province into loyal subjects of the Empire.

For the ambitious mind of General von Manteuffel this attitude was too passive, and he imagined that he could hurry on by contrivance the solution which his predecessor proposed to leave to time. His plan was to neglect the Autonomists and peasantry, as being already half-converts to Imperial sympathies, and to pay court to the Notables, and higher Catholic clergy, with whom his conservativism and ultra-orthodoxy seemed calculated to keep him in favour. This broke down. The autonomists grew suspicious and sullen: the protest-Party[47] were not to be complimented out of their hatred to their new masters: and collisions occurred with the intransigentes, in which authority was so sternly asserted as to suggest the comparison of the whips and scorpions.

On the whole, the Manteuffel period cannot be said to have been marked by any obvious progress in the Germanisation of Elsass-Lothringen. Many think that it would be wise to revert to an idea entertained in Berlin some years ago, viz. the annexation of the Reichsland to Baden by personal union.[48] The population have always entertained very friendly sentiments towards their neighbours in the Grand-Duchy, and the Grand Duke being – (I do not know if the reasons are other than geographical) – persona grata in the Province, would enter on its' government with advantages which no 'Prussian' would possess.

These remarks may not be quite in agreement with current Press judgments. But I have gathered them from authoritative and unprejudiced sources.

FO 68/169: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 28, Dresden, 7 July 1885

[Received 9 July by post. 'In a private letter Mr Strachey asks for an answer by tel [egraph]: as the case comes on Friday, tomorrow.' G.Dl. [George E. Dallas]; Sir J. Pauncefote; Qy: Tel[egraph] to Mr Strachey, 9 July]

Lawn tennis court incident; request for information about English law in cases of simple assault to aid charges against English offenders

A difference having arisen between the marker of the Dresden lawn-tennis court and two English youths (brothers, aged 15–17), as to the

[47] *Elsass-Lothringische Protestpartei.*

[48] The amalgamation with Baden, which had been dismissed in 1871, was discussed in 1879 in connection with the imperial law concerning the constitution and administration of Alsace-Lorraine, promulgated on 4 July 1879.

duration of a game, the marker made an offensive observation, to which one of the youths replied by a blow in the face. The marker's father, who owns the court, then interposing in his son's favour, was attacked by the second youth. The result of these collisions was, that both Germans were knocked down, and that the youths, with a companion who was not concerned in the affray, were taken into custody, and, after three days detention, bailed out on security for £500 being given for each of them. The Germans were not seriously injured, and were attending to their avocations as usual next day.

So extravagant is the severity of the new Imperial penal code,[49] that the youths may not impossibly be sentenced to imprisonment for six or eight weeks, especially as the assaults were, in the eye of German law, "combined".

The advocate retained to defend the case informs me that he can advantageously urge explanation of the offence on two grounds. Firstly: Striking with the fists ("das boxen") does not indicate on the part of an Englishman malice prepense, for he is only acting under the impulsion of a natural national instinct. Secondly: English law minimizes the importance of trifling assaults, and punishes them with fines of two or three pounds, or with a few hours incarceration.

In these circumstances it would be useful to the defence that an authoritative statement should be available in regard to English practice in cases of simple assault, and I should be glad to be informed how an incident similar to the above would be dealt with in our Police Courts.

FO 68/169: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 29, Dresden, 3 September 1885

[Received 5 September by post. For: The Queen / Lord Iddesleigh / Paris / Berlin; S[alisbury]]

Sedan Day celebrations

The Sedan fête has been kept in the customary manner.[50] Its' observance has always a strictly private character; official participation in the rejoicings of the day being rigorously limited to the display of a few flags from public buildings.

The brilliant part played in 1870 by the Crown Prince – now King – of Saxony, and his troops, gives this anniversary a special

[49] *Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich* of 15 May 1871 (newly edited in 1876).

[50] Sedan Day was on 2 September. It was (semi-officially) intended to commemorate the German victory in the Battle of Sedan, which took place on 1 and 2 September 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War, and the capitulation of the French emperor, Napoleon III.

significance here. Yet the 'Military Moment,' as the Germans express it, was but slightly touched in the postprandial and newspaper eloquence of the day. Sedan as a battle-field, as a source of German power and glory, as a witness to German science and valour – was kept in the background. But Sedan as the symbol of the End of the humiliation of Germany, of the crowning of the national Unity, of the deliverance of the country from the dangers of foreign invasion and dominion – this was the central idea on which stress was mainly laid.

Count Fabrice observed to me yesterday that he thought the annual holiday was somewhat of a nuisance. The Government had always thrown cold water on it, and the army held aloof, but the Liberal party insisted that the yearly dining and speechifying must go on. No doubt people were careful in what they said, but French susceptibilities were very keen and, added the General, I wish, on all grounds, to see the celebration dropped.

FO 68/169: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 33, Dresden, 3 October 1885

[Received 7 October by post. For: The Queen / Lord Iddesleigh / Sir R. Cross / Prince of Wales; J.P. [Julian Pauncefote]]

Social Democrats accused of breaching law on secret societies on trial at Chemnitz

A great trial of Social-Democrats is in process before the Chemnitz Landgericht.[51] Amongst the accused are Bebel, Vollmar, and other members of the Socialist party in the German Reichstag. They are charged under Sections 128 and 129 of the Criminal Code,[52] relative to Secret Societies and associations for hindering the execution of the law, and of administrative measures.

The present phase of German Socialism dates from the Congress of Gotha in 1875, when, as explained in detail in my correspondence of the time, Bebel and Liebknecht effected a fusion of the two factions in which Social-Democracy had fallen after the death of Lassalle.[53] The so-called "German socialist workmen's party" attained wide ramifications and had an elaborate machinery of

[51] The trial took place from 28 to 30 September 1885 and resulted in the acquittal of all nine defendants on 7 October. On 4 August 1886 the court of appeal at Freiberg sentenced them to six and nine months imprisonment respectively.

[52] *Strafgesetzbuch* of 15 May 1871.

[53] The Gotha Congress of 22 to 27 May 1875 resulted in the foundation of the *Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands*.

committees, secretaries and wire-pullers, rules for admittance, subscriptions, and a recognized press organ, the Leipzig "Vorwärts". The Socialist Law[54] suppressed the visible corporate existence and action of this body, but the proceedings of the Congress of Wyden, in 1880, and the Congress of Copenhagen, in 1883, favored the belief that the penal legislation of 1878 had failed to reach the Social Democratic propaganda and organization.[55] Occasional proofs of this fact might also be derived from the results of the elections, which could hardly be ascribed to a mere spontaneous development of the proscribed creed, and some significance might be attached to certain articles in the Zurich 'Social Democrat',[56] the partly esoteric character of which plainly shewed that they were addressed to the sectaries of a subterraneous society.

Saxony has always been a chief centre of the socialist evolution, but the police, as I happen to be aware, have hitherto been almost entirely ignorant of the inner life of Social-Democracy, their knowledge has been mainly inferential, derived, that is, from such sources as those named above. The Chemnitz trial has not added a single new fact to what was known before: the Indictment only travels over the old Crambe repetita.[57]

Its' point of departure is the participation of Bebel and others in the Congresses of Wyden and Copenhagen, which are described as having charged the socialist members of the German Reichstag with the direction of the administrative and pecuniary affairs of the party. Under this authority, contends the Public Prosecutor,[58] the defendants formed a junta, which has exercised a variety of functions, such as organizing districts, calling meetings, empowering and controlling expenditure, expelling obnoxious partizans, &c.

The Indictment says: – "their presence at the Congress of Copenhagen is to be considered as proving their complicity as delegates in deliberate activity in consolidating, spreading, developing, and strengthening the Socialist party connexion – an activity completely adequate to the conception of membership in a party combination in the sense of §§ 128 and 129 of the Criminal Code." In the course of the usual interrogatory, the prisoners were asked by the Court how they understood the statements in the protocols of the Congress, and in the 'Social-Democrat', that the

[54] For the Anti-Socialist Law of October 1878, see n. 10 in this section.

[55] Strachey is referring to party conferences at Wyden, Switzerland (21–23 August 1880), and Copenhagen (29 March–2 April 1883).

[56] *Der Sozialdemokrat* (established 1879).

[57] Based on a Greek proverb (Juvenal), it literally means 'warmed up boiled cabbage' and was used as a metaphor for wearisome, repeated arguments.

[58] Christian Julius Schwabe.

Directory of their party had established "a new and effective organisation": also, what meaning was attached to expressions like "party-district", "Central-Committee", "Conferences", Confidential agents", "employés", "archives-fund", and the like.

The more important replies were made by Bebel, who observed that it was a matter of notoriety that the Socialists were animated by a community of principles and aims, and that their tactics consisted in the intimate relationship of man and man. This constituted the force of their Propaganda, which no law could prohibit; it was a survival from the earlier, unproscribed, days of Social-Democracy, and might reasonably be called an "organization". Bebel further requested the Court to observe, that in spite of the Law of 1878 the Berlin Police had for some time systematically tolerated an effective Social-Democratic "organization" for the elections, trade-societies, friendly and sick funds &c. As regards the expressions from which the prosecution sought to evolve the existence of a secret association, he need only say that they were for the most part mere survivals of an earlier jargon, and that the allusions incriminated were to arrangements for the elections, or for the support of partizans and their families who had been expelled from their places of residence by the Police.

Observing that the case was altogether one of constructive crime Bebel asked: – "how is it, with their unlimited command of pecuniary means, that the police have been unable to discover any positive facts incriminating us, and are driven to try to establish our membership of their illegal secret society by mere argumentative deductions of the thinnest description."?

As far as can be judged from the miserably imperfect accounts of the trial published in the local papers, Bebel displayed in his answer all the dialectical power, the subtlety, and resource, of which he is so unrivalled a master. The harangues of the public prosecutor, and of the advocates of the Socialists, were expansions of the arguments given in outline above. Bebel judiciously refrained from making a general defence. The oratorical faculty of the German tribune of the people is as suited to a forensic as to a parliamentary occasion, but in the present disposition of Saxon judges his eloquence would probably have been less persuasive than his silence.

Sentence will be given in a few days; it is thought here that a conviction is inevitable.

FO 68/170: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 7, Dresden, 5 June 1886

[Received 7 June by Berlin. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen / Gladstone / Paris for perusal, 16 June; R[osebery]]

Reports about project to increase size of French army received calmly; German confidence in own military prowess

The local press is devoting considerable space to the new project for the augmentation of the French Army.[59] The facts are stated with a calmness as unruffled as if they concerned, not Germany but some distant planet. There is not a single bitter comment, not a word of recrimination escapes. The situation is treated as a natural phase in the evolution of a neighbouring people, which must be followed with attention, and not by a watchful maintenance of the defensive attitude hitherto observed by the Empire. France, it is pointed out, is sedulously preparing for revenge and reconquest, and the rising generation of the Republic are growing up in irreconcilable hatred of Germany, which is fermented by a party amongst the commercial class by whom the belief is entertained, that the advances of Germany to the industrial hegemony of the continent can be best interrupted by war. On the other hand, it is remarked that there will be a reluctance to assume, at any rate for a continuance, the crushing personal and financial burdens which would be entailed by such measures as the addition of 118,000 men to the peace effective, and the formation of 51 new line regiments. And, it is urged, the instability of the institutions and policy of France are likely to continue to impede for the present the adoption of a definite military organization.

This pacific temper is not mere journalistic prudence. The expression 'Public Opinion' is, as a rule, inapplicable to German questions, and it would be an abuse of language to speak of a feeling deserving that description as existing here with respect to France. But such sentiments as may be discovered entirely conform to the language of the press. In Saxony, at any rate, there is not – has not been of late years – a vestige of ill-feeling against the Republic. The habitual tone of conversation, and of literature, periodical and other, is, as regards the French, sympathetic. I have seldom, if ever, heard or read any malignant remarks on their national or personal character, and I suspect that they are generally preferred to ourselves.

[59] Strachey is referring to the army bill presented by the French minister of war, Boulanger, to the chamber of deputies on 25 May 1886.

The imperturbability of the Germans in presence of the perpetual menace that overhangs them, and of the various provocations from time to time addressed to them from France, is, in part, to be ascribed to temperament. Confidence is, however, inspired by the knowledge that the overwhelming numbers of France would be met by a machinery of war which is being perpetually improved and tested at every point, so as to guarantee the attainment of the highest perfection in matériel, mobility, and power. The people of Germany have complete self-reliance: they believe that they are competent to defend their territory themselves. But they entertain little doubt that under the present management of the Imperial Foreign Office[60] their efforts would be supported by allies.

FO 68/170: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 13, Dresden, 17 July 1886

[Received 19 July by Berlin. For: The Queen; R[osebery]]

Diminishing German hostility towards British liberal administration and foreign policy

Our elections have been exciting less than the average degree of interest here.[61] The fact has been noticed by the local press, and has been interpreted, not without probability, as indicating an abatement of the old antipathy to Her Majesty's actual Government. It has for some years past been the belief of the majority of Germans, that the presence of a liberal administration in Downing Street was a standing menace to the European equilibrium, being, in particular, incompatible with the maintenance of cordial relations between this Empire, with its' Austrian ally, and Great Britain. Accordingly the announcement of each successful political crisis at home was hitherto accompanied by the expression of a strong German desire for the retention, or resumption, of office by the Tory party.

On the present occasion, this feeling has not been apparent. The verdict of Germany on the Irish bills has,[62] no doubt, been hostile – the authorship of the measures was sufficient to secure that: – but the

[60] At the time of the dispatch Herbert von Bismarck, as state secretary for foreign affairs, was in charge of the *Auswärtiges Amt* (Foreign Office).

[61] The general elections to the House of Commons took place from 1–27 July 1886; the results returned of the Conservatives to government.

[62] Strachey is referring to the failed First Home Rule Bill which was introduced by Gladstone on 8 April 1886; it subsequently led to the split of the Liberal Party and the dissolution of parliament.

usual angry partizanship has been absent, and the eventuality of a change of Ministry has been treated as a domestic British question in which the German Empire was not directly concerned.

During the absence of Count Fabrice, the Saxon Foreign Office is represented by Herr von Watzdorff, the virtual head of the department, who made some observations to me yesterday on the above topic. That gentleman, whose views are always representative of average German sentiment, observed that he thought the unpopularity of our liberal statesmen had been giving way. The 'hands off',[63] and the tendencies indicated by that phrase – in particular the Russian proclivities of M^r^ Gladstone – had caused considerable irritation and jealousy in Germany. Then the liberal foreign policy viewed in itself, and without reference to German interests, had not been calculated to arouse much enthusiasm in foreign countries. The common German notion had been, that with Lord Salisbury in office sympathetic relations between England and the Austro-German alliance were a matter of course, which was not so when M^r^ Gladstone was in power. However, last February a new departure appeared to have been taken by our Foreign Office.[64] Your Lordship was animated by very cordial feelings towards Germany, and it had become evident that the action of Downing Street was now the expression of a specific plan. There was no longer any rambling about in the dark, but there was a definite system, with vigour to carry it out. The Greek settlement was mainly Your Lordship's performance,[65] and reliance could be placed on the hand which guided it, the more so as the sinister influences[66] which had formerly been so potent, appeared to be no longer influencing our foreign policy. These impressions, derived from realities, had been strengthened amongst the general public by others of a personal kind, which perhaps, were partly of mythical origin; but the net result was, that the old German grounds of suspicion and dislike were felt to have been removed, so that the Empire had no reason to desire a change of men in England.

[63] This refers to Gladstone's warning to Austria-Hungary after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878.

[64] On 6 February 1896 Rosebery took over as the new foreign secretary in the brief Liberal administration under Gladstone (1 February to 20 July 1886).

[65] This is referring to the ultimatum and subsequent naval blockade of Greek ports in May 1886, which the signatory powers of the Berlin Congress had imposed as a result of Greek attitudes towards Turkey in the ongoing frontier dispute. The blockade was lifted after Greek demobilization on 7 June.

[66] This is probably referring to the Earl Granville's policy.

FO 68/170: George Strachey to Earl of Iddesleigh, No 15, Dresden, 24 August 1886

[26 August by post. For: The Queen / Lord Salisbury; I[ddesleigh]; S[alisbury]]

Press responses to Bulgarian coup d'état *and Prince Alexander's deposition; anti-British and anti-Russian sentiments rife*

The first announcement of the Bulgarian Coup d'État was published here simultaneously with the Sunday's articles in the Berlin 'Post', and the 'Kölnische Zeitung'. The former journal is subject to the influence of the official 'Reptile Fund':[67] the second named, according to public notoriety and to internal evidence, is in the pay of Russia. As the articles in question were the earliest authoritative comments on the deposition of Prince Alexander which happened to be available, their opinions were adopted by the local press. Owing to this accident, the accounts of the transactions at Widdin given here have been coloured by malicious interpretations of recent British policy.[68]

For instance: the Prince was a wedge, to be driven in by us between Austria and Russia: he was our tool, but we abandoned him: it was our device to make Bulgaria an apple of discord between Austria and Russia, so that Austria might pull our chestnuts out of the fire: &c. &c. &c.

Owing to our disrepute in this Empire, the press is, of course, always ready with malignant appreciations of our actual proceedings, and of those which editorial imagination ascribes to us. But while Great Britain is the object of a passive German dislike, towards Russia a deadly national hatred prevails, and there can be no doubt that this sentiment will be stirred and intensified by the deposition of Prince Alexander. The remark may be made, that it was better for the Prince to be sacrificed, than for the peace of Europe to be endangered by the revengeful ill-humour of the Emperor of Russia

[67] The secret 'reptile fund' or 'Guelph fund' consisted of the confiscated assets of King Georg V of Hanover. It was administered by a Prussian commission and, amongst other things, used for influencing the Prussian and German press. The expression 'reptile' was originally coined by Bismarck to describe the agents of the likewise dethroned prince elector of Hesse, but the meaning was quickly deflected back onto its originator. Accordingly, journalists and press in the service of the Prussian government and its *Literarische Büro* were termed 'reptile press'.

[68] On 21 August 1886 a group of pro-Russian military officers carried out a plot against the knyaz of Bulgaria, and forced him to abdicate; Alexander was subsequently deported to Russia. According to the erroneous newspaper reports to which Strachey referred he was brought to Vidin. In an article of 22 August the *Cologne Gazette* accused Britain of having abandoned Alexander to his fate.

and the wire-pullers of Moscow. But it is not forgotten that the Prince is a German, that he exhibited the chivalry and qualities of his race, that he represented the civilisation of Germany, and that he has fallen before a Slav plot.

FO 68/170: George Strachey to Earl of Iddesleigh, No 30, Dresden, 15 October 1886

[Received 18 October via Berlin. For: The Queen. Seen at Berlin. I[ddesleigh]]

Speculation as to Randolph Churchill's visit to Germany

The capacity of the German mind for hypothesis has been well illustrated by the local comments on the journey of "M^r^ Spencer".[69] Nearly all the statements of fact which happened to be genuine, were set aside by the press and public as irreconcilable with the idea of a British Cabinet Minister as evolved by the moral consciousness of Germany, and the most amazing deductions were drawn from the details accepted as true.

A representative of some of the chief Austrian and German papers, who is full of the sagacity which borders on stupidity, informed me that the identity of "M^r^ Spencer" with Lord Randolph Churchill was not properly established. "M^r^ Spencer" had occupied a pit stall at the Theatre, instead of a box seat, which was just the behaviour for a notability wishing to pass incognito; but then he had visited a minor place of entertainment, and witnessed a performance of learned geese, with other pastimes unsuited to the solemn leisure of a Cabinet Minister.

My interviewer received with deep distrust my assertion that, if so, "M^r^ Spencer" had done exactly what Pitt, or Lord Palmerston, or M^r^ Gladstone, would have done in his place, and that if Her Majesty's Government contemplated any special negotiations with Germany, their proposals would be made in the recognized way, and not through the channel of subterraneous diplomacy, an instruction which, I said, like other survivals of state-craft still in favour on the Continent, had been discarded in Downing Street, as out of harmony with British 19^th^ Century ideas and practice.

The suspicion is now dawning, that the journey which seems likely to equal in celebrity the expedition of the two M^r^ Smiths to Spain[70]

[69] For Randolph Churchill's incognito journey, see n. 101 in Berlin section.

[70] Strachey is referring to the Prince of Wales (later Charles I) and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who travelled to Madrid in 1623 to negotiate Charles' marriage with the Infanta of Spain, Maria Anna; they were not successful.

was, perhaps, undertaken for the mere vulgar purposes of recreation. However the semi-mythical element in the Spencerian evolution has just been augmented by the discovery that "M^r Spencer" or "M^r Trafford"[71] were met by the Prince of Bulgaria in this neighbourhood, as well as by the accounts from Vienna, where those gentlemen have "conferred" with "General Sir Smiths", and are awaiting the arrival of Sir E. Malet. On the whole, I might say, that if all the hatred which Germany can feel is at present concentrated on General Kaulbars and his master,[72] the most popular figure in the Empire, next to the august head of the nation, is the dubious "M^r Spencer".

FO 68/171: George Strachey to Earl of Iddesleigh, No 2, Dresden, 1 January 1887

[Received 4 January by Berlin. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen / Lord Salisbury; I [ddesleigh]]

German views on Churchill's resignation from the cabinet

Although it is mere newspaper sensationalism to describe the resignation of Lord R. Churchill as 'the topic of the day in Germany', that incident is receiving some discussion, at least in the Press, on account of its presumed bearings on our foreign policy.[73] The following is abridged from the 'Nachrichten'.

'The many cases which will dog the friends of peace into the new year are augmented by doubts as to the future policy of England.

*** Whatever the grounds of Lord R. Churchill's resignation, Europe is now again utterly in the dark as to what England may do. With a strong Salisbury Government, Russia had to reckon with England as an adversary on the road to Bulgaria and Constantinople. The new Cabinet, patched up as it may be, will not enjoy the confidence of the continent in respect to reliability. The danger is not excluded, that Gladstone may sooner or later return to office. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the significance of the accession to power, at such a moment, of this sworn partizan by Russia. Neither Austria nor Germany can count on England's support. That country has ceased to be a factor in European politics on which we can reckon'.

[71] Churchill's companion 'Tommy' [William Henry] Trafford.
[72] Alexander III.
[73] Randolph Churchill resigned on 20 December 1886.

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The anxiety betrayed in regard to our action is not quite consistent with the new German fashion of speaking of our power, national spirit, and prestige, in the past tense. The fact is, that although young Germany is accustomed to think of Great Britain as a quantité négligeable, the historic past has not yet faded from the minds of the older generation, there being a vague sense that British influence will probably be felt in the next European struggle. In these circumstances there is a natural desire that our foreign policy may continue to be guided by the party[74] which is thought to be pledged to resistance to the encroachments of Russia, and that its' control may not revert to a statesman who is not credited with good-will towards Germany, who is believed to be actively hostile to her ally – Austria-Hungary – and to be disposed to be the accomplice of M. M. Katkoff and Kaulbars.[75]

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 9, Dresden, 28 January 1887

[Received 31 January by post. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Circulate / Paris for perusal – in original, 9 February; S[alisbury]]

Liberals do not support Conservative view that Bismarck intends a coup d'état to carry through the army bill

In reply to Herr Windhorst [*sic*] in the Prussian Landtag, Prince Bismarck repelled, as a mere calumny of the opposition, the idea that if the new Parliament did not give a majority for the military Septennate, the Imperial Government would abrogate the Electoral Law,[76] and, in violation of the Constitution, order fresh elections on an arbitrary basis.[77]

It is inconceivable that Prince Bismarck should be unacquainted with the real authorship of the rumours in question, which, in fact, arose amongst his own partizans, and not in the Catholic and freisinnig'[78] camps. Immediately after the Dissolution, the Conservative Press, and, in a lesser degree, their National-Liberal allies, began to hint that if the electorate failed in its duty the confederated Governments would do theirs. The semi-official Dresden 'Journal'

[74] Conservative party.

[75] Katkov was editor of the *Moscow Gazette*; for Kaulbars, see n. 106 in Berlin section.

[76] Electoral Law of 31 May 1869 – adopted by the imperial constitution of 1871. The *Reichstag* was directly elected by universal suffrage for men aged 25 years or older.

[77] The debate took place on 24 January 1887. On the failed army bill (military septennate) and the dissolution of the *Reichstag* on 13 January, see pp. 73–75.

[78] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.

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quoted Prince Bismarck as saying: 'the elections can have no influence whatever on the attitude of the Governments, which have plainly shewn that they will not be guided by the wishes of the Reichstag, or by the result of the elections: a renewed refusal by the Reichstag will not alter their policy the duty entailed on them will be unchanged. "It is impossible," said the Journal "to characterize the policy of the Governments in plainer and more elevated language."

Insinuations that Prince Bismarck would have to "take away that bauble" were frequent in the "Reptile" press:[79] I spoke to many Conservatives on the subject, and the reply in every case was 'There will be a Charte Octroyée,[80] and a Reichstag will be elected which will pass the Army Bills, and Bismarck's other favorite measures.' Their belief was universal, that the Reichskanzler would be troubled by no doubts or scruples, and it is questionable if his recent parliamentary professions of constitutional orthodoxy will alter their conviction.

The Liberals have not put this malignant interpretation on Prince Bismarck's words. Far from believing him to be plotting an eventual Coup d'État, they have argued that the constituencies have the issues in their own hands. Like the bulk of the Conservatives, the Liberals think that though the dissolution may have been a formal result of the vote on the Septennate, it was really prompted by the conviction that "the army in danger" would be a telling electoral cry. Prince Bismarck's threats, they say, are brag: if a subservient Reichstag is not returned, he will give way as on other occasions.

The alacrity of the Conservatives in attributing to the Prince such nefarious designs, arises to a great extent from their own sympathy with the reactionary programme which they suppose him to entertain.

I am personally unable to see that, because a Minister has not the constitutional morals of Sir R. Peel, or Pitt, or Walpole, he is capable of proposing to the 25 German Governments schemes more infamous than the publication of the Ordinances of July.[81] It is true that a German Polignac would be encouraged by the knowledge, that there is in the Empire no Thiers, no 'National', and that if the existing institutions were subverted, hardly a word would be uttered, and not a shot fired, in their defence.

[79] See n. 67 in this section.

[80] French: 'imposed constitution'. This expression particularly refers to *La Charte Octroyée* which established a constitutional monarchy in France in 1814.

[81] The July Ordinances were a were a series of repressive decrees instituted by Charles X which led to the July Revolution of 1830 and his subsequent abdication.

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 10, Dresden, 28 January 1887

[Received 31 January by Berlin. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Circulate / Paris for perusal – in original 9 February; S[alisbury]]

Rumours of war with France; German press cast aspersions on exaggerated war rumours in English press

The independent press is engaged in a controversy with the 'Reptiles'[82] respecting the war rumours. The former alleges that the Kölnische-Zeitung, Wolff's Telegraph-Bureau,[83] &c are doing their utmost to disturb the public mind with tendentious stories of French orders for picric acid and sulphuric-aether, (said to be ingredients of melinite), of French purchases of boards for frontier barracks, of impending mobilisations, and the like, in the hope that they may influence the constituencies in favor of candidates pledged to the military Septennate.[84] On the other hand, Prince Bismarck's organs, and their allies, are arguing that it requires the peculiar baseness of the anti-national (Reichsfeindlich) parties to minimize the import of such serious facts, and to accuse the Imperial Government and its friends of such infamous political practises.

These reports and discussions have aggravated the sense of insecurity created by the sensational parliamentary pictures of France and Germany 'bleeding to death', with which Prince Bismarck met the arguments of the opponents of the Septennate.[85] In vain the liberals urge that the visible European symptoms are pacific, that Russia and Hungary are arranging large financial operations which hostilities would upset, that General Boulanger and M. Déroulède are not the French people, and so forth. The universal talk is of war: persons high in office say, without being able to give any definite reasons, that it will break out "in the spring": the military of all ranks say the same.

In Germany such feelings do not assume an excited shape; but the public is sensibly perturbed. The idea that it might be wise to anticipate the coming danger by an attack on France, is, as far as I can judge, abhorrent to the national sentiment; and the 'Daily News' story of Monday was, after a moment of alarm, instinctively rejected

[82] See n. 67 in this section.

[83] *Wolffs Telegraphisches Bureau*, Berlin news agency founded in 1849.

[84] For the army bill (the military septennate) which led to the snap elections for the *Reichstag* on 21 February 1887, see n. 119 in Berlin section.

[85] For the debates, see pp. 73–75.

as an obvious fable.[86] The 'Nachrichten'[87] remarked, that this particular lie of M^r^ Gladstone's hack organ was a stock-exchange trick,[88] but that the persistency with which the English press exaggerates war rumours, and their suspicious reiteration of advice to Germany to arm to the teeth, shews our anxiety for a conflict between the two neighbours, when, true to the brutal traditions of British policy, we shall proceed to fish to our own advantage in the troubled European waters. The 'German-Conservative' semi-official 'Journal',[89] which is always ready with malignant interpretations where we are concerned, last night used similar language, saying that some of the recent alarms arose from "the impure hope of certain English circles" for a war in which they may find their account.

The Editor[90] of one of the leading German Reviews tells me, that according to a letter which he has just received from a particularly reliable French Senator, the war party in France is a very small minority, who are looked on by all reasonable men as incendiaries and maniacs. I gather from various indication that the authority quoted is M. Barthèlemy [*sic*] de St. Hilaire, who, according to my recollections of that eminent person, is very likely to underrate the strength of the imaginative political forces.

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 17, Dresden, 18 February 1887

[Received 21 February by Berlin. Seen at Berlin. X; S[alisbury]]

Nostitz's circular explaining the meaning of military septennate; press reactions

Some years since, the Minister of the Interior replying to a question of mine – was he putting pressure on the constituencies? – replied that in Saxony no Government dared to do this; "not even Baron Beust" had been charged with such practises. His Excellency yesterday issued what is virtually an electioneering placard. He states, with the usual Teutonic amplitude of style, that whereas "by a

[86] On 24 January the *Daily News* reported that war was imminent between France and Germany and that Germany was about to demand explanations from France, regarding the movements of French troops on the German frontier.

[87] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 27 January 1887.

[88] Prices on the London and other European stock exchanges fell on the day that the *Daily News* article was published.

[89] *Dresdner Journal, 27 January 1887.*

[90] Name not traceable.

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reprehensible agitation and erroneous comments", the idea has been disseminated that 'Septennate' signifies Seven years active service with the colours (instead of 2 ¼ years as now), the Department of the Interior makes known, that the sole point for the decision of the new Reichstag is this – 'shall the military augmentation be voted for seven years certain'?[91]

Herr von Nostitz is, judged by our standards, a narrow minded statesman, but he would not lightly put his name to the charge on which his Circular is based. The 'freisinnig'[92] 'Zeitung'[93] remarks, however, with truth, that the 'Reptiles'[94] have been repeatedly challenged, but in vain, to give chapter and verse for their allegation that the opposition has been explaining the Septennate to mean 'seven years with the colours'. In this Empire, a Ministerial Circular must be delicately handled, if the critic wishes to escape half a dozen actions for libel; but the 'Zeitung' is courageous and rash enough to observe, that the accusation has been trumped up by the so-called 'patriotic' coalition, and propagated by the 'Reptile' press as an effective electioneering lie. Looking to the high educational standard attained in this Kingdom – to the fact that the classes with the lowest degree of political instruction principally read Conservative newspapers – and to the practical knowledge of military topics possessed by every German family – it is altogether improbable that the opposition would attempt to impose on the electorate in the gross manner supposed.

The Ministerial Manifesto is in the modest form of a rectification, and no hint is given how a patriotic elector ought to vote. Still, authoritative commentary is suggestion veiled, and, in a country where servility is so rampant, this placard cannot fail to stimulate the civil servants of all grades, clergy, schoolmasters, and the like, to work against the opposition candidates. I have no doubt that the Circular which bears the signature of Herr von Nostitz will turn out to be, in substance and initiative, a Prussian concoction, and that it is the substitute for the Imperial proclamation of which so much has been lately said.

[91] On the army bill (military septennate) which led to the snap elections for the *Reichstag* on 21 February 1887, see n. 119 in Berlin section.

[92] See n. 3 in Berlin section.

[93] *Dresdner Zeitung*, 18 February 1887.

[94] See n. 67 in this section.

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 25, Dresden, 25 March 1887

[Received 28 March viâ Berlin. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]][95]

Fawning celebrations to mark Wilhelm I's birthday; high praise for his achievements as German Emperor; remarks on diminishing particularism and Wilhelm's significance in unifying Germany

The Emperor's birthday[96] has been kept here, and in the provinces, with extraordinary demonstrations of loyalty. I doubt if a similar local anniversary would be commemorated with so much civic decoration and illumination, by so many convivial and ceremonial assemblages of societies[,] clubs and corporations of every description, by such effervescence of patriotic oratory, and such deluges of complimentary biographies[,] articles and odes.

On these occasions German enthusiasm invariably slides into servility and caricature. Some of the most accomplished of the representatives of learning and science lauded the amicable object of the national veneration in superlatives too strong for Alexander, or Julius Caesar, or Edward I, or Frederic. A very distinguished person[97] reviewed the series of the successors of Karl the Great, and comparing the present occupant of the Imperial throne with Henry the Fowler, Otto I, Barbarossa, and Frederic II, declared that as kings of men the place of all of them was lower than that of the Emperor William. A leading divine[98] described the German sovereign as "the first monarch of the world, who governs not only Germany but Europe as well," and "in his wisdom and goodness desires only peace for mankind", although it lay in him "as representative of the mighty German race, and as hero laden with glory, to enforce obedience on the universe." In more than one other public harangue the fact was stated, that now for the first time the wearer of a crown was adorned with piety, moderation, humility, and self control. At the principal meeting here, an orator[99] categorically asserted that "never on any throne had sat a ruler with such self denial and sense of duty."

[95] Additional note to No 25: 'Sir Julian, There are some expressions in this despatch which I think may not be favorably viewed by the Queen, especially those marked in P.P. 2 & 7. I have some doubt as to the expediency of sending the despatch to H.M.' H.H. [Henry Hervey], 28 March; I[ddesleigh]. 'It is rather an amusing skit on the hysterical enthusiasm of the Germans for their glorious selves. Qy.'

[96] On 22 March.

[97] Karl Woermann, director of the Saxon picture gallery.

[98] Clemens Peter.

[99] Superintendent Ernst Julius Meier.

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An introductory article in the National-Liberal 'Anzeiger',[100] which is not addicted to the Chauvinistic style, commenced, "Great are the Lords' marvels for us! Glory be to God in the highest:" viz for the act 'of divine grace whereby to the German people has been vouchsafed the unexampled happiness of beholding the close of the 90th year of their glorious Kaisers' life."

The language of Byzantism and Versailles seems to be rivalled, when the virtues and powers of Pericles, Marcus Aurelius, Alfred and Napoleon, are gravely said to be united in a single ruler. That such disfigurements of loyal sentiment should be received in Dresden with universal applause shews how great a revolution in feeling has been accomplished since the establishment of the Empire. The old 'particularism', so rampant here within my own memory, has been entirely obliterated, and its place has been taken by a genuine pan-Germanic sentiment. "Deutschland über alles" is now a household Saxon word and thought, by the side of which regional patriotism could hardly continue to subsist, but for the remarkable – I may say, Oriental – susceptibility of the Germans to the fascinations of the monarchical idea. There is no doubt whatever that the Emperor William has been the principal agent in affecting this change. The popularity of the "Mehrer des Reichs"[101] has strengthened the foundations of the Empire. The not inconsiderable position of the German public which craves for an authoritative exercise of sovereignty – or for its semblance – has been gratified by His Imperial Majesty's occasional announcements of his royal will and pleasure, and his other assumptions of the autocratic style. His mastery of the arts of conciliation, his moderation, his unfailing tact, have done much to quench the antagonisms, and jealousies provoked by the growth of the Central power, while his patriarchal dignity, his courtesy, and the irresistible charm of his caressing Hohenzollern manner, have been largely instrumental in subduing and reconciling to the Reich many of the most venomous enemies of the new order of things. Kaiser Wilhelm is not a Charlemagne, or a Barbarossa – of his Prussian ancestry, several have surpassed him in unaided capacity for government and war. But the services which he has rendered to United Germany could not have been performed except by a ruler of his sympathetic personality and his venerable age.

[100] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 22 March 1887.

[101] German: 'enlarger of the empire'; as in *semper augustus*, one of the appellations of the Holy Roman Emperor.

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 28, Dresden, 15 April 1887

[Received 18 April viã Berlin. Seen at Berlin. For: Treaty Department; J.P. [Julian Pauncefote]; The Queen / Prince of Wales; S[alisbury]]

Succession to the throne of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; problem of foreign dynasts on German thrones

With reference to Lord Granville's 'Secret' Despatch No 11, of December 15, 1884 (Treaty) on the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha succession,[102] I have the honor to report that the National Liberal 'Anzeiger'[103] thus alludes to the Duke of Edinburgh's alleged renunciation of his claims in favor of His Royal Highness Prince Alfred.[104]

"This news, which, however, requires confirmation, will be received all through Germany with satisfaction. The German nation, now come of age, would certainly have disliked the accession to power on their soil of a Prince out and out foreign, and strange to German ways and ideas. The youthful Prince Alfred, who is to be brought up amongst us, has ample time, let us hope, to become a German man before he is called to mount a German throne." This note is apparently a so called "washing bill", or communiqué of the Berlin Government 'Literary Bureau'.[105] But it expresses with accuracy the national feeling on the point involved. Notoriously, the foreign alliances of certain German dynasties have given rise to malignant local comment, and have entailed unpopularity on some of those who have formed them. As in these cases the collision between the imported beliefs, ideals, and habits, and those of Germany, has been so marked, the devolution of actual sovereignty here on a foreigner would naturally be viewed as a probable source of antagonism rather than of concord. As regards ourselves, the political and educational influences under which young Germany is growing up, are not such as to suggest the belief that the antipathies of the Bismarckian era will be followed by a revival of the feelings which animated the generation of Bunsen.[106]

[102] Note in margin: 'I think the Desp[h] in question was addressed also to other of H.M.R.R. [Her Majesty's Royal Representatives] but will probably be found under Germany[.]' J.H.G.B. [John Henry Gibbs Bergne].

[103] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 10 April 1887.

[104] The Duke of Edinburgh, Alfred, succeeded to the ducal throne of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in 1893; his son Alfred was hereditary prince from 1893 until his early death in 1899.

[105] Strachey is referring to the news service of the Prussian *Literarisches Büro*. *Waschzettel* (literally 'laundry list', given here as 'washing bills') was the derisive name for semi-official information passed to the loyal press.

[106] Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen was Prussian envoy to London from 1842–1854.

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 30, Dresden, 29 April 1887

[Received 2 May by Berlin. Seen at Berlin. Print (Western Europe); S[alisbury]]

Schnæbelé affair in the German press

The Bismarckian press always welcomes every opportunity for pouring out the vials of their hatred and contempt on us. The 'Anzeiger',[107] alluding to the remarks of the 'Standard' on the Schnäbele affair, says: – "we do not desire, and we do not need, England's goodwill under any circumstances whatever.[108] For little states, like Egypt, Greece, Hayti, which cannot move, its possessions may have a value. In the councils of the great powers, the rôle of England, which was for long decisive, often the detriment of other nations, is played out. In case of another war with France, we shall know how to defend ourselves, and more energetically than before, against British benevolence, which in 1870–71, for it's own benefit, furnished our enemies with coals, arms, and military stores, and tried by backstair tricks to rob us of part of the fruits of our victories."

The article which I quote is probably derived from the Berlin 'National Liberal' lithographic circulars,[109] or it may have been inspired by one of the 'washingbills'[110] of the official Prussian 'Literary Bureau'.

The Conservative 'Nachrichten'[111] has been using language of similar import, arguing that the aim of England is to hound on France against Germany. This paper, like others, discusses the Schnäbele incident with moderation, observing that if German officials have committed international irregularities, the Government of the Empire will at once disavow them. The 'Nachrichten' remarks, that the circumstances connected with this policeman's arrest, and the hysterics into which it has thrown the Paris press, prove the relations of France and Germany to be in a state of tension such that war may at any moment arise from some utterly trivial incident. The "circonstances actuelles"[112] named as the ground of the prohibition of 'Lohengrin',[113] are assumed to indicate the fear, that the expected

[107] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 26 April 1887.

[108] The editorial in the *Standard* of 23 April 1887 stated that 'unless the German authorities can clearly justify their action, public opinion throughout Europe will loudly condemn their proceedings'. For the Schnæbelé incident, see pp. 83–84.

[109] *Nationalliberale Korrespondenz*.

[110] See n. 105 in this section.

[111] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 27 April 1887.

[112] French: 'present circumstances'.

[113] Strachey is referring to the *Dresdner Nachrichten* of 28 April 1887.

demonstration against the music of Wagner might be the signal for an outburst of Parisian fury against the 'Prussiens'.[114]

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 31, Dresden, 29 April 1887

[Received 2 May by Berlin. Seen at Berlin. See separate minute inside.[115] X]

Celebrations in honour of Saxon king's birthday; visit of Prussian Prince Wilhelm; Saxon Conservatives would prefer emperor's grandson as successor to imperial throne

The King's 59th birthday[116] was kept throughout Saxony with warm demonstrations of attachment to the sovereign and the dynasty. The German capacity for monarchical feeling is boundless, so that the new sentiment of devotion to the head of the Empire has not been developed at the cost of the local loyalty. Far from the recent commemoration of the Emperor's jubilee[117] having exhausted the popular disposition to do honour to such anniversaries, the customary homage to the domestic ruler was almost more strongly accentuated than in previous years.

Leipzig, which is nothing if not 'National-Liberal', and, a few years ago, used to be described by Dresden courtiers and officials as more Prussian than Saxon, was prominent in its' utterances of allegiance. The Germans are a servile people, and the respects and good wishes of the authorities and leading citizens of Leipzig were conveyed in terms of exaggerated submission.

The Royal family of Saxony maintain a cordial intimacy with the Court of Berlin, and on the 23rd Instant the King and the residence were agreeably surprised by the congratulatory visit of Prince William of Prussia, who was accompanied by the Hereditary Grand Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Meiningen.[118] An assembly held by Count Fabrice was attended by His Royal Highness, on whom the German nobility and conservatives build their hopes for the

[114] The first night of *Lohengrin* at the Paris Éden-Théâtre, scheduled for 26 April 1887, was postponed after the intervention of the French government. The only performance of the opera, originally scheduled for ten performances, took place on 5 May.

[115] Separate minute in FO 68/171 reads: 'Mr Strachey's No 31. Qy: 'Send this to the Queen – "The Germans are a servile people", see p. 3, may not be agreeable to H.M.' H.H. [Henry Hervey], 2 May. 'The Queen would not lose much by the suppression of this desp[atch].' T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]; 'I agree.' S[alisbury].

[116] On 23 April 1887.

[117] The emperor's 90th birthday was on 22 March 1887. See pp. 293–294.

[118] Bernhard and Charlotte.

political future. Their argument is, that it would be a happy day for Germany, if the Emperor William were succeeded by his grandson, whose tendencies and character promise a vigorous assertion of the prerogatives and authority of the Crown: while the accession of the Emperor's son would presumably be followed by a lamentable surrender to liberal demands, and by the intrusion of an influence known to be entirely antagonistic to Hohenzollern traditions and ideals.

FO 68/171 George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 34, Dresden, 13 May 1887

[Received 16 May by Berlin. Seen at Berlin. Qy: X / Mr Goschen; G.J.G. [George Joachim Goschen]; S[alisbury]]

German opinions on Irish Home Rule

The Chancellor of the Exchequer[119] is reported as having lately observed, that Home Rule for Ireland was deprecated by our continental friends, and desired by our ill-wishers, who foresaw the calamities which its adoption would entail on Great Britain.

This can scarcely be said of Germany. In the Empire we are objects of dislike, rather than of sympathy. And average German public opinion, in so far as British questions occupy it at all, is hostile to Home Rule in whatever edition, and favorable to the Crimes Bill.[120] Our ill-wishers are Unionists, not Home Rulers; whereas the German defenders of Home Rule are to be looked for amongst our friends.

The feelings of the majority towards us lie on the surface. They are visible, or audible, in society, in the oratory of the day, in the inspired and the independent press, in political and learned literature (particularly the historical,) and in the language of the representatives of commerce, industry, and colonial enterprise. In such quarters, the condemnation of Home Rule is, as far as I know, emphatic. 'Non sic fortis Etruria crevit'[121] is the judgment commonly passed on the long British toleration of Irish agitation and crime, which, with other circumstances of our recent history, is occasionally quoted by official scribes as a warning example of the political disintegration

[119] George Goschen made these comments on 4 May 1887 at a Unionist banquet held at the Bow and Bromley Institute in London.

[120] The disputed Irish crimes (coercion) bill, directed at the non-payment of rents, was introduced in parliament in March 1887 and became law on 19 July that year.

[121] Latin: 'not thus mighty Etruria grew' (Virgil, *Georgics*, Book II).

and collapse inseparable from democratic and parliamentary government.

On the other hand the 'freisinning' party,[122] who hold up British institutions and ideals for admiration here, may have betrayed a certain sympathy with the Parnell-Gladstone programme.[123] My knowledge of this point is not direct, but, unless I mistake, any liberal leanings that way are chiefly significant of the habit of the party to accept M^r^ Gladstone's competence on such English questions of the day as are specifically domestic. Herr Richter and his following may desire the dissolution of the Union, (which I do not affirm) but their motives have not a malignant origin, and, if persuaded that Home-Rule would endanger the power and influence of the British Empire, they would become staunch Unionists.

FO 68/172: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 41, Dresden, 26 June 1887

[Received 11 July by Berlin. X. See minute within][124]

Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee celebrated by British community in Dresden

The British community in Dresden celebrated the Jubilee[125] by a Banquet at the Belvedere, which was attended by about 100 persons. The Consul and Vice Consul[126] of the United States were invited as guests, and several private Americans were present. There are some English artisans in the employ of a local Lace and Curtain Mill: on my expressing the wish that they could share in our festivity, the Directors at once furnished our countrymen with tickets for the dinner.

The following toasts were settled by the Committee, and proposed by me from the chair: the King of Saxony and the German Emperor: the Queen: Prince and Princess of Wales:[127] President of the United

[122] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.

[123] This is referring to the self-government of Ireland within the United Kingdom (home rule).

[124] Additional note (minute) to dispatch: 'The last sheet of this Despatch is peculiar. Shall it be marked and sent on to The Queen in the ordinary course.' [unclear initials], 4 July. 'Lord Salisbury, Shall Mr Strachey be called on to explain the last para[graph] of this peculiar Despatch? He perhaps refers to himself & his Vice Consul. If so I think the Crown is the real sufferer.' J.P. [Julian Paunceforte] 'Take no notice. It is not worth while sending on Mr. Strachey's despatches.' S[alisbury], 5 July.

[125] The 50^th^ anniversary of Victoria's reign was on 20 June 1887.

[126] Joseph T. Mason and Wilhelm Knoop.

[127] Edward and Alexandra.

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States[128] and his representatives: the ladies. The call to drink Her Majesty's health was received with unbounded enthusiasm: the cheering was vociferous and prolonged, and the National Anthem was sung with an accent and tunefulness which would have done credit to a professional chorus.

The dinner was followed by a dance. Before the close of the proceedings an Address to the Queen was read, and signatures were taken: this document will be forwarded hereafter.

As I am lodged on a 3rd floor, it was impossible to light up the exterior of the Legation, but a display of gas flames in appropriate devices was made on the pavement below.

Owing to peculiarities in the composition of our Dresden community, which, moreover, in summer shrinks to very small dimensions, the idea of a collective commemoration of the Jubilee was, at first, coldly received. A young Irish landlord,[129] who appears to be a Jacobite, declined to rejoice over the reign of a sovereign who had permitted the virtual confiscation of the property of the local landowners of Ireland!! Another recalcitrant was a strong English Conservative, who objected to meeting "mixed" society, even to do honour to the Queen! That the various difficulties of the situation were finally overcome, was chiefly owing to the loyal activity of two gentlemen not belonging to the higher social spheres – a tutor, and an engineer employed on the Dresden tramway – and to two persons more or less connected with the public service, from whom no such active interference was to be expected, as neither of them has had any reason to congratulate himself on the results of his employment under the Crown.

FO 68/172: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 58, Dresden, 28 October 1887

[Received 31 October viâ Berlin. Qy: Commercial; Qy: Lord Salisbury / Circulate; C.M.K. [Charles M. Kennedy], 1 November; S[alisbury], 2 November]

Conversation with Nostitz on new German grain duties

Yesterday I asked Herr von Nostitz if he expected the new grain duties to pass the Reichstag.[130] His Excellency replied that,

[128] Grover Cleveland.

[129] The names of the remaining people referred to in the dispatch are not traceable.

[130] The grain tariff bill was introduced in the *Reichstag* on 1 December and passed on 17 December 1887.

abstractedly [*sic*] considered, there would be a majority against the augmentation.

But that if Prince Bismarck made it, so to speak, a personal question, his influence would, no doubt, carry the measure.

Herr von Nostitz did not say if the allied governments had decided on the particular figures which would be named in the Tariff 'Novel'; but he expressed his belief, that the duty on wheat would, in the end, be raised (from 3 Marks) to 5 Marks per double cwt, that is, from about 7^{s}/6^{d} to 12^{s}/ per quarter.

In the course of our conversation His Excellency observed, that he had a strong objection to food duties. Some years ago he had publicly committed himself to the opinion that they were inadmissible for Germany, and he could now only justify them as a temporary expedient calculated to give some little relief to the corn-growers. The question was not so vital in this kingdom as, for instance, in Pomerania. Still, not only his own class, that of the large landholders – but also the so-called 'peasant' proprietors of Saxony were clamorous for more protection against foreign cereals, and it was necessary to come, or seem to come, to their assistance.

I remarked that the growers would be fortunate if they pocketed half the additional tax, which would be a mere fraction of the amount requisite for making the price of corn renumerated. And this small advantage would vanish with the opening of a new railway in the Punjab, cheaper freights, or a fu[r]ther fall in the Rupee. Herr v. Nostitz, said there was no disputing that; but the higher duty would, no doubt, act for a time as a parachute to German corn prices.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 7, Dresden, 2 February 1888

[Received 6 February by Berlin. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Mr Matthews; S[alisbury], 7 February]

Opinions on renewal of Anti-Socialist Laws; servility of public officials; repressive instincts of German public outweigh democratic notions of freedom of speech

No one who attaches precise meanings to words would speak of a German "public opinion" on the Bill against Social-Democracy; but I may say that the feeling is probably in favor of a simple renewal of the existing law.[131]

[131] The Anti-Socialist Law of 1878 (see n. 10 this section) was renewed for the fourth time on 17 February 1888 (effective until 30 September 1890).

The independent press of all parties denounces the banishment clause[132] as theoretically indefensible, and as calculated to aggravate class hatreds, and to turn agitators into martyrs. Doubts are expressed whether, in a country with the advanced political civilisation of Germany, a minority can be permanently kept under the gag of an exceptional law. While the question is raised, if there are, in fact, any visible signs of that efficacy in repressing Social-Democracy which persons in office profess to discover in the present system of proscription.

The mental servitude which is the mark of all Germans in public employments makes it impossible to allow any weight whatever to their views. Their rule is, to "say ditto to M[r] Burke"[133] as often and as loudly as possible. All of them profess belief in coercion, as being itself an admirable instrument of Government, and they declare in chorus that its results have, in the present case, been excellent. When the objection is raised, that under the law of 1878 the proscribed party has grown portentously in numbers and vigor, the reply is vaguely made that but for repression things would have been worse.

The Germans have little of our repugnance to silencing & persecuting obnoxious minorities, and far from persons of average enlightenment being unfavorable to the imposition of the restraints in question, there are many who would like the law against Social-Democracy to be extended so as to reach the left wing of the liberal party. I have no doubt that a plebiscite taken in Dresden would give a strong vote in favor of the banishment clause: according to an opinion given me by the President[134] of the lower house of the Saxon legislature, a majority of that body would possibly be on the same side. However, the head Burgomaster[135] of the city, who may be called a National-Liberal, considers that moderate men disapprove the idea of expatriation.

The general subject has been frequently illustrated in detail by the facts and figures given in my correspondence. These new discussions have confirmed me in my belief that the propaganda of Bebel and Liebknecht has had an active auxiliary in Prince Bismarck.

[132] The clause allowed the denaturalization of Social Democrats; it was rejected by the *Reichstag* on 17 February.

[133] This catchphrase had originated in an anecdote about Edmund Burke, meaning 'I agree'.

[134] Ludwig Haberkorn.

[135] Paul Alfred Stübel.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 8, Dresden, 9 February 1888

[Received 13 February by Berlin. For: The Queen; S[alisbury], 14 February]

Incongruous reactions to Bismarck's speech in Reichstag

The moderation and sense of proportion for which the Germans are usually conspicuous, seem to have abandoned them since Monday last. Prince Bismarck's appearance in the Reichstag is described in superlatives which might be suitable for an account of the career of Alexander or Napoléon. Not only will the 6th of February "mark [*sic*] with the most noteworthy days in the annals of the fatherland", but it is to be "an epoch in the history of the world".[136]

The Reichskanzler has never possessed the physical or rhetorical conditions of eloquence, and the defects of his ejaculatory, uncouth, and prolix, style were as palpable on Monday as on some other occasions. Yet the current estimates of his speech are in the terms commonly reserved for the great masterpieces of ancient and modern oratory.

Within my horizon here, it is always hard to distinguish between real enthusiasm and the servile devotion of parasites. But the existence of genuine excitement is, no doubt, indicated by the circumstance that a number of leading personages, chiefly merchants and traders of Dresden, have appealed to their fellow citizens to join in an address of thanks and adhesion to Prince Bismarck: and that although the document itself has yet to be written, signatures, as it seems, are coming in by thousands.

The promoters describe themselves as "overpowered by the overwhelming effect of the world-historical speech of our Reichskanzler", and this is probably a fairly accurate account of the feelings of the public. There is a confused sense of something great having happened, but the anxieties of the community with respect to the preservation of peace do not appear to have been sensibly relieved. The prevalent estimate of the European situation is nearly what it was a week ago, except that there is now a dismissal of the doubts, entertained in some quarters, of the solidity of the alliance with Austria-Hungary,[137] which connexion is, on all grounds, highly popular here. If the public wish is decisive, a collision between Russia and the Monarchy of the

[136] Bismarck made the speech on the state of foreign affairs at the first reading of the military loan bill.

[137] See n. 489 in Berlin section.

Danube will be followed, whether a casus foederis[138] has arisen or not, by the armed interposition of Germany.

The Reichskanzler's review of the relations of Prussia and Germany, may possibly be comparable, as the Reptile-Press considers,[139] to the best pages of Thucydides or Ranke; but its' spirit is in some respects antagonistic to the national feeling. The new Germany does not possess the sensibilities of the age of Novalis and Fichte, but there exists in men's minds what is called an "ideal conception of the Universe", which involves something of that recognition of the rights and duties of nations, some of that sympathy with aspirations to independence and progress, which have been so prominent amongst ourselves.

Prince Bismarck's realistic, almost cynical, account of his attempts – defeated as it happened – to make Prussia or Germany, the international associate of Russia, shews his incapacity, or contempt, for the range of ideas in question. And many, even amongst German Conservatives, will ask if some of the dangers which now hang over Germany and Europe might not have been averted, if the Reichskanzler, and his predecessors, had not made it their object to qualify, as Prince Bismarck humorously puts it, for the highest Russian order in diamonds.

Similar remarks apply to the persistency with which the Bulgarians and their ruler are trampled under foot[140] – where the Prince is entirely out of touch with his countrymen. Curiously enough, the assertion that the Germans fear the Deity, has been much applauded by this highly agnostic nation.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 10, Dresden, 2 March 1888

[Received 5 March by post. Qy: ~~The Queen / Berlin for perusal~~; Put by, S[alisbury], 5 March]

Press coverage and public views on German crown prince's illness and the succession; unpopularity of crown princess and anger towards Morell Mackenzie

The press continues to report on the health of the German Crown Prince[141] with an exuberance of painful pathological detail. But absolute reticence is observed, in respect to certain sides of this distressing

[138] Latin: 'an event or situation covered by the provisions of a treaty'.

[139] See n. 67 in this section.

[140] This is referring to Bismarck's refusal to recognize Ferdinand I as knyaz (prince) of Bulgaria.

[141] Friedrich Wilhelm; he was suffering from cancer of the larynx.

case which are the daily subject of conversation amongst all ranks of the community.

The current official formula is, that the Prince's illness has thrown the German people into deep affliction. This is only true with limitations. His Imperial Highness may, perhaps, be described as being beloved by the masses; but he is not popular with 'the classes' – being, in fact, the object of dislike of various degrees in many of the Courts, as well as in social and political circles by no means contemptible in influence and numbers.

Those whom I have in view are, no doubt, accessible to feelings of compassion, and the tragic personal aspects of the Prince's malady may draw from them the appropriate Lacrimæ rerum.[142] But, except in this temporary, sentimental, sense, they would not lament the close of a great career, and they would learn with equanimity, or satisfaction, that the reign of the Emperor was to be followed by that of his grandson.

Prince William may not impossibly disappoint the expectations of his partizans: he may be wanting in the wish, as he probably would be in the power, to carry out the reaction which, we are told, is to mark his accession to the throne of Prussia and Germany. Some of those who indulge such hopes, represent the Prince as placing himself in obtrusive hostility to the wishes and ideals of his parents, and as entertaining in particular, towards his august mother,[143] something of those feelings of filial impiety of which the domestic history of the Hohenzollerns offers several examples. According to certain German Conservatives, this reputed antagonism is, under the circumstances, almost meritorious.

The minority which can appreciate the character and talents of the Crown Princess is now nearly silenced by the party of detraction: it is certain that the unpopularity of Her Imperial Highness is extreme. I have even heard the opinion, that it would be very unadvisable for her to return to Berlin,[144] on account of the manifestations which might ensue.

The irritation against Sir M. Mackenzie has not diminished: professional Chauvinism has certainly augmented, or originated, the general anger against our specialist. He is arraigned as a quack, who should never have been consulted, and his systematic employment is called a national scandal and disgrace.[145]

[142] Latin: 'tears of things' (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.461).

[143] Victoria.

[144] At the time of the dispatch Victoria and Friedrich Wilhelm were staying at San Remo.

[145] For Friedrich Wilhelm's treatment by Mackenzie, see n. 103 in Munich section.

The above views and sentiments, with the malignant stories, or fables, by which they are illustrated, are not back-stair gossip. My information is always necessarily incomplete, but it is never obtained, as Gibbon puts it, 'from the scullions'.[146]

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 11, Dresden, 16 March 1888

[Received 19 March by Berlin. For: The Queen; S[alisbury], 20 March]

Reactions to emperor's death; Wilhelm I's significance in overcoming particularism

The Emperor's death has called forth in this city as much excitement and sympathy as could be expected amongst a race not notable for mobility or depth of feeling.[147] The public grief is not, of course, what it is in Berlin, but official and municipal pressure has imposed complete abstinence from amusements and entertainments, and there is a fair show of mourning, on the part, at least, of the female population of Dresden.

The press notices of the late Emperor are over-sycophantic, even for obituary literature. Much of their language would be only applicable to a ruler who was Solon, Cæsar, Alfred, and Charlemagne, combined. While ascribing to the Monarch achievements in war and peace which, both in conception and execution, were the work of the nation, or of his advisers and generals, the commentators on his life seem to have passed over the following point of view. Any one who was acquainted with Saxony – (and the same applies in various degrees to the other confederated states) – in the years immediately subsequent to the establishment of the new Germany, could see that the hostility of the so-called "enemies of the Empire" was largely mitigated by the conciliating character of His Imperial Majesty who, in later life, joined a certain mild dignity and natural benevolence to a manner of usual [note in margin: 'unusual?'] fascination. Advancing age, which (except in fiction), seldom adds to such advantages, augmented the amenities of the Emperor's individuality and conversation investing him with an irresistible interest and attraction. I have known the bitterness of local malignants (who were not accessible to sentiments of servility, or even of loyalty) melt away under the spell of the Emperor's

[146] Quotation ('from one of the scullions') from Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. 1, ch. 4 (1776).

[147] Wilhelm I died on 9 March 1888.

presence which, they said, almost reconciled them to the system of which he was the representative. The Empire would, no doubt, have continued to subsist under a less patriarchal and less venerable monarch. But, if the new order of things stands now, 18 years after its foundation, firmly built on the 'Rocher von Bronze',[148] this is in no small degree owing to the peculiar personality of the Emperor William, which was admirably in place as an antidote to the idiosyncrasy of the other principal author and support of German Unity, whose genius was constantly provocative of collisions and resentments calculated to retard the consolidation and development of the Empire.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 12, Dresden, 30 March 1888

[Received 2 April by Berlin. S[alisbury], 2 April]

Commentary on the emperor's rescripts; Liberal disappointment over new emperor's policy

The comments on the Emperor Friedrich's rescripts continue, the various interpreters reading their own ideas and wishes into the monarch's expressions.[149] The Dresden 'Nachrichten' in which some slight remnant of the spirit of 'Particularism' may still survive, refines on certain distinctions (visible to the Editor)[150] in the Imperial language, according as the reference is to Germany or to Prussia. The Emperor, says the acute publicist, accentuates his relations to the representatives of the people; but the King lays strong emphasis on his Prerogative.

The Conservativism of this journal is often of uncertain sound. For instance, we read the hope that the new sovereign may give reality to the principles assimilated by him in his life as Crown-Prince, which are described as those of his own generation, and not those of his father's, who had one foot planted on the basis of the old autocratic Prussia.

The alleged disappointment, and stifled anger, of the liberal party, at the Emperor's apparent adhesion to the old grooves, furnish the Conservatives with a text for daily vituperation of their opponents.

[148] French phrase used in the German language: 'rock of bronze', allegory for the strength and sovereignty of the monarchy, first used by Friedrich Wilhelm I in 1716.

[149] Strachey is referring to the imperial rescript to Otto von Bismarck of 12 March 1887 (see pp. 95–98), the rescript for Alsace-Lorraine of 15 March, and the rescript of 21 March on the participation of the crown prince in the affairs of government.

[150] Julius Reichardt.

Surely, plain words like "maintenance of the authority of the Crown", ought to convince the "freisinnige"[151] of the folly of their absurd expectations that "the Kaiser would abdicate a portion of his sovereign rights, and exert his influence to establish Parliamentary Government".

And on another occasion: – "Fortunately, realities are stronger than" the vain imaginings of these people. What Kaiser Friedrich has promised, will prevail: he walks in the paths of his venerable Father, and does not dismiss the true councillor of the throne to make room for the obedient servants of the International High-Finance. Prince Bismarck may be "trusted to preserve the firm structure of the Prussian Monarchy from the contamination of "English principles". Such allusions to the Empress[152] are frequent: the following hint is less covert: – "With England our Empire is now so nearly connected, that many a German patriot begins to apprehend an excess of English influence".

The assumed mortification of the adverse party may be a suitable peg for these diatribes, which, however, are often open to retort. As a matter of fact, the only visible, or audible, signs of dissatisfaction with the present conjuncture, have come from the Conservatives and the Aristocracy, who are chagrined that the Imperial Crown, contrary to expectations, has fallen to the object of their aversion, while the hopes which they had built on their Marcellus[153] are, for the present at least, deferred.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 20, Dresden, 27 April 1888

[Received 30 April by Berlin. Qy: X; S[alisbury], 1 May]

Attacks of the Grenzboten *on Queen Victoria and her daughter; German reactions to Queen's visit to Berlin; 'grave-digger' party may be preparing a new political approach*

The article in the Bismarckite 'Grenzboten', headed "Foreign influences in the Empire",[154] was aimed, not only at the Queen, but also at the Empress Victoria. This sarcasm is characteristic. "Her discussions with Prince Bismarck appear to have chiefly turned on money and

[151] See n. 3 in Berlin section.

[152] Victoria.

[153] Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who, before his death, was considered presumptive heir of Emperor Augustus. Strachey is referring to Crown Prince Wilhelm.

[154] 'Fremde Einflüsse im Reiche', *Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, 19 April 1888.

property questions, which appear to have a special interest for the High Lady". Again: – "the Empress has up to now remained an English woman in a foreign country, and it is a question if she attaches more value to the dignity of German Empress than to the title of Princess Royal of England".

This week the "gravedigger" party[155] is comparatively silent. The 'Anzeiger' is neutral: the semi-official 'Journal' is principally concerned about Rumania and General Boulanger. The 'Nachrichten' continues to mutter distrust of British machinations, but has now spoken in becoming terms of the Queen, pointing out, however, that Prince Bismarck might be trusted to foil any new intrigues, and hinting that the time-table of the royal train was altered on account of the presumed hostility of the local public to the mother of the Empress.[156]

Both the arrival and the visit to Berlin presented different aspects, according as the observer, or writer, was a Conservative, or a 'freisinnig'[157] partizan. The 'Nachrichten' could record a fair reception, and was much struck by the crowd's approval of the Sikhs,[158] and of Her Majesty's dog. Whereas the liberal 'Zeitung' reported, that the hopes of the disloyal faction had been utterly disappointed, the Queen having been received with an enthusiastic and affectionate welcome.

A Berlin 'reptile[']'[159] has been expatiating, on "the singularly touching and devoted love of Prince Bismarck for his all-highest master", with which 'the faithful servant is bowed down when in dumb grief he approaches the Kaiser's bed of suffering.'

The interpretation of this may be, that the Bismarckian parties are beginning to contemplate the possibility of the Emperor's recovery, and are preparing for a change of front.

The "Grenzboten" article has been ascribed by liberals to D^r^ Roessler, the Director of the official Prussian "Literary Bureau", popularly called "Press Bureau".[160] The 'gravediggers'[161] have hinted that the author is D^r^ Treitschke, the German Macaulay: the Professor is a violent Anglophobe, but the article is not in his vivid, ornate, style. Both suggestions are probably 'tendentious'.

[155] National Liberals.
[156] Victoria visited Berlin from 24 to 26 April 1888 on her return journey from Italy.
[157] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.
[158] Victoria's servants Abdul Karim and Mohammad Buksh.
[159] An organ of the so-called 'reptile press', see n. 67 in this section.
[160] The author of the article was, on Bismarck's instruction, Moritz Busch.
[161] National Liberals.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 28, Dresden, 1 June 1888

[Received 4 June in Berlin. Qy: Put by; S[alisbury], 4 June]

Ramifications of libellous article 'No petticoat government' published in Dresdner Nachrichten

Herr Eugen Richter's Philippic in the Prussian Landtag[162] against the authors, avowed and veiled, of the Bismarckite libels on the Imperial Family, and the Prussian prosecutions of certain newspapers for republishing, with the expressions of their disapproval, the article from the 'Dresdner Nachrichten' – 'No petticoat Government'[163] – has made the Dresden Editor the hero of the day. D[r] Bierey is much elated at his 'bad eminence', and he is now vituperating the 'freisinnig'[164] leader with the ferocity which has always been so characteristic of Germany [*sic*] personal discussions.

D[r] Bierey[165] has further raked up afresh the whole conflict, which he has restated with new insults to the Emperor and Empress. He says, that having read over his article – 'Down with Petticoat Government' – he fails to understand why it should have excited so much attention and criticism. The article was moderation itself, and elicited a whole library of letters of approval from all parts of the world! "It was the simple, though fresh, expression of the feelings which, at the time, moved countless German hearts. The resignation of the Reichskanzler was threatened on account of a Bulgarian marriage.[166] We gave utterance to the demand of the nation that the new Emperor should not separate himself from the most approved of councillors." He says further: "at present everything has to be englished [*sic*] – even the royal hounds – although the process gives them the mange" (the reference is to a report that the dogs in the Potsdam kennel had caught disease from some English animals.)

Here I would remark, that to designate a lady as a 'Frauenzimmer' is a gross violation of the proprieties of German speech, and that this insult was assocated with the allusion to the Emperor as 'Friedrich der Britte'.[167] There is a peculiar infamy in the term 'Bulgarian marriage', from the fact that 'Bulgaren-Hochzeit' is necessarily suggestive to Germans of the 'Bluthochzeit', or S[t] Bartholomew.

[162] On 26 May 1888.
[163] '*Keine Frauenzimmerpolitik*', published on 11 April 1888. For the 'Bismarckite libels', see previous dispatch.
[164] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.
[165] In his leader of 1 June 1888.
[166] See pp. 99–100.
[167] Pun: *Britte* (Brit), instead of *Dritte* (third)

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I may be allowed to observe, that it is a satisfaction to me that my previous correspondence on this topic should have been, in a sense, anticipatory of many of the statements and arguments in the speech of the German 'Cleon', or 'Catiline',[168] such is the last Bismarckite description of a public man as Conservative as any member of Her Majesty's Government.

[…]

P.S. I find on reviewing D[r] Bierey's language that my description on page 2 is altogether insufficient. Going by the rule 'be Kent unmannerly when Lear is mad'[169] – I should substitute for 'ferocity' – 'unmitigated blackguardism' which is not too strong for the occasion. G.S.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 30, Dresden, 21 June 1888

[Received 25 June by Berlin. X; S[alisbury]]

Remarks on the German Emperor's manifesto to the army

The "undisguised spirit of medieval militarism" which the 'Standard'[170] detects in the manifesto of William II to the Army[171] has not been observed here. The antecedents and tastes of the young ruler made it natural that his official utterances should accentuate the military side of sovereignty, and I do not believe that, even amongst those most disposed to put ill constructions on his words, the manifesto has been criticized for excessive self-assertion, or for professional elation, or that it has been construed as a warning to foreign powers.

The suspicion has certainly not arisen, that Germany will now be 'less anxious than before to avoid quarrels.' The predominant desire of all classes is, that war may be averted. Even the military are pacific, being, as the "nation in arms", destitute of the aggressive instincts proper to a body of Mamertines or Mamelukes.[172] The public expect

[168] Cleon became leader of Athenian democracy in 429 BC; he was a politician without noble ancestry and spoke out strongly against the conservatives. Catiline was a Roman senator who promoted the plight of the plebs and attempted to overthrow the Roman Republic and the elite power of the Senate in 63 BC.

[169] William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act 1, Scene 1.

[170] *The Standard*, 18 June 1888.

[171] Imperial proclamation to the army, 16 June 1888.

[172] Mamertines were Italian mercenaries who seized the Sicilian city of Messina in 288 BC. Mamluks were members of a military caste with Turkish, Mongol and Circassian slave heritage; they remained powerful in Ottoman Egypt until 1811.

of the Emperor that he will adhere to the conciliatory policy of the preceding reigns, and William II will fall into great unpopularity if this hope is disappointed.

No unfavorable remarks have been made on the Proclamation to the Prussians.[173] In an address to an agnostical people, coming from a quarter not credited with puritanical observance of the personal sanctities of life, pious avowals, and repeated invocations of the Deity, may seem out of place. But such pretences are not displeasing to German taste. Some have welcomed the Emperors language as evidence that he sympathizes with the orthodox camarilla which his august father had in such deep abhorrence. On the whole, the manifesto is thought to be suited to the occasion, and it's religious element is taken for the traditional phraseology of the Hohenzollern's, who have usually "particularized", as has been said, or appropriated, the Supreme Being, for the exclusive benefit of the Prussian house and nation.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 33, Dresden, 29 June 1888

[Received 2 July by Berlin. Qy: X; S[alisbury]]

Press speculations on omission of England from German Emperor's throne speech

It is characteristic of the German press, that although the Emperor's speech[174] was circulated here in the early afternoon of Monday, the principal journals refrained from comments until the evening of the following day, or till Wednesday. By a very curious coincidence – suggestive of a common source of inspiration – the ultra-Bismarckite National-Liberal 'Anzeiger',[175] and the independent Conservative 'Nachrichten',[176] were simultaneously surprised to find that the speech made no reference to Great Britain. The 'Anzeiger' remarked, that the mystery would probably be unveiled in time. "That special negotiations are in process between Berlin and London is proved by the prolonged presence of the Prince of Wales,[177] and the despatch of confidential persons from each capital to the other. The nature of these negotiations is not quite known, and we are reduced to surmises".

[173] Proclamation of 18 June 1888.
[174] Speech from the throne on the occasion of the opening of the *Reichstag* on 25 June 1888.
[175] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 27 June 1888.
[176] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 27 June 1888.
[177] Edward arrived at Berlin on 17 June and returned to London on 25 June.

The allusion is to the current story of the removal of the Emperor Frederick's papers by the Queen.[178] According to the Bismarckite organs, General Winterfeldt was to be instructed to demand possession of the documents improperly appropriated, and it was added, in the new German fashion of speaking of Great Britain as if we were Venezuela or Zanzibar, that on this point the Reichskanzler might be trusted to allow no trifling. In the view of the 'Anzeiger', the displeasure of Germany was signified by the omission of our name from the Throne Speech.

The "Nachrichten" apparently refers to the same story, but is principally concerned to find a new opportunity for casting aspersions on the Royal objects of its hatred. That paper says: "we do not regret that England is ignored, for have not we Germans lately had much from England to fill us with rage? At any rate there is no danger that under Kaiser Wilhelm English policy will be allowed the influence and pressure on German interests which Great Britain had begun to claim as a matter of right. England knows now that Germany is governed by A MAN, who has the will to assert his own resolves, and knows no object but the greatness and welfare of his "GERMAN fatherland."

I do not believe that the general public had discovered these inner meanings in the omissions of the Imperial Speech. The strong recognition of the alliance with Austria has given satisfaction in this kingdom, where the connexion with the Danubian Monarchy[179] gratifies traditional feelings. The Prussian speech has made a good impression in Saxony: in Dresden a somewhat more Conservative tone would have been approved.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 35, Dresden, 2 July 1888

[Received 5 July by post. Qy: Put by; X; C.B.R. [Charles B. Robertson]; S[alisbury]]

Reception at Pillnitz castle for Saxon king upon his return from the opening of the Reichstag

The King's presence at the opening of the Reichstag[180] having struck some citizens of this capital as an important historical event, arrangements were made to offer His Majesty an ovation on his return from

[178] The documents in question included Friedrich III's diaries, which had already been transferred to Windsor before his death.

[179] Austria-Hungary.

[180] On 25 June 1888.

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Berlin.[181] The initiative was taken by the leader of the Conservative Bismarckites,[182] and the Chief Burgomaster of Dresden,[183] under whose guidance some hundred, or thousand, delegates from the Corporations, Institutions, & Societies, of the residence proceeded in steamers to Pillnitz, where they were met by the King in front of the Château.

The Burgomaster delivered a short address, which (1) dwelt 'on the joy of the German people, and of the universe, at the new Emperor's determination to walk in the ways of his grandfather, which had led Germany to the highest pitch of sublimary honour' and (2) 'with loud jubilees hailed the demonstration just given to the world that the King's fidelity to Kaiser and Reich was immoveable, and that His Majesty was united to the new Monarch by the ties both of duty and of cordial friendship.'

The King replied, shortly, that the greeting of the deputations was very gratifying to him, and that he was well satisfied to learn, that the step which he felt it his duty to take, was approved by the citizens of the Residence.

The Royal answer was received with immense enthusiasm by the delegates and the assembled crowd, when the party returned to Dresden, accompanied by various marks of popular approval as they descended the River.

The local public have ascribed a cosmic grandeur to this affair, and "the note of Provincialism" has been absurdly conspicuous in the gorgeous tropes and hyperboles applied by the press to the scenery, incidents, and personalities involved. The whole proceeding has, however, a value, as illustrating the fact that the 'Particularism' of Saxony, which some years ago was still so active, has been superseded by a genuine national German sentiment. The old "enemies of the Empire" are now, for the most part, its friends, and although there is no sign that loyalty to the local Sovereign is evaporating, indications are frequent that the King's reputed patriotism as a German Prince now constitutes one of his most effective claims on the attachment of his subjects.

Regrets were expressed that the proceedings were seriously deranged by stormy weather; and regrets were also expressed that the storms were not hurricanes, such as to cause the omission of this new 'Declaration of Pillnitz'[184] – a point on which it would not

[181] Albert returned on 27 June.
[182] Heinrich von Friesen-Rötha.
[183] Paul Alfred Stübel.
[184] Strachey is referring to the joint declaration of 1791 in which Leopold II and Friedrich Wilhelm II supported Louis XVI against the French Revolution.

be right to enlarge here. Today's 'Anzeiger', copying the 'Kölnische Zeitung', calls the presence of the Sovereigns at the opening of the Reichstag "a voluntary, almost improvised, act," – a characteristic "gravedigger"[185] falsehood.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 45, Dresden, 19 October 1888

[Received 22 October by post. X; S[alisbury]]

Press reactions to published extracts of Friedrich III's diary; Bismarckian press contemptuous; Saxons tend not to deviate from official Bismarckian view

In the Bismarckian levy of bucklers of last spring against the German Emperor and Empress, the Leipzig 'National-Liberal' 'Grenzboten' was conspicuous for its' scurrility and zeal. I quoted at the time from that periodical a mendacious and vulgar libel on the Empress and the Queen.[186] Being eager, as it seems, to rival the 'Kölnische Zeitung' in sudden tergiversation, the 'Grenzboten' has just turned its' back upon itself in the following manner.

On the appearance of the Emperor Frederick's Diary,[187] it said: "We do not doubt, as some do, the complete authenticity of the Diary, or the contributors' right to make extracts and publish them."[188]

But after the issue of Prince Bismarck's Rescript[189] the 'Grenzboten'[190] wrote: – Very many readers, ourselves amongst the number, did not and could not believe in the authenticity of the "Rundschau publications" &c &c.

Prince Bismarck's parasites in the local press have gone on ringing the changes on his arguments, clamouring against D[r] Geffcken and his English backers, and boycotting the considerations in the late Emperor's favour which some Conservatives have so effectively set forth. Even the Dresden semi-official organ[191] abstains from saying

[185] National Liberals.
[186] See pp. 308–309.
[187] On 20 September the *Deutsche Rundschau* – without authorization – published extracts of Friedrich III's diary written during the Franco-Prussian War.
[188] *Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, 27 September 1888.
[189] In his report to Wilhelm II of 23 September, Bismarck questioned the authenticity of the diary but nevertheless advised prosecuting the *Deutsche Rundschau*. This report and Bismarck's letter to the Prussian minister for justice of 25 September, in which the latter was instructed to act accordingly, were published on 27 September 1888.
[190] *Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, 11 October 1888.
[191] *Dresdner Journal*.

a word in deprecation of the current of obloquy now pouring forth under high auspices against that noble Prince, who, for anything which the 'Journal' suggests, might have been a selfish, mischievous, ruler of the later Lancaster or Valois type.

The exalted virtues of the Emperor Frederick, have, of course, their appreciators, even in this Conservative Kingdom. But the majority are seemingly indifferent to his memory, and appear to acquiesce in the official view. The typical North German, or Saxon, is incapable of judging politics for himself. Unless Prince Bismarck's declared opinions, or wishes, run counter to some plain local interests, to dispute them passes here for sacrilege. The sense of his superiority and of his vindictiveness, have brought a naturally servile race to behave in the 19th Century as if they were under the eye of Tiberius or Alva.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 46, Dresden, 19 October 1888

[Received 22 October by post. X; S[alisbury]]

Continued attacks on Morell Mackenzie amongst the press and public; base style of German political writing

The publication of Sir M. Mackenzie's book[192] could not fail to give rise to a fresh outburst of the Chauvinism, the contempt of England, and hatred of 'the interregnum',[193] of which Dresden is a hotbed. 'Impostor', 'Knave', 'liar', and the other affronts of the Prussian 'reptiles',[194] have been repeated by the 'Cartel' parties[195] here, with new expletives and aggravations of local coining. In these debates it has, from first to last, been a principal object of their original author, and of his parasites, to extract from the controversy means of throwing odium on the 'freisinnige';[196] who are now overwhelmed with fresh insults and accusations on the ground of their participation in the intrigues of the English quack and his crew, and their sympathy with the phantoms which haunted the unhinged mind of the intrusive Hohenzollern. It is in harmony with the rest of the

[192] *The Fatal Illness of Frederick the Noble* (1888); the German edition (enclosure to dispatch) was published as *Friedrich der Edle und seine Ärzte* (1888) on 14 October und subsequently confiscated by the Prussian authorities.

[193] Friedrich III reigned from 9 March to 15 June 1888.

[194] See n. 67 in this section.

[195] See n. 208 in Berlin section.

[196] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.

Bismarckite indictment of Herr Richter and they that are now charged with stealing the late Emperor's cypher by favour of Sir M. Mackenzie.[197]

I have no doubt that our specialist is generally regarded as a mere impostor and that even apart from his supposed inferiority in diagnosis and manipulation to the native practitioners, his employment has been deeply offensive to German popular instincts. It has been remarked to me that, in like circumstances, the intervention of a foreign doctor would arouse very angry feelings amongst ourselves, and I have replied that in such case we should, at any rate be observant of those decencies of criticism which have been so lamentably forgotten here. However, brutality in discussion is an old German vice, and it is, perhaps, inseparable from that personal infirmity of temper which is so characteristic of the greater part of the race. As regards the press, what Lord Beaconsfield, if I remember right, called "a want of finish in invective",[198] will hardly be corrected as long as editors and writers are derived from the lower social strata, and, in accordance with German Laws of caste, are excluded from association with their betters.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 48, Dresden, 2 November 1888

[Received 5 November by Berlin. Commercial Department to see; S[alisbury]]

On the semantics of Hamburg's 'incorporation' into the Zollverein

The mendacity of the German 'Cartel'[199] press being what it is, when the topics of the day are under debate, the history of events at a little distance is naturally written by them with wholesale perversions of fact. The incorporation of Hamburg in the Zollverein has given the 'inspired' journals an opportunity for almost surpassing themselves.[200] They have been gravely relating, that this arrang[e]ment was the result of a domestic movement for commercial annexation to Germany, which grew up in the Free City, where the conviction had arisen

[197] The Foreign Office cipher book was found in the *Kronprinzenpalais* (crown prince's palace) at the end of October.

[198] 'There is great vigour in his invective, and no want of vindictiveness. I admit that now speaking as a critic, and perhaps not as an impartial one, I must say I think it wants finish.' Beaconsfield, House of Commons Debate, 3 April 1868. This remark was addressed to Salisbury.

[199] See n. 208 in Berlin section.

[200] Hamburg, as agreed in the treaty with the German Empire of 25 May 1881, entered into the Customs Union on 15 October 1888.

that the time was come when the interests of Hamburg required that her exceptional position in the Empire should terminate.

Accordingly the Government of the city opened negotiations with the Imperial authorities, who acceded to their desire, and laid before the Federal Council the plan of the settlement completed this week.

All this is fable. There was no spontaneous local call whatever for the incorporation, which was forced upon the city by Prince Bismarck. The Reichskanzler was of opinion, that the Hanseatic merchants had hitherto pursued personal interests only, but, that if their fiscal isolation ceased, their wealth would be partly diverted from the Hamburg transit trade, and the special refining and finishing manufactures of the Free-Port, into the channel of general German business. So much was the Prince impressed by the importance of this idea, that after his preliminary suggestions of 1879 were declined by the senate of Hamburg, he inaugurated a series of coercive measures, commencing with a new interpretation of the Elbe Navigation-Act,[201] which with other reprisals drove the city into compliance in 1881. The incorporation was very unpopular in Hamburg, (except with the so-called 'Prussian' party there), and it was only under continuous pressure and threats that the Senate accepted the required accession to the Zollverein by a slight majority of votes. In all this there was nothing particularly discreditable, the fact that Hamburg was more or less terrorized was no secret, and it is not clear why the transaction should be related in travesty now.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 51, Dresden, 9 November 1888

[Received 12 November by Berlin. For: African Department / X; H.P.A. [Henry Percy Anderson]; S[alisbury], 12 November]

Dr Peters's speech on Germany's role in Africa; views on German cooperation with Britain

D[r] Peters has been lecturing here,[202] before the Conservative Society, on the events on the Zanzibar coast.[203] After enlarging historically on those transactions, from knowledge or otherwise, D[r] Peters

[201] Strachey is referring to the incorporation of Altona and the Elbe River below Hamburg into the customs territory, in May and June 1880.

[202] On 5 November in the Dresden *Tivolisaal*.

[203] In his talk Peters discussed the Abushiri revolt, an uprising which had occurred in consequence of the Sultan of Zanzibar leasing areas on the East African coast to the German East Africa Company.

investigated "the psychological connection" between the movement of the Mahdi and that of Tippu-Tipp, which last was the result of Stanley's explorations on the Congo. This new Mahometan effervescence is only a particular case of the great 'world-historic' struggle of the crescent and the Cross; the power of Emin Pacha is the wall that prevents the seed of European culture being submerged by the converging floods of Arab invasion.[204]

D[r] Peters dilated on the horrors of African slavery and slave-hunts, arguing that Europe must interfere, and that Emin Pacha must be rescued by an expedition in which Stanley's blunders would, of course, be avoided. England, it might be hoped, would in her own interest, be moved to cooperate. The hegemony in the battle of the culture of Christendom against the un-culture of Africa devolves on Germany.

This was followed by a climax in the style of self-assertion which is so fashionable here now. "Germany, the foremost power of Europe, must plant the banner of civilisation in Africa. A higher power has reserved to us the task of kindling in the desert the taper of culture. We are persuaded that the worthiest of our people are with us, and that we must conquer for the good of the African world, and of Germany."

The "African party" here is very numerous, and cooperation with England would be popular, on the assumption that we should be a convenient catspaw. Politically speaking, an actual joint enterprise would be deprecated, and no Englishman who can gauge the prevalent German feeling towards us would desire to see Great Britain and Germany in any closer alliance for African objects than that just described by Your Lordship.[205]

The naval men of this Empire are full of professional conceit: they look on our ships, crews, and captains as distinctly inferior to their own: The individual sensitiveness, and the various irascible constituents of the national character, are only partly quenched by discipline. Adding the personal temper to the political, there would be very imperfect cordiality, on their part towards our officers, who, in my

[204] At the time of the dispatch the Eastern Congo territory (part of the Congo Free State) was de facto ruled by an elite of Swahili-Arab merchants and local allies. In 1887, thanks to Henry Morton Stanley, the Swahili-Arab merchant Hamed bin Mohamed el Murjebi (alias Tippu Tip) had been appointed governor of the Stanley Falls district. Tippu Tip had also agreed to supply the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition intended to release Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer), who, as governor of the Egyptian province of Equatoria, was besieged by Mahdist forces. At the time of Peters's speech, contradictory news about the fate of the expedition was in circulation. In fact, it had already met with Emin Pasha who initially refused to leave Equatoria.

[205] In his speech in the House of Lords, on 6 November 1888, Salisbury referred to the Anglo-German co-operation with regard to the slave and arms trade in East Africa.

belief, would find in Russians, Italians, or even Frenchmen, more unassuming and less captious comrades.

FO 68/173: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 55, Dresden, 23 November 1888

[Received 3 December by Berlin. X; Seen by Lord Salisbury]

Reactions to the emperor's speech in Breslau

Although deep satisfaction has been caused to the Conservatives and National-Liberals by the Emperor's public expression at Breslau of his antipathy to the politicians whose present distinctive mark is their reverence for his parents, the allies are now quarrelling over their respective interpretations of the Imperial oratory.[206] Whether in the press, or in the highest departments of literature and science, the Germans have always been brutal in controversy, and in this instance some of the usual amenities are being exchanged between the confederates so artificially joined by a common hatred and a common enslavement. Each party pretends to monopolize the sympathies avowed in the Breslau speech, stigmatizing the rival claimants to the favour of the Crown with terms like 'liars', 'hypocrites', 'hacks', 'lickspittles', (*sic*), and otherwise vituperating them in the characteristic Bismarckian style.

The discussion is Prussian, not Saxon; but the local feeling, in so far as any independent political opinions can be said to exist here at all, is anti-Frederician,[207] and is therefore gratified by an incident which aggravates a 'freisinnig'[208] defeat. However, it has never been customary here to go to the poll with the cry, just heard in Prussia, of "vote for the king", and many Bismarckites appear to doubt whether in the present age it is desirable for a monarch to adopt the style of an electioneering agent. The question has also been asked, if an Emperor and King ought to have descended to the personal rudeness of making the Burgomaster of Breslau the medium for publishing the royal antipathy to the party to which that civic dignitary belongs.[209]

[206] On 16 November 1888 Wilhelm II, upon his reception of deputations of the Evangelical and Catholic workers' associations at Breslau, expressed his satisfaction at the result of the elections to the Prussian chamber of deputies, which had taken place on 6 November.

[207] Strachey is referring to the late Friedrich III.

[208] See n. 3 in Berlin section.

[209] On 16 November Ferdinand Friedensburg, on the emperor's instruction, notified the public that the emperor was content with the 'excellent' elections at Breslau.

Even the 'Nachrichten' abandons on this occasion its complimentary manner, remarking that it has been an easy task for the opposition press to draw comparisons between the reigning Emperor and King Frederick William IV of Prussia, who, in the period of Reaction, used to travel about hectoring, or complimenting, the local authorities on the results of the elections. The Editor[210] expresses his grave doubts of the propriety of these royal interferences with the exercise of the electoral function, saying, with a tinge of sarcasm, that as, according to Count Douglas, the Emperor considered it his duty to stand above parties, he must have had solid grounds for the remarkable departure from his own rule just witnessed in the Breslau incident.

The organ of the municipality, the 'Anzeiger', has reported the Breslau speech without comment. It reprinted, yesterday, an article from a Berlin 'reptile',[211] which enlarges on the grandeur of the Emperor's individuality in language of which the following sentence is a sufficient sample. "It is his will himself to guide the new era on its destined road, and to impress it with its distinctive character".

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 5, Dresden, 19 January 1889

[Received 24 January viâ Vienna. X; S[alisbury]]

Germans politically credulous; developments in Morier incident

This nation is in a fever of political credulity similar to the infatuation of our ancestors on the announcement of the Rye House Plot,[212] or to the panics which seized on the Parisians at the beginning of the Revolution.[213] Any loose report published under 'reptile'[214] auspices in Cologne or Berlin, any libel circulated 'par ordre du mufti',[215] however augmented by such new turpitudes as local mendacity may suggest, at once obtains credence with millions of dupes. The minority that disbelieves, or doubts, shrinks from open dissent: criticism of Bismarckian policy, acts, or words, being only whispered, or hinted in sarcasms and shrugs. Men are in dread of tale-bearers, and they

[210] Julius Reichardt.

[211] For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.

[212] The Rye House Plot of 1683 was a failed conspiracy to assassinate the pro-Catholic King Charles II and his brother (the future James II).

[213] French Revolution of 1789.

[214] See n. 67 in this section.

[215] Humorous German figure of speech of French origin: 'by order of the mufti', i.e. by order of the superior and in this case by order of Bismarck.

are intimidated by the real or fancied consequences of those denunciations for 'treason to the Empire', or complicity in foreign and Frederician intrigues,[216] which are so characteristic a feature of the new Germany.

Sometimes a sudden reflux of feeling occurs, when the assertion is calmly made that the rejected fable had never been current, except in the columns of those infamous journals which are sustained by Jewish and English gold. That this has happened in the case of the Morier incident, has been already reported by me, and I now beg to draw attention to the following surprising paragraphs from the Conservative 'Correspondence for Germany'[217] which exonerate the Ambassador on an entirely new ground, and reopen an old chapter of Bismarckian revilement of England.

'It is gross disloyalty of the representative of a power in friendly relations with the country where he resides to communicate with that country's enemy. But Morier was not in this position. "For England, in 1870, was not a power friendly to us." (spaced in orig.) Had Germany been defeated early in the war,[218] England might with propriety have joined the anti-German coalition. So little did England affect neutrality, that the war office sold guns with the Tower-Mark to the French Government. This is proved by the Memoirs of Count Palikao,[219] and the Protocols of the French National Assembly. In the latter we read, as amplified – "the treaty with M[r] van der Weyer, otherwise the English Ministry of War, was concluded by the French Embassy in London".[220] Such was the feeling in England in 1870, and the sentiments of the Court were similar, all forced interpretations of the Queen's Diary[221] notwithstanding.'

The above (condensed) is from the National Liberal 'Anzeiger',[222] which is owned by the municipality of this capital.

[…]

[216] See pp. 111–113 and pp. 316–317.

[217] Strachey mistakes the party news sheet *Conservative Correspondenz* for the National Liberal newspaper *Der Korrespondent von und für Deutschland* which is quoted in the dispatch. For the Morier incident, see pp. 114–115.

[218] Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871.

[219] *Un Ministère de la Guerre de vingt-quatre jours, du 10 août au 4 septembre 1870 par le général Cousin de Montauban comte de Palikao* (Paris, 1871).

[220] This is referring to the treaties drawn up between Great Britain and Prussia (9 August 1870) and between Great Britain and France (11 August 1870) relative to the independence and neutrality of Belgium.

[221] *Der Korrespondent von und für Deutschland* was referring to extracts of Queen Victoria's diary from 1870, which had been quoted by the liberal weekly *Die Nation.*

[222] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 17 January 1889.

P.S.: The statement of Prince Soms-Braunfels is going through the papers, and the respectable 'Anzeiger' is not ashamed to print in large spaced letters, the insinuation that the question of the forgery is still sub judice.

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 7, Dresden, 30 January 1889

[Received [undated] by Vienna. X; S[alisbury]]

Laudatory press articles about the emperor to mark his birthday; public recognition of the occasion in Saxony

The historian Mommsen, in his academical discourse on the Emperor's birthday,[223] compared the reign of a new ruler to a closed book, whose contents it is not yet permitted to read. The adulatory articles of the Bismarckian press have been describing the book is [*sic*] already open, and as recording the history of a great monarch who, in some circumstances of his accession and career recalls the memory of Charlemagne, Barbarossa and Frederick William II[,] has displayed lofty qualities as a statesman and general: he has given proofs, calculated to fill men with amazement of his acuteness of mind and nobility of character. The verdict of posterity may be anticipated. His grandfather's grandson is a hero, and the heroic style is visible in the grand and majestic language of his public utterances, as well as in that lofty attitude of his that so deeply impressed the admiring nations which lately received the Imperial visitor with their plaudits.

The knowledge and sympathies of the Delight of Germany embrace the entire field of culture. "The Emperor's Majesty" even condescends to such trifles as Operas and Bills of Fare. He is an enthusiast for the music of Richard Wagner, and he has banished from the Imperial table the offensive Ménu, with its foreign title and contents, replacing the unpatriotic French designations of dishes by honest German equivalents &c. &c. &c.[224]

The Byzantine effrontery of the Saxon scribes is not original. The recurrence of the same topics, the similar arrangement of the paragraphs, the identity of illustrations and expressions, prove that the basis of all this fulsome and ridiculous rhetoric is supplied by some

[223] Speech held on 24 January at the Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

[224] Menus written in German were used for the first time at a formal dinner to celebrate the royal parade, on 10 September 1888.

Berlin Press Bureau, official or private. The new Marcellus having unfolded in a moment to the proportions of Caesar and Justinian combined, some credit might have been allowed to those who so well prepared the Imperial paragon for the station on which his powers and virtues cast so much splendour. Far from this, the Bismarckites in the genuine Temper of Friedrichsruhe,[225] pass by the father and mother[226] of William II in a silence as malignant as their former lampoons. It is their hint always to speak of him, not as the son of his parents, but as the grandson of his grandfather.[227] In the chorus of birthday panegyric the noblest of the Hohenzollerns is ignored as if he had never reigned, figuring at best, as a mere shadow of a name accompanied by 'lamentable', 'unhappy', or some similar adjective suggesting a sentiment half-way between compassion and contempt.

Here, as in the provinces, the anniversary was kept with the usual demonstrations of loyalty, and post-prandial military and professional eloquence was even more exuberant and less observant of proportion than in former years. All these excesses of fustian and servility must be taken, of course, with a certain allowance; but, after the due deductions are made, it is certain that there is present, at bottom, much attachment to the Emperor's person, and still more attachment to the Imperial Idea, which has now grown to be a dangerous rival to the local dynastic sentiment,

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 12, Dresden, 18 February 1889

[Received 21 February by Vienna. X; S[alisbury]]

Press speculation on enigmatic article in Hamburger Nachrichten *regarding Bismarck succession*

The minority that takes interest in political topics has been trying to decipher the mysterious article in the Hamburg 'Nachrichten' which is the sensation of the day.[228]

[225] Friedrichsruh, Bismarck's manor house.
[226] Friedrich III and Victoria.
[227] Wilhelm I.
[228] 'Die Nationalliberalen und der Reichskanzler' ('The National Liberals and the Imperial Chancellor'), *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 8 February 1889.

Some have translated the enigma as a warning to the National-Liberals to support Prince Bismarck, on pain of punishment by the eventual appointment as Reichskanzler of a "Major-General", under whose reactionary administration they will quickly find that they have exchanged whips for scorpions. According to other interpreters, the bribe is held out to the imperfect allies[229] over whom Prince Bismarck has contrived to lose his hold, that their return to their old connection shall be rewarded, when, in the course of nature, the proper time comes, by the nomination of their leader, Herr von Bennigsen, to the high office in question. A third reading of the puzzle is, that Prince Bismarck, seeing in Count Waldersee, who enjoys the special confidence of the Emperor and Empress,[230] and is reputed to be a malignant Stockerite,[231] his successor designate, now desires to rouse a feeling against that officer and his clique, whose political tendencies the Reichskanzler regards as hardly less pernicious than those of the recognized "enemies of the Empire".

Other commentators have sagaciously observed that, as the debated article bears the mark of the Wilhelmstrasse,[232] it must mean something; but that what that something is, it is not given to an ordinary intelligence to say. Of this party are the Editors of the 'Nachrichten', and the semi-liberal 'Zeitung',[233] who shake their heads in oracular fashion at the riddles of the Hanseatic 'reptile',[234] and at the "authentic" elucidations of "the Burgomaster of Nuremberg",[235] profoundly observing that peculiar forces are at work in this Empire, and that what they are close observers will no doubt ultimately discover, the only present certainty being – that Louvois will refrain from bequeathing his entire functions to Barbesieux.[236] That such serious reasonings on a tissue of sorry nonsense place the nation in a degrading light, people do not see. It does not strike them that dishonour is done to the Reichskanzler when, as is the case in all these speculations and discussions, it is taken for granted that he is an intriguer of the Restoration or the Oeil-de-bœuf school:[237] nor do they remark that Germany is compromised

[229] The National Liberals.

[230] Auguste Viktoria.

[231] Strachey is referring to adherents of Adolf Stoecker's anti-Semitic Lutheran movement.

[232] This refers to the imperial foreign office.

[233] *Dresdner Nachrichten* (editor: Emil Bierey) and *Dresdner Zeitung* (Lippmann Badt).

[234] For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.

[235] Otto Stromer von Reichenbach.

[236] The reference to the marquis de Louvois and his son, both seventeenth century French statesmen, is an allusion to Otto von Bismarck and his son Herbert.

[237] Oeil-de-bœuf (French: 'bulls eye'), the name for a small oval window,which, figuratively, also refers to an antechamber to Louis XIV's bedroom at Versailles.

by assumptions which almost sink the Empire to the political level of Turkey or Afghanistan.

Prince Bismarck is a statesman, measured by whom Pericles, Pitt, or Cavour, are utter pigmies. He is the "secular man" who, when certain cycles of time come round, appear on the scenes to rule and dazzle mankind. Nevertheless, instead of forming and controlling parties by the high influences of intelligence, dignity, and eloquence, he governs – so it is believed – by the anonymous machinery of a slanderous, inspired, press, through which he deals his enemies, of whatever station or set, blows in the dark, conveying by the mysterious medium of "ambiguous voices", hints and menaces which unsettle the popular mind, and prevent the growth of that healthy political intelligence which the constitutional leaders of some other countries have done so much to develop and educate.

Not only so, but this "statesman of the ages" in [*sic*] conceived as disposing of the future of the Empire according to the humour of the moment – as threatening his friends with government (if I may use Pitt's classical remark on Sir T. Robinson) by a "jack-boot":[238] while to this freak, or to anything else which Prince Bismarck, or the Emperor, may ordain[,] 47 millions of Germans would, it is supposed, silently submit, as if they were the helpless fellow-citizens of a Praetorian Guard, or the dumb subjects of Amurath or Aurungzebe.[239] In this last assumption I should quite concur. The institutions of the Empire subsist inviolate, not because of the readiness of the people to maintain their rights, but from the want of a disposition in the rulers to subvert the established order of things.

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 17, Dresden, 28 March 1889

[Received 30 March viâ Leipzig. X; S[alisbury]]

German press speculation on negotiations between Herbert Bismarck and Edward Malet

The semi-liberal 'Zeitung'[240] has been discussing the recent movements of Sir Edward Malet and Count Herbert Bismarck in a series of articles, which exhibit the national capacity for the so-called 'higher criticism' in a very favorable light. Such pretences as an

[238] Pitt reportedly made the private remark 'The duke [of Newcastle, the prime minister] might as well send his jackboot to lead us' after Thomas Robinson was appointed leader of the House of Commons, in 1754.

[239] Murad I and Muhi-ud-Din Muhammad.

[240] *Dresdner Zeitung*.

Ambassador's alleged visit to a sick mother,[241] and a Secretary of State's journey to London for pleasure,[242] are too transparent to impose on the 'Zeitung'[.] In the "well informed circles" to which the Editor[243] has access, it is an open secret that the "negotiations of Lord Beresford"[244] led to a preliminary understanding of a particular nature between Germany and England, which has been developed in Sir E. Malet's frequent and protracted 'conferences' with Your Lordship, and will be finally concluded by the personal interposition of Count Bismarck. On the details of the understanding, it is desirable at present to speak with reserve. They relate, however, to the topics on which Prince Bismarck "negotiated" with the Queen last year at Charlottenburg,[245] and their settlement will be followed by the formal adhesion of Great Britain to the Triple Alliance.[246]

Very different is the tone of the 'reptiles',[247] which speak with a certain scorn of these rumours, as if they related to combinations which it would be beneath the dignity of Germany to entertain. The official 'Journal'[248] thinks that the journeys under debate, and that of "the English diplomatist Lord Beresford", have no political signification, and it enlarges on the disadvantages likely to result to Germany from the intrusion of England into the Triple Alliance. A demonstration of this is given, with enormous periphrasis, from the Hamburg 'Nachrichten', which argues that although our accession to the League would be a great reinforcement to the material guarantees of peace, it would arouse the jealousy of Russia to the utmost, so as probably to precipitate the struggle which it is sought to defer. Furthermore, the policy of Great Britain will always be "selfish, trimming, and unreliable". Our participation in the Alliance would probably cause its disruption: it would be our object to make our associates cats-paws, and, in case of their defeat, we should throw them over.

[241] Malet left Berlin for London on 24 February 1889 and returned on 14 March.

[242] Herbert von Bismarck visited London and Epsom – Rosebery's seat – on a special mission from 22 March to 30 March 1889.

[243] Lippmann Badt.

[244] Beresford visited Berlin in early February 1889 where he had an audience with Wilhelm II, on 2 February, and an interview with Bismarck, on 3 February.

[245] Victoria visited Berlin from 24 to 26 April 1888; Victoria's audience with Bismarck was on 25 April.

[246] The diplomatic manoeuvres of early 1889 originated in Bismarck's plan for an Anglo-German alliance. Numerous exploratory contacts had been made since 1887 with regard to an Anglo-German rapprochement, and the defensive treaty was to be of limited duration and directed against France. For the Triple Alliance, see n. 174 in Berlin section.

[247] For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.

[248] Dresdner Journal.

The Hamburg organ, or the 'Journal', supports these views by extracts from a new work[249] by the eminent metaphysician E. von Hartmann, which appears to be mainly a deification of the policy of Prince Bismarck. The Fichte of the new Empire protests against reliance on such a broken reed as Great Britain. Whoever associates with 'perfide Albion'[250] says the pessimist sage of Berlin, must prepare to be deserted when war breaks out: at any time that nation of Punic shopkeepers would be likely to leave their ally in the lurch, "especially in the most critical moment". All of which, observes the 'Journal', is so thoroughly well known to the Reichskanzler, that the bruited Alliance may be assumed to have no basis in reality.

As an impostor in philosophy, Hartmann is unmatched, and his politics may be as absurd as his mental science. My knowledge of his present treatise is only indirect; but I can say that his Anglophobia is shared by the majority of the contemporary German professional class, who, unlike their predecessors of the beginning and the middle of the century, have no sympathy with progressive programmes and ideas, and, in some instances, are the advocates of reaction.

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 21, Dresden, 1 May 1889

[Received 3 May. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

Emperor and empress visit Dresden on Saxon king's birthday; king's level-headed political stance towards German Empire

The Emperor and Empress came to Strehlen last week[251] to congratulate the King of Saxony on his birthday. To the great disappointment of the inhabitants of this city, the Imperial train proceeded direct to the station at the Villa, and their Majesties did not come into Dresden. The Imperial visit caused however great satisfaction here, as it was interpreted as a sign that the Emperor actually entertains towards the King those sentiments of esteem and confidence which have been spoken of as felt by the younger for the elder monarch.

[249] Eduard von Hartmann, *Zwei Jahrzehnte deutscher Politik und die gegenwärtige Weltlage* (Leipzig 1889).

[250] The anglophobic expression 'perfidious Albion' was a stock phrase in nineteenth-century France and widely used in Wilhemine Germany.

[251] On 23 April 1889.

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According to German and English testimony on which it is perhaps justifiable for me to rely, the Emperor has a strong friendship for the King of Saxony, in whom he places such trust that the Imperial decisions may be expected, in critical moments, to be influenced by the King's opinions and advice.

The head of the Empire could not have a more loyal or a more statesmanlike councillor. The temper of Pyrgopolinices and Bobadil[252] can hardly be called a national German vice; but it is not unknown in Berlin, where, besides, the results of personal irascibility, impatience of criticism, and vindictiveness, are sometimes apparent in the acts of Government. To such dispositions the King of Saxony would always, if consulted, be strongly adverse. The chauvinism of the young Bismarckian Germany is the object of His Majesty's contempt: his military experience, which has taught him how incalculable are the hazards of war, has made him a constant advocate of peace: and, what is rare in Germans of high station, he has an English tolerance of opposition, with a preference for conciliation and persuasion before peremptory settlements in politics. It will be fortunate for Germany, and Europe, if the voice of so enlightened an adviser is heard in Berlin when grave resolutions have to be taken.

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 41, Dresden, 6 September 1889

[Received 9 September. Qy: X; S[alisbury]]

Sedan Day celebrations; new nationalist tone

Owing to the demand made on Saxon Enthusiasm at the recent Wettinfeier, and to the Emperor's approaching visit, there was some abatement of the customary popular demonstrations on the anniversary of Sedan.[253] Conformable to the practise here, the observances of the day were of an exclusively voluntary character, the official participation usual in some other parts of Germany having been restricted in Dresden to the display of flags on public buildings, and an outdoor musical performance by order of the Stadtrath.[254]

[252] The fictitious characters Pyrgopolynices (*The Braggart Soldier* by Titus Maccius Plautus, *c.* 205 BC) and Captain Bobadil (*Every Man in his Humour* by Ben Johnson, 1598) are known for their boastfulness.

[253] The 800th anniversary of the Wettin Dynasty was celebrated in grand style at Dresden from 15 to 19 June. For Sedan Day, see n. 50 in this section; on Wilhelm II's visit, see the following dispatch.

[254] German: 'municipal council'.

Apart from the casual lowering of patriotic temperature above stated, a certain change may be said to have gradually come over the spirit in which this holiday is kept. I do not say that the rejoicings on the overthrow of France, and the Establishment of the new Germany, are now marked by a temper of offensive chauvinism, or that public modesty and restraint has been effaced by a high degree of pharisaic complacency and self-assertion. I think, however, that these vices, or shadows, of national character are coming into sight, and that it is a question if grounds are not now visible for that complaint of *ὕβρίς* [255] which one of our political leaders brought (at the time quite unjustly) against the Germans.

Here, as elsewhere, the school ceremonial is a main feature of the day. Leipzig, and the War of Liberation, are no longer texts for professorial and schoolboy declamation, Königrätz [*sic*], Mars-la-tour, and Sedan,[256] with the subsequent political and industrial evolution, being described as forming one of the most glorious chapters in the history of our race, while the Emperor William I and Prince Bismarck are extolled in Superlatives at which the greatest of mankind might blush as undeserved. An oration at one of the chief town schools was on 'Prince Bismarck in relation to religion, art, and the state'. This style recurs not only at the yearly September function, but in the daily class-room, where, for nearly a quarter of a century, owing to the remarkable transformation which has occurred in the character and ideals of the instructors of German youth, pressure has been constantly maintained, calculated to inculcate servility, sycophancy, and exaggerated national self-esteem.

If the parodists of the ideas and language of Schleiermacher and Fichte are the scholastic majority, there are not wanting those who strive to give the rising generation a worthier educational direction. An example of this occurred in one of the Dresden schools, where a teacher ventured to enlarge on the public worth of the French, and to exhort his pupils not to be misled by vain notions of a German monopoly of wisdom, power, and virtue.

In reproducing these words, the National Liberal 'Anzeiger'[257] was giving the antidote to its own leader which, after ascribing the 19th century conception of German unity to the ages of Wallenstein and Luther, and calling Prince Bismarck the personification of those specifically German qualities – truth, honour[,] circumspection, and strength – deplored the deficiencies of the nation in pride and self-esteem, and denounced the corruption of the German

[255] Greek: 'hubris'.
[256] Respectively, the battles of 3 July1866, 16 August 1870, and 1 September 1870.
[257] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 2 September 1889.

home, stage, and language by intrusive foreign fashions, dramas, and words.

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 42, Dresden, 13 September 1889

[Received 16 September. Qy: Extract to War Office (as marked), P.L. [printed letter], 18 September; The Queen; S[alisbury]]

Emperor's visit to Saxony

The Emperor has left Saxony for Westphalia.[258] In honor of the illustrious guest the municipality and the public had revived the architectural and other decorations which adorned the city during the ceremonials of last June.[259] New propylæa of imposing dimensions, flanked by colossal statuary, and leading to a richly embellished triumphal way, were erected for the occasion. The monarch was greeted by a civil torch-light procession, with a serenade, in which 12,000 persons took part, while his daily departure, and return from the manœuvres drew from crowds of a density almost new in Dresden experience loud demonstrations of popular enthusiasm and attachment.

I do not think that the visible excitement was inferior to that shewn on the visit of the Emperor's venerable grandfather[260] seven years ago. It indicates a considerable mastery by the young Emperor of the arts of popularity, as well as the progressive extinction of regional sentiment under the growth of the German idea, and, perhaps, the effect of those influences of involuntary conviction which escapes definition in words, that in the second year of his reign, having as yet no particular record to shew, the reception of William II should be comparable in warmth to that accorded in this capital to one of the great figures of German history, towards the close of his long and memorable career.

The circles which were in close contact with the Emperor during his visit were full of praises of his unaffected, cordial manner, and his frank vivacious style of conversation. This language was, I think, less prompted than usual by Byzantine motives.

The Emperor's deferential deportment towards his royal hosts was highly appreciated both in the Palace and by the Public. The

[258] Wilhelm II visited Dresden from 5 to 10 September 1889.
[259] Strachey is referring to the Wettin anniversary; see n. 253 in this section.
[260] Wilhelm I visited Dresden from 14 to 20 September 1882 (*Kaisertage*).

prevalent belief respecting the influence of the older over the younger ruler was confirmed by a speech in which the Emperor proposed the King of Saxony's health at one[261] of the State Banquets.

He said "There is a heavy debt which I have to discharge to Your Majesty. For many years Your Majesty has cared for me with unchangeable fidelity and kindness, and taken thought for me. My deceased father especially entrusted me to Your Majesty's heart, with the prayer that I might be the object of Your solicitude if he should be overtaken by his destiny. Your Majesty has generously fulfilled this request, and I have long found a cordial friend and fatherly councillor in Your Majesty. It is a great gratification to me to express my humblest thanks for this." It will be fortunate for Germany and Europe if the ambition of Augustus should be restrained by the mature intelligence of Trajan.[262]

On the manœuvres field, the Emperor was indefatigable. [Note in margin: 'Qy: Extract to War Office'] According to the testimony of the foreign officers present, the Saxon Army is not surpassed in perfection of equipment, or instruction, by any German Corps. I hear that His Imperial Majesty was completely satisfied both with the strategy shewn, and the tactical execution of the various movements. The force collected about Oschatz consisted of 36 Battalions of Infantry, (3 more are in garrison in Strassburg) – 30 squadrons of Cavalry, and 22 Batteries of artillery. These troops form the peace establishment of the Kingdom. At three or four days notice, the Corps can be mobilized, for foreign service, [end of highlighted extract for War Office] in a strength which we should hardly send abroad without preparation for as many months.

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 46, Dresden, 18 October 1889

[Received 21 October. X; S[alisbury]]

Saxon elections; significant Social Democrat gains

The Saxon Landtag meets in biennial sessions, before each of which one third of the members of the lower house vacates their seats. The census is less democratic than that of the German Parliament, the property qualification being imposed of the possession of in real

[261] On 7 September 1889.
[262] Strachey is referring to the first and thirteenth emperors of the Roman Empire.

estate, or of the payment of 3 marks in direct taxation. This restriction excludes the lower class of artizans from the suffrage.

In view of the opening of another session of the local legislature, the prescribed renewal took place last Tuesday[263] in 27 vacancies. Previous to the elections, such parliamentary agitation as the lukewarm political temperaments of Germany can sustain was put in scene. In Dresden, for instance, there was a little canvassing for the 'Cartel', or joint party 'of order',[264] two or three meetings of electors, a few newspaper articles, placards inviting support for 'throne and altar', against Social-Democracy and its malignant 'crypto-republican' ally the 'freisinnig'[265] faction. The preparations of the followers of Bebel and Liebknecht were necessarily somewhat subterraneous. Their press is extinguished, and, if they address their friends in public, the Commisary of police gags the speaker at the first audible words of disparagement of official beliefs, policy, or persons, or, perhaps, summarily closes the assemblage.

When the results of the polls were reported, some of the Bismarckite organs spoke as if a great victory had been won all along the line by the parties of 'order'. The fact was quite otherwise. The 'signature' of the day was a large accession to the Social Democratic vote, with a serious subtraction, in places, from the absolute or relative strength of the 'Cartel'.

In Dresden, the aggregate poll of the coalition candidates in the three contested districts shewed an augmentation, compared with 1883, of 15 per cent. The parallel advance of Social Democracy was 30 per cent. In one district the 'Cartel' candidate,[266] a popular member of the municipality[,] was warmly supported by the Conservatives, National Liberals, Progressists and 'Christian Socialists'. His poll was 25 per cent larger than the patriotic vote in 1883, while the poll of Social Democracy had nearly doubled. In these circumstances the Dresden 'Anzeiger' discerned "a proof that in the hearts of our population love and fidelity to Kaiser and Reich, to King and Fatherland, with Law and Order, are still as living realities as before." Of the following polls the arithmetic requires no comment.

[263] 15 October 1889.
[264] For the so-called 'Cartel', see n. 208 in Berlin section.
[265] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.
[266] Paul Schickert.

	Polls	1883	1889
Leipzig 2nd district	National Liberal	1358	3323
	Socialist	305	2379
Leipzig 3rd district	Cartel	3949	4230
	Socialist	1492	7900
Chemnitz	Cartel	1181	2130
	Socialist	2523	4088
Chemnitz country	Cartel	1185	1465
	Socialist	570	7569
Stollberg	Conservative	2321	2727
	Socialist	1688	2235

In other electoral districts the gains of the Social Democrats were less marked, in a few there was some decline. But most of the polls told the same story, the progress of Social Democracy being[,] moreover, visible in constituencies where the industrial population is a relative minimum, which was not so before.

The dislocation of parliamentary strength at these 27 elections was not important. The Social Democrats maintained one severely contested seat, and gained two, thereby raising their contingent in the Landtag from five to seven members. The single 'freisinnig' member[267] was re-elected in the face of a vigorous and unscrupulous opposition, and that party, which seemed to be almost extinct in Saxony, otherwise shewed signs of active rejuvenescence. The Saxon Progressists,[268] still so called, who have apostasized from their old creed, lost two seats out of four.

Looking to the fifteen cases where the Social Democrats contested seats, I find the following figures.

	Votes
Poll of coalesced party of 'Order'	25,040
Poll of Social Democracy	76,477.

I must remark that this great minority is representative, not of 'Her Majesty's Opposition', but of the red republic and the commune.[269] As the political majority, untaught by the portentous consequences of their attempt to stifle ideas by Act of Parliament, and by the failure

[267] Friedrich Bönisch.
[268] *Fortschrittspartei.*
[269] Strachey is referring to the revolutionary government of 1871, *La Commune de Paris* (March – May 1871).

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of recent Social legislation to mitigate,[270] in the smallest particular, the enthusiasm and resentment of a highly intelligent and fanatical party, or otherwise to act as a sop in the way expected, is favorable to the contemplated renewal of the repressive system, it is satisfactory to think that the dispositions of the army are excellent, the troops being 'ready to fire on their fathers'. The promised fruits of the mixed method of coercion and seduction, so confidently announced as being on the verge of appearance, may, of course, shortly become visible. Those who have to deal with practical politics & who, like myself, do not easily pass from facts to speculation, must be content to say that in Saxony, the centre of German industrial gravity, and especially in Chemnitz – the Manchester of the Empire – the phantom of Social Democracy never yet shewed in the proportions to which it has attained now.

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 48, Dresden, 26 October 1889

[Received 28 October, U.F.S. [Under Flying Seal] to Berlin. X; S[alisbury]]

Press views on German colonial policy

The opinions of the liberal German press on the Reichskanzler's colonial policy are largely shared by the minority amongst the public which takes interest in such comparatively esoteric questions. The prevalent bondage of mind prevents positive criticism of Prince Bismarck's measures; but the question is asked, if his infallibility has been as plainly manifested on the coast of Zanzibar as it has been in Germany and Europe.[271] The colonial party speak with less circumlocution, Shareholders in the African companies complain that they were tempted to invest their money by false official encouragement and pretences, and that they have been abandoned to the diplomatic necessities of the Wilhelmstrasse.

The 'Dresden Nachrichten'[272] which is now nearly as servile as one of the professional reptiles,[273] observes that the colonial enthusiasm is 'gone out'. 'Whose fault is it?' asks the Editor,[274] judiciously adding 'that is a point we will not discuss.' The treatment of D[r] Peters, he

[270] Strachey is referring to the Imperial Law Concerning Disability and Old-Age Insurance of 22 June 1889.

[271] Strachey is referring to the Abushiri revolt of 1888–1889. See n. 203 in this section.

[272] On 24 October 1889.

[273] For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.

[274] Emil Bierey.

continues, "by the Empire" – (the usual German euphemism!) – has thoroughly sobered many patriots. The lost territory in Zanzibar cannot be recovered without great sacrifices in money, and the process of securing it against the Arab slave-dealers is hard. D[r] Peters has been disavowed by the German officials. New-Guinea has gone to sleep: its name is never heard. The only good asset in the African property appears to be the Cameroon and Togo Coast. The South-Western Company have sold half their land to the English,[275] because the required capital was not forthcoming in Germany, although Herr Bleichroder – the English Consul General, belongs to the German African enterprises. To throw dust in the eyes of the public, the information is given that the Sovereignty of the Reich is reserved, i.e. Germany pays for the protection of English settlers and traders. The true truth is, that the remainder of the Company's possessions will soon follow the first half.

This language is circuitous, but the drift is plain. The 'Nachrichten' is of opinion that the Great Colonial Empire is a bubble, that it appears to be verging towards collapse, and that the public are tired of it. The specific Colonial party affect a less pessimist tone. And stifling their anger against the author of their delusions and hopes, they maintain their unremitting vituperation of the policy and agents of Great Britain in "the dark continent".

FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 51, Dresden, 8 November 1889

[Received 12 November. Seen at Berlin. Qy: Home Office, P.L. [printed letter], 13 November; C.M.K. [Charles M. Kennedy], 12 November; J.F. [James Fergusson]; Mr Strachey does not quite understand the English law, which does not much differ in principle; S[alisbury]]

Declaration by Saxon public prosecutor relating to laws on strikes

In his recent speech on the Social Democracy Bill,[276] the Socialist Liebknecht contrasted the behaviour of our authorities and public to the British workman with the parallel conditions here. He might

[275] The *Dresdner Nachrichten* was referring to the purchase of land (210,000 square kilometres) and of mining rights (290,000 square kilometres), as agreed between the Groll-Syndicate and the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft für Südwest-Afrika* (German South West Africa Company) on 19 September 1889.The imperial chancellor ultimately withheld his approval of this contract.

[276] On 5 November 1889, at the first reading of the bill to extend the Anti-Socialist Law of 1878 (see n. 10 in this section).

have added, that while with us intimidation is recognized as part of the inevitable machinery of strikes, [text underlined in pencil; note in margin and above: '? often incidental to'] in Germany the question is debated whether combinations for securing higher wages should be allowed at all. Strikes have been of late frequent in Saxony, so that the time seemed to be come for indirect official intervention on behalf of the capitalist class, whose returns are being menaced by the growing call for a better remuneration of labour. Accordingly the Public Prosecutor of Chemnitz[277] – the Manchester of the Kingdom, and the Empire – has issued a notice declaratory of the law on combinations[278] for obtaining higher wages, especially by strikes. Persons inducing or trying to induce others, by physical force, menaces, or publishing names, [underlined in pencil] to join any such combination, are liable, on conviction, to three months imprisonment, or more. Those who by similar means, hinder or try to hinder, manners of such combinations from retiring, are liable to the same penalties. Anyone who, by violence or threats, compels another to acts, or omission of acts, in the above respects, may be sentenced to a year's imprisonment, with a fine of £30.

In publishing this notice, the representative of the Saxon Minister of Justice[279] refers to certain recent irregularities arising from strikes, and gives warning that every such offence will hereafter be visited with the full rigour of the law.

In a village[280] where a strike occurred, a weaver has recently been sentenced to 10 days imprisonment "for using threatening expressions". This is all the information the German newspapers would give in such a case, and no one cares to be supplied with accurate knowledge of the circumstances of the offence. The probability is, that the remarks inculpated as "threatening" would strike Your Lordship, or Lord Hartington , as language perfectly appropriate for the individual and the incident.

[277] Christian Julius Schwabe.

[278] Trade unions and the freedom of coalition were regulated by Sections152 and 153 of the Trade Regulations Act for the North German Confederation of 1869 (adopted as *Reichsgewerbeordnung* in 1871).

[279] Christian von Abeken.

[280] Limbach.

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FO 68/174: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 53, Dresden, 22 November 1889

[Received 25 November For: Chancellor of the Exchequer; S[alisbury]]

German and Saxon finances under discussion in Landtag*; exceptionally complicated*

The official Reports on the Finances of the Kingdom are now under discussion in the Landtag. The public accounts of Saxony, which follow the usual German pattern, run for such long periods, and the local receipts are so mixed up with revenue collected for the Empire, that the figures are extremely difficult to analyze and appreciate. In the first place, the biennial Reports, and the Explanatory speech, refer to six separate years. The Saxon Landtag has, for instance, now before it: 1st the definite balance-sheet for 1886 and 1887: 2ndly the calculated results for 1888 and 1889: 3rdly the Budget for 1890 and 1891. Further, there is the usual German separation of expenditure and ways and means into Ordinary and Extraordinary, while a portion of the revenue written in the balance-sheet is the property of the Empire, and is finally diverted into the Imperial Exchequer, from which, again, a counter current of subsidy pours into the Treasury of the Kingdom from the surplus receipts of Imperial taxation assigned to the separate states.[281]

Budget speeches like those which in our own Parliament have so often established a Minister's reputation as a financier and an orator, are as unknown in Dresden as they are in Berlin. Financial statements here are a mere inartistic jungle of figures, conveyed in a special vocabulary as unintelligible to the public as terms like Ampères, volts, and ohms. No German newspapers are capable of treating finance in an instructive and attractive manner, so that the public cannot follow the various questions of this class which come under debate in the Landtag. I do not know any book, German or Saxon, which states even the annual expenditure and revenue of the Kingdom.

Official estimates ascribe to the current biennial period (1888, 1889) an apparent surplus of more than £1,000,000, which may, perhaps, be the equivalent of £12,000,000 for our own Chancellor of the Exchequer.[282] Only a few experts would be competent to say (after considerable study) what portion of this sum is veritable surplus, and I will not attempt the problem here. It is, however, indubitable

[281] On the financial transfers between the German Empire and the federal states, see n. 55 in Darmstadt section.
[282] George Goschen.

that the Minister's[283] balance is large, and that it shews the momentary financial position of Saxony to be good, if not brilliant.

In Germany, surplus does not indicate remissions of taxation. The practice here is, in the separate states, as for the Empire, not to relax the pressure of the financial screw, but to return part of the excess of revenue to the taxpayers, or to classes of taxpayers by circuitous, indirect, channels, the requirements of the spending departments being so adjusted as to absorb the rest. How this rule has been exemplified in the present instance, I shall report when the discussions in the Landtag have proceeded further.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 11, Dresden, 14 February 1890

[Received 17 February. S[alisbury]; Printed and circulated to Cabinet]

Emperor's rescript suggesting an international solution to labour problems would be ruinous for Germany

I desire to draw attention to a point connected with the Imperial Rescript which proposes an International discussion of the labor question of the day.[284] The Emperor defines his object as being to attain an International agreement to "limit the demand which may be made on the labour of the workers." The essentials of the problem are: – 1.: a normal work-day: 2[.]: restrictions on the employment of children: 3[.]: prohibitions of Sunday labour.

Now the power of Germany to sustain industrial competition with ourselves, depends entirely (certain specialities excepted), on the following circumstances.

1. The average German work day is 11 hours, while the British work-day is 9 hours, and commands a higher remuneration. 2. The German restrictions on children's labour are less severe than ours. 3. The same is the case with regard to the observance of Sunday.

It is the existence of these conditions, and others subsidiary, which enables Germany to rival, or undersell, us in the markets of the world. Germany can challenge our industrial supremacy because her workers submit to demands on their labour which our workers will not accept. It is plain, then, that if the demands made on labour here are lowered to the British level, the margin of advantage which Germany now enjoys will be abolished. Her exports of staples must

[283] Leonce von Könneritz (minister of finance).

[284] For the imperial rescript and the proclamation of 4 February 1890, see n. 249 in Berlin section.

be ruined, the existing customs duties would no longer suffice for the protection of native industry, and capital would migrate to countries where it might command better returns.

A number of official and industrial personages to whom I have stated this difficulty, have remarked in reply, that the idea was new to them, and that they did not know how to escape the conclusion that it was a Reductio ad absurdum[285] of the first of the Imperial Rescripts. The managers of a leading company observe, that although their article, which goes all over the world, is almost a speciality, a limitation of their hours of labour to the english [*sic*] level must at once entail the closure of their works. The only escape would be, by the distribution of the present wage fund amongst an increased number of hands, which would mean more Social Democracy, and prospective Revolution.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 12, Dresden, 21 February 1890

[Received 24 February via Berlin. Interesting. For: The Queen; Prince of Wales / Circulate / Home Office, P.L. [printed letter], 6 March; S[alisbury][286]

First Reichstag *election results in Saxony; huge increase in Social Democratic vote*

As long as I can remember, the leading personages here, ministerial [,] civic and industrial, with the entire Conservative and National-Liberal majority, and the Government and Bismarckian newspapers without exception, have never ceased reiterating their assurance, that under the admirable system of joint proscription and cajolery devised by the wisdom of the Imperial administration, the working classes of the Kingdom, and of the Empire, were being gradually, but surely, weaned from the Socialist heresy. Dissentients from this belief, or allegation, were set down as sympathizers with the propaganda, and, if too openly expressing their doubts, were liable to suffer in their offices or professions.

Yesterday's polls rudely dispelled the received illusion. Recovering beyond all hope from the discouragements and reverses suffered under

[285] Latin: 'reduction to an absurdity'.

[286] Additional note to dispatch: '[To] Sir T. Sanderson. Mr Strachey N° 12 February 21. It is our general habit to mark M^r^ Strachey's Despatches with a[n] X only. But the present one in spite of its style, is of more than usual interest. Should it not be circulated to the Cabinet, and sent to the Home Office, for perusal?' W.A.C. [William A. Cockerell], 24 February 1890. 'Certainly. I have marked it ac[cor]d[ingl]y. Strachey though "crusty" is decidedly clear, and when he has something practical to write about, he writes well.' T.H.S. [Thomas Henry Sanderson]

the 'Cartel' coalition of 1887,[287] the Hydra of Social-Democracy has risen again with unprecedented rigor, and with such an augmentation of electoral strength, that some of the polls recorded appear scarcely credible.

Saxony sends 23 members to the Reichstag. In 1887 the Social-Democrats held 7 seats, all of which they lost to the 'Cartel' coalition at the dissolution of that year. They have now apparently regained 4 or 5 of those seats, and have the prospect of adding to their number at the casting elections which may be requisite.[288]

As the combination against them has been well sustained, this result is remarkable. But the real significance of yesterday's polls will be apparent from a few comparisons, which I make in round numbers.

Social Democratic Polls in

	1887	1890
Zittau	1,700	4,860
Leipzig county	19,300	27,280
Zwickau	12,900	19,450
Chemnitz	15,350	24,000
Bautzen	1,550	3,881
Freiberg	5,600	8,037
Dresden Altstadt	9,170	13,126

The press has not yet uttered a word of comment on these figures which, striking as they are, do not tell their whole story unless they are compared with data taken from the General Election of 1884. I find, for instance, that in the parliamentary period 1884–1887, the Social Democratic vote augmented in Chemnitz 6 per cent, while yesterday's poll there shewed an advance on 1887 of no less than 50 per cent. For Leipzig, the growth in the former triennial period was 4 per cent: in the last similar period 27 per cent. In Dresden: 6 per. cent, then, 45 per. cent, now. In Zittau: against a diminution then[,] 180 per. cent. now. Zwickau: instead of 10 per cent, now 35 per. cent. Freiberg: against a diminution in 1887, yesterday an addition to the Socialist poll of 45 per. cent since the last General Election.

There has been in some places a polling off of the 'Cartel' vote, which I conjecturally ascribe to the absence of a good electoral cry like that of 1887. "Vote for your old Emperor and the Military

[287] For the so-called 'Cartel', see n. 208 in Berlin section.
[288] The Social Democrats won a total of six seats in Saxon constituencies.

Septennate"[289] was felt as a more positive actuality than the mere call to defeat, on general grounds, the candidates of Social-Democracy, whose chimeras are not at present within the range of practical politics.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 14, Dresden, 7 March 1890

[Received 10 March. Qy: Home Office for perusal, 12 March; Returned 21 March; S [alisbury]]

Final Reichstag *election results; political extremes gain at expense of National Liberals; Bismarckite press abusive*

The Saxon casting elections have not brought the Social Democrats any further successes. The scales were turned against them by the 'freisinnig'[290] vote, a portion of which was polled for the 'Cartel', while the Socialists mostly stood aloof where liberals were contesting seats with 'Cartel'[291] candidates. The final electoral results to the kingdom are: the two Conservative parties[292] are at their old strength (13) the single 'freisinnig' member[293] is re-seated while the 3 [in-text annotation: '9?'] National Liberals are reduced to 3, having lost 6 seats to the Social-Democrats.

If these figures are compared with those for the Empire, it is seen that in Saxony the representation of the political extremes, High Conservativism and Social Democracy, is overwhelmingly above the normal, while the repression of the National-Liberals is excessive, and the 'Freisinn' is at a standstill.

In Germany, where society strictly rests on the basis of caste, incitements to class hatreds are doubly foolish. Nevertheless, in emulation of the 'Reptiles'[294] of Berlin, Hamburg, and Cologne, the local Bismarckite press organs are making it their business to envenom and complicate the new situation, by speaking of the victors in insulting and exasperating terms. Threats of a dissolution, of a German Brumaire,[295] and the like, alternate with violent diatribes against the opposition, the principal objects of this vituperation being the 'freisinnig' electorate, whose political beliefs and aims are

[289] For the army bill (military septennate), see n. 119 in Berlin section.
[290] See n. 3 in Berlin section.
[291] See n. 208 in Berlin section.
[292] *Deutschkonservative Partei* (10) and *Deutsche Reichspartei* (*Freikonservative*) (3).
[293] Louis Heinrich Buddeberg.
[294] For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.
[295] Strachey is referring to the coup of 9 November 1799 (18 Brumaire in the year VIII, French Republican Calendar), when Napoleon overthrew the governing *Directoire exécutif*.

misrepresented, and ascribed to infamy of personal motive, although the party includes something like the majority of the bourgeoisie of Protestant Germany, of the professions, and, in places, of the civil and judicial service, and is, in fact, as loyal and Conservative a class as exist in Europe.

The Ministerial 'Journal'[296] systematically brackets the independent liberals with the Social-Democrats, and treats them, as mere political scum. This organ gravely argues that Socialism has reduced the working-classes by its alluring visions of material ease and enjoyment, and says that the cure for the disease will in due time be vouchsafed, though not through the arm of flesh. The 'Nachrichten'[297] boldly ascribes a certain share in the recent electoral calamities to the Emperor's rescripts,[298] and the Editor[299] says that this opinion is very general. He has reluctantly come to the conclusion that the gagging system has broken down, and is unable to see the beneficial effects which official eyes discern as resulting from the new state Socialism.[300]

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 19, Dresden, 21 March 1890

[Received 24 March. Qy: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

Public indifference with regard to Bismarck's resignation

Prince Bismarck's withdrawal from public life has not given rise to any of those displays of public excitement and consternation which accompanied the occasional announcements of his retirement during the late Emperor's reign.[301] The Germans feel imperfectly and move slowly, and the nation may yet show the great Minister marks of gratitude and sympathy like those paid by races of warmer political and personal temperament to Thiers, Cavour, or Peel. Thus far, however, not a ruffle has disturbed the popular equanimity: there are no meetings, no anxious conversations: and, to borrow the

[296] *Dresdner Journal.*

[297] *Dresdner Nachrichten.*

[298] For the imperial rescript and the proclamation of 4 February 1890, see n. 249 in Berlin section.

[299] Emil Bierey.

[300] The term state socialism refers to Bismarck's social policy (to appease the working classes) and the laws on health insurance (1883), accident insurance (1884), and old-age and disability insurance (1889; see n. 270 in this section).

[301] On Bismarck's resignation, see pp. 123–124.

classical remark of Horace Walpole on a somewhat similar occasion, it does not "rain gold boxes."[302] While the German press, two or three personal "reptiles",[303] excepted, writes, as it has written of the entire crisis, in the calm style of narrative suitable for the description of a change of Government in another country or age.

So striking is the general indifference, or submissiveness, that Bismarckite journals have been putting the question – 'how is it that no one is now asking "what next"'? The answer has been, that the German people, though feeling that a statesman of Prince Bismarck's calibre and prestige cannot be quite replaced, are of opinion that a satisfactory termination of the crisis has been attained by the virtual transfer of the late Reichskanzler's principal functions to the Emperor, whose wisdom will be adequate to the solution of the most difficult problems of policy and administration. The employment of an abject, acquiescent, tone, when the acts of those in high authority are discussed, does not here exclude undertones of criticism and disapproval, and, in this particular instance, there seems to be a disposition afloat to ask if the Emperor's behaviour to Prince Bismarck in the late transactions[304] does not need justification. On the whole, opinion is suspended, and I would remark, meanwhile, that the comments of the London press on this topic are, in all respects, (allowances being made for errors of details), as superior in substance to what is written in Germany as they are in literary form.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 23, Dresden, 17 April 1890

[Received 19 April by post. Qy: Home Office / Berlin for perusal, 23 April / Commercial Department to see; S[alisbury]; Returned from Berlin, 30 April]

Socialist opinions differ regarding 1 May demonstration in favour of eight-hour working day

The leading Social-Democrats have been discussing how effect can best be given to the decision of the "Congress of Paris"[305] in favor

[302] Horace Walpole's phrase 'it rained gold boxes' (posthumously published in his *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second* (1822)) refers to the support which William Pitt received from several cities after he was dismissed as secretary of state for the southern department, in April 1857.

[303] For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.

[304] See previous dispatch and pp. 121–123.

[305] Resolution of the International Workers' Congresses at Paris of 20 July 1889 (to commemorate the Haymarket riot of 1886).

of a universal Labour demonstration on the 1st of May. The journalist Schippel, who represents Chemnitz – the Saxon, or German Manchester – in the Reichstag, pressed his associates to call on the workmen of Germany to keep the day in question as a holiday, and to organize parades, processions, and meetings, calculated to impress the public with the importance of the 8 hour movement.[306]

Social Democracy has its 'Invincibles' and its Parnellites,[307] and, compared with Schippel, those old parliamentary hands, Bebel and Liebknecht, are almost Conservative in feeling and language. Whatever may be thought of Liebknecht's social Utopia, he writes and speaks with unusual force, and, as far as general topics are concerned, he would not, in England, be thought a very subversive politician. In concert with Bebel, he has combated the Schippel programme, arguing that the 31st of April [note in margin: 'The 31st of April does not exist in most Countries. The 30. must be meant.'] is a holiday in Prussia (fast-day) and that few operatives could afford to waste a second day, or even a half day. His advice to workmen was – avoid all tumults, especially street processions: May-day meetings to petition for the eight hours day would be sufficient. Provocative agents were not wanting, and amongst the operatives there were numerous madcaps, who, in the explosive social conditions now existing, might easily produce mischief. "Do not discredit the movement: quiet, steady, progress is wanted, not noisy street "effects"["].[308]

The question has now been considered at a conclave of the Socialist members of the Reichstag, held in Halle,[309] who have issued a manifesto to the working classes of Germany which shews by its moderate, warning, language, that the counsels of Bebel and Liebknecht have prevailed. A certain concession is, however, made to the Schippel party; for while the 35 parliamentary leaders of Social Democracy dissuade their followers from giving the intended manifestation an identical form, they say, parenthetically that there will be no objection to the Mayday holiday in cases where it can be taken without giving rise to conflicts.

The Schippel programme could not fail to cause great irritation to the employers of labour. Some works have announced that they will reply to a holiday by a lock-out: others, that hands absent on the 1st of May will not be employed further. The tone of the Rescript of Halle has somewhat reassured the public; but the apprehension that

[306] The demand was made in the *Berliner Volkstribüne* of 22 March 1890.
[307] 'Parnellites' were Irish nationalist supporters of Charles Stewart Parnell.
[308] Open letter to Schippel, published on 1 April 1890.
[309] On 13 April 1890.

disturbances may occur is not dispelled, and its presence has confirmed the depression of industrial values.

I am informed that the Saxon Government is in communication with Berlin as to the measures of prohibition, or precaution, which it may be desirable to order for the 1st of May. If the Prussian authorities decide on interference with meetings, or other manifestations, their example will be followed with alacrity here. The official caste, in all ranks, talks of strikers and socialists as if they were foreign enemies. The language I hear is: "the time is not far distant when those people must be shot down with artillery". The capitalist and shopkeeper class are equally intemperate.

[…]

P.S. According to the latest accounts, the operatives of this Kingdom, and of the adjoining regions, are disposed to acquiesce in the recommendations of the Parliamentary leaders of the Socialist party.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 28, Dresden, 27 April 1890

[Received 5 May, U.F.S. [Under Flying Seal] to Berlin. For: Chancellor of Exchequer; S[alisbury]]

Saxon finance minister's views on bimetallism

I have asked the Saxon Minister of Finance his present views on Bimetallism.[310] Herr von Thümmel is an experienced administrator who has a thorough pratical [*sic*] knowledge of monetary questions, but, as usual in Germany, has less of the book-culture of these subjects than would be possessed by a high English or Indian official. He considers that many of the principal problems relating to prices, the circulation, and the like, cannot be stated or solved with mathematical accuracy, and that in currency discussions only approximate, probable, results can be attained.

His Excellency leans to the party which asserts the appreciation of gold; but he admits a recent fall in the costs of production, and, ascribes the prevalent lower prices of commodities to these two causes combined. He is of opinion, that the metallic circulating medium is deficient in quantity. He believes that the relative value of gold and silver might be regulated by international arrangement;

[310] Bimetallism is a monetary system based on both gold and silver money as legal tender with a fixed rate of exchange between the two metals.

but thinks that such artificial ratio would only have a temporary stability. The bimetallic league without England, advocated by Herr Arendt, and the extreme German 'Agrarians',[311] the Saxon Minister calls an absurdity. A working silver Union without all the commercial countries he treats as unthinkable, and he considers that the international double-standard is not, at present, within the range of practical politics.

His Excellency also observes, that the silver agitation which was making so much noise in Germany a few years ago is now as good as dead. He knows of no disposition in any official quarter to move in the bimetallistic sense. But if Prussia proposed an international rehabilitation of silver the Governments of the other German states would scarcely offer resistance.

The affinities of the bimetallists with the bucolic, and other parties of the Reichstag, were fully explained in my Currency Report of March 1887. At that time, silver commanded a secure majority, so that a repeal of the Law of 1873,[312] which established the Gold Standard, was attainable. The parliamentary situation has, however, changed since then. The Bimetallism of Germany, unlike that of England and France, is not the esoteric doctrine of a scientific minority. Its main supporters are ignorant junkers and agriculturists with political opinions almost bordering upon lunacy, to whom economic questions are altogether incomprehensible.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 29, Dresden, 2 May 1890

[Received 5 May, U.F.S. [Under Flying Seal] to Berlin). For: Mr Matthews / Commercial Department; S[alisbury]]

1 May passed largely peacefully; views of governing classes on labour discontent

No traces of the international strike were visible in Dresden,[313] and no disturbances have been reported from the provinces, where, as here, the absentees from work were a minimum.

[311] Arendt was member of the *Deutsche Reichspartei*; the extreme interests of the so-called Junker were represented by the *Deutschkonservative Partei*.

[312] The gold standard was adopted in December 1871; Strachey is referring to the Coin Law of 9 July 1873 which established the *Mark* as the common currency in all German states (from 1 January 1876).

[313] The International Workers Congresses (Paris, 20 May 1889) had called for international demonstrations and strikes on 1 May 1890.

The competent authorities of this capital anticipated, at the worst, a little extra movement in the streets after night-fall. But where we should employ half-a-dozen additional policemen, German precaution calls entire brigades and divisions of troops under arms, and accordingly the garrisons of Dresden, Leipzig and other places, were consigned to barracks all day, and sentries were doubled, by ministerial order. Some prudent Colonels, however, being of opinion that the possibilities of Revolution may still be present, have required their officers to remain ready at call till to-morrow evening.

Open air assemblages and processions were not forbidden by proclamation, except in Leipzig, where it was notified that the police had orders in case of resistance, to "use their weapons." Two meetings of workmen were held here at which Socialists of note delivered harangues on the Eight hour day.

Some of the municipalities of the kingdom, and the State Railway Department, warned the operatives in their pay that absentees on the 1st of May would be dismissed. In Chemnitz, all the employers of labour in the spinning, weaving, machine, tool, and foundry branches, signified a similar determination to their hands. Numerous manufacturers, building societies, metal workers &c &c in Dresden, and elsewhere in Saxony, adopted the same course, or threatened strikers with reprisals in the form of a lock-out.

Certain Radical journals accuse the organs which can no longer be called Bismarckian of intentionally treating the labour-problems of the day in a comminatory style calculated to inflame class hatreds and provoke collisions. The charge is somewhat highly coloured; but these burning topics are, no doubt, discussed in some quarters, in language which, amongst ourselves, would be thought reprehensible. I have from time to time reported that the representatives of capital and industry, and, above all, the official hierarchy, are too apt to think of the operatives of Germany as a 'swinish multitude' which, if recalcitrant, must be brought to reason by bayonets and grape-shot. The following is characteristic of Imperial Germany. I stated to an official who has had high employment in the local civil administration, that I could not understand the Saxon regulations equivalent to our Riot-Act.[314] The answer was, that on this subject legislation was silent: the police and military had to look, not to the law, but to their instructions.

[314] The Riot Act of 1714 gave the authorities the power to forcibly disband groups of twelve or more people who were rowdy, or had unlawfully come together and who had ignored pleas to disperse.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 30, Dresden, 9 May 1890

[Received 12 May, U.F.S. [Under Flying Seal] to Berlin. Qy: X; S[alisbury]]

Emperor's Trade Act speech to Reichstag *popular in Saxony*

The Imperial speech to the Reichstag has been very well received here.[315] The monarchical feeling of the majority, (no where more than in this kingdom), is so delicate, that open animadversion on the policy claimed by the Emperor as personal would be thought to violate the elementary decorums of life. Any written or spoken words relative to Royalty, jarring in the smallest particular on the German conception of the reverence due to the Crown, are likely to be followed by a prosecution for malignant libel. The Emperor's popularity is great, so that, on all grounds, assent and admiration were assured for his speech beforehand, whether he announced an augmentation of military burdens or their restriction – whether his programme of industrial legislation was favorable to capital or to labour.

If confidential criticisms, like those reported by me on previous occasions, are current, I have not heard them. There seems cause for amazement at the confidence with which the Imperial statesman – (some would say D[r] Hinzpeter) – refers to the restrictions in the 'Novel' to the 'Trade Act', so long advocated by the liberal left, as the natural cure for the chronic condition of strike by which Germany is now troubled. It is notorious that the existing agitation amongst the operatives refers to none of the points in which reform is now offered, their demand being for an increased remuneration of labour, to take effect in higher wages for fewer hours of work.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 32 A, Dresden, 23 May 1890

[Received 26 May. S[alisbury]]

Bismarck's controversial views on German relations with Russia as reported in the press

Prince Bismarck's recent Tusculan Dissertations [*sic*][316] appear to be more approved by his enemies than by his friends. In Germany,

[315] At the opening of the *Reichstag*, on 6 May 1890, Wilhelm II announced a Trade Law amendment bill which regulated and extended the protection of workers.

[316] Strachey's reference to the *Tusculanae Disputationes* by Cicero (45 BC) alludes to Bismarck's interviews with the American, French and Russian newspapers, and in

official character, once assumed, is indelible, so that a Lieutenant, or a copying clerk, or a Minister of State, retains, on retirement, his hierarchical designation, and is expected to continue to exhibit, on pain of obloquy, or worse, the behaviour and sentiments of a placeman. Prince Bismarck's radical critics remark that he has done excellent service in defying a stupid superstition, and that it is a matter for congratulation that in a country of low political enlightenment like this the greatest of the national statesmen should decline to wear the traditional gag, and set the example of a new departure on English, French, and Italian lines, by returning to the feelings and assuming the rights of a private citizen.

The Prince's reported views on this Empire's proper attitude towards France are, on the whole, in harmony with average german [*sic*] feeling. Not so his observations to the Russian journalist on Turkish and Balkan politics. It is not true that this nation would "not tolerate a Sultan policy",[317] and in his animosity against the late ruler of Bulgaria,[318] Prince Bismarck stands almost alone. His avowals of sympathy with the guet-apens[319] of Sofia were generally condemned by his countrymen, very few of whom share his preference, declared to M. Loof [*sic*], and shewn in such numerous ways, for that close alliance with Russia which, till recently, has always been a traditional object of Hohenzollern diplomacy since the conclusion of the Seven Years War.[320] The foreign policy of Germany will not, for the present, be decided in the streets; but it is certain that the Czar and his subjects have inspired large portions of the nation with antipathy, which is peculiarly the case here. Prince Bismarck might view a Russian occupation of Constantinople with indifference: the general public would hold, that it was incumbent on Germany to prevent the occurrence of a catastrophe so dangerous to the Empire and to Europe.

particular to the interview with Evgenii L'vovich Kochetov (pseudonym L'vov) on 28 April 1890, published in the *Novoye Vremya* on 10 May 1890.

[317] I.e. a pro-Ottoman policy against Russia.

[318] Alexander von Battenberg, prince (knyaz) of Bulgaria.

[319] French: 'ambush', in this context the surprise attackers. This refers to the coup against Alexander of Bulgaria in August 1886; see n. 25 in Darmstadt section.

[320] The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763, which marked the emergence of Prussia as a Great Power.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 35, Dresden, 6 June 1890

[Received 9 May. Qy: X; S[alisbury]]

Fabrice foresees more temperate parliamentary debates on army bill

Count Fabrice informed me yesterday that the prospects of the new Army Bill in the Reichstag were encouraging.[321] Although the opposition are so much augmented in numerical strength, their temper is less combative that it was in previous Parliaments, and they now shew a certain willingness to consider Government measures on their merits. His Excellency observed, that, in his opinion, there has been too much delay in maturing, and submitting to the legislature, the larger schemes of military reform which will soon be brought forward. Germany must drain her resources to the bottom: the momentary European situation was quiescent, but the continuance of tranquillity would be best secured by the immediate acceptance of the sacrifices which the nation cannot evade.

His Excellency may never have heard of Plato, but he thinks that mankind ought to be governed by "experts"[322] – at any rate in the war department – and he diverged into an excursus on the absurdity of the measures requisite for public defence being controlled by political babblers. However, he is aware that even the Germans will not submit to the rule of "Major-Generals," and on my remarking – that is 'Utopia' –, he assented, and agreed that having got our Parliaments we must stomach them.

I alluded to the improvement in German parliamentary manners, and said that it was a new sensation to read a speech by the Reichskanzler, which did not assume that every one who objected to official doctrines, or proposals, was an insolent, factious, ruffian. Count Fabrice said that, in that respect, no doubt there had been room for increased tolerance and temper, and that General von Caprivi was well adapted, by his personality, for a new departure in that direction. And, added his Excellency, the spirit of moderation is visible all round – a verity which he unconsciously proceeded to illustrate in his own person, by speaking with impartiality, and even with benevolence, of the leaders of the 'freisinnig' party,[323]

[321] The amendment bill to the Imperial Military Law of 1887 (see n. 119 in Berlin section) provided for an increase in the strength of the army by 18,577 additional men, taking the total to 486,983. The bill was passed on 28 June 1890.

[322] Strachey is referring to Plato's dialogue *Crito (Κρίτων)*.

[323] *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*. See n. 3 in Berlin section.

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and concluding with superlatives in favour of Bebel, whom he called the greatest orator of Germany – which was not so before.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 45, Dresden, 3 October 1890

[Received 6 October. S[alisbury]

Saxon king a steadying presence in imperial affairs

The King has left for Vienna, where he was to proceed with the Emperors to Styria for chamois hunting.[324] The ostentatious friendship which at present unites the Habsburgs and the Hohenzollerns contains a large political element; but the tie between those dynasties and the house of Wettin is one of genuine personal attachment. King Albert has inspired with strong feelings of regard the representatives of the two royal lines whose old antagonisms have forced Saxony into alliances and conflicts which have cost the kingdom dear.

According to a current legend, the Emperor Frederick formally appointed the King of Saxony Mentor to his son. As a matter of fact, those high personages did not entertain for each other the sentiments assumed, and the peculiar and increasing intimacy of the Courts of Dresden and Berlin has a more natural basis.

No occupant of a throne can be freer than the King from the usual defects and prejudices of royalty. His Majesty is an agreeable, and, what is rare here, a humorous, companion. Though not of the professorial calibre, like his father,[325] he has considerable general culture, and is very strong in history. He is the only German who can confidently be affirmed to be equal, in the modern scientific sense, to the command of large armies, and he has a thorough knowledge working, as well as intellectual, of the various political and administrative problems of the day.

Questions of geography and personality have given the Emperor's relations with the Regent of Bavaria[326] a merely occasional and formal character. And, in that kingdom, the transformation of the old Germany to the new has not been so radical, or so cordially accepted, as the parallel change here. For these and other reasons, the ruler of the German state which comes next to Prussia in size – (though not in wealth and industrial importance) has not assumed the second place

[324] Albert arrived at Vienna on 1 October, and proceeded to Styria, together with the two emperors, on the same day. He returned on 11 October 1890.

[325] Johann I.

[326] Luitpold.

in the Imperial hierarchy, and that position has been occupied by the King of Saxony. When grave decisions have to be taken in regard to the foreign policy of the Empire, the King's counsels will carry great weight. They will fall on the side of sobriety, with entire subordination of mere military motives, and with an enlightened regard to the necessities of civilisation and progress. I am glad to be able to say, that in the King of Saxony's 'Weltanschauung',[327] as the Germans say, or 'cosmical conception', sympathy with Great Britain is cardinal. His diplomatic ideal is a Quadruple Alliance[328] which should solve Oriental problems in our sense, and he would see in a Russian advance on India an encroachment of barbarism which ought to be treated as a menace to Germany and Europe. It proves for his largeness of mind, that in spite of the soreness arising from his accumulated grievances against us, and the satisfaction caused him by the courtesies of Russia to Saxony, he continues to take an entirely objective view of the international questions in which we are concerned.

FO 68/175: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 54, Dresden, 12 December 1890

[Received 15 December. For: The Queen; Copies to: Education Department, P.L. [printed letter], 22 December / Berlin (in original); S[alisbury]]

Emperor's outspoken views on German education not well-received in Saxony

The Emperor's speech for the Higher Schools Conference[329] has been even less favourably received than his Rescripts on the Industrial Reform and the Army.[330] In Saxony, a single newspaper – the Leipzig semi-official organ[331] – has made a show of approval. In other quarters, there is either the significant silence which is equivalent to condemnation: or it is argued that the Emperor could not have used the language placed in his mouth: or his facts are denied and his deductions refuted, with a bluntness unusual in German discussions of Royal utterances.

In my personal opinion, there is much in this allocution to justify those who maintain that the Emperor's brilliant gifts do not include the qualities which constitute an 'esprit juste',[332] and that he is

[327] Literally 'world view' (concept of the world).
[328] Alliance of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia.
[329] On 4 December at the opening of the conference at Berlin.
[330] For the rescripts in question, see n. 249 Berlin section and n. 171 in this section.
[331] *Leipziger Zeitung*.
[332] French: 'just spirit'.

specially given to overhasty generalisation. In his view, the teachers of Germany are imperfectly educated: being half taught, they cannot effectively teach: the masters wrongly treat their work as done when they leave the schoolroom: they teach their pupils book-knowledge, but do not impart education in the higher sense: they have neglected to combat the advances of Social Democracy.

I have seen something of the German tutorial class, and I concur in the view, generally taken, that these animadversions have no real basis. The teachers of the youth of the Empire have thoroughly learned their business as instructors under an elaborate system of pedagogic science, they are an able and meritorious body of men, and they slave conscientiously at their work at all hours. Then, as the typical Higher School of the Empire is a day, sometimes a morning, school not residential like Eton or Harrow, the influence of the German Arnold, or Drury,[333] and his assistants, on their pupils is, in the nature of things, only scholastic. For the rest, the German educational staff of the higher ranks is thoroughly, perhaps excessively, conservative and imperialist. As for preachments against Social-Democracy, besides being contrary to school regulations, they would be absurdly out of place in lecture-rooms where nine tenths of the pupils belong to strata which furnish Bebel and Liebknecht with few or no recruits.

The Imperial indictment complains of the neglect of modern, i.e. recent, history in the schools. His Majesty thinks that if young Germany is taught "how the transition from the French Revolution to the 19th Century" was effected, "growling at the Government" would diminish, and there would be less worship of foreign ideals. On this, even Conservatives and National-Liberals remark, that it is not the business of schools to teach politics, while in the non-Prussian part of the public there is great dislike of those official Hohenzollern interpretations of history which the Emperor is, in fact, recommending. As regards over-work at home, the excessive study of antiquity, and the like, the failure and defects, which the allocution much exaggerates, arise partly from the circumstances and character of the nation, partly from faults of system, by no means, as the Imperial Censor thinks, from the imperfect ideals and practise of preceptors.

The Emperor was ill-advised in describing the journalistic staff of Germany as the refuse of the Gymnasiums.[334] This has given great

[333] Strachey is referring to the English educators and headmasters Thomas Arnold and Henry Drury.

[334] German equivalent to a grammar school.

offence; even the 'reptiles'[335] of approved capacity for adulation have strongly resented being called 'Hunger-candidates'.[336] I do not think well of the ability or integrity of the German press, but it is not quite conducted, as the Imperial criticisms imply, by the scum of Grub Street.

These descents of the young Monarch into the area of public discussion may prove his enlightened desire to promote progress; but many good Imperialists consider that the 'new course'[337] is calculated to weaken the authority of the crown, which must lose much of its nimbus if its bearer mixes as a disputant in the controversies of the day.

FO 68/176: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 10, Dresden, 21 February 1891

[Received 23 February. X; S[alisbury]]

Newspaper responses to Bismarck's criticism of imperial politics

Here, as in the rest of the Empire, the Friedrichsruhe[338] controversy is being hotly debated by the Press, and by the fraction of the public which is politically inclined.[339] Opinions are not divided along the ordinary party lines. Common to all the disputants is the amazing readiness with which every rumour, or rumour of a rumour, is at once accepted, without criticism, as positive, ascertained, truth. Prince Bismarck's popularity and prestige have scarcely been shaken since his retirement,[340] and as the idea of a statesman out of office going into open opposition is inconceivable to the German mind, and would, if realized be almost held to be indictable offence, the subterraneous procedure ascribed to the Ex-Chancellor is treated by many as the mode of action which it is natural for him to adopt.

The 'Nachrichten',[341] which is generally in harmony with the average local bourgeois sentiment, reprobates the manner in which certain intriguers have thrust themselves between the Emperor and "the patriotic party". The nation is pained at the conflict into which Prince Bismarck has been drawn by the contrivance of these malignants. Will none of the German sovereigns set the Kaiser right? It is

[335] For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.

[336] In his speech Wilhelm denounced journalists as 'candidates destined to starve, […] being in many cases depraved former grammar school pupils [*Gymnasiasten*]'.

[337] 'New Course' refers to the realignment of policy after Bismarck's dismissal in 1890.

[338] Bismarck's manor house at Friedrichsruh.

[339] For the conflict over Bismarck's interference in imperial politics, see pp. 129–131.

[340] On Bismarck's retirement, see pp. 123–124.

[341] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 17 February 1891.

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well that the warning voice from Friedrichsruhe should be so plainly heard, when the guidance of policy is subject to the instigation of democrats and Jews, when industry and agriculture are menaced with a return to free-trade, Africa is abandoned, the army is irritated, and other disturbances of the system inaugurated by the Paladins of the new Empire are in sight.

I have heard language equivalents, at bottom, to this, from high officials. Its prevalence in other places besides Dresden is established by the fact that the quasi National-Liberal and free-trade 'Zeitung'[342] has been censuring the strong Bismarckian partizanship of 'a large portion of the press', and complaining of the reprehensible want of reverence and submission with which the Emperor's opinions on political and economic topics have been received and discussed. This organ thinks that the Friedrichsruhe fronde,[343] however culpable is not, at present, within the reach of the law; but that the right of a subject, however great his position and antecedents, to resist and discredit the Emperor's policy, has its limits, as would surely be seen if Prince Bismarck thought fit, for instance, to publish state papers, or the like. But, says the 'Zeitung', it is a disgrace to Germany that these scandals,[344] which have partly arisen from the legends circulated by French correspondents (!), should be aired before the European public, and it is to be hoped that Prince Bismarck will not tarnish his name by making serious steps necessary.

The local organ of Social-Democracy[345] exults over the internecine war of its oppressors, and improves the occasion by pointing out that, amidst this crashing of political systems and reputations, the 'rocher de bronze'[346] of the Socialist cause and creed remain unquestioned and intact. The partizans of Bebel have, on the whole, been speaking with decency of their arch-enemy, and they cannot, at any rate, be charged with the infamy of hinting at the propriety of his eventual arrest and imprisonment in a jail.

On the foregoing, I would observe, that it is idle to measure the behaviour of the disputants in this controversy by standards taken from English or French history. The Germans are in the political nursery, and they are now less near to the possession of a recognized constitutional morality, and to the conquest of the virtues of tolerance, magnanimity, and self-assertion than they were 40 years ago. Further, it may suit the sensational necessities of our Berlin

[342] *Dresdner Zeitung*, 21 Feburary 1891.

[343] The *Fronde*, a historical term for the violent political opposition to the growing power of royal government and resultant series of civil wars in mid-seventeenth century France.

[344] The *Dresdner Zeitung* was referring to the 'inspired' articles in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

[345] *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

[346] See n. 148 in this section.

newspaper correspondents, to talk of "great excitement and anxiety" prevailing, and similar, but the prose and calm of German daily life are, in reality, entirely unruffled by all these transactions. The people are passive, they are submissive, and they are acquiescent in the fact that, although the nation is not quite governed 'par ordre du mufti',[347] it has, at present, no power of popular or parliamentary initiative in policy, or of resistance to the Imperial will.

FO 68/176: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 23, Dresden, 15 May 1891

[Received 18 May. X; S[alisbury]]

Cool public reception of emperor's speech praising 'Borussia' student corps

The Emperor's speech to the rowdy section of the students of Bonn,[348] and his appearance at the drinking bout in the costume of the Corps 'Borussia', have not been well received by the German public. When the ultra-Imperialist Dresden 'Zeitung'[349] observes that a deplorable impression has been produced amongst the educated classes, and at the Universities, by the monarch's eulogy on one of the most objectionable features of the German academic system, criticism must have gone very far.

It may be proper to explain, that the so-called 'Corps', which the Emperor extols as nurseries of patriotism, discipline, and courage, include, at most, one tenth, or twelfth, of the youth in Statu pupillari,[350] the large majority of whom belong neither to a 'Corps', nor to a 'Burschenschaft', nor to any of the numerous student corporations.[351] Some of these last named bodies have a useful intelligent, or social, purpose, and they include numbers of steady, reading, men. Whereas the 'Corps' generally absorbs, and represents, the idling, swaggering, bumptious, gambling, spending, fighting elements in student life. Some of the 'Corps' rules, are childish: e.g. the men may not travel on the Railway second-class, or go to a second-rate Hôtel, or sit more than two together in an open carriage To what extent such folly predominates in the code of the 'Borussia', I do not know.

[347] See n. 215 in this section.
[348] On 6 May 1891 at Bonn.
[349] *Dresdner Zeitung*, 15 May 1891.
[350] Latin: 'under guardianship'; those at universities who do not hold a master's degree.
[351] Corps were originally regional corporations of students (e.g. Borussia for Prussia); the *Burschenschaft* fraternities dated back to the national movement of 1815 and drew their members from a larger, and less elitist, base.

The 'Corps', then, is the special institution from whose spirit a young German, in the Emperor's opinion "will derive his best education for his future life". His Majesty's devoted partizans in the 'Zeitung' urge, in his defence, the argument that he was led astray by his eloquence, and that whatever meaning his words may seem to bear, it was not his intention to advocate the generalisation of the 'Corps' system, or to express approval of a such a barbarous proceeding as the 'Mensur'[352] or students['] duel!!

On this last point the Socialist 'Arbeiter Zeitung'[353] remarks that criticism of Imperial oratory is a dangerous thing and that they do not feel equal to any more prosecutions for libel. But that as a matter of fact language like "I hope You will joyfully use Your swords", is a recommendation to break the law. For the Supreme Court of the Empire has formally declared students['] duels to be as criminal as any other form of personal combat,[354] and cases of conviction and punishment for the offence are, from time to time, reported from the 21 German University towns.

It will be interesting to see if the Imperial doctrine checks the ardour of the Leipzig Police, who are notable for their intolerance of students['] duels. Their watchfulness is such, that University combatants now seldom venture to fight within the city. A few days ago, some student duellists, and their seconds, were arrested on their return from a 'Mensur' at Halle, brought to trial, and sentenced to 3 months imprisonment.

FO 68/176: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 27, Dresden, 5 June 1891

[Received 8 June. For: Commercial Department; 'I think it might instruct Sir J. Crowe to read this.' T.H.S. [Thomas Henry Sanderson]]

Responses to Caprivi's speech on grain duties

The Reichskanzler's speech on the grain duties has given unbounded satisfaction to the Protectionist classes.[355] The Conservatives, the

[352] 'Academic' fencing.

[353] *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 8 May 1891.

[354] Decision of the *Reichsgericht* of 6 March 1883; duels were prohibited under Section 15 of the Imperial Penal Code of 1871.

[355] In his declaration in the Prussian house of deputies, on 1 June 1891, Caprivi – despite widespread concerns about a meagre harvest and rising food prices – announced that taxation on corn would remain unaltered.

Anti-Semites, the larger land-owners, the holders of industrial papers, and the corn lobby, are enthusiastic in praise of the policy which he announces. They are not quite pleased with his admission of the fact, that cereals are dearer here than in the free markets by the full amount of the German import duty. But they are gratified by his adhesion to the monopolist dogmas that cheap corn does not make cheap bread, and that the extra ten or eleven schillings a quarter, which the Tariff enables the German farmer to add to the natural cost of his wheat, is partly, perhaps entirely, paid not by the German consumer, but by the growers of the Punjab and the Ukraine.

On the Dresden Stock Exchange, General Caprivi's declaration caused a general fall of values. The decline began with the paper of the Austrian and Russian railways and institutes principally affected by the state, or prospects, of the traffic in cereals. It developed under the influence of the pessimism of a part of the Commercial class, in regard to the high food prices now prevailing in Germany, which, in their view, are calculated to impair industrial progress, and to prolong the uncertainties of the present economic situation.

The behaviour of the Corn Exchange suggests an interesting commentary on the Reichskanzler's theories of price. Some time since, the local quotation of wheat had reached 250 Marks the metrical ton. A confident assertion having appeared in the Press, that the Imperial Government would shortly propose a reduction of the duties on cereals, a sudden fall of 7 to 10 Marks ensued. On the report of General Caprivi's speech being known, there was an instant recovery, and both wheat and rye have now taken a start near the previous maximum, while further additions to the cost of the loaf have been announced by the bakers.

Highly characteristic of Germany is the reserve which a large portion of the press maintains on the whole subject. In Dresden, the semi official paper devotes daily leaders to the politics of Servia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Russia; but to the discussion of food supplies, and their cost, the 'Journal'[356] does not descend. The National-Liberal 'Anzeiger'[357] quotes, but does not criticize. The Socialist organ,[358] however, which writes Political Economy of the pure English type takes the situation as a text for fresh assaults on capital and its agrarian allies. The Conservative 'Nachrichten'[359] thanks General Caprivi for his manly stand against the Hebrew operators from whose saturnalia the Empire has now been saved, and for his profound remark,

[356] *Dresdner Journal.*
[357] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 3 June 1891.
[358] *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 3 June 1891.
[359] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 3 June 1891.

that "under lowered duties Germany would be so flooded with foreign grain, that our next harvest would be compromised, and our farmers would be unable to obtain a remunerative price for their products". The Generals repudiation of the chatter of Adam Smith and Mill is not however, uncomprising [*sic*] enough for the 'Nachrichten', which fears that surprises may still occur. But, adds the writer, the Reichskanzler's speech is 'an arsenal of weapons, from which the "patriotic parties" will be able to borrow invaluable arguments when the Treaty with Austria comes on for discussion'.

[…]

P.S. Last night's 'Arbeiter Zeitung' publishes an appeal from the Central Council of the Social-Democratic party to the workmen of Germany,[360] to organize anti-Cornlaw meetings all over the Empire.

FO 68/176: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 38, Dresden, 22 August 1891

[Received 24 August by post. X; T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]

Highly misinformed German press article on Gladstone's friendly disposition towards Russia and France

The Official 'Journal',[361] which is notable for exhaustive ignorance of the facts and personalities of English politics, has had a leader on the visit of the French fleet to Portsmouth.[362] The writer gives a surprising picture of the Slavophil[e] tendencies, and Gallomania, of the Gladstonian party and their chief. According to the Dresden publicist, 'the English liberals prior to the rupture of 1886,[363] were in close alliance with the Russian Nationalists, and to this policy, of which the famous "Hands-off"[364] was the watch-word, they have constantly adhered when all great European questions have been in debate. Owing to the sympathy of the Gladstonians with Russia, the presence of the French fleet is producing in their camp effects like those lately witnessed at Cronstadt'.

[360] The proclamation is dated Berlin, 1 June 1891.

[361] *Dresdner Journal*, 20 August 1891.

[362] A French naval squadron visited Portsmouth from 19 to 26 August 1891 on its return from Kronstadt (see n. 340 in Berlin section). On 20 August the Queen received French naval officers at Osborne House; on 21 August she reviewed the fleet.

[363] This is referring to the accession of the conservative government in 1886.

[364] See n. 63 in this section.

'Their specific object is the succession of England to the unwritten Franco-Russian alliance, and their Courtship of the war-party in France must act as a stimulus to Chauvinist aspirations'.

After developing these ideas at length, from the resources of his moral consciousness, the writer analyzes M^r Gladstone's motives for coming so prominently to the front at this particular moment with his worship of France! 'Are his obtrusive oglings, and professions of friendship, inspired by the hope that they may encourage the Republic to attack Germany, and so draw Russia into a war which would make England mistress of the situation, and enable her to dictate to Russia on her Indian frontier? Perhaps not, unless he sees in such complications a ladder by which he could mount to power again.'

The article further describes the entire English liberal press as 'endeavouring to bring the recent visit of the German emperor[365] into contempt, and to discredit the friendly feelings of Her Majesty's Government for Germany in favour of the obsequious Gallomania of which the Gladstonians are now making such ostentatious display.'

The writer may have confounded M^r Gladstone with M^r Labouchere, and the 'Daily Chronicle' with the 'Daily News'.[366] Or he may have hoped to recommend himself to official notice and protection, by warning the readers of the 'Journal' – a very select minority – against the hallucinations and ineptitudes into which, all the world over, men necessarily fall, when they are led, not by Conservative principles, but by the unpatriotic dogmas of the liberal creed.

FO 68/176: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 48, Dresden, 27 October 1891

[Received 29 October. X; T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]]

Responses to the emperor's bestowal of honours on Professor Helmholtz but not Professor Virchow

The Bismarckians' are jubilant at the bestowal of the title of 'Excellenz' on Professor, Helmholtz the seventh instance,[367] it is

[365] Wilhelm II visited Great Britain from 4 to 13 July 1891.

[366] The *Daily Chronicle* was largely supportive of Gladstone; the *Daily News* was partly owned by Henry Labouchère who belonged to the radical wing of the Liberal party.

[367] On 18 October 1891, in honour of Helmholtz' 70th birthday (31 August), Wilhelm II made him *Wirklicher Geheimer Rat* (*Geheimrat;* privy councillor) with the grade (*Prädikat*) *Exzellenz*.

said, of the descent of that honour on a German not holding civil or military rank. Of the Professor's invention of the Augen-Spiegel,[368] or of his great contributions to the doctrine of the Conservation of Energy, and to physiological optics and acoustics, only a minority of the enthusiasts have heard: and of his new admirers in the upper classes, scarcely one would stoop to meet a mere philosopher on equal social terms. All this exultation has arisen because Professor Virchow has been dignified by no similar mark of his sovereign's favour. The chief European representative of the new pathology and anthropology has for thirty years been one of the leaders of the 'progressist' party[369] which he helped to found. As a 'Whig of the Revolution',[370] whose attitude in the 'Conflict Time', especially in the incident of his challenge from the Minister-President Bismarck,[371] did so much to repress the 'Major-General' style of discussion in the German parliament, Virchow has been obnoxious to the governing powers and their allies, and the ovations just paid to him in Berlin, in which there was some admixture of political colour, revived antipathies which had been slumbering.[372]

The anti-'freisinnig' camp is therefore highly gratified at the distinction made between the two great Germans, the more so as they have discovered in the Rescript to Helmholtz a side thrust against the member for Berlin. Still, the feeling is very general, that taking sides in politics is not a proper function of the Crown, and this incident will be quoted as confirmatory of the opinion maintained by many loyal & Conservative Germans, that one of the family virtues of the Hohenzollerns – tact – has not been inherited by the Emperor William. How little the supposed manifestation of the monarch's displeasure has availed to 'dash in pieces'[373] the most influential of the members for the capital, is apparent from the professor's speech at the Banquet of the Municipality of Berlin,[374] some

[368] German: 'eye mirror'; the ophthalmoscope was invented in 1851.

[369] *Deutsche Fortschrittspartei*, founded in 1861; known as the *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* from 1884 (see n. 3 in Berlin section).

[370] Virchow participated in the March Revolution of 1848.

[371] Strachey is referring to the Prussian constitutional conflict of 1859–1866, which revolved around plans for the reorganization of the army and parliamentary rights against the monarchy and its executive. The incident he mentions happened in the Prussian house of deputies, on 2 June 1865, when Bismarck, in the course of a fierce political debate, challenged Virchow to a duel (which was declined by the latter).

[372] Strachey is referring to the festivities on the occasion of Virchow's 70th birthday (13 October).

[373] In his toast at the banquet of the provincial diet of Brandenburg, at Berlin, on 5 March 1890, Wilhelm II said 'I will smash those who are in the way of this work' [Work =Wilhelm II's duty as sovereign].

[374] At the Berlin town hall on 21 October 1891.

expressions of which had a flavour of Guildhall oratory in the days of Lord Mayor Beckford. All this, the Bismarckian organs suppress. Continuing my parallel, I would say that in the opinion of some good Conservatives here, the Emperor will do well, like his august ancestor in England, to "have nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes."[375]

FO 68/176: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 55, Dresden, 4 December 1891

[Received 7 December. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales; S[alisbury]]

German feelings vis-à-vis Caprivi's leadership and political course of action

General Caprivi's defence of his policy has excited a certain interest here. As far as I can judge, the general public is in a somewhat pessimist temper; but is not dissatisfied with "the new course",[376] and is not looking for help from Friedrichsruhe.[377] "The present discontents" are mainly felt by Conservatives, National-Liberals, Colonials, Anti-Semites, Protectionists, Bimetallists, Agrarians, and other adherents of the 'Cartel'.[378] With them, the new Chancellor is unpopular, because he treats liberal opinions as a permissible form of political belief: because he appears to be unsound on Africa, the Tariff, Poland, and the Jesuit Laws: because he will not revive the Guilds, or legislate against the Jews; or place the Stock-Exchange under Police control, or tamper with the Gold coinage.

With their own sentiments on such matters, they consider Prince Bismarck to be more or less in touch, and his return to power would further be acceptable to them, as ensuring the revival of that hectoring, browbeating, manner in politics, on which, although in Germany its use gives great weight to the authority of public men, General Caprivi has turned his back.

These malcontents have numerous allies in the civil service, especially in Prussia, and amongst the officers of the Army, whose grievances, form however, a chapter apart. Under "the old course", orders were obeyed in silent submission, and the discussion of

[375] George III, 1771 (as quoted in a letter by John Calcraft to William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, 24 March 1771).
[376] See n. 337 in this section.
[377] Friedrichsruh, Bismarck's manor house.
[378] For the so-called 'Cartel', see n. 208 in Berlin section.

Government personages and measures was a freedom on which no one in the public pay liked to venture. The gag has now been removed, and something like an English license of criticism has been growing up, which is called an anarchical and dangerous condition of things, due to the disappearance of the former "Olympian elements" in German statesmanship. If General Caprivi were to be a little brutal in official business, if he could have his Arnim, Geffcken, and Morier incidents,[379] his Royal Interregnum,[380] his 5000 actions against libellers and defamers, the complaint would not be heard from his subordinates that he is a Minister without a policy, a mere Newcastle or Addington, coming after Chatham or Pitt.

The opposition so constituted is a formidable phalanx, which has its academic and 'reptile'[381] supporters; but it is not the people of Germany. The parties of the Catholic centre, of Progress, of Constitutional and Social Democracy with the Guelphs, Poles, Danes, and Alsatians, form nearly two thirds of the active Electorate. Prince Bismarck's resignation[382] removed an Alp from the minds of all of these, and it is their feeling that under his successor there has been a marked improvement in administrative aims and methods.

Looking to the above arithmetic, it may then be said, that a German plebiscite – (of Dresden I am not speaking) – would give General Caprivi a vote of confidence, a view which the results of recent bye-elections, Imperial and local, would seem to confirm.[383]

Leaving the future undiscussed, I would venture on the statement that this nation does not, at present, desire Prince Bismarck's return to office. Uneasiness exists; but it arises from a prevalent suspicion regarding the intentions of France and Russia, or from vague feeling which cannot be analyzed. And, unless I mistake, in respect both to domestic and foreign affairs, a certain disquietude has been recently growing amongst patriotic and loyal Germans because their faith in the wisdom and discretion of the Crown has, of late, been so frequently and so rudely shaken.

[379] For the incidents in question, see n. 261 in Berlin section (Arnim affair of 1874), n. 224 in Berlin section (prosecution of Geffcken in 1888), and pp. 114–115 (Morier incident of 1888–1889).

[380] Strachey is referring to the ninety-nine day reign of Friedrich III.

[381] See n. 67 in this section.

[382] See pp. 123–124.

[383] By-elections for the *Reichstag* were held in the electoral districts Stolp (Pomerania; 27 October), Rastenburg (East Prussia; 18 November), and Hall (Württemberg; 23 November). By-elections of federal states were held, among others, in Kaiserslautern (Bavaria, 7 November) and Trier (Prussia, 21 November).

FO 68/176: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 57, Dresden, 14 December 1891

[Received 16 December. For: Commercial Department]

Local indifference towards commercial treaties and proposed tariff changes; political parties about-turn on free trade has lost them credibility

The Treaties of Commerce have been received here with characteristic indifference and reserve.[384] The dominant local interest is the industrial, and it does not appear that the makers of the metallic, textile, and industrial, staples regard the proposed Tariff changes with either enthusiasm or apprehension. Before 1879, the administrative hierarchy of the Kingdom professed belief in Free-trade.[385] In that year, the governing body, from the highest to the lowest, had to adopt Protection as a cardinal official doctrine from which it was not permissible for a public servant to dissent. They have now to execute another change of front, and a certain modification of their language is already perceptible.

The 'Free' Conservatives and the National-Liberals are again conspicuous for the servility which has brought their parties into such contempt with the electorate. Turning their backs on themselves, they are defending the Treaties by arguments which flatly contradict their previous opinions. The Municipal 'Anzeiger'[386] – always an adept in trimming – thinks that the Treaties should be adopted because it is doubtful if an appeal to the Constituencies would give a Protectionist Reichstag. This organ now allows that customs duties may have some slight effect on the cost of imported produce; but it denounces the doctrine, promulgated with such success by a deplorable democratic agitation, that such duties raise the price of bread.

On the other hand the Social-Democrats, with whom are united the small Saxon 'freisinnig'[387] party, applaud General von Caprivi's policy which, they hope, may prove to be the precursor of a further advance in the direction of the cheap loaf and free-trade. The reactionary and 'Agrarian' Conservatives, to whom belong the courtly and aristocratic sections of opinion, are equally outspoken in their allegation that the Treaties are a betrayal of the agricultural interest, which it is the first

[384] Commercial treaties based on a most-favoured-nation clause were concluded with Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland. They were passed by the *Reichstag* on 18 December 1891 and came into effect in February 1892.

[385] New (protective) German tariffs had been introduced by the Imperial Tariff Law of 15 July 1879.

[386] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 12 December 1891.

[387] See n. 3 in Berlin section.

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duty of sound statesmanship to uphold. Their views are stated, with an exaggeration amounting to caricature, in the 'Nachrichten',[388] which reiterates the old contentions that import duties do not raise the price of corn, and that if the 'International Hebrew Mammon' were laid under proper restrictions, there would be cheap bread. This organ's wholesale repudiation of the most elementary notions of Political Economy suits the ignorance, and anti-Semitic jealousies, of the average 'Philistine', and it has a large Saxon and German circulation. Absurd as the 'Nachrichten's[']' opinions frequently are, they are, at least plain-spoken – an unusual merit here.

FO 68/177: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 9, Dresden, 26 February 1892

[Received 29 February. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

Negative reception of the emperor's speech to the provincial diet at Brandenburg

The Emperor's speech to the States of Brandenburg[389] may have suited his special audience; but it has been no better received by the general public than the Monarch's previous allocutions. Political Emancipation, and personal self-respect are very imperfectly matured here. Still, the Germans are no longer in the phase of Byzantine subjection described in the words quoted by Burke – "our Prince tells us to eat straw, and we eat straw."[390] They have an unequalled veneration for the function of Government; but the time is past for telling them that it becomes loyal subjects to hold their tongues and pay taxes, and that the critically disposed had better emigrate to countries with institutions more congenial to their tastes.

If the theory of "the Intelligent Despot", to which the Emperor keeps so persistently recurring, is altogether out of date, so is his family theology. This is not the age of the Grand Elector[391] or Frederick William I, and to the average German, or Prussian, the notion of the Providential mission of the Hohenzollerns is a mere superstition. Saxons, Bavarians, Hanoverians and others, would argue that the achievements of

[388] Strachey is referring to the editorials of 10 to 13 December 1891 in the *Dresdner Nachrichten*.

[389] The speech was held at the banquet of the provincial diet of Brandenburg at Berlin, on 24 February 1891.

[390] Thomas Paine, in his *Rights* of *Man*: *Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution*, part one (1791), quotes a Brunswick soldier as saying 'If the prince says, eat straw, we eat straw'.

[391] Friedrich Wilhelm.

Frederick the Great, and of some of the ancestors and successors, if due to superior guidance at all, were the work of the powers of evil. In particular, they would call the battle of Rossbach,[392] by which the Emperor illustrates the alliance between Prussia and heaven, as an instance of the triumph of the bad principle, and they would decline to glorify a victory in which Germans were in the defeated ranks.

His Imperial Majesty's popularity has declined within the last two years. His public utterances have shaken the belief in his prudence. The dismissal of Prince Bismarck[393] has raised against him a party of unforgiving enemies. The army is dissatisfied. The terrors of the law of libel may again prevent the open expression of disapprobation, but they cannot stifle the general regrets and dislike aroused by the reiteration of unconstitutional doctrines and exploded claims.

[…]

P.S. The tone of the notices of the speech just published in the local newspapers is uniformly unfavorable. They contain no direct censure; but shew the usual dexterity of a faltered press in applying the precept "and without sneering, others teach to sneer".[394]

FO 68/177: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 14, Dresden, 26 March 1892

[Received 28 March. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

Saxon views on political crisis in Berlin

The crisis in Berlin caused some anxiety in ministerial circles here.[395] The belief is entertained that the pacification first concluded will prove to be only an armistice. It is thought that the division of the offices of Reichskanzler and Prussian Premier will be a source of constitutional and personal friction. And it is argued that Count Caprivi cannot, without loss of dignity and prestige, entirely turn his back on his own uncompromising advocacy of the Prussian Education Bill,[396] the opposition to which he characterized as grounded in atheism.

[392] In the Battle of Rossbach (5 November 1757) Friedrich II led Prussian forces to a victory over a Franco-Imperial allied army. The battle marked a turning point in the Seven Years' War.

[393] For Bismarck's dismissal, see pp. 123–124.

[394] From *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* by Alexander Pope (1735).

[395] For the ministerial crisis and Caprivi's resignation as Prussian minister president, see pp. 138–140.

[396] See n. 296 in Berlin section.

According to my informant, Count Caprivi does not look forward to a privileged occupation of the post of Reichskanzler. No fundamental differences, political or personal, separate him from the Emperor. But he cannot persuade himself that he enjoys that full measure of trust which, under a Constitutional regime, the Crown should accord to its responsible adviser. He knows, or suspects, that the Imperial policy and decisions are affected by concealed influences behind the throne, and on these terms he would not consent to continue at the head of the Government of Germany.

Count von Caprivi inspires entire confidence here. He has not tried to Prussianize the Empire. He is thought to possess many of the best attributes of statesmanship, while none of those to whom his succession might be expected to fall have any outdoor reputation whatever, marking them out for the place. Most of the maxims which our own public philosophy affirms are repudiated here. In Germany it is thought natural that the higher political functions should be entrusted to persons without political knowledge – to a "Major-General", a desk-official, an Ambassador. Parliamentary experience and popular influence, are not reckoned among the qualifications which should be exacted from a Prime Minister.

FO 68/177: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 29, Dresden, 8 October 1892

[Received 10 October. X; R[osebery]]

Saxon views on Kálnoky's speech regarding British foreign policy

Count Kalnoky's remarks to the Deputations on the continuity of our Foreign policy have been read with satisfaction here.[397] It has not been the assumption of official circles, or of the fraction of the German public which has political interests, that Her Majesty's late Government had entered into partnership, even in a qualified and conditional manner, with the Triple Alliance.[398] There has, however, prevailed a belief, that a Conservative administration would be disposed, at a critical moment, to lend a certain degree of moral

[397] Strachey is referring to the sitting of the Hungarian Delegations at Budapest, on 3 October 1892, in which Kálnoky expressed his conviction that future British foreign policy would undergo no important modification under the Gladstone administration. This had replaced Salisbury's conservative government on 18 August 1892.

[398] Rumours of Britain's accession to the Triple Alliance (see n. 174 in Berlin section) had been prevalent since its renewal in May 1891 and Wilhelm II's visit to Britain in July 1891.

support to a combination which is directed against powers with whom we ourselves are in something like chronic diplomatic conflict. While, on the other hand, it has been thought that, with a liberal Cabinet in office, Great Britain would lean more towards Republican France than towards Monarchical Germany, and that our antagonisms to the designs and encroachments of Russia would be less accentuated than before.

The Saxon Minister for Foreign Affairs[399] is absent. In his department I was told, on my return to Dresden, that your acceptance of office has been welcomed in Germany as a sign that M[r] Gladstone's programme did not include the abdication of British international responsibilities by 'scuttle', or otherwise.

FO 68/177: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 39, Dresden, 10 December 1892

[Received 12 December. X; 'Curious', R[osebery]]

Anti-Semitism roused by the Ahlwardt case

To day's "Nachrichten"[400] remarks that Rector Ahlwardt is probably the most popular, and Judge Brausewetter the best hated, man in the Empire.[401] This is the natural exaggeration of an anti-Semitic organ: the nation is not sunk so low that, for instance, a plebiscite would declare in favour of "The Headmaster of all the Germans." What is true is, that the monomania of Ahlwardt infects, in one shape or other, almost the entire Conservative electorate, whose jealousy of the Jews as unbelievers, as capitalists controlling the Stock-Exchange, as middlemen intruding between producer and purchaser, as liberal journalists and parliamentary leaders, is not without ramifications in the National-Liberal party. In this Kingdom, the unintelligent classes – I mean the Aristocracy and gentry, and Court, (the Royal Family excluded) – with the military and civil services, and no small number of traders and peasant proprietors, are in complete sympathy with the "Jew-Bait". Allowance being made for the comparative humanity of 19[th] Century feelings and ideals, the

[399] Georg von Metzsch.

[400] *Dresdner Nachrichten.*

[401] The trial conducted by Brausewetter at the Berlin *Landgericht* dealt with two pamphlets in which Ahlwardt accused the armament company Ludwig Loewe & Co. of selling defective rifles and being part of a Franco-Jewish conspiracy against Germany. On 9 December 1892 Ahlwardt, headmaster of a Berlin primary school and member of the German *Reichstag*, was found guilty of libel and sentenced to five months' imprisonment.

temper of the Anti-Semites of the New Germany towards "the circumsied [*sic*] dog"[402] may be said to be that of the contemporaries of Richard the 1st and Simon de Montfort. In the social circles to which I properly belong here, approval of the 'Jew-Bait' is absolutely universal: I have just heard from a representative of the very highest local official enlightment [*sic*], the opinion that, after all, "there is probably something in it".

This trial has given prominence to a social peculiarity which modern Berlin, Dresden, and Munich possess in common with the Rome of Tiberius. Count Hohenthal, Saxon Minister at Berlin, and Member of the Bundesrath[403] (who is a very favorable specimen of his order) being examined, deposed, that he had formally reported to the Prussian War Office a private conversation between three pensioned officers, to which he had listened in a Restaurant.[404] The ground was, that some of the remarks made were "not calculated to inspire confidence" in the Army. The particulars the Count said, were of a trivial nature: he attached no importance to them, and did not know if they bore on the Ahlwardt case. This was confirmed by the officials who received the information: The details had made no impression on them. The Court treated all this as "vague" talk, and a subpoena which had been sent to Countess Hohenthal was accordingly cancelled. That a Minister Plenipotentiary and Member of the Bundesrath, who was formerly in the Saxon Regiment of Garde-Reiters, should assume the functions of a delator, surprises no one, and the natural English comment on the incident would be unintelligible to an average German.

FO 68/177: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 40, Dresden, 17 December 1892

[Received 19 December. For: Commercial Department; 'Amusing', R[osebery]]

Recent debates about bimetallism have not reinvigorated German interest despite changed political landscape

At the date of the Paris Monetary Conference,[405] and when our Royal Commission[406] was sitting, the silver question was one of the German

[402] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*, Act 5, Scene 2.

[403] Federal Council.

[404] On 6 December 1892 Hohenthal testified that in February 1889 he had overheard a conversation between two of the plaintiffs, Isodor Löwe and Oberstleutnant Kühne, and a third person, on supply of weapons to the army. According to Hohenthal the conversation also contained derogatory remarks about military officers.

[405] The international monetary conference was held at Paris in 1881.

[406] The Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the changes in the relative values of precious metals (Gold and Silver Commission), November 1886 to October 1888.

topics of the day. Bimetallism[407] was then frequently under debate in the Reichstag, in Chambers of Commerce and other public bodies, and it was the theme of a cloud of pamphlets, articles, and manifestoes [*sic*], which formed a literature apart. So that an abbreviated Report on the Currency Discussion of the Empire, addressed by me to the office in 1887, covered 40 pages of print.[408]

The arguments recently heard in Germany for and against the rehabilitation of silver – (the speeches on Count Mirbach's parliamentary interpellation of last Monday excepted)[409] –would hardly fill a short dispatch. This revived interest in a subject which, as regards financial and official circles, is as good as buried.

In my Report of 1886,[410] I explained the alliance of Bimetallism with the 'Agrarians' and Protectionists of the German Legislature, and I stated that, according to my belief, the silver party numbered 190 members, or nearly half the House. The parliamentary constellation of 1892 differs, toto caelo,[411] from that of 1887. It is very doubtful if the present Reichstag would grant the Imperial Government powers to join an International Silver League. The elements of the situation now include an important personal factor. Some years ago Prince Bismarck, who was exhaustively ignorant of economic science, began to dabble in currency questions, and some of his obiter dicta[412] were significant of sympathy with the protectionist crusade against foreign wheat and general low prices. The present Reichskanzler has delivered a declaration of war against Bimetallism, identifying the advocates of the doctrine that "the earth is flat" with the friends of Rector Ahlwardt.[413] His personal equation points, therefore, to the maintenance of the established monetary system of Germany,[414] and he would, besides, be hardly disposed to raise up a fresh swarm of antagonisms by posing as the advocate of "currency-mongering", and dear bread.

[407] See n. 310 in this section.

[408] Strachey's report to the Marquess of Salisbury of 16 February 1887 was printed as *Report on the Recent Currency Discussions in Germany*, March 1887.

[409] In the interpellation, dated 9 December 1892 and discussed in the *Reichstag* on 12 December, Mirbach enquired about the intended German course of action at the Brussels Monetary Conference (22 November to 17 December) with regard to the depreciation of silver.

[410] Commercial Report to the Earl of Rosebery, Dresden, 21 May 1886.

[411] Latin: 'diametrically'.

[412] Latin: 'something said in passing'.

[413] Strachey is referring to Caprivi's reply to Mirbach's interpellation on 12 December 1892. On the anti-Semite Ahlwardt see the previous dispatch.

[414] See n. 312 in this section.

The 'Nachrichten'[415] – (almost the only newspaper in Germany with thoroughly well written 'leaders' in the English style –) argues that it is just like Count Caprivi's prejudiced mind to lump together Bimetallists and Anti-Semites, as if these were convertible terms. Whatever Dresden partizans of the Jew-Bait may say, the Reichskanzler's identification was sufficiently exact. The Anti-Semites are, as a rule, enemies of the "International Gold Standard Swindle", which they denounce as a creation of Jews and liberals, and as the origin of the fall of agrarian values under the pressure of the produce of India and Russia.

In illustration of a previous paragraph I will mention, that one of the Saxon Ministers tells me that he is "at heart, a decided 'Agrarian' only it would not do to say so"[.] He has a lively faith in Herr von Arendt, the German agitator now in Brussels, and supposes that Bimetallism would perhaps prove a panacea for some of Germany's troubles – "but," adds His Excellency, "I do not know what it is".

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 1, Dresden, 4 January 1893

[Received 7 January by post. R[osebery]]

Prevailing pessimism in Saxony

The New Year has opened amidst a chorus of universal discontent. Nearly everybody is dissatisfied with everything – industrial, commercial, social, political. Whether in private discussions, or in editorial retrospects of 1892, the local tone is one of unmixed lamentation. Ministers, members of the Bundesrath,[416] Generals, bankers, tradesmen, journalists – all appear to be under the influence of a helpless pessimism. The characteristic belief of the Germans, that the remedies for men's evils lie not in themselves, but in their rulers, is reflected by the press. For instance, the Municipal 'Anzeiger'[417] remarks that 'the mass of the people want to feel that they are under the protection of a reliable ruler'. 'The smile of the peace-goddess is no adequate consolation for the loss of the pillar of the Empire, for the collapse of the ideal enthusiasm of the nation.' The Germans crave for ideals.

[415] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 16 December 1892.
[416] Federal Council.
[417] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 1 January 1893.

"The ideal of our people's soul is still the aged Reichskanzler,[418] that type of the grand, self-reliant, German nature." 'But we are now in danger of losing our confidence in ourselves, and in the sound vitality of the nation' – a curious result of the possession of the qualities of steadfastness and self-assertion.

All the comments which I hear on the 'present discontents', and their causes, may be summed up in the classical remark – 'Si Choiseul avait été içi'![419] The disturbed condition of public and commercial affairs is laid to the charge of 'the New Course'.[420] Count Caprivi has very few supporters in Saxony; but the clamours against his policy have no foundation in intelligent political dissent.

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 2, Dresden, 14 January 1893

[Received 16 January. Qy: Intelligence Department, E.F.C. [Edward Francis Chapman]; R[osebery]]

Widespread disapprobation of army bill likely to be short-lived

If there were any stability in German public and parliamentary opinion, the Army Bill would have to be described as dead.[421] Dislike of the measure is hardly a maximum in Saxony: but the local newspapers indicate, some by their silence, others by their arguments the extreme unpopularity of the proposed reform. As far as I can see, repudiation of the Bill is nearly universal in all classes, the Military excepted: I have it from unimpeachable sources, that the peasant proprietary of the Kingdom protest against the increased taxation which is in sight. The Minister of Foreign Affairs admits this, and believes that a similar spirit prevails in other parts of the Empire. He remarks, however with justice, that in Germany public opinion is not a serious political quantity, and he expects that the parliamentary opposition to the Bill will shortly evaporate. That is to say, the bulk of the Conservative and National-Liberal parties, and sections of the Catholic centre, will, at the last moment, not from motives like those which sway our House of Commons, but from their servile instincts, and terror of authority, turn their backs

[418] Otto von Bismarck.

[419] This French dictum is ascribed to Louis XV and refers to the First Partition of Poland, in 1772, which would not have taken place 'if only Choiseul [French foreign minister 1766–1770] had been here'.

[420] 'New Course' refers to the realignment of policy after Bismarck's dismissal in 1890.

[421] For the army bill (Imperial Military Law), see nn. 312 and 322 in Berlin section.

on all their late protestations, after the fashion of which the recent history of the Reichstag offers so many amazing examples. This line is to day recommended, or predicted, by the National-Liberal 'Anzeiger'[422] – (always an advocate of Byzantine proceedings) which argues, that as the Reichskanzler persists in his demands, the public must give way.

Herr von Metzsch and his colleagues would regret the development of a German parliamentary deadlock, like the Prussian 'Conflict' period of 1860–66.[423] But, if the Legislature proved intractable, Saxony would support an arbitrary solution of difficulties, even to the extent of a breach of the constitution. In this kingdom, resistance to an invasion of popular rights, whether by material or moral force, is utterly unthinkable. If Germany is not now in the hands of 'Major-Generals', the credit is due to the rulers of the 26 states of the Empire, and not to their subjects, who, at present, are incapable of firing a shot in defence of their liberties and laws.

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 11, Dresden, 25 February 1893

[Received 27 February. For: Commercial Department; R[osebery]]

No agitation in Saxony with regards to agrarian political affairs

The demonstrations of the 'Agrarians' at the Berlin 'Tivoli', and in the Prussian Landtag and the Reichstag, have had no echo here.[424] The agricultural situation of the Kingdom is unlike that of the Provinces of Pomerania and Preussen, in which the strength of the Prussian 'Agrarians' lies. Saxony is an industrial country, it has no latifundia,[425] the large estates are a mere minimum, the soil being mainly held by "peasant" proprietors and urban holders of allotments. Possessors of less than 15–20 acres are not effective sellers of produce, so that the agricultural majority have hardly suffered much from the fall of prices, like the holders of property on lease, or the possessors of large estates. They are thus little disposed to agitate for high corn duties, or to denounce Commercial Treaties, or to

[422] *Dresdner Anzeiger*.

[423] See n. 371 in this section.

[424] Strachey is referring to the constitutive meeting of the *Bund der Landwirte* (Agarian League) at the Berlin Tivoli brewery on 18 February 1892, and the debates in the German *Reichstag* (28 January to 17 February) and the Prussian house of deputies (14 to 16 February).

[425] Latin: 'landed estates'.

call for bimetallism,[426] or for restrictions on personal liberty and on the stock-exchange.

The owners of the 'Rittergüter',[427] and the larger "peasants" (with more than, say, 20 acres) have of course, to complain of loss of income. But many of them paid exorbitant prices for their estates in past years, when land was at a high premium: some have been extravagant, and are mortgaged beyond their means (not a common fault in Saxony): few, (at any rate in the higher class), have fallen into reduced circumstances, like so many country families in England. The local landlords of this class may be almost as reactionary in politics as the agitating class in Prussia. But they are not such irreconcilable Bismarckites and some of the remedies demanded by their neighbours, e.g. cheaper railway freights in the Eastern Provinces – would be injurious to the agricultural interests of the Kingdom.

Certain Saxon aristocratic landlords are prominent in the Reichstag on the side of monopoly and reaction: some have joined in the recent proceedings at Berlin. On the other hand, the Agricultural Council of Saxony[428] discountenances collective 'Agrarian' agitation, either in the political or the economic direction. A manifesto just issued, from some "farmers[']s friends" connected with that semi-official institution, advises the landlords of this kingdom to hold aloof from Agricultural Leagues of the political type, which are reducing the landed gentry and peasantry to pursue phantoms, instead of attending to those realities of economy, industry, and scientific culture, by help of which, assiduously followed, fair returns may still be drawn from the soil.

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 16, Dresden, 27 April 1893

[Received 1 May viâ Berlin. For: The Queen / Prince of Wales / Paris; R[osebery]]

French feelings vis-à-vis Alsace-Lorraine

The first French Delegate to the Sanitary Conference[429] was M. Barrère, who has filled the various positions of member of the

[426] See n. 310 in this section.
[427] Manors.
[428] *Landeskulturrat für das Königreich Sachsen.*
[429] The International Sanitary Conference took place at Dresden from 11 March to 15 April; it dealt with the prevention of epidemic diseases.

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Commune,[430] convict sentenced to Cayenne, and Minister Plenipotentiary. This young Diplomatist's merits are well known: they include the possession of our language in a degree almost unique in a foreigner, and he professes marked English sympathies. I asked him to tell me "the true truth" on the subject of Elsass-Lothringen: was the "study of revenge" deeply planted in the French mind? M. Barrère replied that there could be but one answer to my question. The feeling that the lost provinces must, and would, be reconquered, was universal. You might say, without abuse of language that the names Metz and Strassburg were deeply written in every French heart. A lost battle – a dozen lost battles which were "mere thrashings", like Waterloo – might leave behind them a rancour, which would be dissipated in time. But the bitter sense of ignominy that attends the conquest of large integral portions of national soil, is not so easily lost: in France, the hatred and hopes left by the disasters of 1870[431] are as vivid as they were twenty years ago, and, according to present appearances, they will not subside within any assignab[l]e limits of time.

It is not in my power to test M. Barrère's opinions on the topic. If they are as sound as his judgments on German things and persons, they must have considerable value.

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 17, Dresden, 11 May 1893

[Received 13 May by post. X; R[osebery]]

Unpopularity of army bill; its rejection by the Reichstag; *subsequent dissolution of this body*

On the publication of the proposals for the increase of the Army, nowhere in Germany was their reception more unfavorable than in this Kingdom.[432] They were condemned as imposing burdens, personal and fiscal, in excess of the requirements of the Empire, a judgment nearly identical with that of the heads of the Saxon administration, who assented with reluctance to the adoption of the intended reform as a Government measure.

As the discussion of the Bill advanced, its unpopularity grew. Except in the barracks, it seemed to have no supporters at all.

[430] Strachey is referring to the revolutionary government, *La Commune de Paris* (March to May 1871).

[431] Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871.

[432] For the army bill of 1893 (Imperial Military Law), see nn. 312 and 322 in Berlin section.

Even the local official press did not venture to write in its favor. In a country with a serious constitutionalism, no ministry could have withstood the outcry which arose.

After a time, symptoms of change became perceptible. Amongst officials, editors, politicians, private persons, the national alacrity in tergiversation began to assert itself. The reason was to be found, not in Count Caprivi's parliamentary arguments, to which very little weight was attached, but in the mixed influence of indifference and fear and, above all, of that Byzantine servility which is one of the most striking characteristics of the Bismarckian era.

By degrees advocacy of the Bill became general. Soon there were heard ambiguous voices which recalled the Prussian 'Conflict-Time' (relative to the Army organisation) of thirty years ago,[433] and hinted that, in the new Germany, popular resistance to the monarch's will would prove as futile as it did in the old. Such warnings were understood to foreshadow the eventuality of a coup d'état, a form of settlement to which, it was universally allowed, the Emperor and his advisers would, if other methods failed, probably resort. In numerous confidential discussions of the subject, I found it to be universally admitted as an axiom, that a violation of the constitution of the Empire would meet with no obstacles on the part of the confederated Governments, or with any resistance, however faint, even in the way of protest, from the German public. That Saxony and Dresden are actually in the condition of political impotence thus implied, is unquestionable. Here, as in the east of North-Germany, authority would command implicit obedience by a few strokes of the pen.

Now that the Bill has been rejected, its merits and demerits are perhaps less discussed than its side issues. The Dresden 'Journal' sees in the late parliamentary proceedings, proofs that the time is come for a retrogade [*sic*] constitutional Reform, and that stern means must be found for compelling members to renounce the scandalous practice of voting with specific parties, instead of following the plain indications of Government experts. Other newspapers are chiefly lamenting the measures of reactionary legislation under debate by the late Reichstag,[434] the reappearance of which, they fear, must be uncertain. Some are harping as what they call the fresh proofs of the political incompetency of Count Caprivi, and of

[433] See n. 371 in this section.

[434] Amongst other things, this is referring to the so-called *Lex Heinze* which stipulated the prosecution of 'pimping' and the censorship of 'immoral' publications, artwork, and depictions. After its first reading, on 3 and 15 December 1892, the amendment bill to the Imperial Criminal Code was transferred to committee.

the necessity of recalling Prince Bismarck or, at any rate, of constituting him grand referee to be consulted as often as complications arise.

Of the present feelings of the general public – whether they now regret the rejection and the dissolution – it is impossible to speak yet with certainty. The situation will not be much affected by the Emperor's address to the Military at the Tempelhof review.[435] His language (which is marked by the usual maximum of imprudence) may please the parties of "Throne and Altar", but may be interpreted by the Opposition as an attempt to dictate to the electorate by the Crown.

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 19, Dresden, 20 May 1893

[Received 23 May by post. X; R[osebery]]

Electoral preparations and publicity; activity of Social Democrats; many Reichstag *factions represented in Dresden*

The outward signs of popular excitement visible after a Dissolution of the House of Commons are almost unknown in Germany.[436] There is no general absorption in the one overpowering interest: the public seem rather to be playing at elections. Except in some of the larger towns, meetings are not held, and there is no systematic issue of addresses, or canvassing. The press notices of electoral preparations and incidents are very meagre; leading articles are heavy and uninstructive, and, above all, where persons are discussed, full of the timidity natural to journalists who have to write with one eye on the Libel, and 'Hatred and Contempt', paragraphs of the Criminal Code.[437]

To all this the Social-Democrat[s] offer an honorable contrast. Their activity is praised by their opponents, who wonder at their perfect organisation, their devotion to their flag, and their intrepidity in calling things and individuals by plain names.

In each of the 23 constituencies of the Kingdom the Socialists have their man ready for the contest; while, on the side of "order"[438] the

[435] In his address of 9 May 1893 Wilhelm II stated that, if the newly elected *Reichstag* was to reject the army bill again, he would be prepared to make every effort to see it through.

[436] The German *Reichstag* was dissolved on 6 May 1893 and new elections were scheduled for 15 June.

[437] Strachey is referring to Sections 130–131 and Sections 185–200 of the Imperial Criminal Code of 1871.

[438] For the '*Kartell der Ordnungsparteien*', see n. 208 in Berlin section.

hunt for willing and capable candidates is still proceeding, and, in places, under very adverse conditions.

The 'freisinnig'[439] leader, Barth, lately argued that there would be no enlightened public opinion in Germany as long as there was no parliamentary Government.[440] It would be more accurate to say that such Government cannot exist where the parliament is split up into above a dozen parties.

Nearly all the factions of the late Reichstag have their equivalents here; for instance the Dresden electorate have before them ten separate programmes. According to present announcements, the local candidate of 'Throne and Altar' will be a master-glazier,[441] who belongs to the 'Tivoli' wing of the Conservatives,[442] and therefore combines reactionary German Toryism and anti-Semitism in their most malignant forms. The liberals must support Herr Wetzlich, or the representation will fall into Social-Democratic hands. But, as above explained, the various platforms are not yet fully organized, and I need hardly add that the results of the Saxon polls of next Thursday three weeks are altogether beyond calculation.

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 31, Dresden, 16 September 1893

[Received 18 September. X; [Rosebery]]

Impending British naval demonstration incites press ruminations on British accession to Triple Alliance; general dislike of British foreign policies

The newspapers are publishing confident and detailed descriptions of the naval demonstration on the coasts of Italy, by which we are to reply to the visit of the Russian squadron to France.[443] The articles and paragraphs on this subject have revived the old assertions and speculations relative to our connection with the Triple Alliance, and in language that can hardly be called complimentary. There is

[439] See n. 3 in Berlin section.

[440] Strachey is probably referring to Barth's article 'Die Sackgasse' (The Deadlock), published in *Die Nation: Wochenschrift für Politik, Volkswirtschaft und Literatur*, No 32, 6 May 1893.

[441] Eduard Wetzlich (*Konservativer Landesverein*).

[442] This refers to the 'Tivoli Programme' named after the Berlin Tivoli brewery where, in 1892, the party conference of the *Deutschkonservative Partei* (German Conservative Party) adopted an anti-Semitic programme.

[443] Strachey is referring to the plans of the British Mediterranean Squadron to visit Taranto (16 October) and La Spezia (23 October). The Russian visit to Toulon (a return of the French visit to Kronstadt in 1891) was scheduled for 13 October. For the Triple Alliance, see n. 174 in Berlin section.

nothing new in this. At times a radical or a socialist organ may publish a friendly estimate of our motives and our strength, but the prevalent tone of the leading newspapers of the Empire expresses that sentiment of half contemptuous dislike which, however much decorous official language may mask the fact, is the feeling that predominates in Germany towards us.

I quote, as typical, the 'Anzeiger'[444] – a moderate and sensible National-Liberal journal owned by the municipality of Dresden – which remarks that although the cooperation, a passive sympathy of a British fleet in the Mediterranean would be invaluable to Germany, our formal accession to the Triple-Alliance would be an evil. Germany cannot guarantee the British status quo, India included, while the effect of a British military diversion on the continent would be nil: it would not take France half an army corps to keep us at bay: England would be as embarrassing an ally as Turkey. Very desirable for Germany would be the abandonment of the old British trick of playing the benevolent neutral for your own pocket – a change of habits not to be expected from a Government presided by M[r] Gladstone. Their recent attitude in the Siamese difficulty[445] shews that effective recognition of Great Britain's true interest, with vigorous action in support, which characterized the statesmanship of Lord Salisbury, is hardly to be looked for at present.

On these and other topics there is usually a suggestive monotony of language in the German press. Very little independence is shewn: Even the best journals being satisfied to reproduce the articles of the Correspondence circulars[446] lithographed in Berlin.

FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 40, Dresden, 3 November 1893

[Received 6 November by post. X; R[osebery]]

Saturday Review *wildly exaggerates international implications of Saxon king's military jubilee*

The 'Saturday Review'[447] writes – "something of an additional counter-note to Toulon and Paris was also (i.e. besides Spezia)[448]

[444] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 16 September 1893.
[445] This is referring to the lack of British support for Siam in the Franco-Siamese War of 1893.
[446] *Nationalliberale Korrespondenz*, Berlin.
[447] *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, 28 October 1893.
[448] See n. 443 to previous dispatch.

sounded at Dresden, where the "Military Jubilee"[449] of the King of Saxony was celebrated in the presence, and with the assistance, of the Emperor, not without some talk of "drawing-swords", and some presentation of Marshals' bâtons".

I have neither heard nor read a single remark from a German source calculated to justify, in however faint a degree, this acute suggestion. Both to the public, and to the high personages concerned, the proceedings in question were absolutely devoid of international significance. I am confident that the King and his advisers would have treated as childish the idea that the Dresden festivities might be taken as a counterblast to Toulon. As regards the Emperor, it is within my knowledge that, as far back as last Christmas, His Majesty having been casually told of his neighbour's approaching Jubilee, desired his informant to convey in the appropriate quarter, that he should not fail to offer his congratulations in person on that interesting occasion.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 4, Dresden, 4 January 1894

[Received 8 January by post. Seen at Berlin. 'Print(ed) & then ask me as to circulation', R[osebery]; Proofs annexed in print][450]

Explanation of Irish Home Rule analogy previously used to describe German Empire; outlines forces of centralization at work in the empire

Your Lordship has requested me to report on "the gradual extinction of Home Rule" in Germany, to which I referred in the final paragraph of my Despatch[451] on the Saxon political situation. The term Home-Rule was employed by me in the sense which it bears when

[449] Fiftieth anniversary of military service, 22 October 1893.

[450] Note in file: 'Mr Strachey, No 4, 4 January 1894. This is an interesting Despatch. I think Strachey used the word Home Rule rather loosely – but there is no question that the tendency in Germany has been towards centralization. Whether there is not a certain equilibrium and whether we are not on one side of it and the Germans on the other and both tending towards it is another question.' T.H.S. [Thomas Henry Sanderson], 8 January 1894; 'Is there not something more to be said? (and as to this I should take to ask Strachey.) Is there not a first reaction against this centralization, and have these not been very distinct signs of State individualism of late in Bavaria, & to a less [*sic*] degree in Wurtemberg? Has not, to put it another way, the attempted legislative & administrative centralization awakened the independent nations among the populations of the smaller [note in margin: 'the Southern'] German nationalities?' R[osebery].

[451] FO 68/178: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 45, Dresden, 9 December 1893 (not included in this volume); Rosebery's request is dated 23 December.

our domestic discussions of the affairs of Ireland[452] receive illustration from foreign precedents, that is, as a general expression for the Constitutional systems established in Hungary, Finland, Norway, Iceland. To these instances high authority has added the case of the German Empire, where, however, Home Rule is not a stable principle, but an element of Government which is suffering gradual abridgment, and is surely, if slowly, approaching the condition of a vanishing constitutional quantity.

To demonstrate this in detail, would be to write the history of German legislation from the year 1867 downwards, or, at least, to give a catalogue of the laws passed by the Reichstag since that date.[453] Within the circumscribed space available here, I can only note the salient points of the centralizing process by which a number of the principal prerogatives of local sovereignty have been, by degrees, lost to their original possessors, and absorbed into the Imperial power. The statutory law of Germany now determines the regulation of trade and industry, limited liability, usury, the hours of work, holidays, the liabilities of employers, national insurance, and the entire range of labour questions. Again, under Imperial law are colonisation, emigration, nationality, settlement and domicile: banking, the currency, coining, weights and measures, patents, trademarks, copyright: treaties, the consular service (except in Germany), posts,[454] telegraphs, lighthouses: also, medical, sanitary, and veterinary regulation. Further, railway management and control, ports, maritime and internal navigation. Imperial, also, is the press law, the restrictive legislation on religious societies, the law of marriage and on civil registration. There is uniform organisation of judicature and procedure, of legal practice, fees, and costs: an Imperial Court of appeal[,] a bankruptcy law, complete Criminal and Commercial codes. The Army and Navy are Imperial institutions: there is Imperial taxation which includes the Customs duties, stamps, the excise and consumption duties on beer, brandy, sugar, salt, and tobacco.

In the case of a single item of this list – beer – Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Baden, with Elsass-Lothringen are nominally exempt.[455] These

[452] The Government of Ireland Bill (Second Home Rule Bill) was defeated in the House of Lords on 8 September 1893.

[453] The German *Reichstag* was first established as the *Reichstag* of the North German Confederation in 1867.

[454] With exception of Bavaria and Württemberg.

[455] Taxation on beer belonged to the reserved rights (*Reservatrechte*) retained by Baden, Bavaria and Württemberg in the November (Versailles) Treaties of 1870 (for Bavaria, see n. 220 in Munich section). The taxation on beer in the Imperial Territory of Alsace Lorraine – which had its origins in French legislation – was regulated by decree of 10 March 1875.

exceptions made, it may be said that the faculty of legislating on the subjects just enumerated has been entirely withdrawn from the individual Confederated States. Moreover, the force of the centralizing movement is far from being exhausted. A German Civil Code has been drafted,[456] the movement in favour of a German Income Tax challenges the autonomy of the separate Exchequers, and there are premonitory signs of Imperial Legislation in other directions, whereby state prerogative will be further curtailed. More obscure than the action of the Reichstag is that of the Imperial Executive, which exerts pressure on the local administrations calculated to augment their dependency on Berlin.

Conformably to the gradual abatement of Home Rule in Germany, a visible change has come over the programmes and debates of the separate Parliaments. Now that German Unity is nearly full-grown, politics proper have almost dropped from their horizon. The King of Saxony's speech from the throne,[457] at the recent opening of the Landtag, affords an average illustration of this fact. First, there are threnodies on the industrial and agricultural depression, on the scarcity of fodder, and on the embarrassments entailed on the Treasury of the Kingdom by the existing financial relations of the Allied Governments and the Empire. Next follows a statement of the question of the school-grants, described in my previous correspondence. Thereupon are named two subjects for new legislation: protection of fields and gardens against marauders: railway improvement, extension of light lines, and purchase of rolling-stock. Furthermore, an Appendix to the Royal speech enumerated twenty laws passed by the last Landtag, and sanctioned in 1892. Of these a third relate to finance, the remainder dealing with such subjects as the slaughter tariff, discipline of domestic servants, fire insurance, fees to judicial attendants, and the like.

The foregoing statement is, I need hardly say, not an exhaustive report, but a rapid sketch of the subject such as I have been able to give without constitutional works, lists of the Laws of the Empire and so forth. Competent local authorities might correct some of my facts; their fundamental appreciations would, I believe, be identical with those submitted in this Despatch.

[…]

[456] A first draft of the German Civil Code (*Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch*) was presented in 1888; the code was finally, passed by the *Reichstag* on 1 July 1896 and became effective 1 January 1900.

[457] On 15 November 1893.

P.S. In the paragraph which alludes to the Customs Duties, I have omitted to mention the incorporation of Hamburg and Bremen in the Zollverein.[458]

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, No 9, Dresden, 26 January 1894

[Received 29 January by post. X; R[osebery]]

Saxon views on reconciliation between emperor and Bismarck

The Bismarck incident has caused an extraordinary commotion here.[459] It is the sole subject of conversation. All the telephonic news in the press relative to the great event of to day have been printed in extra-spaced type: a large number of sympathizers have shewn their enthusiasm by hanging flags from their houses. The prevailing excitement could hardly be more intense if, in the course of a war with Germany's neighbours, announcement were made of the capture of Warsaw and Belfort.

The newspapers have almost surpassed themselves in minute hypothetical investigations of the more frivolous aspects of the affair, such as the place of origin, and particular vintage of the wine sent to Friedrichsruh,[460] the quantity – whether a bottle or a cask – , the "psychological moment" (i.e. motive) in the choice of Count Moltke as the bearer of the message of peace,[461] the nexus between the reconciliation and the Bismarckian sentiments of the German Ambassadress at Vienna,[462] and other trivialities, all elucidated at length, and on grounds mostly supplied by the moral-consciousness of the respective writers.

The cry of the Bismarckites sans phrase,[463] of the agrarians, and other partizans of reaction, now is, "Bismarck is coming". And they talk as if their enemies Count Caprivi, and the Liberals, had already collapsed, and were retiring, panic-stricken, from the scene. The organ[464] of the Conservative Anti-Semites, which represents,

[458] See n. 200 in this section.

[459] Strachey is referring to Otto von Bismarck's visit to Wilhelm II on 26 January 1894.

[460] Friedrichsruh, Bismarck's manor house.

[461] Wilhelm's conciliatory letter to Bismarck was delivered – together with a bottle of old Rhine wine – on 22 January 1894.

[462] Princess Marie von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, wife of Heinrich VII , Prince Reuß zu Köstritz.

[463] 'Outright Bismarckite'. The term was used for the pro-Bismarckian *Deutsche Reichspartei* (*Freikonservative*).

[464] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 26 January 1894.

or inspires, the views of the lower Dresden middle-class, says that Prince Bismarck's visit to Berlin probably means 'Check to Caprivi'. This paper hints that there will next be a solution of the existing crisis in terms of a return to the approved national programme of the "Old Reichskanzler", which will cause a recovery from the political, commercial, and industrial chaos that followed the adoption of the "New Course".[465]

The moderates do not use the language of positive illusion; but they express a certain vague hope, or belief, that Prince Bismarck may hereafter stand behind Count Caprivi, as supreme adviser to the Crown, to be consulted as grand referee in moments of special perplexity.

A quasi-liberal (not 'freisinnig')[466] journal avoids the hyper-refined speculations and servility of its colleagues. The 'Zeitung'[467] dismisses the idea just named as unconstitutional nonsense, and treats the reconciliation as a mere personal incident, highly creditable, no doubt to those concerned, and calculated to fill the German public with profound gratitude and satisfaction, but as quite devoid of political importance except in so far as it may check the prevalent misuse of Prince Bismarck's name and influence. This system is not tortuous enough to suit the average local mind, to which the 'camarilla' interpretation is more congenial.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Rosebery, Confidential, No 11, Dresden, 9 February 1894

[Received 12 February. For: The Queen; 'One would like to know the sources of the information in this despatch', R[osebery]; 'I will write', T.H.S. [Thomas Henry Sanderson]; Done, 15 February]

Saxon king's views on Bismarck's recent audience with the emperor

The King of Saxony visited Prince Bismarck during his stay at Berlin, when the conversation turned on the ex-Reichkanzlers's meeting with the Emperor.[468] Prince Bismarck spoke with much feeling of the kindness of His Imperial Majesty, who, he said, had treated him with surprising cordiality, and with marks of honour in excess of his due. At their interview, only general and personal topics had been discussed, his august host refraining from all political allusions.

[465] See n. 337 in this section.
[466] See n. 3 in Berlin section.
[467] *Dresdner Zeitung*, 26 January 1894.
[468] Albert visited Berlin from 25 to 28 January 1894 on the occasion of Wilhelm II's birthday (27 January); he met with Bismarck on 26 January.

The King followed the Emperor's example as regards reticence on public affairs. Prince Bismarck equally remarked, that he thought it desirable that the Reichstag should sanction the Commercial Treaty with Russia.[469]

The King of Saxony was struck by the change in the Prince's appearance, but found that the outward signs of increased age were not accompanied by an iota of decline in the great Minister's conversational vivacity and vigor of mind.

The King has a strong regard for Prince Bismarck, partly founded on his interference, after the battle of Sadowa,[470] to prevent the annexation of Saxony to Prussia. To myself, His Majesty said many years ago, "c'est le Prussien que j'aime le mieux".[471] But he would deprecate the exertion of a Bismarckian influence on policy, of which, in his opinion, the possibility is excluded, both at present and for the future. A Saxon Conservative lately said in a debate in the Reichstag on the new taxes – 'if all our wisdom fails us, we must take counsel at Friedrichsruh'.[472] In official quarters here, this language is treated as mere drivelling.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 16, Dresden, 10 March 1894

[Received 12 March. For; The Queen / Lord Rosebery; K[imberley]]

German public feeling with regard to Gladstone's resignation

The comments of the local press on the recent Ministerial changes at home have been similar to those reported from the other capitals of the Empire.[473] While refraining from the malevolence customary in German appreciations of the late head of Her Majesty's Government, the various organs have not concealed the public satisfaction at his withdrawal from office.

For nearly a quarter of a century that illustrious statesmen has been, in Germany, one of the most unpopular figures of contemporary European politics. On this antipathy I need not enlarge. Originating during the Franco-German war, it has been augmented

[469] For the commercial treaty, see n. 354 in Berlin section.

[470] Battle of Königgrätz (3 July 1866; part of the Austro-Prussian War) in which Austrian and Saxon troops were defeated by Prussia.

[471] French: 'It's the Prussian that I like the best'.

[472] Arnold von Frege-Weltzien on 31 January 1894.

[473] Gladstone resigned as prime minister on 2 March 1894; his administration was succeeded by that of the Earl of Rosebery.

by some of the subsequent developments of British Liberal policy, the recent Irish legislation included,[474] which have been judged to be antagonistic in direction to the new German ideals. These feelings have not been confined to the retrograde Junker class. They have nowhere been stronger than amongst the National-Liberals who, with all their serious shortcomings, are not a party of prejudice and darkness. I have ground[s] for the belief that the dislike in this quarter was largely stimulated by Prince Bismarck, whose animosity against the late Premier is a matter of history.

On the other hand, the adherents of the 'freisinnig', or democratic, programme have always declared to general sympathy with Gladstonian principles and practise: it is true that in respect to Home Rule, and certain foreign questions, their approval has been subject to considerable qualifications. The great German radical party is now, since last year's collapse, broken up into two weak fractions, one of them represented by the Berlin 'Nation', which sees ground[s] for congratulation in the transfer of power from "the great figure, half finance-artist, half theosoph", to the hands of so admirable a successor.[475] As regards my special Saxon horizon, I can say that Lord Rosebery's assumption of the Premiership has made a very favorable impression, and that it is calculated to give German feeling towards England the opportunity for a new departure, for which, here as in the rest of the Empire, there is some room.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 17, Dresden, 22 March 1894

[Received 24 March. ~~Qy~~: X; Commercial Department to see; K[imberley]

Saxon vote in Reichstag *on treaty with Russia not representative of local population; Saxons more mild-mannered than other German states in political affairs*

Of the 23 Saxon members of the Reichstag, 12 voted for, 11 against, the first paragraph of the Treaty with Russia: this was the division on which the calculations of the imaginary majority have been based.[476]

[474] Strachey is referring to the Second Home Rule Bill; see n. 452 in this section.

[475] *Die Nation: Wochenschrift für Politik, Volkswirtschaft und Literatur*, 10 March 1894. *Die Nation* was edited by Theodor Barth, who belonged to the *Freisinninge Vereinigung* (Free-Minded Union; founded by moderate members of the *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* in May 1893). The left wing of the former *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* (see n. 3 in Berlin section) henceforth constituted the *Freisinnige Volkspartei* (Free-Minded People's Party).

[476] Article 1 of the commercial treaty between Russia and Germany (see n. 354 in Berlin section) granted German and Russian subjects equal rights to trade and industry in the

So close a balance of opinion does not correspond with the feelings of the electorate. The population of the Kingdom is, in its essential character, industrial and commercial. The Rittergüter, or estates of the aristocracy and middle-class, are a mere fraction of the soil, their individual acreage is very small, and they are invariably leased to farmer-capitalists for long terms. Of the owners of the minor holdings, (75 per cent of the whole) many pursue agriculture, or gardening, as an accessory business, so that they have no surplus produce for the market. There is no sufficient basis for a strong territorial party, and the Saxon 'Agrarians' would have little importance but for their alliance with the local Anti-Semites of both fractions,[477] who are represented in the German Parliament by 6 members, or more than one fourth of the entire Saxon contingent.

I am told by a high official who has just been to Berlin, that the Prussian partizans of "Throne and Altar" are venting their discontent with the Treaty and the 'New Course'[478] in strong language. The ornamental classes of Saxony are far more submissive than the Junkers of Pomerania and Brandenburg, and their disinclination to censure official policy and persons, in however private a manner, is always very marked. On the present occasion, their irritation against "the Master Builder" and his "Clerk of the Works"[479] is expressed in a very diluted form, and some Agrarians are remarking that, with rye selling at 130 Marks per ton, an import duty of 35 Marks per ton is not a despicable amount of protection. Of the larger landlords, a few disapprove the Agrarian agitation, and argue that the state has to care for other interests besides those of agriculture.

On the attitude of the intelligent circles of the Kingdom, I wrote in a former Despatch. Their Press organs contain nothing on this subject worth notice. The Anti-Semitic 'Nachrichten'[480] has been neutral as regards the Treaty, but never the less makes it a text for such attacks on the Reichskanzler as the risks of prosecution allow. 'The Empire is now governed by the aid of demagogic influences, and between the leaders of the 'New Course' and the true pillars of conservative and monarchical feeling a chasm is yawning. The "Old Course" dictated policy to the world – the "New Course" has to purchase peace by the payment of subsidies and tributes abroad. In his

territory of the other contracting partner. This article – as with all 21 articles of the treaty – was passed by the *Reichstag* on 16 March 1894.

[477] *Deutsche Reformpartei* (German Reform Party) and the *Deutschsoziale Partei* (German Social Party).

[478] 'New Course' refers to the realignment of policy after Bismarck's dismissal in 1890.

[479] Leo Graf von Caprivi and Karl Heinrich von Boetticher.

[480] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 18 March 1894.

four years of office, General Caprivi has not uttered a word calculated to warm the Idealismus of the nation: it is his talent to beat their aspirations and ideals to the ground'.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 22, Dresden, 25 May 1894

[Received 28 May. X; K[imberley]]

Saxon press views on miners' congress

The local journals have taken notice though not in detail, of the Miners' Congress at Berlin.[481] Their reports have been altogether tendentious, the object being, to exalt the English delegates at the expense of their foreign colleagues. While the representatives of German, Austrian, French and Belgian mining industry – such was the argument – were so enslaved by their Utopian dreams of the socialistic State of the Future as to be incapable of comprehending, or discussing, the actual wants of the moment, our countrymen suggested practical solutions of the labour problems which the Congress had been convoked to discuss. The gulf between the insular and the continental conceptions political and economic, was seen to be irremediably deep, there were numerous personal collisions, the result of the antagonisms displayed being, that the English delegates abruptly took their departure,[482] leaving the rump Congress to continue its deliberations at its pleasure.

Such was the gist of the comments in question, which not only placed M^r^ Burt, M^r^ Pickard, and their associates, in a very advantageous light compared with the German Social-Democrats; but also spoke of them, directly or impliedly as standing in the front of the new English labour movement. It is hardly necessary to say, that the English and the German Delegates of the Congress belonged to entirely different political platforms, the opinions of Mess^rs^ Burt and Pickard being, as far as a parallel can be drawn at all, analogous to those of Herr Richter and Herr Rickert. The proper English equivalents for Singer and Liebknecht would be M^r^ Burns and Alderman Tillett, and all comments on the situation which ignore

[481] The Berlin International Miners' Congress was held from 14 to 19 May 1894.

[482] The majority of British delegates left Berlin on 18 May and 19 May before the congress closed.

this fact, must misrepresent the significance of the debates of the Miner's Congress.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 25, Dresden, 13 June 1894

[Received 15 June. For: Lord Rosebery; X]

Negative Saxon views on British treaty with Congo; general German animosity towards Britain

The National-Liberal 'Anzeiger'[483] has reproduced the Radical Frankfort Zeitung's report of M. Deloncle's remarks to their interviewer on our treaty with the Congo State.[484] The Dresden writer's[485] preface is this – "Deloncle pleads for a joint action of Germany and France against England, an idea which, it is true, is more and more gaining ground in Germany also, where people have got heartily tired of the eternal English chicanery." And further: "Deloncle's low estimate of the worth of the English alliance to Germany needs no confirmation. The untrustworthiness of England is no secret, and German politicians are complaining that her unreliable friendship has been bought by a system of undue connivance at British encroachments."

These remarks would meet with few contradictions, either here or elsewhere in the Empire. Such popular feeling as exists towards England (of a "public opinion" in Germany it is absurd to speak), is largely tinctured with ill-will. The age of Bismarck has dropped that admiration for our institutions and statesmen, which marked the men of '48[486] without distinction of party or class. The parliamentary chiefs of the new Germany, the publicists, the professors of history, the teachers of youth, youth itself, have grown to regard us with dislike, and to talk of 'perfide Albion'[487] after the manner customary in France in the beginning of the Queen's reign. Anglomania still survives; but it is not a national creed, only the persuasion of certain crowned heads, of a few ministers, of a minority of liberal politicians, of a portion of the commercial as distinguished from the industrial class, of some Social Democrats. Lately there have been signs of

[483] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 11 June 1894.

[484] The interview, dated Paris 6 June, was published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on 7 June 1894. For the Anglo-Congolese (Anglo-Belgian) agreement of 12 May 1894, see n. 365 in Berlin section.

[485] Name not traceable.

[486] The Revolution of 1848.

[487] See n. 250 in this section.

defection amongst our 'freisinnig'[488] friends. Even the Berlin 'Voss' the 'Nation' and other democratic organs,[489] partly under the African influence, have begun to modulate their old key of admiration into a carping tone. In discussing this topic with our enemies, our friends, or neutrals, I never heard an opinion differing to an appreciable extent from that just submitted.

The 'Anzeiger' is a sensible paper, the organ of the Municipality, not a mere trumpet of Boulevard folly and prejudice. The article quoted ridicules the idea, or pretence, of M. Deloncle, that the sea-power of Great Britain is not superior, in efficiency, perhaps not equal to the young navy of the German Empire.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 29, Dresden, 11 September 1894

[Received 13 September. X]

Press views of Antwerp peace congress

It is customary in this Empire to treat the proceedings of the International Peace Society with profound contempt. The reports of their recent meeting have drawn forth comments of the usual description. The National Liberal Dresden "Anzeiger"[490] observes that the discussions and resolutions of the Antwerp Congress have met with general disapproval in the German Press, and calls it supporters ignorant, clamorous, subversive idealists.[491]

This may seem strange in a country where all classes are radically pacific, not even the Army being bellicose. One reason lies in the prevalence in Germany of the Platonic belief that for the higher inspirations in politics mankind ought to look to trained experts, and not attend to the unofficial chatter of laymen. As the 'Anzeiger', trying to be sarcastic, puts it: 'to hear the peace-mongers, the Government, which is appointed by the Monarch, and the Parliament, the body elected by the people, have no comprehension

[488] See n. 3 in this section.

[489] The daily *Vossische Zeitung* (*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*) and the weekly *Die Nation*.

[490] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 6 September 1894.

[491] The sixth Universal Peace Congress met at Antwerp from 29 August to 1 September 1894. The main resolutions concerned duelling, the inviolability of human life, the abolishment of death penalties, free activity of all countries in new colonies, the necessity of permanent treaties of arbitration, the truce of armaments, the freezing of naval budgets, and the institution of a Peace Sunday on the continent.

of the true interests of the nation, this being exclusively possessed by the gentlemen who participate in the Peace Congress'.

On the other hand, a minority denies the esoteric character of public affairs, declining, in particular, to admit that competency in international problems is monopolized by Ambassadors and other high functionaries of state. But, between this party and the "peace-mongers", there interposes the question of Elsass-Lothringen.[492] Suggestions of European disarmament and arbitration indirectly involve eventual discussion before the Areopagus[493] of the future of the claims of the Empire to the continued possession of the Reichsland. On this point, absolute unanimity of feeling prevails throughout the nation. For the defence of the ancient "avulsa imperii"[494] reconquered in 1870, every German who deserved the name is as ready to die in the last ditch as we ourselves should be if Anglesea [*sic*] and the Isle of Wight were threatened. It was a noteworthy utterance of Bebel in the Reichstag, that if Metz and Strassburg were endangered, the followers of Social-Democracy would show that they knew their duty.[495]

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 40, Dresden, 31 October 1894

[Received 1 November. For: Lord Rosebery; K[imberley]]

Saxon press on the fall of Caprivi

An event so sensational and unexpected as the Ministerial Crisis could not fail to arouse the German public from their normal political torpor.[496] In this city where, as I have often had occasion to report, Bismarck worship has always been a maximum, there is a visible disposition to exult over the fall of Count Caprivi. The anti-semitic and Free Conservative "Dresdner Nachrichten",[497] which is generally a fair index to the opinions of a large portion of the local middle-class, administers severe kicks to the dead lion, calling

[492] The territory of Alsace-Lorraine was annexed by the German Empire in 1870–1871. It was known as the *Reichsland* (imperial territory) *Elsaß-Lothringen*.

[493] The council of elders in pre-classical Athens; named after the rock north-west of the Acropolis.

[494] Latin: 'cut off from the empire'.

[495] Strachey is referring to Bebel's speech of 15 July 1893.

[496] On Caprivi's resignation and Hohenlohe's succession as imperial chancellor, see pp. 164–168.

[497] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 28 October 1894.

him a mere soldier, ignorant of politics, who, in passive obedience to orders, assumed an office which he was quite unqualified to fill. The Ex-Reichskanzler's record is the Colonial collapse, the Russian treaty fiasco, the famous declaration in the school debate, "Atheism versus Christianity", and the discreditable despatch on the occasion of Count Herbert Bismarck's marriage.[498] His successors are not likely to be his equals in supple readiness to submit to that 'sacrifizio dell' intelletto'[499] which appears to be a growing requirement for the occupiers of the post of Reichskanzler, now, under the new system, losing its political dignity, and threatening to sink to the level of a mere military command.

The 'National Liberal' "Anzeiger"[500] (organ of the Municipality) has no original articles on this topic, but betrays, in various ways, a certain satisfaction at General Caprivi's removal from office. Positively venemous [*sic*] is the tone of the leading National Liberal journal of the Kingdom, the Leipzig 'Tageblatt',[501] which gives a spicilegium[502] [note in margin: 'Qy'] of Berlin extracts tending to prove that the Reichskanzler was fairly turned out of office, thanks to the impatience caused by his shilly-shally system, and colourless policy, and to the resentiments [*sic*] aroused by the behaviour of his "reptile press".[503]

In the chorus of Bismarckian sentiment the 'Zeitung',[504] a paper more liberal than the preceding, does not join, using language fairly sympathetic, & hinting that the statesman's fall has been the result of palace intrigues. Very suggestive is the reserve of the 'Journal',[505] which does not even venture on a single valedictory compliment to the retiring Minister. The official mouthpiece says, that the crisis at Berlin is not a subject for comment, in its columns, adding that Count Caprivi did not obtain from the Emperor, or from his colleagues, the support requisite to enable him to carry out his programme.

[498] The *Dresdner Nachrichten* was referring to the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of 1890 (see n. 436 in Berlin section), Caprivi's speech in the Prussian house of deputies of 29 January 1892 concerning the elementary school bill (see pp. 138–140), the controversial German–Russian commercial treaty of 10 February 1894, and Caprivi's instruction to the German ambassador to Vienna of 9 June 1892 not to attend Herbert Bismarck's Viennese wedding.

[499] Italian: 'sacrifice of the intellect' (a concept of Christian devotion, here subjugation to the authority of the emperor).

[500] *Dresdner Anzeiger*.

[501] *Leipziger Tageblatt*.

[502] Latin: 'anthology'.

[503] For the 'reptile press', see n. 67 in this section.

[504] *Dresdner Zeitung*.

[505] *Dresdner Journal*, 27 October 1894.

What reaches me personally is in the direction of the opinions of the 'Nachrichten'. I need hardly say that the 'Agrarians' are jubilant at the unexpected removal from power of their grand enemy. It is no part of the German character to behave with generosity to a fallen foe.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 44, Dresden, 15 November 1894

[Received 19 November: For: Lord Rosebery; K[imberley]]

Public feeling in Saxony with regards to subversive political parties

There was lately published at Leipsic a pamphlet[506] on the subversive parties by D[r] Rössler, formerly director of the Berlin 'Literary Bureau', the Government Office through which Prince Bismarck inspired the 'reptile' press of Germany, as for instance, in his campaign against the Emperor and Empress Friedrich.[507] Foreseeing that the Reichstag might be indisposed to comprehensive, effective, legislation against Social Democracy, the pamphleteer proposed a simple expedient by which coercion would be available in any desired degree. The constitution would be suspended, the Parliament, if recalcitrant, would be turned out of doors, and the Emperor, in conjunction with the Federal Council would assume supreme power for a term of years, when the edicts neccessary [*sic*] for the defense of society would be promulgated.

The Leipzig 'Grenzboten'[508] (Free-Conservatives) has ridiculed this as chimerical, observing that the fact that such suggestions had been solemnly discussed by a portion of the German press proved the existence of a degraded state of feeling, and was a national disgrace. The Dresden public must, I presume, be well aware that the impending proposals of the Imperial Government relative to Social Democracy exclude exceptional legislation on the pattern of the old Bismarck law.[509] Nevertheless there is here a strong current of opinion in favour of policy which would, in effect, involve the perpetration of a coup d'État. At a local meeting which was largely attended by the aristocracy, military, civil officials, and private

[506] Constantin Rössler, *Die Sozialdemokratie* (Berlin 1894).

[507] For the 'reptile press', see n. 67 in this section. For Bismarck's 'relationship with' and 'campaign' against Friedrich I and Victoria, see pp. 99–100, 104–106, and 111.

[508] *Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, 18 October 1894.

[509] Strachey is referring to the 'subversion bill' (*Umsturzvorlage*), see n. 381 in Berlin section. For the Anti-Socialist Law which had expired in 1890, see n. 10 in this section.

burghers, a Prussian Kammerherr resident here,[510] and well known as a rabid enthusiast on behalf of 'throne and altar', delivered an address on the lines of the above named pamphlet.

His ranting rhetoric was received with enormous applause throughout, which reached a maximum, when he recommended that all Socialists condemned under his prospective legislation should, after their punishment by imprisonment of home, be transported to the Bismarck Archipelago or the Cameroons, and kept under supervision there.

A petition from Dresden urging drastic measures against the internal enemy, their deprival of constitutional rights included, has received 80,000 signatures in the kingdom.[511] To this, objections have been raised in National-Liberal quarters, and the declaration made, that the party will not countenance reactionary plans. It is, however, significant of Dresden feeling, that the National-Liberal 'Anzeiger',[512] the organ of the Town Council, calls the speech just quoted a very statesmanlike and important manifesto.

[…]

P.S. Since the above was written, the Prussian Kammerherr named has repeated his lecture at Leipzig,[513] before a large assemblage of the partizans of Order, when a resolution was passed, declaratory of the determination of those present to support the Crown in its campaign against the propagators of subversive doctrines.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 45, Dresden, 24 November 1894

[Received 26 November. For: Lord Rosebery; K[imberley]]

German press widely subscribe to Anglophobia

The Berlin correspondent of the 'Standard' has been at his old trick of persuading his employers that their editorials are creating a 'sensation', or 'surprise', in Germany.[514] This public does not read English newspapers, hardly knows them even by name, and the

[510] Werner von Blumenthal, on 10 November 1894.

[511] The petition to the *Reichstag* and the Federal Council was drawn up by the Dresden *Konservative Verein* on 3 July 1894.

[512] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 12 November 1894.

[513] On 12 November 1894.

[514] Strachey is referring to Emil Witte's article, dated 19 November, on the German reaction to the *Standard's* editorial of 12 November (see pp. 169–170).

idea of its being excited by their opinions is ludicrous. What has happened is, that the entire German press, whether originating, or copying from the party Circular correspondence sheets, is labouring under an acute attack of Anglophobia. If their diatribes against our greed, treachery, and weakness, appear less venomous than the attacks of the 'Figaro' and its consorts, the reason is that the literary hacks of Berlin, Cologne, and Dresden, trained as they are under the daily pressure of the gag, have not acquired the art of effective journalistic writing.

The bitterness of spirit to which I allude has been recently manifested by a rain of articles, paragraphs, and allusions, referring to the affairs of China and Japan, Samoa, New Guinea, Madagascar, Delagoa Bay, the African boundaries, the Suez Canal, the Temple of Philae, and so forth. A special gravamen has been suggested by the Prime Minister's speech at the Guildhall,[515] which is called a bid for the foundation of an anti-German Triple Alliance, and by the language used in England on the death of the Czar,[516] in which our German critics profess to discover servilities of language that surpass the worst excesses of French prostration in that quarter. Our domestic politics are in an equally discreditable groove. All parties are absorbed in the desire to win the favour if the Demos, the honour and safety of the Empire are disregarded – all of which is worse under a Radical administration.

These sentiments may be found in the representative organs of the daily and periodical press of the Empire, Conservative and Liberal, and even in the Radical Berlin 'Voss'.[517] A particularly heavy blow against the enemy has been suggested by the Leipzig 'Grenzboten',[518] which, after a fashion, is the German "Nineteenth Century". That magazine has worked out the idea of a German-French alliance to be directed against our present colonial and maritime supremacy, which is to be ["]crushed by the French and German navies of the future." Great Britain is a country which "in the insatiable voracity of its territorial appetite swallows whatever it can get, and grudges others that which it cannot itself absorb". 'Germany has everywhere to encounter in all their hateful nakedness the Polyp-arms of the envy and malevolence of her British enemy.' This article is quoted at length by the Dresden official 'Journal',[519] which signifies its approval.

[515] See n. 391 in Berlin section.
[516] Alexander III died on 1 November 1894.
[517] *Vossische Zeitung* (*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*).
[518] *Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, 1 November 1894.
[519] *Dresdner Journal*, 3 November 1894.

FO 68/179: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 48, Dresden, 15 December 1894

[Received 17 December. For: Lord Rosebery; K[imberley]]

Criticism in Saxony of proposal to prosecute Socialist Reichstag *members*

The request to the Reichstag to permit the prosecution of Herr Liebknecht has been widely disapproved here, except in quarters where official decorum prevents the expression, or formation, of personal judgments.[520] It is to the credit of the local newspapers that none of them have separated themselves on this occasion from the press of the Empire: not even the subsidized Government 'reptile', the 'Journal',[521] has ventured to advocate the prosecution, or to pretend that a majority of the Reichstag was likely to decide in its favour. I have been surprised to find the ornamental classes indisposed to accept the principle of the assimilation of parliamentary offences to common crimes.

By the German aristocratic and official castes, Socialists and Liberals are habitually spoken of as dogs, or worse: I lately heard the Reichstag described, as an assemblage composed, if the Conservatives were excepted, of "mere blackguards". – Still, such feelings do not exclude the recognition of the truth that if a Parliament is to exist, its discipline ought not to rest with the police.

Of the intelligent circles, the knowledge of a Diplomatist is never perfect, nor quite direct. I am assured, however, that the enlightened majority of the citizen class of this capital see with regret that the opening of "the newest course"[522] has been marked by an unfortunate political blunder. A Minister[523] with no party at his back, without imposing antecedents or striking personal qualities, allows the Government to be drawn into a constitutional conflict calculated to divide the supporters of "throne and altar" into hostile camps, and to "bring water", as the Germans say, "to the mill"[524] of the

[520] Liebknecht, together with other members of the Social Democratic faction, remained seated during cheers for the emperor in the *Reichstag* sittings of 6 December 1894. In a letter of 9 December the imperial chancellor requested the *Reichstag* to give its approval to Liebknecht's prosecution for lèse-majesté. This was rejected on 15 December.

[521] *Dresdner Journal*. On the so-called 'reptile press', see n. 67 in this section.

[522] This refers to the new administration under Hohenlohe and is an allusion to Caprivi's 'New Course'.

[523] Ernst von Köller, Prussian minister of the interior.

[524] The German proverb '*Wasser auf seine Mühlen bringen*' translates as 'That's all grist to his mill'.

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subversive parties! Such a beginning, it is urged, bodes no good. So many difficulties lie ahead – (some of them, for instance, the financial, are likely to prove insoluble on the terms proposed by the Imperial Government) – that the Reichskanzler's proper course was to calm antagonisms not to permit them to be roused.

To the gag the Germans are accustomed, and they accept it as a fundamental national institution. But to the classes here in question, its application to the Legislature is an absurdity against which they protest – as the German manner is, in silence.

In the face of the proposed "arrest of the six members", the utter absence of an active public opinion may seem strange. If existing, it could attain, in Saxony at least, to no open expression, for meetings to discuss such a burning question would not be permitted. As regards the offence with which the Socialists are charged, I would say that German legal theory and practice afford a general basis to the view of the Berlin Public Prosecutors.

Schoolboys of ten or twelve years of age have been arrested for lèse-majesté: a person who good humouredly spoke of the Imperial babies as "little chaps" (Bengel) was recently indicted for the outrage. Not long since, some individuals who did not rise at a dinner when the Emperor's health was drunk, were prosecuted and sentenced: this occured [*sic*] in Saxony.

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, Confidential, No 8, Dresden, 7 February 1895

[Received 11 February. Seen at Berlin. For: Lord Rosebery; K[imberley]]

Dismal view of Saxon ministerial changes

The Ministerial changes of the secondary German states have as a rule, a mere personal origin, in which politics have no part, and are scarcely more discussed by the local public than junior appointments in the Army. The previous possession of superior administrative, courtly or diplomatic rank is the sine qua non for high office, large scope being allowed to palatial considerations, which may give the wrong man the place. Pari passû and with the growing transfer of authority to Berlin, there has been a progressive deterioration in the Saxon Cabinet Ministers of the last twenty years, especially at the Foreign Office, where, within my time, there has been a descent from positive statesmanship to the very minimum of bureaucratic intelligence.

The department of Finance is shortly to be vacant by the retirement, from ill-health, of Herr von Thummel, a capable expert. His

successor will be Herr von Watzdorf, at present keeper of the Privy Purse, personal Secretary to the King and Queen, and acting Lord Chamberlain. For the exercise of such functions this gentleman is well fitted; but for high administrative work his only qualifications are, that he is persona grata at Court, and is connected by marriage with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.[525]

Herr von Watzdorf will have to manage the State Railways, Woods, Forests, Mines, Domains, and the like, and he will have to contribute to the evolution of the German financial problems which now perplex the statesmen of the Empire. Yet his appointments has been received here in silence: neither press nor public have uttered a word of praise or blame. On my asking a leading financier what was said on the subject, the reply was "nothing is, or will be, said at all: the matter is not discussed on grounds of politeness." Another middle-class informant answered in the same sense – "in regard to such topics, our population, as you know, is muzzled:"– "and of course, the Finanzraths[526] will prevent any mischief being done." All of which may be appropriately summed up in the classical phrase "il fallait un calculateur, un danseur l'obtint"[.][527]

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 11 Dresden, 31 May 1895

[Received 3 June. X; K[imberley]]

Spectator *article misrepresents German Emperor's role in crisis over amendment of Criminal Code*

According to a recent article in the London 'Spectator' the Emperor William has been in conflict with "his people", and has suffered "defeat" at their hands, by the rejection of "his" fiscal plans, and "his" proposed legislation against the Subversives.[528] As commentary on the late Parliamentary situation in Berlin, this language is altogether unmeaning. On some other occasions when the calm of Germany has been disturbed by political cyclones, the Emperor has been identified, and on solid grounds, with a particular line of legislation. And there have been times when his opinions and wishes

[525] Watzdorf's wife was a distant cousin of Georg von Metzsch.

[526] Senior civil servants in the ministry for finance.

[527] French: 'a schemer was needed, a dancer was chosen' from Beaumarchais' play *La Folle Journée, ou Le Mariage de Figaro (1884)*.

[528] 'The German Emperor's Defeat', *The Spectator*, 18 May 1895. Amongst other things, the article discussed the implications of the *Reichstag's* rejection of a surcharge on tobacco (13 May) and of the 'subversion bill' (*Umsturzvorlage*; see n. 381 in Berlin section) on 11 May.

have been the subject of guesses and assertions often founded on irresponsible gossip, or positive frictions. During the late events, nothing of this sort happened. As far as was known, the Emperor kept silence on the topic of the day: and the public refrained from the customary conjectures. Earlier remarks of His Imperial Majesty on the necessity of combating the internal enemies of society, and certain phrases from his addresses to the recruits, were not forgotten.[529] But it was thought that between such expressions and the Bill for the Amendment of the Criminal Code no visible connexion existed and the responsibility for that measure was laid on the Imperial Government and not on the Crown. Still less was the Emperor accused of sympathy with the amendments of the Catholic Centre.[530] Far from it, the current opinion was, that his consent as King of Prussia would never be given to the application to Germany of a gag of that description. On the whole it may be said, that the Germans are entirely unconscious of the existence of the state of things on which the 'Spectator' has been philosophizing with so much acumen.

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Earl of Kimberley, No 13, Dresden, 29 June 1895

[Received 1 July. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

Emperor's dignified role in celebrations to mark the opening of the Kiel Canal; press moderate towards less dignified performance of the French

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has returned home deeply impressed by the festivities and functions of Hamburg and Kiel.[531] Speaking to me on the subject, he remarked that the Emperor had played his part through'out with remarkable tact and success, sustaining to the full his dignity as head of Germany, both by his general demeanour, and by his imposing delivery of his speeches at Hamburg and Kiel, the latter of which was, for prudence sake, read, after it had been submitted to the editorship of Herr von Böttcher.

[529] Strachey is referring, in particular, to Wilhelm's speech of 23 November 1891, in which he – in the face of subversive socialist activities – demanded army recruits to follow his orders without grumbling, even if he ordered them to shoot their own relatives.

[530] Instigated by the Catholic *Zentrum* faction, the bill was extended to protect recognized religious institutions and their doctrines from sacrilege along with incitement to blasphemy.

[531] For the opening of the Kiel Canal, see pp. 177–179.

Herr von Metzsch observed, that the conduct of the French, had caused much amusement: their perversities were remarkable, and an absurd effect was produced when their ships remained dark during the illumination of the fleet. Their arrival at Kiel with the Russians was comical, and the Grand Duke Alexis expressed his dissatisfaction at his own forced share in the manoeuvre.

I remarked that the interest and enthusiasm aroused by all this pageantry must leave a mark on the imagination of the German people: the opening of the Canal was another nail in the coffin of 'Particularism'. Of that sentiment, which only survives here in the minds of an obscure minority of microscopic proportions and importance, Herr von Metzsch is not a devotee, and he replied with emphasis, that my estimate of the effect of the recent proceedings was the same as his own.

The Press has spoken of the apparent discourtesy of the French visitors in very mild terms, throwing the blame on the incurable chauvinism of the Boulevards. The complaint is, that in France the "study of revenge" – in itself a perfectly legitimate and even laudable end – is pursued in an ignorable, malignant, childish spirit, which brings daily discredit on the Republic. In the same way, there is no impeachment of the alliance with Russia, only of the ignominious, grovelling devices by which it has been purchased, and is sought to be maintained.[532]

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 17, Dresden, 12 July 1895

[Received 15 July. Seen at Berlin. X; S[alisbury]]

Absence of German interest in changes to British cabinet

It is the habit of some of the representatives of the London press abroad to colour their correspondence with sensational pictures of continental feeling on English topics. These reports are expanded into editorials in which foreign popular opinion is further falsified and caricatured, until a climax of exaggeration is reached, like, for instance, the assertion (in a very sober weekly quarter) that Lord Rosebery's resignation caused "keen excitement" all over Europe", "made the nations quiver", and in fine gave rise to "emotion in every quarter of the globe."[533]

[532] For the Franco-Russian rapprochement, see pp. 153–154.

[533] Strachey is referring to the *Spectator* article of 29 June 1895 ('Effects of the English Crisis Abroad') which reported on international reactions to Rosebery's resignation, on 22 June 1895, and the succession of Salisbury as prime minister.

Speaking of Germany, I may safely affirm that such language misrepresents the plainest facts of the situation. To any one with the slightest varnish of acquaintance with this Empire, there is something ludicrous in the idea of a German sentiment on the ministerial revolutions of London. There have been here no speculations in that direction at all. Neither "excitement" nor "emotion" have been visible – only the usual feeling of passive national dislike, associated, in the case of politicians, with the belief that our power and prestige are in a decrescendo course, and that Germany need not fear us as enemies, or court us as allies.

The tone of the press has, on the whole, conformed to this. The current argument has been, that there is a continuity in the diplomatic policy of England, by whichever party governed, which makes it certain that, though the sympathies of the successive advisers of the Crown may oscillate between Paris and Berlin, our foreign programme will, in essentials, always remain the same. In a few instances, satisfaction has been expressed on the ground that under the new Government our relations with France and Russia may possibly become more strained, in which Germany would find her account.

After verifying the above in various ways, I told Herr von Metzsch what I was writing to Your Lordship on the subject. His Excellency said the facts could not be more correctly stated, although, for his part, he took an accidental personal interest in these changes, as they had brought his brother-in-law, Mr Goschen, into power.[534] A highly acute financial personage tells me, that having last week had good opportunities for observing the drift of Prussian and Hanseatic opinion in circles friendly to us, he can say that our political vicissitudes are there regarded as matters in which Germany has no direct concern.

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 21, Schweizermühle, 10 August 1895

[Received 12 August by post. X; S[alisbury]]

Storm of press protest in response to Standard's *critical leader on German Emperor's visit to Cowes*

The leader in the 'Standard' on the Emperor William's visit to Cowes has raised a hurricane of protests in the German press.[535]

[534] Goschen was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. His sister Marian was married to Georg von Metzsch.

[535] Wilhelm visited England from 5 to 15 August 1895 to attend the Cowes Week regattas. The article in question, published on 5 August, criticised Wilhelm's inexperience in foreign affairs and Germany's policy towards Russia, France and East Asia. Enclosure: newspaper clipping from *The Standard*, 5 August 1895.

Prominent in bitterness are the leading National-Liberal journals e.g. the "Kölnische Zeitung", "National Zeitung", with, of course, Prince Bismarck's Hamburg "reptile".[536] Specially venomous is a long article in the Anti-Semitic Dresden 'Nachrichten',[537] a newspaper with a large local and general circulation. There is the familiar picture of British arrogance, cupidity, and cunning, and of that sense of military impotence which makes us glad to cringe at times to "the b~y Germans" and "their mushroom Empire" (the terms in which we speak of our neighbours). There is also the old axiom that Germany deprecates alliance with us – . "Between England & Germany politeness may exist; but, on grounds national, psychological, and political, friendship – never."

Of similar purport, though less acrid in style, are leaders in the Dresden municipal 'Anzeiger', and the official 'Journal': the last named boils over with anger at the notion of an English publicist daring to lay hand on the sacred person of the German Emperor.[538]

It is noteworthy that the "Tageblatt" and "Voss",[539] which, as representatives of the enlightened middle-class radicalism of Berlin and Germany, give little or no encouragements to Anglophobia, have taken umbrage at the 'Standard' editorial. As even the 'Tageblatt' calls the London Unionist journal Your Lordship's "officious" organ, and ascribes its language to Downing Street inspirations, it is not wonderful that the entire German press should systematically see in almost every article in the 'Standard' on foreign affairs a 'communiqué' from your hand. For this once, the 'National Zeitung' leaves the question of authorship undecided: the Dresden opinion is that the source of the incriminated 'Standard' leader is doubtful.

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 23, Dresden, 24 August 1895

[Received 26 August by post. For: ~~Mr Balfour~~ / Commercial Department; T.H.S. [Thomas Henry Sanderson]; '? No action required'; H.F. [Harry de la Rosa Burrard Farnall]; G.N.C. [George N. Curzon]]

Press complaints about British 'spies' gaining access to German iron foundries

The statements of the Berlin 'Voss' regarding the "spies" sent by the British "Iron Trade Association" to the metallurgical centres of

[536] Strachey is referring to the *Hamburger Nachrichten* . For the 'reptile' press, see n. 67 in this section.

[537] *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 8 August 1895.

[538] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 9 August 1895, and *Dresdner Journal*, 8 August 1895.

[539] *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Vossische Zeitung* (*Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*).

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Germany are going the round of the press of the Empire.[540] A Dresden newspaper quotes the disgraceful imputations thrown upon the so-called "spies" and their principals, aggravating them by what is perhaps an addition of its own. The 'Zeitung'[541] alleges that the English emissaries came with introductions from Downing Street, and remarks that details must be supplied, in order that on the recurrence of similar recommendations the German parties interested may know how to take their precautions.

The 'Voss' article is dated from London – a very familiar device. It derides the low scientific training of our iron-masters, who did not know how to take advantage of the Thomas-Gilchrist process,[542] from the intelligent use of which Germany has reaped such great benefit. The writer is ignorant enough to confound converters with blast-furnaces. He is equally unaware that the 'acid' process was adopted on the large scale by the German makers of malleable iron and mild steel, because that invention enabled them to utilize the phospuretted ores and white pig of the country, thus freeing them from their dependence on our hematite iron.

The industrial evolution in question is, I need hardly say, nothing new. Its metallurgical and statistical aspects were minutely examined by myself about ten years ago, in a Report, laid before Parliament, on the working of the Protective German Tariff.[543]

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 24, Dresden, 3 September 1895

[Received 5 September. For: The Queen / Mr Balfour; S[alisbury]]

Saxon and German commemorations of Sedan jubilee

The anniversary of Sedan has been kept throughout this kingdom with enthusiastic popular demonstrations and rejoicings.[544] Of the

[540] Strachey is referring to an article which appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung* (21 August 1895) concerning a delegation comprising seven employers' representatives and seven representatives of workmen's associations, which had been sent by the British Iron Trade Association to Belgium and Germany in July and August 1895. According to the article the delegation gained access to German iron works under the pretext of investigating the conditions of labour; instead it focussed on the technical details of production and thereby infringed business ethics.

[541] *Dresdner Zeitung*, 23 August 1895.

[542] Method of converting pig iron into steel without the consumption of fuel, named after Sidney Gilchrist Thomas.

[543] *Report on the Effects of the German Customs Tariff Reform and on the Revision in 1885*, 10 September 1885.

[544] On Sedan Day (2 September), see n. 50 in this section.

processions and other open-air ceremonials, the displays of patriotic emblems and decorations, the musical performances, the addresses, the banquets, the illuminations, it may be said that they commemorated in a suitable manner the men and events to whom honour was to be paid. These jubilee proceedings had in no respect an official origin or character. From first to last they were organized by municipal and parochial bodies, private military societies, and mixed committees of management. No troops were present: the army was only represented by the veterans of the great war, for whom new charitable foundations were instituted. At one of the out-door functions in this city the King was present; but he came without escort, less in his personality as sovereign, than as the comrade of the survivors of St. Privat and Beaumont,[545] to whom he addressed a few sentences of suitable sympathy and recognition.

The attitude of the Saxon public has again demonstrated what, perhaps, required no further proof – namely, than in none of the 26 States of the Empire is the new pan-Germanic spirit stronger than it is here. Particularism is dead: the people may almost be described as Germans first, Saxons afterwards. Of the large German jubilee literature I have seen enough to be able to say, that its characteristic has been, reasonable reserve and self-restraint, the infatuations of the 'Roi. Soleil'[546] style in history having been laudably absent, as well as all provocative and recriminatory language. There is truth in some remarks of the Dresden 'Anzeiger', that the "note" (sit venia verbo)[547] of this commemoration is: – 'Deutschland über alles'.[548] – Germany, that is, great in the glories of war, but greater in the conquest of her long desired "ideal good", the Unity of the nation.

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 25, Dresden, 16 September 1895

[Received 23 September. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen / Mr Balfour; S[alisbury]]

Emperor's indictment of Social Democracy with regards to Sedan jubilee; German prosecutions for lèse-majesté abound

Although the Emperor's habit of participating in political controversy is generally thought to be prejudicial to the interests and authority of

[545] Battles of Gravelotte (18 August 1870) and Beaumont (30 August 1870).
[546] French: 'Sun King' (i.e. Louis XIV).
[547] Latin: 'pardon the expression'.
[548] German: 'Germany above all'; first line of *Das Lied der Deutschen*, by Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1841).

the Crown, His Imperial Majesty's Stettin arraignments of Social-Democracy,[549] with the subsequent confiscations and arrests in Berlin, Leipsic, and other places, have been approved in Conservative and National-Liberal circles. It is characteristic of Germany, that the imputability of the articles of the "Vorwärts" is taken as proved, although of their particular contents not a word is known. As usual in such cases, the truth will never reach the public. Copies of the incriminated newspapers cannot be obtained. the [*sic*] Editors and printers will be tried and condemned in secret sittings, of which no record will be divulged except a bare statement of the sentences passed. The republication of defamatory matter, even in the form of a liberal report of the proceedings in a Court of Justice, is not privileged here, but is equivalent to the original libel.

The language of the "Vorwärts" on the "high-holy"[550] William I may have been reprehensible: so may that of the philosophical Berlin weekly, "Moral Culture", seized yesterday for reference to the recent utterances of the reigning monarch.[551] It is equally likely that the expressions used were such as in Italy, or England, or the United States, would, in similar circumstances, give no umbrage. Mere levity in speaking of a royal personage may constitute lèse-majesté, even when malicious intention is absent. What may be called Star-chamber trials[552] for that crime are as frequent in Germany, or, at least, in Prussia, as they were in Rome under Tiberius. Schoolboys have been prosecuted for 'Majestas':[553] a familiar though friendly remark in the intimacy of private conversation on Princes in the nursery has set the law in motion: an eminent historian[554] has been tried for scientific strictures on the policy of the Emperor's remote ancestor, the "Great Elector".[555] The Public Prosecutor's task is, in one respect, easy. The 'Delator'[556] of Tacitus is well-known here: the duty of "informing" is taught in the nursery

[549] In the imperial rescript issued at Stettin on 8 September 1895 Wilhelm II referred to the socialists and their press as 'unpatriotic enemies' who, during the course of the celebrations for the 25th anniversary of the Franco-Prussian War and Sedan Day, had insulted the memory of Wilhelm I and thus offended the German people.

[550] 'Sacrosanct' (*hochheillig*).

[551] *Ethische Kultur* of 14 September 1895; the article in question was entitled 'Der Kaiser und die Sozialdemokratie'.

[552] Strachey is referring to the Court of Star Chamber, an early modern English court of law, which became notorious for arbitrary decisions.

[553] Law of *majestas*; this refers to the ancient Roman laws on treason.

[554] Name not traceable. Possibly Strachey is referring to Heinrich von Treitschke.

[555] Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg.

[556] Latin: "denouncer'. In his *Annales* Tacitus describes the role and abuse of *delatores*, during the reigns of Tiberius, Cladius and Nero.

and schoolroom, and is imposed, or, at any rate, not disapproved by the national codes of social and professional honour.

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 34, Dresden, 30 November 1895

[Received 2 December. X; S[alisbury]]

Interview with editor of Dresdner Journal*; its Anglophobic tone and misrepresentation of British foreign policy addressed and remedied*

Some time since I remarked to Herr von Metzsch that the 'Journal' was in the habit of discussing our policy and affairs in a tone which, for a Government organ, seemed unusual. Shewing him the article on "the Armenian bloodbath", I said that such language was not calculated to promote the friendly feelings towards us which the King and his Government always appeared so desirous to maintain.[557] As a newspaper the 'Journal' might have little political weight; still, as it was published by the Department of the Interior, of which His Excellency was head, its contents, even in the non-Ministerial portion, might be said to carry the mark of official approval.

Herr von Metzsch having looked over the corpus delicti observed, "this is exceedingly strong", adding, that he did not know why such a line was adopted, and that he should send for the responsible editor,[558] and make him explain.

After a certain interval that personage called on me, under instruction, he said, from the Minister. He intimated that the leaders of the 'Journal' on foreign affairs were not, properly speaking, original, being more or less transcripts, from various sources, with local alterations. Neither he nor his subordinates were actuated by hostility or disrespect towards England, and he was sorry if the articles had suggested a different idea.

The Editor's tone was courteous and apologetic throughout, and I replied in a friendly manner, arguing that English statesmen and policy would be better understood in Germany, if the press would deal with our feelings and motives in a direct, simple, manner, instead of making them the subject of deep interpretations and

[557] The article in the *Dresdner Journal* (21 November 1895), which insinuated that Britain had adopted a conciliatory course towards the Porte, had been prompted by the Hamidian massacres against the Armenian population. These had spread throughout the Ottoman Empire after a rally of 2,000 Armenians, petitioning for reforms at Constantinople, on 1 October 1895, had been violently broken up.

[558] Johannes Poppe.

constructions. Further, I remarked on the german [*sic*] trick of ascribing mere newspaper utterances to high official inspiration, and said that the 'Journal' might set a useful example by discarding this mischievous habit.

Since the date in question, a decided change has come over the 'Journal'. The old insensate Anglophobia has been dropped, our "isolation" is no longer a standing text, and ministerial authorship is not read into the 'leaders' of the 'Standard' or 'Observer'. In some other press organs similar signs of improvement are visible.

FO 68/180: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 35, Dresden, 9 December 1895

[Received 11 December. For: Mr Balfour; S[alisbury]]

Disapproval of emperor's political orations

The Emperor's address to the military at Breslau provoked in loyal circles a renewal of the criticisms to which his speeches almost invariably give rise.[559] The press refrained from passing judgement on the utterances of "All Highest the Same":[560] a liberal journal vented its' disapproval by the familiar German device of printing the Imperial menases [*sic*] in special type. But in private conversation, there was less restraint, when, at least, good security was present that the remarks exchanged would not be carried for the Public Prosecutor. To myself, the regret was expressed in more than one high quarter, that the Emperor seemed as far as ever from recognition of the fact that the functions of his station are not those of a party orator, and that while his descents into the arena of political strife tend to hinder the solution of the problems of the day, they strengthen the hands of his enemies, and derogate from the proper reserve and dignity of the Crown.

The medieval element in the Monarch's "Weltanschaung"[561] is in itself calculated to arouse sympathy here. But then, as the extreme partizans of "Throne and Altar" observe, His Imperial Majesty's emphatic assertion of his "cosmical conception" unfortunately miss the mark. Germany, or, to be exact, Prussia, is no longer in the age of the Great Elector,[562] or of the Great Frederick, and is not to be

[559] In a speech of 2 December 1895 Wilhelm II expressed his expectation of support from his army, especially in times of political catchphrases and party considerations.

[560] Translation of *Allerhöchstderselbe*, a pronoun which used in official writing instead of *er* (he), roughly equivalent to 'the aforesaid all-highest'.

[561] Literally 'world view' (concept of the world).

[562] Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg.

governed by 'Major generals' so that the Emperor's menaces fall as mere bruta fulmina,[563] and, in no one instance have they hit the mark. Whether his persuasions or threats are addressed for the "horde" of Social Democracy, or to the Agrarian nobles of East Preussen and Brandenburg, not a single recalcitrant obeys, not a vote at the elections is affected. No one is "smashed up", but prestige is lost to the throne.

I may take this opportunity of saying, that some recent speculations, or assertions, of the London 'Spectator' regarding an eventual resort by the Emperor to extra-constitutional methods of Government betray ignorance of the elements of the German political vocabulary and situation.[564]

FO 68/181: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 3, Dresden, 10 January 1896

[Received 13 January. Seen at Berlin. X; S[alisbury]]

Press controversy over Transvaal incidents reinvigorated; meeting at Leipzig expressing sympathy with Boers and in support of a German fleet

The German press was dropping the controversial elements of the Transvaal incident,[565] when the fresh vituperations of the 'Times' & 'Standard' provoked a renewal of the strife from this side. The palm in these deplorable outbursts of invective may, perhaps, be assigned to our own journals: the meaner social standing, education, and influence, and the vast inferiority of argumentative and stylistic power of the publicist of Berlin or Dresden, make him a weaker and less responsible agent of international mischief than his London rival. The drift of the last German rejoinders is, that the strength and prestige of the British Bobadil[566] are not commensurate with his arrogance and bluster, which have isolated him amongst the powers: that, in spite of certain transparent pretences of political apology and regret, the sympathies of England are on the side of

[563] Latin: the full phrase '*bruta fulmina et vana*' means 'thunderbolts that strike blindly and in vain' and is attributed to Pliny the Elder.

[564] Strachey is referring to the article 'The Threat of Repression in Germany', published on 30 November.

[565] For the crisis in the South African Republic, the failed 'Jameson Raid' and Wilhelm II's subsequent Kruger telegram, see pp. 188–195.

[566] Character in Ben Jonson's comedy *Every Man in his Humour* (1598); a cowardly braggart.

the late filibusters: that the marauder-in-chief[567] was acting under orders from the Cape, and that the attitude of Her Majesty's Government, if formally correct, has by no means been above suspicion. I have not observed any resuscitation of the old trick of ascribing the Editorials of the 'Standard' to Your Lordship, the radical press has refrained as a rule, from the extreme conclusions of the parties of 'Throne and Altar'; but its tendency to go against the current is weaker than before. Exceptional is the attitude of the Berlin weekly, the 'Nation', which almost amounts to partizanship for us: but in the Prussian Capital the flame of German patriotism never burns as fiercely as in Dresden. The 'Zeitung' argues that, scandalous as our newspaperian language may be, we have been paid back as we deserve: if driven to bay, we may find means, especially through our influence with Italy, of disturbing and countervailing the Triple-Alliance.[568]

The Pan Germanic Union of Leipsic[569] has held a meeting to sympathize with the Boers, when a collection was made on their behalf. Speeches with suitable denunciations of England were delivered by Professors and others, a Telegram of gratitude was sent to the Emperor, and a subscription opened for a fund wherewith Germany is to build a fleet which will make 'Rule Britannia' a legend of the past. The sum handed in was £150: The 'Leipzig' periodical 'Grenzboten' had previously[570] recommended a move of this description on the ground that the Reichstag had refused the funds requisite for the establishment of the naval supremacy of the Empire.[571] It has been proposed by certain 'Africans' to hold a meeting here with a similar programme. But this project has not yet assumed a definite shape.

[…]

P.S: Although I was educated in the belief, or prejudices, of the Palmerstonian age and school, I must express my opinion that none of the German Expectorations are comparable for spite, contemptuous insolence, and brag, with certain leaders, letters, and news-reports in the 'Standard' of the 9th Instant just come to hand.[572]

[567] Leander Starr Jameson.

[568] For the Triple Alliance, see n. 174 in Berlin section.

[569] The nationalist *Alldeutscher Verband* held its meeting on 7 January.

[570] On 28 November 1895, in a review of Georg Wislicenus' *Unsere Kriegsflotte (1895)*.

[571] In March 1895 the *Reichstag* approved eighty per cent of the navy estimates for the fiscal year 1895–1896. As in previous years the budget guaranteed the maintenance of the existing fleet, but not its extension.

[572] Amongst other things, the articles and letters in question referred to German intrigues in South Africa.

FO 68/181: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 6, Dresden, 17 January 1896

[Received 20 January. Seen at Berlin. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

Transvaal affairs remain a press matter rather than inciting a public response; Englishmen not subjected to ill treatment

Conformably to my habit of collecting typical opinions on the more urgent topics of the day, I have been asking a large number of German personages of various classes and positions, courtly, ministerial, parliamentary, military and private – from the very highest downwards – to inform me what language was being; or had been, held within their respective spheres of observation on the Anglo-German feud. In almost every instance the answer was this. 'The Transvaal affair[573] has not come under discussion, or remark, in my hearing: the whole dispute has passed for an international newspaper quarrel of secondary interest, to which no attention need be paid'. Of the nature of the various English manifestations against Germany and the Emperor, I found as good as no knowledge: the accounts of our preparations, actual or supposed, had excited, at the utmost, feelings of curiosity.

General business circles have preserved a similar calm. Our newspaper pictures of the eventual destruction of German commerce by our fleets have only caused amusement, or suggested the remark that, after all, "these are hardly the days of Queen Bess[574] and Nelson". Bankers have been more agitated, their daily business being affected by every new fact or rumour: according to their reports, only their English and American clients have manifested an interest in the Transvaal conflict. Of anti-english [*sic*] feeling in financial quarters I hear nothing. I understand that the proposed call to the public on behalf of the Boer wounded has been dropped, on the ground that such appeal might be thought to bear a provocative character.

In Leipzig, both the new pan-Germanic patriotism and colonial sentiment always run high. I learn from a reliable source, that traces of irritation may be discerned there; but they are, in part, only the signs of the commercial dislike of England always present in that trade metropolis. A reliable English informant writes to me from Chemnitz, that the permanent anti-English industrial jealousies of that great manufacturing center are perceptible, but, he adds, – "nothing special has been called forth by late events": "the matter

[573] See pp. 188–195.
[574] Elizabeth I.

(the Transvaal affair) is treated with comparative indifference; and I have heard no unpleasant remarks".

A Leipzig house has just published an insulting letter from their London correspondents, cancelling business orders given some weeks ago. The German Anglophobia has been altogether Platonic, no englishman having suffered from the brutality, or patriotism, of German mobs or employers. At the Dresden 'Theatre des Varietés' some english artists were lately accorded an unusually enthusiastic reception.

[…]

P.S. Fresh opinions, just taken enable me to confirm the first two pages of this Despatch, and to describe their contents as applicable to some other parts of the Empire.

FO 68/181: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, Most Confidential, No 8, Dresden, 24 January 1896

[Received 3 February. Seen at Berlin. For: Print (South Zambezi) / The Queen / Mr Balfour / Duke of Devonshire / Mr Chamberlain; S[alisbury]]

King of Saxony's remarks on the Kruger telegram

On my bringing under the King's notice, one evening at the Palace, the newspaper statement that he had telegraphed approval of the Emperor's congratulations to President Krüger, His Majesty said that the story was without foundation, adding – "I had nothing whatever to do with that business."[575]

On a subsequent occasion, when I had adverted to the Transvaal topic, the King observed that he 'had disapproved of the Telegram which gave rise to the Anglo-German estrangement: it was an injudicious move which should not have been made. And, he continued, "you may be certain that no such message would have been sent by me".

I replied that this last utterance was superfluous; but how could the Emperor have fallen into such an unhappy error? The King rejoined, that the Emperor was only the apparent, not the virtual, author of the Telegram. 'I understand', His Majesty said, 'that the idea of the message originated with Prince Hohenlohe, who represented that it would be politic to make a demonstration of that sort. 'The Emperor was the complying; not the originating, party: he might, however, have made stylistic alterations in the Telegram sent in his name'.

[575] On the Kruger telegram and the Transvaal conflict, see pp. 188–195.

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I remarked that the Imperial message had been read in England as a challenge to our plain rights, and had provoked ebullitions of patriotic sentiment of which the German newspapers had hardly given a sufficient account. I was afraid that the abatement of the anger of our public against the Emperor might be a somewhat slow process. The King answered that my point was quite intelligible to him, and that, at any rate, it would be some time before His Imperial Majesty could resume his visits to the Isle of Wight.[576]

The King proceeded to say that one person had come out of these transactions with flying colours – M^r^ Chamberlain had faced the situation with energy and tact: he had done exactly the right thing, and his timely interposition had prevented the crisis from assuming an acute shape.[577]

[…]

P.S. January 31. A high official personage here speaks of the origin of the German demonstrations in similar terms to the above, and he states that, according to his Berlin news, the Telegram was drafted by Baron von Marschall on the lines settled by the Emperor and his advisers.

FO 68/181: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 13, Dresden, 19 February 1896

[Received 22 February. For: Mr Balfour; African Department; S[alisbury]]

Press hostility to England now less bitter over Transvaal incident

The English and German official publications, and the parliamentary debates in London and Berlin, have led to a certain limited revival here of the press discussions on the Transvaal question.[578] But the German controversial tone is now far less bitter than before, and much of the acrimonious language employed may be traced to the belief that there is an absence of conciliatory dispositions on our side of the Channel. It is remarked that the charge of duplicity brought by us against others has now recoiled on ourselves, while the attitude of the Imperial Government has been as correct and

[576] Wilhelm had visited the Isle of Wight annually since 1889 to attend the Cowes Week regattas.

[577] Albert was referring to Chamberlain's immediate repudiation of the 'Jameson Raid', on 1 January, his subsequent communications with the Transvaal government and the announcement of an investigation.

[578] For the Transvaal question, see the previous dispatches and pp. 188–195.

loyal as it has been firm. The praise of Herr von Marschall is unanimous: he is held up as a pattern of diplomatic integrity and skill, and extolled as a worthy exponent of the rule that when national claims are vindicated foreign rights and interests must also be respected – a principle of which, it is argued, there is no corresponding recognition in the English Blue Book.

The general public is sated with the African Topic, and is glad to learn that the official relations of Berlin and London were not disturbed by the recent press clamours, which no one here took seriously. Few would dissent from the opinion of a Dresden journalist,[579] who says that the two countries should now renew their former friendship, seeing that they have multifarious interests in common, and that the further accentuation of minor differences can only serve to unchain those spirits of European discord which, while England and Germany are in agreement are condemned to inaction. I need hardly say that to these sentiments the Court and Government of Saxony would cordially subscribe.

FO 68/181: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 25, Dresden, 30 May 1896

[Received 1 June. For: Mr Balfour; S[alisbury]]

Recent anti-Socialist legislation enacted in Saxony; its effects; comparison with Baden

I have reported the circumstances under which the Saxon Government laid before the Landtag of the Kingdom a Bill for the modification of the suffrage by the adoption of the system of indirect election.[580] A minority of the constitutional left, which had some support in industrial circles, and amongst the Professors of the University of Leipsic, continued to denounse [*sic*] the Bill. But their attempts to rouse the constituencies to effective protests against interference with the existing electoral system were unsuccessful, and it was plain that approval of the proposed change was by no means confined to Conservative politicians. Finally, the Bill was carried, in a slightly amended form, through the lower Chamber of the Diet by a large majority – (56 against the 15 Social Democrats & 7 other members) – in the upper house by an unanimous vote.

[579] Name not traceable.

[580] The bill stipulated the introduction of an indirect three-class franchise based on tax revenue. It was passed on 6 and 18 March and enacted on 28 March 1896; it replaced the Electoral Law of 1868.

On the side of Social-Democracy, there was wide divergence of opinion as to the course which it might be advisable to pursue. A conclave held at Leipsic[581] recommended that the party should, by way of protest, resign all its seats in the Landtag, and likewise entirely abstain from the polls at the next election. The policy of mere negation was, however, rejected by a general congress[582] held in Dresden, which adopted resolutions opposed to the Leipzig vote, and pledged the Social-Democratic leaders and electorate, to maintain their political activity on the old lines. It was further agreed that the programme of the party must henceforth include systematic agitation for the recovery of the popular rights infringed by the abolition of the direct suffrage.

There seems no certainty how the change will work. According to some prominent Conservatives, the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom has received a blow from which it will not recover. On the other hand one of the ministerial personages who introduced the Bill told me privately that he should be satisfied if its result was to prevent the extreme left from receiving accessions to their actual parliamentary strength. Of the Social-Democrats, some take an optimist, some a pessimist view of the new situation. Many of them argue that the so-called reform, being a measure of persecution must have the usual moral effect of oppressive legislation, that is, there will be a reaction in favour of the party which it is intended to crush.

It may be of interest to compare the above with the situation in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where, according to the public journals, the Government desires a change, in the Conservative direction, of the existing representative system, but sees no prospect of the apposite measures being adopted by the Diet.

FO 68/181: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 38, Dresden, 30 September 1896

[Received 13 October. S[alisbury]

Press views of tsar's visit to Balmoral, and recent events in the Bosphorus

Before and during the Czar's visit to Balmoral,[583] a number of the leading newspapers of the Empire gave vent to their Anglophobia

[581] On 30 March 1896.

[582] Held on 7 and 8 April 1896.

[583] Nicholas II visited Britain from 22 September 1896 to 5 October. On 27 and 29 September he met Salisbury at Balmoral where they discussed the situation in the Near

in articles and notes full of the familiar estimates of our national character and policy. A maximum of ill-will was displayed by the Dresden 'Journal', which affected to entertain the suspicion that the recent events on the Bosphorus, like those of last year, might be traced to British instigation. However, our duplicity had now been unmasked, and the isolation of the universal mischief-maker was complete. No compliments or arguments at Balmoral would induce the Emperor of Russia to accept our Turkish programme, with its transparent political pretences and humanitarian cant.

A voice crying in the wilderness was that of the local 'Zeitung',[584] which, almost day-by-day called our motives laudable, our proposals wise, and our national attitude worthy of our great strength. Moreover the visit to Balmoral, unlike such merely ornamental episodes as the meeting at Breslau,[585] might have a serious influence on the affairs of Europe, and would, at any rate, bring the Czar into contact with the representatives of statesmanship of an experienced, enlightened and disinterested type.

Strongly tinctured as the 'Zeitung' is with benevolence towards us, it has not ventured to suggest that an Armenian agitation like ours should be started here. A move in that direction would obtain no support from the general public. Even in quarters where I should have expected the recitals of the massacres to have roused, if not anger, at least, compassion, I have found complete indifference to prevail. According to those who should be competent to judge, there are more traces of a disposition to sympathize with the Turk than of a tendency to pity his victims, whose protection, it is thought, is a mere transcendental object for the attainment of which Germany has no call to sacrifice "the Pomeranian Grenadier".[586]

FO 68/181: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, No 43, Dresden, 2 December 1896

[Received 3 December. X; S[alisbury]]

Hamburg dock strike blamed on English intrigues

According to certain appearances, the conviction was lately beginning to spread in the German press, that the malignant tone in

East and the Ottoman Empire, following recurring outbreaks of violence against Armenians at Constantinople, which had started in August 1896.

[584] *Dresdner Zeitung.*

[585] Wilhelm II and Nicholas II met at Breslau on 5 and 6 September 1896.

[586] Bismarck used this expression in a speech he made in 1888 when he stated that the 'whole of the Balkans is not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier.'

which the relations of this Empire with England have been discussed during the past year by the newspapers of both countries ought to be dropped. A recent leader in the Berlin 'National Zeitung'[587] was an indication of a readiness here to "bury the hatchet", and the existence of the hope that our press would be disposed to join in a new departure. The Hamburg Dock-strike seems to have crossed, for the present, all chances of a move in that direction.[588] At once, ambiguous voices, apparently inspired from Friedrichsruh,[589] suggested that the strike was the result of the machinations of envious British capitalists: (how the intrigues of the enemies of labour came to be furthered by Tom Mann was not explained).

The original hint has now swelled into a formal indictment, which even the comparatively moderate Dresden 'Anzeiger'[590] does not hesitate to support. That journal is arguing that the strike is "a shabby English trick", put in hand "to damage Liverpool's successful Elbe rival, Hamburg". This idea is being ventilated in detail in various quarters, and the diatribes against our mean shipowners, and also against our dockers, have no end. The London 'Globe' has been named as containing a letter which gives some of the German charges a plausible sound. An English employer has written to express his pleasure at the German labour movement, and to state that he had proposed to a member of Parliament the formation of a large subscription fund, to be collected from masters and men, which would be employed for getting up strikes on the Continent. Again – the 'Shipping Telegraph' is quoted as openly declaring that the Hamburg strike is an English manoeuvre.

The 'Anzeiger' articles on foreign topics, and leading German questions, are usually taken from the lithographed Berlin National-Liberal fly-sheets:[591] and it may be noticed that a member[592] of that party yesterday spoke in the German Parliament in the above sense. The liberal 'Zeitung', as was to be expected from its antecedents, has elaborately suppressed all references to Anglophobian interpretations of the Hamburg strike.

[587] *National Zeitung*, 22 November 1896.
[588] On the Hamburg dock strike, see pp. 206–207.
[589] Friedrichsruh, Bismarck's manor house.
[590] *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 1 December 1896.
[591] *Nationalliberale Korrespondenz*.
[592] Hermann Paasche.

FO 68/182: George Strachey to Marquess of Salisbury, [private], Holmhurst, East Twickenham, 30 June 1897

['Acknowledge receipt in suitable terms', 8 July, Private Secretary; S[alisbury]]

Strachey's retirement; reports on his farewell audience with Saxon king and expresses regret at leaving the service

I beg to report that, before quitting my post, I explained to Herr von Metzsch that, as my letters of recall would be presented by my eventual successor, my audience of the King on departure could not be conducted with any official ceremonial.[593] His Majesty thereupon received me at the Palace "en visite",[594] when he repeated, in the most gracious manner, the assurances of esteem on public and private grounds which had fallen from him from time to time during my protracted residence at his Court. Excluding all other topics, the King spoke with deep sympathy of the disruption of old ties now imposed on my family and myself, of his regrets at our departure, and of his anxious hope that our eventual life in our own country might be a happy one. The King of Saxony exhibited some emotion, and, for my own part, I was unable to do more than thank His Majesty, in such imperfect manner as I could, for the unremitting kindness and, I may say, championship, of which I had been the object on his part for more than twenty-three years. Finally, I offered my acknowledgments for the honour previously done me by the sovereign, in sending me a fine vase of porcelain from the Royal Factory as a mark of his friendship and approbation.

Of the Queen, I had taken leave at an earlier date. I likewise paid visits to the Princes of the Royal Family, and M^rs^ Strachey also went through the appropriate forms on our departure.

On this occasion I beg to add, that the termination of my 45 years work under the Crown, which commenced before the Crimean War, gives me feelings that I cannot adequately describe. The taedium vitae[595] consequent on the cessation of useful public employment, and the pressure of circumstances,[596] which, as I have explained to the Private Secretary,[597] have made somewhat heavy demands on my strength, are not lightened by the thought that my connection with the highest branch of the Imperial Service is severed. To the

[593] George Strachey left Dresden for London on 29 March 1897; he retired on a pension on 1 July.
[594] French: 'to pay a call'.
[595] Latin: 'weariness of life'.
[596] Strachey is referring to health and financial problems.
[597] Eric Barrington.

Staff of the Office my acknowledgements are due for nearly half a century of tolerance and good-will: to Your Lordship I owe promotion to the representative rank abroad which no Englishman can fill without pride. In these directions my regrets, and also my thanks, lie: and trusting that my expression of them may not be found out of place.