

The suppressed diary of the late Emperor Frederick.

Contributors

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Royal College of Physicians of London

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THE

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SUPPRESSED DIARY

OF THE LATE

Emperor Frederick.



"He being dead yet speaketh."

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1888.

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THE SUPPRESSED DIARY

OF THE LATE

EMPEROR FREDERICK.

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1888.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

"Books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potencie of Life in them to be as active as that Soule was whose progeny they are. . . . As good almost kill a man as kill a good Book."—MILTON'S "AREOPAGITICA."

THE EMPEROR FREDERICK'S DIARY, 1870-71.*

July 11.—Thile very serious ; hardly knows where to turn between Ems, Varzin, and Sigmaringen, where he goes for instructions ; the Hereditary Prince is on the Alps ; the French Chargé d'Affaires, Lesourd, said to the Spanish Ambassador, in the presence of the representative of Austria, that he should leave, as there seemed to be nobody with whom to negotiate. July 12.—Bismarck is coming : Gortschakoff and Reuss arrive.

July 13.—Interview with Bismarck, who, late on the evening of the 12th inst., got news of Prince Leopold's withdrawal, which makes him look on peace as secured ; is going back to Varzin, and seems surprised by the turn of things in Paris. Gortschakoff is also peaceful ; although he has just received the news that France demands pledges for the future, he says we should wait and see how things turned ; but this point also would be settled. He admires our behaviour, as well as that of the Prince (of Hohenzollern) and our press, saying that he will see to it that the great European Cabinets acknowledge this. But I hear from Paris that Napoleon remarked to one of his ex-Ministers that the affairs of Spain are a matter of indifference to him at the present moment, and that it is a question of a battle for the possession of power between France and Prussia. Some French papers censure the tendency of the Government ; Ollivier's organs demand the application of Article 5 of the Peace of Prague concerning North Sleswick and the dissolution of the treaties between us and the South Germans.—July 14. Confirmation of the news about war.

July 15.—Bismarck tells me that he is going with Moltke and Roon to Brandenburg to meet the King

(returning from Ems). On the way thither he explained with great clearness and a seriousness worthy of the occasion, free from all the little jokes which he is otherwise fond of, his views on the state of our relations with France, enabling me now to perceive that any yielding on our part for the sake of peace was already impossible. He and Moltke have no great opinion of the strength and organization of the French army. The King surprised by our appearance, but after hearing what Bismarck had to say in the course of our further drive he had no substantial objection to the issue of urgent orders for mobilization. At the station (in Berlin) Thile comes with Ollivier's speech ; the King wants to order the mobilization of the 7th and 8th Corps, saying that in twenty-four hours the French would certainly be at Mayence ; but I pressed for immediate mobilization of the whole army and navy, there being no time to lose. This is approved, and I tell it to the public. The King embraces me in the deepest emotion, both of us feeling what was at stake. Enters a carriage with me ; enthusiastic cheering. I call the King's attention to the "Wacht am Rhein," and at this moment every one felt the solemn importance of the poet's words.

July 16.—Three armies being formed. I am to command the South German ; have, therefore, the most difficult task, to fight with troops that do not like us (Prussians) and have not been trained in our school, so able a foe as the French, who have been preparing long, and will certainly at once invade South Germany.

July 17 (Sunday).—Stirring sermon by Strauss, at the Potsdam garrison church, then council of war ; for me the South Germans, with the 11th Prussian Corps ; Stosch cannot get away ; Blumenthal is the chief of my staff, Gottberg quartermaster.

July 18.—Universal enthusiasm ; Germany is rising like one man, and will re-establish her unity.

July 19.—Receive my official appointment ; opening of the Reichstag ; drive with the King to Charlottenburg on the anniversary of the death of Queen Louise, where we remained some considerable time, with right heavy hearts, (praying beside the tomb of

* The following editorial note was prefixed to the Diary in the *Deutsche Rundschau* :—

In order to exclude all doubt as to the source of this publication, we may remark that his Majesty the late Emperor communicated to our contributor the Diary which he kept during the French campaign, and that our contributor has, solely from reasons of discretion, restricted himself to the publication of the following extracts, which allow the noble personality of the august author to stand out in its full importance, and constitute at the same time an important contribution to the history of that great time.

my grandparents. On coming out I said to my father that a struggle begun under such circumstances must succeed. Quiet afternoon with my wife and children.

July 20.—Went to Moltke, who advised me not yet to go to the south. Bismarck, on the contrary, thought I ought to go at once, and to telegraph openly my impending arrival to the South German Sovereigns, as then an excellent impression would be made. I ought to visit these Courts as soon as possible. The King assents to this, and the telegrams are sent off.

THE CROWN PRINCE SETS OFF TO THE WARS.

July 21.—The Duke of Coburg comes from Fiume and asks to be employed on a Reserve Corps, or in the Elbe Duchies, or even on my staff.

July 22.—The Queen (Augusta) comes, full of the enthusiasm on the Rhine; my staff organizing; the office, as in 1866, is in my palace; most of the German Princes come and offer their services. July 23.—Quiet.

July 24.—Christening (of Princess Sophie, now betrothed to the Crown Prince of Greece) in great State. The King too affected to hold the child. Solemn ceremony, who of us will return? But we shall conquer! I am quite prepared to take up a reserve position such as would serve as a flank defence to the centre army, for I should scarcely be equal to great undertakings.

July 25.—Quietly with my wife to the grave of Sigismund to take the sacrament. Learn that I must leave to-morrow.

July 26.—Departure; enthusiastic reception everywhere.

July 27, viâ Nürnberg, to Munich.—King Ludwig strangely altered: much less handsome, lost his front teeth, pale, nervous in his speech, does not wait for an answer after putting questions, but while the answer is being given puts other questions referring to widely different subjects. He seems to be in the national cause with all his heart; his quick resolve is generally approved; he has signed the order for mobilization submitted to him by Pränckh without Bray's knowledge. To my surprise, Duke Frederick is here as newly nominated Bavarian General, a kind of transition stage on the way to us. Open letter, leaves shortly for home, to settle the business of his estate. Usedom and Hohenlohe have no doubt about Austria's neutrality, in spite of Beust's duplicity. Reception at theatre—"Wallenstein's Lager." The King is of opinion that Schiller had great democratic tendencies, and believes this to be the reason why the idea is not favoured that a monument should be erected to him at Berlin. On leaving Munich got a letter from the King expressing the hope that at the peace the independence of Bavaria will be respected.

THE BOUQUET OF FLOWERS.

July 28.—The King (of Würtemberg) receives my report in stiff official form; the Queen, kindly, pale, worn out. Suckow is honestly national; Varnbühler appeared very patriotic, saying he had said to Napoleon in 1867 at the station that Germany would be united under an attack. He asks for an ambassador to be admitted into headquarters; proposes Prince William, or Spitzenberg, who might easily be made Major of the Reserves. The Chancellor of the French Embassy left only yesterday; also Varnbühler's son from Paris. Reception of the other Ministers, burgo-

masters, representatives of the national party. Enthusiasm at my departure almost too much for me. A bouquet composed of flowers of the North German colours is handed to me; what a responsibility the attitude of the German nation puts upon us! It would be wise to respect the little peculiarities of these States—for example, their Envoys. Gortschakoff summoned to St. Petersburg; Russia to keep a vigilant eye on Austria's neutrality. Italy uncertain, has no money. The curious inactivity of the French points surely to errors of calculation on their part.

July 29.—Karlsruhe. Our chief thought is how, after peace has been secured, the Liberal (*Freisinnige*) development of Germany shall be continued.

July 30.—Off to Spiers, to my headquarters near Pfeuffer; Bavarian camp; sturdy soldiers, but rather sluggish; yet one must now cease to look upon them with Prussian eyes. It was here in the Dom in 1867 (this must be a printer's or transcriber's error for 1862) that the Prince and Princess of Wales first met each other.

"FORWARD WITH GOD, FEARLESS AND FIRM"

July 31.—Affecting divine service. Moltke wires that, as soon as the Württembergers and Badeners are to the front, I should march southwards along the left bank (of the Rhine) and attack the foe, in order to hinder them from throwing a bridge over the stream at Lauterburg. Am not yet in a position to do so, but since the Prussians have come there is now again everywhere a feeling of security.

August 1.—The question about band for the arm as a sign of recognition has been negatived, because imitation is too easy. Long and satisfactory conversation with the Duke of Coburg and (Sir Robert) Morier; Freytag is here; hope that Roggenbach will also come. We are ready, and are trying to anticipate the foe, who could have expected that? Cartwright arrives from Italy: the mood there is variable—depending on the question from which side Rome may expect the most. I have a presentiment that this war will mark a pause in the era of battles and bloodshed, but at present my motto is, "Mit Gott furchtlos und beharrlich vorwärts" (Forward with God, fearless and firm). My headquarters are growing to such an extent that I am obliged to divide them into two sections, in the first of which everybody really connected with the service is included.

THE LAST BATH IN THE RHINE.

August 2.—Order to draw my army together; the Bavarians are tolerably ready. Good-bye; last bath in the Rhine; Landau quite superannuated; battle probably to-morrow; to-day the monument of Frederick William III. should have been inaugurated.

ON THE BATTLEFIELD AT LAST.

August 4.—Weissenburg.—Our men behave as they do during manœuvre-time in peace, taking advantage of every fold in the ground, and wringing praise of themselves and their manner of fighting from our Bavarian companions. Town gate shot to pieces; the town taken, then we have gained a strong place, and the dominion over the railroads leading to Strassburg. We had two divisions—the foe one, and part of it had only come up during the night, but the advantage of position was all in his favour. Great jubilation; the dying and wounded raising themselves by the greatest exertion to express their

joy. The colour-staff of the King's Regiment had been shot through; three of its bearers fell, till Sergeant Forster seized it and dashed up the heights in front of the stormers; I could not but press to my lips that banner of victory thus so gloriously upheld. On the southern slope we took two camps of shelter-tents with provisions and dinner still untouched; General Douai's little dog creeping round his master's dead body; the chattering French doctors knew nothing of the Geneva Convention, having no brassards with the red cross, and crying only, "Procure our luggage for us." The Turcos thorough savages. Quartered with Pastor Schäfer at Schweighofen. French soldiers exclaimed to me, "Ah, your Prussian soldiers fight admirably."

August 5.—March to France. Well-to-do places left by the inhabitants, who are afraid of German cannibals; the ghastly appearance of battlefields ever more horrible; everywhere traces of hasty retreat. Roggenbach comes as Major of the Baden Reserves. A telegraph book found at the station supplies important information, showing how little the French are ready with the disposition and formation of their army and arrangements for supplies, and giving rise to the assumption that the French army will concentrate its chief strength before Metz. Report of large French camps beyond Wörth, in three divisions, receiving reinforcements; position stronger than Weissenburg.

THE BATTLE OF WÖRTH.

August 6.—Wörth; 80,000 French; I have 100,000 men. MacMahon's tough resistance, gradual retreat while fighting, was admirable, but he left me in possession of the field, I could direct the whole. Blumenthal and Gottberg of great assistance to me, at half-past four was able to announce our victory to the King. The mitrailleuses are evidently working destruction within the narrow space of their range. The co-operation of the South Germans has served to unite the various troops; the consequences will be of enormous importance if we seriously intend not to let such a moment slip by unused.

"YOU HAVE NOT LOST YOUR HONOUR."

A French officer of cuirassiers said to me, "Ah, sire! what a defeat, what a misfortune! I am ashamed of being a prisoner; we have lost everything." I replied, "You are wrong in saying that you have lost everything, for after you have fought like brave soldiers you have not lost your honour;" whereupon he said, "Thank you: you do me good by treating me in this way." The officers are surprised at being allowed to retain their swords. A conversation with Roggenbach was a welcome diversion after the tremendous impressions of the day. News of Goeben's victory at Saarbrück.

THE OBLIGATION TO PROMOTE NATIONAL UNITY.

August 7.—At Königgrätz the firing was not nearly so heavy and continuous; the Zouaves shoot well, the others too soon and too high, our helmet has done good service. Great bitterness against MacMahon, the Emperor is called an "old woman," MacMahon's papers taken, the correspondents of the *Gaulois* and *Figaro* captured on the church tower of Wörth, state that they are opponents of Ollivier. The wounded French are threatened with famine; another fortnight is wanted to complete the commissariat; during the battle frequent trains went to Wörth with from sixty to 100 passengers who were sent into the fight with-

out any certain leader. Have had several detailed conversations with Roggenbach; I asked him to write down their subjects for me briefly and clearly, and if possible in paragraphs. His proposals are worthy of notice, although I cannot put them down in exact language, and, indeed, am often of a quite opposite opinion, this is quite natural in an interchange of views about the future formation of Germany at a time when as yet it is not possible to recognize the importance of the victories I have won. I cling to the conviction that after the peace it will be impossible for us to content ourselves with simply pointing the way to new efforts towards national unity, but we are also bound to offer the German people something whole and palpable, and we must therefore strike the iron of the German Cabinets while it is still hot. Wörth the first victory over the French in open battle since 1815.

PANIC AMONG THE FRENCH.

August 8.—Advance on the Vosges, French cuirassiers have shot their officers, who led them into vineyards; the material of the cuirasses is beautiful; one Zouave officer cannot write.

August 9.—Quite German impressions; the inhabitants like the Black Forest people; do not understand French, which has only been taught for the last twenty years. The difference of faith becomes noticeable. Very remarkable that for some time back the Catholics in Alsace had been talking of a war that would happen this year, which, after Germany's defeat, would be turned to the disadvantage of the Protestants; these remarks repeated daily everywhere. Quartered with Hann, the Protestant clergyman, who describes the tumult of the flight; he wishes for peace, saying that we were not to blame for the war, and wishing that the Empress (Eugénie) and Ollivier could only see a battlefield. MacMahon's carriage contained an exact map of the Vosges, with all lines of communication, which proved of great service to us; the baggage of Ducrot, commandant of Strassburg, included the wardrobes of two ladies.

August 10 to 12.—Petersbach. The Vosges here resemble the Thuringian forest; the inhabitants are mostly Germans, strictly Protestant; everywhere we saw pictures of the Reformers. Great dissolution among the French, deserters say they never had to fight with such soldiers. The importance of our victories appears; our officers are modest. Freytag is amiable, putting up with everything, diligently observing. August 13.—Sarrebouurg: here the German language stops suddenly. August 14.—Blamont: the inhabitants recover from their fright. August 15.—The peasants say they have been cheated in the plébiscite.

BISMARCK MODERATE, MOLTKE COOL.

August 17 and 18.—At Nancy; battles around Metz; feverish excitement; the inhabitants Orleanist.

August 20.—Meet the King at Pont-à-Mousson; he is crushed by our losses. Council of war; Moltke cool and clear as ever, determined to march on Paris; Bismarck moderate, and by no means sanguine; our conditions, Alsace and war indemnity.

August 21.—Vaucouleurs. Baudicourt's castle; ruin; the chapel a wine-cellar, the clergyman tells us that the interest in the birthplace of the Maid of Orleans had been first aroused by the march of the Germans through the place in 1814.

August 23.—Steinmetz seems inclined to play the part of York without any occasion. Seen the King again, who is again firmer; have difficulty in persuading him to confer the Iron Cross on non-Prussians also. Varying news of the whereabouts of the foe: Moltke thinks he will yet lure him into a mouse-trap (?) Gallifet writes the resignation (of the Emperor) would be unavoidable; a Republic probable. Benedetti's project harms us in England; without encouragement from Bismarck he never would have allowed himself to use such language. Madame de Boullenois, aged eighty-seven, asks me to send her kind regards to my wife, whom she admired as an excellent mother, housewife, and farm-manager. The way of living is here that of a simple château.

BEFORE SEDAN.

Sept. 1.—Sedan. Count Bothmer brings news that Napoleon is in Sedan; and the King, not crediting it, asks me playfully what in the world we shall do with him when caught. The white flag hoisted over Sedan; Napoleon is there; Bronsart has seen him and been told that he would send General Reille. Unsuccessful attempt at a nurrâh; it did not come up to the importance of the event; perhaps it was considered doubtful whether it was a fortunate event. A *parlementaire* comes, and the assembled Princes, with Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, form a circle round the King, I being next his Majesty.

NAPOLEON'S LETTER OF SURRENDER.

Reille comes, bent but not without dignity, and hands the King the following letter, beginning "Sire my brother! Not having been allowed to die in the midst of my troops, nothing remains for me but to put my sword into your Majesty's hands. I am your Majesty's good brother NAPOLEON. Sedan, Sept. 1870." After conferring with Bismarck, Moltke, and me, the King dictates to Hatzfeldt (now German Ambassador in London) the draft of our reply, which the King himself afterwards wrote out in his own hand. Difficult to find writing materials; I contribute note-paper stamped with our eagle from my holster; pen and ink from the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; two cane arm-chairs form a table on which Gustedt laid his Hussar's sabretache as a pad.

KING WILLIAM'S REPLY.

"Sire my brother! Regretting the circumstances under which we meet, I accept the sword of your Majesty, and I invite you to designate one of Your officers, provided with full powers, to treat for the capitulation of the army which has so bravely fought under your command. On my side I have named General Moltke for this purpose.—I am your Majesty's good brother, WILLIAM. Before Sedan, September 1, 1870.*" Meanwhile

I talk with Reille; amiable and a thorough gentleman; he was attached to me in 1867 (when in Paris); my sympathy seemed to do him good; the Prince Imperial not there. When he had gone the King and I embraced, the recollection of July 3 forced itself on us; huge joy of the troops: "Nun danket alle Gott," I could not restrain my tears.

THE CAPITULATION SIGNED.

Sept. 2.—The phrase "the history of the world is the judgment of the world" ("die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht") is suggested to me from my history lessons when a boy. Wimpffen's difficulties. Napoleon comes, halts in a potato-field not far from Donchéry; Bismarck and Moltke hurry to him; wants more favourable conditions of capitulation and withdrawal of the army to Belgium; wishes to speak to the King. Moltke thinks these objections mere pretexts, because Napoleon felt no longer safe in Sedan, and was anxious about his carriages and fourgons. Moltke searches for more suitable quarters, while Bismarck carries on a conversation with Napoleon. The King insists upon unconditional surrender, the officers to be set free on parole; at twelve o'clock the capitulation signed. Moltke receives the Iron Cross of the First Class; Bismarck arrives; they have talked over a cigar about everything except politics; I suggest Wilhelmshöhe as residence for Napoleon; dissuade them from asking the Emperor to go up the hill, in face of the troops, as humiliating; recommend the King to ride to the Emperor at Bellevue. Conference with Bismarck, Roon, Moltke; through Bavarian camps to Bellevue, where are the Imperial carriages and fourgons, the servants and postillions powdered à la Longjumeau. We are received by General Castelnau, at the entrance of the glass pavilion Napoleon appeared and led in the King; I closed the doors and remained standing in front of them; French suite stepped into the garden; Reille, Achille Murat and Davillers kept me company.

WHAT THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH SAID.

The conversation, as the King informed me later, was as follows. The King began by saying that as the fortune of war had now turned against the Emperor, and the latter offered him his sword, he had come to ask him what were now his intentions. Napoleon placed his future solely in his Majesty's hands. The King replied that he was sorry to see his opponent in such a position, more especially as he was aware that it had not been easy to the Emperor to decide for war. This remark clearly pleased Napoleon, who protested with warmth that he had only bowed to public opinion when he resolved on war, upon which the King urged that if public opinion, nevertheless, took this direction it was the fault of those "whom you made your counsellors." Touching the direct object of the meeting, the King inquired whether Napoleon had any negotiations to propose, to which the Emperor replied, "No," remarking that as a prisoner he could exercise no influence on the Government. To the further question, where then was this Government, he replied, "In Paris." The King then turned the conversation to the subject of the Emperor's personal position, and offered him Wilhelmshöhe as a residence, which he immediately accepted. He seemed specially pleased when his Majesty observed that he would give him for safety a guard of honour across the frontier. When Napoleon, in the further course of the conversation, expressed a conjecture

* The originals of the two letters above translated are thus given in the Diary. Napoleon's letter ran:—"Monsieur mon frère! N'ayant pas pu mourir au milieu de mes troupes, il ne me reste qu'à remettre mon épée entre les mains de Votre Majesté. Je suis de Votre Majesté le bon frère NAPOLEON.—Sedan, 1 Sept., 1870." The Prussian King's reply was:—"Monsieur mon frère! En regrettant les circonstances dans lesquelles nous nous rencontrons, j'accepte l'épée de Votre Majesté et je prie de bien vouloir nommer un de Ses officiers, muni de pleins pouvoirs pour traiter des conditions de la capitulation de l'armée, qui s'est si bravement battue sous Vos ordres. De mon côté j'ai désigné le général de Moltke à cet effet. Je suis de Votre Majesté le bon frère GUILLAUME.—Devant Sedan, 1 Septembre, 1870."

that he had had the army of Frederick Charles against him, the King corrected him and said that it was the Crown Prince of Saxony and I. To his question, where, then, was Prince Frederick Charles, the King answered sharply, "Before Metz, with seven army corps." With every sign of painful surprise the Emperor receded a step, a convulsion of pain passed over his countenance, for it now first came home to him that he had not been opposed by the entire German army.

"THE TEARS TRICKLING DOWN HIS CHEEKS."

The King praised the gallantry of the French army, which Napoleon, indeed, willingly confirmed, but remarked that it lacked the discipline which so greatly distinguished our army. The Prussian artillery, he said, was the first in the world, and his troops had not been able to withstand our fire. The conversation may have lasted a good quarter of an hour before they came out again, the King's lofty and august figure contrasted admirably with the diminutive and depressed form of the Emperor. When Napoleon caught sight of me he gave me his hand, while with the other he dried up the big tears trickling down his cheeks. He referred with much gratitude to the language and generous manner generally with which the King had received him. I spoke, of course, in the same spirit, and asked whether he had obtained any night's rest, to which he replied that anxiety about his family had left him no sleep. On my regretting that the war had assumed so frightfully bloody a character, he replied that that was unhappily only too true, and it was all the more frightful "if one had not wanted war." He had had no news for a week of the Empress and her son, and begged that he might be allowed to telegraph to her in cipher. We parted with a shake of the hand. Boyen and Lynar accompany him; his suite looks gloomy, in brand-new uniforms, beside ours, which have become worn out in the war.

BISMARCK'S BACKWARDNESS.

Sept. 3.—Donchéry. Bismarck visits me, we retain Alsace under German administration, either for the Bund or the Empire, the Imperial idea scarcely touched on yet, I noticed that he is only favourable to it on certain conditions. I took care not to hurry him, although I am convinced that it must come to this. Matters are developing in this direction, and can only turn out the more favourably in consequence of this victory. Faily and Ducrot beg me for permission to travel through Belgium. Napoleon gone, immediately afterwards came a telegram in cipher from the Empress, which I have sent after him by Seckendorff. The Belgians are showing much sympathy for him. My anxiety is that the result of the war may not fulfil the justifiable expectations of the German people.

"FRANCE'S ENFEEBLEMENT OUR BUSINESS."

Sept. 6.—Rheims.—Quartered near Werlé (Cliché), where, for once in a way, I give champagne; this does not happen with me as a rule when in the field. Cathedral and coronation room spoiled by *maison* fashion. Apart from the desire for peace, anger is displayed everywhere against Paris, which decides everything, the people actually make a distinction between Frenchman and Parisian; they are surprised that we walk about among them without an escort. "Napoleon would never have dared thus to hazard his life," I heard one man say. My hope is in the seriousness of the nation, in its

sense of duty to build up the life of the State and the nation on liberal lines; if during the present excitement the right moment is missed, the passions will go astray when inactivity begins. Receive from the King of Bavaria the Max Joseph Order, which is only awarded for victories gained: in Bavaria nobody possesses it.

Sept. 8.—Deep mourning for Jasmund's death; many were more gifted, few as faithful; I had greatly counted on him for the future. France is now our natural opponent for all time, and therefore her enfeeblement our business. The possession of Alsace now facilitates our strategical advance, hitherto planned on a very narrow scale.

THE ARMY ORDERED TO BESIEGE PARIS.

Sept. 12 to 14.—Alsace-Lorraine: Imperial territory without dynasty; native administrative council. The problem will be to separate our new compatriots from the great body of the French State, but to make them feel that they are members of a great State, and not condemned to join an insignificant one. Russell (the *Times* correspondent) totally disappeared; gone direct to England; wrote much even while in his carriage. Roggenbach proposes to use the opportunity of introducing decentralization in France through our influence.

Sept. 16.—Coulommiers. Order to army to surround Paris; to Meaux, to headquarters. Favre announced, through English mediation; Bismarck agrees that we ought to hear him in order to get to know him. Bavaria, not disinclined to a Congress of Ministers, has urgently asked that Delbrück might come. Gortschakoff against the cession of Alsace. Napoleon is astonished at his good treatment at Wilhelmshöhe! what else could he have expected? we honour ourselves by thus treating him. Boyen says the behaviour of the people had everywhere been full of tact, he had admired our reserve guards. The Republic becomes confirmed without drawing attention to it; the Maire of Coulommiers says Ollivier alone would have made Napoleon's position untenable. Ile de France a superb country; the peasants make a favourable impression; the people ask absurd questions, and feel the star on my breast.

Sept. 19.—Paris surrounded. Versailles is going to capitulate first, and will be glad to be saved from a mob. Sèvres asks to have soldiers quartered there.

THE CAPITAL SURROUNDED.

Sept. 20.—At Versailles, in the Prefecture. The news from Bavaria good. While contemplating these State apartments, in which so much mischief for Germany was decided on, and of which the paintings hanging round mockingly represent her disintegration, I cherish the firm hope that the restoration of Kaiser and Reich will be celebrated in this very place.

Sept. 22.—To Ferrières, looking like a commode with its legs in the air; inside, a cabinet of curios, luxurious, but senseless. Favre is grateful for his treatment, has left an excellent impression on our officers, but declines our demands in a letter. Sedan and the Republic made an impression on Austria; the Tzar sent Moltke the St. George's Order. Three years ago I was driving about in the park of Versailles with the Empress Eugénie! Christening carriages of the Duke of Reichstadt, Count of Chambord, Count of Paris, Prince Imperial. Our solemn religious service in the open air im-

presses the French. Excursion to St. Cloud ; picture of the arrival of Queen Victoria, when the Crown Princess first went with her to the Continent ; the French will end by destroying it. On the Council table, where the decision to declare war was come to, lay sketches of the Prussian army, lint in baskets, cards of invitation from the Impératrice Régente. The arrangements are charming and luxurious.

Sept. 28.—Strasburg capitulates ; I write to the King to get everything done for the restoration of the cathedral, the library, &c. His Majesty is bored at Ferrières.

THE GREAT EMPEROR QUESTION.

Sept. 29.—Fifteen years ago to-day I was betrothed at Balmoral.

Sept. 30.—To Ferrières : good news from Delbrück to Bismarck's surprise. I address his Majesty on the Emperor question which is now being broached ; he thinks there is no prospect of it, and refers me to the remark of Du Bois Reymond (a Berlin professor) that Imperialism is now prostrate, so that in Germany for the future there could only be a King of Prussia, Duke of the Germans. Against this I urge that the three Kings (of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony) compel us to express our supremacy by the title of Emperor, and that the thousand-year-old Imperial or Royal crown has nothing to do with modern Imperialism. At last his opposition gets weaker.

Oct. 2.—Queen Victoria, who follows our deeds with touching interest, has telegraphed to his Majesty exhorting him to treat Favre's peace proposals with magnanimity, but without being able to recommend any practical means to this end.

Oct. 3.—General Burnside comes from Paris, looks shrewd, and speaks so openly that Blumenthal and I are of opinion he does not do so without instructions from the authorities. They want peace, but no cession of country. Favre, on the other hand, has told him he quite saw that France, after having been conquered, must give in to the loss of Alsace ; but the present Government could not act on its own responsibility as it would fall if it gave in to our demand. A "Constituante" ought therefore to be called together, in which the demand for peace, uttered in the name of the nation, would assist the Government. I remark that we had not been at all inclined to hinder the elections, which should have taken place on Oct. 2 ; at which the American is surprised. Move to Les Ombrages.

THIERS SUGGESTS KING LEOPOLD.

Oct. 5.—His Majesty arrives with his colossal headquarters—incredible mass of carriages—even Schneider (the King's reader) and Stieber (chief of the secret field police) have theirs.

Oct. 6.—The fountains playing ; the King walking about fearlessly among the crowd, to the immense surprise of the public. Thiers suggests placing King Leopold on the throne of France, which Bismarck holds to be a stillborn idea ; he is sorry that he can find no obliging disposition in England, remarking that they do not there seem to perceive that they will have in future to seek help from Germany. Delbrück has been called to explain the contradictions of his accounts and telegrams. Bismarck is rightly unwilling to be rash about anything ; he disapproves Jacoby's arrest, and fears it will influence the elections, but cannot persuade the King to liberate

him. Vogel von Falkenstein is no politician, wants to do everything and rejects legal assistance ; the King does not like to oppose him. Letter from Renan, who, appealing to our acquaintance of 1867, begs for a safe conduct.

THE SIEGE OF PARIS.

Oct. 9.—Divine service in the Palace chapel.

Oct. 10.—Beginning of the siege. Delbrück arrives. Bavaria willing to join North German Confederation, reserving her army and diplomacy. The ministers disagree among themselves, and point to the contradictory remarks of the King, who talked for an hour and a half with Delbrück on topics mostly concerning the mission of the latter ; he studies the "Infallibility" question. Bismarck very savage with Schneider, who sends wrong and tactless things to the *Staatsanzeiger*. Duke Frederick goes to Von der Tann, thinks that nothing will come of it, and finds at Versailles the news from Artenay. Bismarck tells me that Chambord and Ollivier have written to the King ; the former would follow the people's call, but would not allow the cession of any part of France. Ollivier confesses to have advised in favour of war, but warns not to demand cession of parts of the country. The one can do nothing, the other has brought it all about, and both dare to give advice to the victor ! St. Cloud in flames. Burnside comes again from Paris, deputed by the Government, which acts without a single sensible thought, listens to no remarks, and continues the war without any plan, in order to remain in office. Bazaine wants to send the chief of his staff for politico-military negotiations ; Bismarck wants to hear him, Roon and Moltke will not ; they disagree, reproach each other with not having any news ; Frederick Charles is opposed to it, fearing that the capitulation might be concluded at Versailles. The King of Würtemberg wishes to treat with us directly (about his entry into the North German Confederation), so as to be free from the tutelage of Bavaria. Bismarck considering the Emperor question ; tells me he made a mistake in 1866 in treating the matter as of no importance, not believing that there was such a powerful desire among the German people for an Imperial crown as is now appearing, and is only afraid of too much Court glitter, on the subject of which I calm his apprehensions. The Duke of Coburg proposes election by all the Sovereigns, who would take the place of the electors.

PONDERING ABOUT THE FUTURE.

Oct. 14.—Stosch tells us that Boyer has been at Versailles since last evening, negotiating about the free passage of the army at Metz, in order to enable Bazaine to make an attempt at restoration. Bismarck wants to make use of him to keep all means in his hands which could possibly lead to a peaceful result.

Oct. 18.—The unique way in which I am keeping my birthday makes me turn my particular attention to the seriousness of the political task which awaits me in the course of time in Germany, for I hope to have no more wars and that this will be my last campaign. There is no doubt that many look with confidence on the task which, God willing, must one day fall to me, and I feel a certain confidence in my power to perform it, knowing that I shall show myself worthy of the trust reposed in me. The present negotiations are difficult, and Bismarck seems to be serious

about the matter. Early to-day the King came to me ; yielding to my request he has donned the Iron Cross of the First Class ; at table he toasted me as the one who had brought us all hither." The Grand Duke of Weimar wishes to have my views as to the German question and uses the expression "a Constitution uniting all German States ;" that must follow, but first of all, and at once, Germany wants a monarchical head. I find that there were some evil purposes against England ; that is now past ; but who can tell whether the prevailing predilection for Russia and America may not yet one day add fuel to hatred of England ? The death of Twisten (a Liberal politician who during the Conflict time had fought a duel for his political principles with the reactionary Von Manteuffel) is an irreparable loss. I met Bennigsen, who has been galled by Bismarck, and who tells me that he has favourable impressions ; Bismarck is against an Upper House.

BISMARCK AND PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

Oct. 23.—Bray, Prankh, and Suckow came to see me ; they do not say much, but they are here.

Oct. 24.—Rumour of Gortschakoff's intention to renounce the Black Sea Treaty. Bismarck tells my brother-in-law (the Grand Duke of Baden) that after the war he means to proceed against "infallibility."

Oct. 25.—The South German Ministers dine with me. Mittnacht is considered the ablest ; he asks for an audience, and expresses himself favourably ; Suckow also. Bray talked yesterday to Bismarck with regard to the title of Emperor ; he considers an Upper House, in which kings sit on the same bench with counts and lords, an impossibility, so that with regard to this question alone the Emperor and the Federation would receive a check.

A LAUREL WREATH FOR MOLTKE.

Oct. 26.—Moltke's seventieth birthday ; I took him a laurel wreath. Agrees with me that Paris must be forced by famine to capitulate, and is opposed to the opening of parallels.

Oct. 27.—Metz capitulates, but France makes every possible effort to relieve Paris, while Podbielski has always shown that she was incapable of this. I treat Dalwigk coldly, Hofmann amiably. Bismarck says that on principle he is not against the Upper House and Ministers of the Empire, and that he would not afterwards withhold his sympathy.

Oct. 28.—In the orangery at Versailles, where the trees might be twice as high. Napoleon III. was not fond of oranges, and presented many to the Comtesse Beauregard. But the buildings of that period were meant to last for ever, while nowadays nearly everything is superficiality and show.

THE CROWN PRINCE MADE A GENERAL-FIELD-MARSHAL.

Oct. 29.—Telegram from (my cousin) Friedrich Karl :—"Gratulire, mein Herr General-Feldmarschall." An hour and a half later I received my patent. The beautiful and touching words in which it is couched, above all things the declaration that in a promotion of this kind, which has never yet fallen to a Prince of our House, my brave army is to behold the reward of its achievements, helped me to get over the oppressive feeling that this old and really fine tradition of our family had now, at last, also been broken with. Frederick Charles will have taken this appointment as something which had been expected. Moltke has become a Count. I persuaded

the Grand Duke of Bavaria to come, Dalwigk shows himself very obliging, wishes to make proposals about Imperial Ministers and the Upper House. Roggenbach remains the only sensible and reliable one among the statesmen present.

Oct. 30.—Thiers comes and meets the fine reserve guards ; avoids political talk before he has been in Paris. Confusion of the Bavarian negotiations ; the instructions come from the Bavarian mountains. At Berlin the laymen in their warm rooms demand the bombardment of Paris. Dalwigk explains to me, to my surprise, his programme of the German question. Prince Otto of Bavaria, who has been suddenly summoned to Munich on important business, came to take leave of me, pale and as wretched-looking as if he were in a fit of the shivers—he sat before me while I set forth the necessity of our having unity about military and diplomatic matters, and about the Upper House ; but whether he understood, or even heard me, I could not make out.

BAVARIA AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Nov. 1.—Dalwigk has to-day had a discussion with all the German Ministers, and with Friesen, in order to win Bavaria over to the idea of a German Empire with responsible Ministry and a State or Upper House, but they have not arrived at any result, because Bray puts special stress on the fact that the subjects in question had already been discussed with Delbrück at Munich, but that they had been wrecked by Prussian opposition ! Bismarck, however, pointed to the wishes of South Germany. The King told Roggenbach last evening he considered a revision of the North German constitution a necessity, and has altogether expressed himself favourably on the Empire question. As Bismarck can't get away from here, the idea has been suggested that the German Reichstag should be called to assemble in this place : a strong impression would be produced ; and if, in addition to it, the Congress of Princes, which I think desirable, should take place at the same time, the German cause would be advanced at one stroke.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BISMARCK AND THIERS.

Nov. 2.—Bismarck gives an account of his negotiations with Thiers. The latter says the election of a "Constituante" required twenty-eight days, during which an armistice should be made and new provisions supplied, we undertaking part of the provisioning. On Bismarck questioning as to what would be done for us in return, Thiers said in surprise, The prospect of obtaining a lawful Government through the "Constituante" ! but when the question of supplying provisions was negatived the expression slipped from him, "But then we shall have the capitulation during the armistice." On Bismarck complaining of the use of Turcos by the French, Thiers rejoined, "But you are also making use of Uhlans."

Nov. 3.—Thiers sends his demands in writing ; three weeks would not suffice to bring the necessary number of cattle to Paris. Reinforcements ought to be sent against the masses gathering together on the Loire, but the King will not yet allow it. Delbrück thinks that a confederate like Bavaria ought, at the present moment, not to be compelled to join, but I hold that we do not at all know our power, consequently that at the present historical moment we can no doubt do anything we seriously want to do, only—heaven knows, we do not always know what we want, and who at present wants anything

seriously. The idea has been abandoned of calling the Reichstag to this place. The Grand Duke of Baden is coming.

Nov. 7.—At last persuaded the King to send reinforcement to Von der Tann. The Grand Duke of Baden finds the King more favourable to the German question than he expected. Bismarck told the Ministers it was the wish of the Prussian Government to see the German Princes seal the peace here with their sword-hilts, an idea which is already shared by the King of Saxony. The Grand Duke of Oldenburg is coming, so we shall soon have sufficient material for a congress of Princes. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg takes the chief command against the Loire, I should have liked to give it to the Duke of Coburg, who is very anxious for work; but the military cabinet, not unjustly, points out that the Duke suffers from great nervous excitement at critical moments.

Nov. 10.—Write a note to Bismarck about the attitude of our press towards England. Unfavourable news from Von der Tann at Coulommiers.

ENGLAND AND THE GERMAN PRESS.

Nov. 11.—Bismarck sends Abeken (a F. O. official), who has grown a full beard, to reply to my note that he laments the language of our press towards England, and that in this sense he had instructed Eulenberg, and also written to Bernstorff. Bismarck was not at all in harmony with him, saying that his notes and his other written communications were so long-winded that they could scarcely be read. One document, for example, comprised 80 pages, which no one had time to study. The Grand Duke of Baden has the impression that Bismarck is serious about the Emperor question. The Grand Duke wrote an admirable letter to the King of Bavaria, who has not however replied to it. Würtemberg makes petty reservations about the military convention; the right of promotion in his division is a disadvantage to his own officers.

Nov. 12.—The sentry would not let me enter the Villa Stern—having no orders to make exceptions. The Würtemberg Ministers departed on the receipt of bad news just as they were about to sign. This is an intrigue of Gasser's. Suckow and Mitnacht are honest. Roon and Podbielski complain that they know nothing; Bismarck is horrified that such Prussian Particularists should have anything to do with the matter at all. Ledochowski (Archbishop of Posen) inquires whether the Pope can be received in Prussia. Bismarck would regard it as a gigantic mistake of Pio Nono to leave Rome, but says that his residence in Germany would have a good effect, as the close contemplation of Romish Sacerdotalism (*Priesterwirthschaft*) would cure the Germans. The King and I are decidedly against the idea.

THE CROWN PRINCE PUTS HIS FOOT DOWN.

Nov. 14.—Odo Russell is to come, the rumours about the Black Sea clause are confirmed; it is related that when the treaty was signed in 1856, Palmerston remarked to Brunnow (Russian Ambassador) that it would not last ten years. General Annenkoff is coming with a letter from the Tzar; Reuss (Prussian Ambassador in St. Petersburg) was only told of this after the Envoy left, with the request that he would not telegraph the news till the King (of Prussia) had received the missive. We telegraph to have the step postponed, but are told that it is too late, as communications of the same sort have gone to Vienna and London.

Nov. 16.—Our representatives are to remain passive;

the King is very much put out, telling me that this surprise is beyond all joke, and that in England it is sure to be regarded as an act of revenge on our part for the sale of arms. Bismarck, however, denies that he was privy to the matter. Conversation with Bismarck about the German question, which he would like to see decided, but, with a shrug of the shoulders, explains all the difficulties, asking what should be done with the South Germans, and whether I wish them to be threatened. I reply, "Yes, indeed; there would be no danger in doing that; let us act firmly and imperiously, and you will see I was right in asserting that you have not yet any proper consciousness of your power."

HE WANTS TO BE EMPEROR.

Bismarck would hear nothing whatever of threats, all the more as in case we were forced to resort to extreme measures such a course would throw these States into the arms of Austria. Thus, on assuming office (in 1862), he had firmly resolved to bring about war between Prussia and Austria, but had taken good care not to speak about his design on that or any other occasion to his Majesty before he deemed the proper time to have come for doing so. Similarly, the development of the German question must be left to time. I replied that, as representing the future, I could not view such delay with indifference, arguing that it would not be necessary to use force, and that we could quietly wait and watch whether Bavaria and Würtemberg ventured to join Austria. Nothing was easier, I argued, than to have the Emperor proclaimed by the majority of German Sovereigns now gathered here, and also to procure their approval of a Constitution with supreme head answering to the just demands of the German people.

AND SUGGESTS "BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR."

This would bring pressure to bear which the Kings could not resist. Bismarck rejoined that I stood alone with these views, and that in order to gain the wished-for goal it would be more correct to let the Reichstag take the initiative. On my referring to the sentiments of Baden, Oldenburg, Weimar, and Coburg, he defended himself by referring to the will of the King. I answered that I knew very well his opposition alone was sufficient to make such a scheme as this impossible of acceptance by his Majesty; to which he replied that I was reproaching him, and that he knew of quite other persons who deserved this.

BISMARCK THREATENS TO RESIGN.

And then again I must in political questions, he said, take into account the great independence of the King himself, his Majesty reading through every important despatch, and even correcting it. He regretted that the question of the Emperor and of the Upper House had been discussed at all, as offence had thus been given to Bavaria and Würtemberg. I said that it was Dalwigk who had broached it. Bismarck averred that my opinions thus expressed could only prove hurtful, saying that the Crown Prince should not give vent to views of this kind at all. I at once protested in the most emphatic manner against my mouth being closed in this way, especially as in a question thus affecting the future I felt bound to leave no one in doubt as to my opinion in particular, besides which it lay with his Majesty alone to instruct me as to matters which I was free to discuss or not, even if it were assumed that I was

not yet old enough to judge for myself. Bismarck said that if the Crown Prince commanded he would act in accordance with his views. I protested against this, as I had no commands to give him, whereupon he declared that for his part he would be very glad to make way for any other person whom I might deem more competent than him to conduct affairs; but that until then he must act upon his own principles to the best of his ability and knowledge of all determining circumstances. We then went on to speak of questions of detail, and finally I remarked that I had perhaps spoken in an animated manner, but that I could not be expected to remain indifferent in view of a "world-historic" moment which was being neglected.

THE KING UPSET.

Nov. 17.—Delbrück is going to Berlin to the opening of the Reichstag, he is not discouraged, and believes that our tactics of ignoring the Bavarians for the last fortnight will bear good fruit, as they have asked for a recommencement of negotiations. It is my opinion that the present division of the Third Army should be maintained even after the war comes to an end, so that I may thus remain Commander-in-Chief; I should then have influence by means of a mixture of consideration and strictness, but I should wish to be spared the parades and dinners during the inspections. The King is nervous, for he has at the same time to follow the (political) negotiations and the (military) operations, and he gets absolutely no recreation, for his daily guests grow very monotonous. I am well, beginning to read and write at six o'clock every morning, but later on my time is much broken up.

Nov. 18.—Roggenbach thinks that things are more favourable than they appear. Am pleased with the article in the *Times* about my letter of thanks to Lindsay; acting on the principles of my ever-memorable father-in-law, may I succeed in welding a chain between the two countries which depend so much on each other.

Nov. 19.—Bismarck is said to have exclaimed on the receipt of Gortschakoff's note, "The silly fellows have begun four weeks too soon." Bernstorff's influence is unfavourable to either side. Odo Russell has arrived; his first impression of Bismarck is favourable; he is my honoured, amiable, old acquaintance from Rome in 1862. To everybody's surprise Meyer is coming. Nov. 20.—Bavaria turns round. Nov. 21.—Bismarck tells me our conversation of the 16th had caused him to proceed seriously, and after Delbrück's departure to take the negotiations in hand: both kingdoms wished now to step in, but he had yet to play his trump cards. Roon threatened to break off the military negotiations about the outward marks of distinction. We remain eternally the same at the green table; as a contrast the language of the *Volkszeitung*, which always hits the nail on the head, is really refreshing.

BISMARCK AND BOMBARDMENT.

Nov. 23.—A moment of exciting combinations. Moltke explains the situation of affairs always with the utmost clearness and moderation; has always considered and calculated everything, and constantly hits the right nail on the head; but Roon's shoulder-shrugs and spitting and Podbielski's Olympian assurance often influence the King. Talk with Pränkh, who has sufficient insight and knowledge to be able to help his friends, but who for the moment can get nothing except admission to the Confederacy.

He puts special value on this success, but asks all the more to leave the rest to time. Nov. 24.—Last evening signed with Bavaria.

Nov. 25.—Bismarck urgently demands a bombardment; Blumenthal in a *pro memoria* to Moltke demonstrates the senselessness of a bombardment which could only reach the forts, that ought to be taken by parallels and storming. We should have to make our quarters there under the effective firing of the enemy; thence proceed to an attack of the strongly-fortified enceinte, and eventually of the town. Bismarck has given out that if the Imperial dignity is not soon offered by the Princes, the Reichstag cannot be prevented from proposing the measure after the middle of next week at the latest. Long talk with Odo Russell shows me once again the abilities of this gifted diplomatist; he is satisfied about Bismarck, whom he finds accessible. In the Roman question he is afraid that, some time, great harm to the Savoy dynasty will be the consequence of the occupation of Rome; he expects extensive Democratic reforms within the Catholic Church from the successor of Pius, so that in time an active Pope might even succeed in uniting the spiritual with the Royal sovereignty over Italy (?) Prince Lynar is going to be sent with autograph letters of the Kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony to invite the Sovereigns. Holnstein has arrived, and is looking out for a residence and stabling for the King in the Trianons; speaks unfavourably of the Bavarian Ministers, who ought to have done more for the German cause. Odo Russell tells his Majesty that it is due to Bismarck's diplomatic wisdom and correct proceeding that no warlike conflict has resulted from the Pontus question.

"THE TERRIBLE TIME WITHOUT AN EMPEROR."

Nov. 28.—At Berlin people are foolishly in favour of the bombardment. Frau von B. points me out as the culprit; quite true I do not wish to begin till all the ammunition has come; we might long ago have begun the mere shooting, but we should soon have had to leave off on account of want of ammunition. Those who go through the campaign without responsibility and without knowledge of the facts are grumbling and saying our batteries could only be placed in such a way that the working-men's quarters, which decide, would remain untouched. I offer the commandship to every one talking to me about it. Holnstein has suddenly left. Schneider does much harm by his tactless correspondences; he reads every day to the King while the latter takes his coffee, and receives from him nearly every telegram, which through Schneider are passed on to the Chancellor, who is justly in despair about it. Bismarck calls upon all members of the Reichstag who are in the field to go to Berlin and vote.

Nov. 30.—A draft of Bismarck's for the letter of the King of Bavaria about offering his Majesty the Imperial dignity has been forwarded to Munich. The Grand Duke tells me that at that place they had not quite known how to draft the letter, and have asked us to tell them. The King of Bavaria has actually copied out the letter, and Holnstein is bringing it back.

Dec. 3.—Holnstein arrived, Prince Luitpold hands the document to the King by special command. After dinner Bismarck reads out the letter, which the King finds as inopportune as possible, upon which Bismarck remarked that the Imperial question had nothing to do with the present campaign. As we left the room Bismarck and I shook hands.

To-day Kaiser and Reich have been irrevocably re-established, and now the interregnum of sixty-five years, the terrible time without an Emperor, is over. This proud title is a guarantee in itself; we owe this mainly to the Grand Duke of Baden, who has been incessantly active in the matter. Roggenbach will be sent to Berlin by Bismarck. I am writing an open letter to Simson.

Dec. 6.—Odo Russell says that Bismarck favours the alliance with England. The King very much perplexed that Delbrück has read the letter of the King of Bavaria to the Reichstag. Stilfried sends curious designs for Imperial arms, the Prussian, with the Austrian House-crown: he does not want the German Royal crown, which is just the one I demand as attribute of the German Imperial rank.

Dec. 7.—Princess Frederick of the Netherlands has died: she was the most gifted of the three sisters. The Grand Duke of Weimar tells me that he, as brother-in-law of the King, had ordered his Ambassador to propose in the Bundesrath that Emperor and Empire should be admitted into the Constitution. This was Bismarck's wish. The King gives a grand dinner in honour of the Russian St. George's festival. Stosch on the brilliant victory near Bazoches; he has a good position with the Grand Duke, who is said to be talented.

Dec. 9.—Learn about Delbrück's introductory speech on the Imperial question in the Reichstag, which is excessively weak, dull, and dry; it was pitiable, just as if he had pulled the Imperial crown out of his pocket wrapped up in an old newspaper; it is impossible to put any energy into these people. It is asked whether this confederacy is to be the result of all the sacrifices, an act which only suits those men for whom and by whom it has been made. I know very well what endless trouble and anxiety my present sins of omission will one day cause me. Meanwhile I have ordered Commander von Voigts-Rheetz quietly to keep the Salle des Glaces free. The Grand Duke of Baden says that the apparently empty Imperial title of to-day will develop its full meaning soon enough.

THE ISOLATION OF ENGLAND.

Dec. 10.—Russell complains of the isolation of England, which is ever becoming more noticeable. The King is excited about Delbrück's action. The King of Saxony had expressed his surprise. He is afraid of the Reichstag deputation, because it looks as if the Imperial question were initiated by the Reichstag; refuses to receive the deputation until he has the assent of all the States through the medium of the King of Bavaria. At tea there is so little conversation that the half of us go regularly to sleep. Schneider does not read aloud, and we look again and again through the old copper-plates which have been saved from St. Cloud.

Dec. 12.—Pfalzburg capitulates, which it has never done before. The deputation is to arrive on the 16th. A telegram has been sent to the King of Bavaria asking him to send on the letter which has been in his possession for some time past.

Dec. 14.—Anniversary of Prince Albert's death. Remember how he constantly said, "We must give up the idea of playing a decisive part without the co-operation of Germany."

Dec. 15.—Moltke expects Longwy and Mezières to capitulate, because the commandant declares that he will only be buried with the last stone. His attitude and method of expressing himself are quite invaluable at such moments.

Dec. 16.—The King will hear nothing about receiving the deputies, but is beginning to be more pliable in the matter. It is a bad thing that Bismarck is just now suffering from his feet; the Grand Duke of Baden acts like a good genius.

DEPUTATION FROM THE REICHSTAG.

Dec. 17.—Hear from the Court Marshal of Prince Charles that to-morrow his Majesty will give a dinner to the Reichstag deputies. Bismarck says the King wants to receive them beforehand. Long conversation with Simson (now President of the Supreme Court at Leipzig), who is correct and logical. Count Perponcher said to Adalbert, "However, we shall not utilize the Imperial dignity for ordinary occasions, but only at grand Court festivities or ceremonies;" to which Adalbert replied, "If the King were to make you a Prince would you only then wear the title on exceptional occasions?" Boyen asked what would our King do if the Prussian Diet were to refuse to allow him to accept the Imperial Crown? "Du gleichst dem Geist den du begreifst."

Sunday, Dec. 18.—Deeply moved by the reception of the deputies, dignified and good. Observed from Rogge's sermon that after all stress is laid on it. Princes and generals asked me to be allowed to be present. I told the King directly after service, who was greatly surprised, but said, at last, that if anyone really wanted to be there he should not offer any opposition. So they all put in an appearance, although the King expressed his surprise at it; only Luitpold failed; and at the last moment the Royal adjutants were sent for. His Majesty took his stand in the principal saloon of the building, the Princes of the Blood to the right, the reigning Princes to the left. Simson's masterly speech drew tears from me; in fact, there was not a dry eye present. The Address was then read. The King's reply followed, with some stoppages, for he can no longer read easily without spectacles; besides, now and again he was obliged to pause from emotion. Then followed the presentation of the deputies; during the entire ceremony firing from Mont Valérien; outside everybody was crowding. The King was happy when all was over, seemed easy and satisfied. The future position of the Royal family is still doubtful. "Imperial Highness" is contrary to my fancy altogether.

Dec. 19.—The deputies are satisfied; their appearance acts pleasantly. I dine with Bismarck; the officials were silent: the candles were stuck in bottle-necks. Stosch returned; praises Wittich and Treskow highly.

Dec. 24.—Christmas Eve.—Great astonishment of the French at our purchases. Russell obtains an officer's sword sash in the lottery.

Dec. 25.—After all, it really is an irony on the message of salvation when each side prays to God for its own cause as the righteous one, and at every success tries to prove that its opponent has been left in the lurch by Heaven.

Dec. 27.—Bourbaki against Belfort; Blumenthal is happy about this nonsense.

A LETTER OF THE KING OF THE BELGIANS.

Dec. 28.—Letter of the King of the Belgians, full of sympathy for Emperor and Empire, and great expectations regarding them; he sees in them the re-establishment of order and of the consciousness of justice in Europe, and calls the tasks set for them "truly glorious." He is very anxious to fulfil his

duties as a neutral Sovereign according to contract, but the advantages of such a position were not without serious difficulties and worries. He accuses the foreign journalists of having abused Belgian liberty of the press with regard to us; France brings complaints against Belgium because German provisions and wounded soldiers have been allowed to pass through, while the retreating French had been refused their return to France, and had been arrested. The King receives a laudatory telegram from the Köpnickerstrasse (a proletariat quarter in Berlin) because he has finally commenced the bombardment.

PREPARING THE IMPERIAL PROCLAMATION.

Draw up with the Grand Duke of Baden a proclamation of Emperor and Empire. The former is successor to the German Emperors, but quite a new thing, just as the old Prussian Monarchy, which foundered in 1848, re-rose as a Constitutional State, title and outward forms being retained. A year ago to-day Napoleon told me that Ollivier had become Premier. Bismarck expresses himself very pleasantly about Leopold's letter, and asks me to point in my answer to the fact that a strong Germany will be a safeguard for Belgium, which need never have any fear of Germany, nor, as long as the latter is strong, from France either.

Dec. 31.—The King decides not to have any public demonstration to-morrow, as Bavaria has not yet consented; Delbrück, on the other hand, reports that the printed Imperial Constitution will to-night appear at Berlin, and will to-morrow come into force. Bismarck, whom I find in bed, and whose room looks like a veritable lumber-room, says that without the admission of Bavaria no inauguration can take place. After that I asked him to consider the historical January 18, which idea he seemed to favour. It is impossible for us to renounce Alsace and Lorraine, although the gain to us of the latter might be precarious.

FIRST DAY OF THE BOMBARDMENT.

Jan. 1, 1871.—The King greets me earnestly and kindly, and expresses the wish that I may one day be permitted to witness the fruit of peace which the present labours will bring forth. He could not really think that a lasting unification of Germany would be effected, for, unfortunately, only a few of the Princes acted and thought in the manner desired; the Grand Duke of Baden had given them a noble example. I ask Delbrück what title he would give to the Navy, the Customs, the Post and Telegraph Departments? "Imperial." And the Army?—"Well, that is a ticklish thing." Whereupon I congratulated Delbrück on the artistically finished chaos. Masterly toast of the Grand Duke to King William the Victorious; he spoke of the Empire which comes into existence to-day through the official publication of the Constitution; his Majesty would not complete the inauguration before all the various rulers had given their consent. Deep impression.

Jan. 2.—Warm letter from Albrecht junior. "May this last and highest attainable grade be to the welfare of our House, and may it succeed in becoming to all Germany what it already has been to Brandenburg and Prussia!"

Jan. 4.—Roon prohibits the circulation of the *Volkszeitung*. First day of the bombardment. What will the Berlin wiseacres say when after a fortnight everything remains as it is? Werder in a critical position. With my individual dislike for war, I am spared nothing in this gigantic struggle. My dislike

for the bloody work is, however, well known indeed, they say of me, as I learn to my tacit joy, that, whenever it is consistent with strict fulfilment of duty, I allow as much forbearance and mildness as possible to prevail.

WHAT WAS TO BE DONE WITH PARIS.

Jan. 8.—The burning questions are the treatment of conquered Paris, armistice, and conditions of peace. His Majesty requested Bismarck and myself to give our opinion as to the insignia of Emperor and Empire. Manteuffel comes on his way to the Southern army, praises the action of Albrecht junior, near St. Quentin. Bismarck agrees to confer at my quarters with Moltke.

Jan. 12.—I point out to the King that Schleinitz must be heard upon the subject; he replies that he sees in the Emperor only a reconstruction of the Presidency of the Confederacy, and would most prefer to call himself "King of Prussia, elected Emperor of Germany," wherein I should detect a distinct insult both to the Princes and the people.

Jan. 13.—Discussion between Moltke and Bismarck at my quarters; lively debate; the silent Moltke grows eloquent. Schleinitz ordered to come.

MOLTKE "ICY CALM."

Jan. 15.—Werder asks whether he would not do better to raise the siege of Belfort, because he thinks after all he can defend Alsace. Moltke read this out, and added, with icy and imperturbable calm, "Your Majesty will doubtless permit me to inform General von Werder that he has simply to remain where he is, and beat the enemy where he finds him." Moltke appears to me to be beyond all praise. Within one second he had settled the entire affair. His reply to Trochu about the hospitals was that we would spare them so soon as we were near enough to distinguish them. The King at last agrees to the proclamation on the 18th, in the Salle des Glaces, but will have nothing to do with the preparations, and decides nothing about the insignia.

A MOMENTOUS DISCUSSION.

Jan. 16.—Werder's victory in the defensive: Manteuffel is approaching.

Jan. 17.—After noon, with the King, a council composed of Bismarck, Schleinitz, and me, lasting three hours, in an over-heated room, about title, succession to the throne, &c. While discussing the title Bismarck confesses that previously, at the discussion on the Constitution, the Bavarian plenipotentiaries refused to allow the title "Emperor of Germany," and that finally, to please them, but without beforehand asking his Majesty, he agreed to the designation "German Emperor." This title displeased the King, as it did me; but in vain. Bismarck tried to prove that "Emperor of Germany" implied a territorial power which we did not at all wield over the Empire, while "German Emperor" was the natural sequel of the *Imperator Romanus*. We had to give in; however, in ordinary parlance the "of Germany" is to be employed; the style of address is to be "Your Imperial and Royal Majesty," the mere "K.K." (Kaiser und König) is never to be employed. As we thus confess that we have no territorial power over the Empire, the bearer of the Crown and his heir are, as it were, taken only from the Prussian Royal family, and my opinion falls to the ground that our whole family ought to have the Imperial title. Then a long debate about the relations of Emperor to Emperor, because

his Majesty, contrary to the old Prussian traditions, places an Emperor higher than the King of Prussia. Both Ministers and I contradicted his theory by referring to the archives, according to which Frederick I., when recognizing the Tzar as an Emperor, distinctly declared that he (the Tzar) would never have precedence of the King or Prussia. Frederick William I. himself insisted at his meeting with the German Emperor on entering the tent, which had two doors, at the same time with that monarch, and finally Bismarck pointed out that Frederick William IV. had solely introduced, by reason of the well-known humility towards Austria which was personal and peculiar to him, the principle of inferiority to the Archducal House of that Empire. The King, however, explained that as Frederick William III. had ordered at his meeting with Alexander I. that the latter, as Emperor, should have precedence, for the present the will of his Royal father would be conclusive. But when, in the course of negotiations, it was settled that our family should keep its present position, the King again expressed the desire to express the equality with other Imperial Courts. Finally nothing was settled, and the decision put off till peace is concluded, or till a possible coronation takes place. Nothing was said about Imperial Ministers. Bismarck becomes Imperial Chancellor, although it is so disagreeable to him to bear the same title as Beust that he exclaimed he was getting into very bad company. The Imperial colours did not cause much uneasiness, not having risen out of the street mud, as the King remarked; but he would only suffer the cockade beside the Prussian colour; he forbade the suggestion of an Imperial army, but the navy might be called Imperial; it could be seen how hard it is for him to have to take leave to-morrow from the old Prussia to which he clings so firmly. When I referred to the history of our House, how we had risen from Burg Counts to Electors, then to Kings, how Frederick I. had held but the shadow of a kingship, which had nevertheless become so powerful that the Imperial dignity had now fallen to us, he replied: "My son is devoted to the new state of things with his whole soul, while I do not care a straw about it, and hold only to Prussia. I say that he and his successors will be called to make the Empire now established a reality."

THE DREAMS OF POETRY FULFILLED.

Jan. 18.—My task and that of my wife has now become doubly difficult; but it is all the more welcome to me, for I do not shrink from difficulties, and I am well aware that I do not lack the spirit and courage to face the work fearlessly and firmly; and I am convinced that it was not a vain dispensation which repeatedly called upon me between the ages of thirty and forty to form the most important resolutions, and also to carry them out in the face of danger. The long-deferred hopes of our forefathers, the dreams of German poets, are fulfilled; freed from the dross of the "Holy Roman" failure, there now emerges from a night of sixty years, under the old name and insignia of ten centuries, an empire reformed in head and limbs. The good news of Werder's victory near Chenebières relieves the King; just after Moltke had read the telegram, we heard the music accompanying the sixty standards; this put him into a better frame of mind. Counting on the impression, I had given special orders that this longer route should be taken, and that the procession should pass

the prefecture just at the hour when the King gives audiences. A ray of sunlight broke at this moment through the clouds. The celebration was unique, and we shall know its full value only in the course of time; we missed only Albrecht senior and junior, who are facing the enemy, and the Prince of Hohenzollern, who, on account of ill-health, cannot be present at the fulfilment of his greatest wishes.

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

The report of the Court Marshal was: "The celebration takes place," &c.; the order, "Helmets off for prayers," having been forgotten, I had to give it myself in a loud voice; the "simple prayer" consisted in a defamatory speech on Louis XIV., and of a religio-historic essay on the signification of the 18th of January: the conclusion, however, was better. After his Majesty had read a short speech to the German Sovereigns, Bismarck stepped to the front and read in a monotonous, businesslike manner the "Speech to the German People." At the words "multiplier of the Empire" I noticed a twitching movement in the whole assembly, which otherwise remained silent. Then the Grand Duke of Baden came to the front with his natural quiet dignity, and called out, "Long live his Imperial Majesty the Emperor William!" I knelt on one knee before the Emperor and kissed his hand, whereupon he raised me and embraced me in the deepest emotion. After this, reception. At dinner his Majesty said to me I should henceforth be called "Imperial Highness," although my title was not yet known. In the evening all the Princes came to me; the people of Versailles thought the King was being proclaimed Emperor of France. I was positively frightened when I was for the first time addressed as "Imperial Highness."

TREATING FOR THE ARMISTICE.

Jan. 20.—When at the family dinner called out, and find the Comte d'Hericourt, who has been sent by Trochu to beg for an armistice, or at least an interruption of hostilities for forty-eight hours. On my telling the Emperor this he gazed at me fixedly for a moment, as we both instinctively felt that such a step must be the prelude to great things. I send word to Bismarck at once, he looks at it from the same point of view; we drive to him to talk the answer over, which is to the effect that the outposts must agree in the ordinary way, and that everything else must be done in writing.

Jan. 22.—To-day for the first time "Emperor and King" introduced into prayers. But the Emperor has told his household that he will still remain for them their "King." As there will be no Imperial Ministers, for one of whom I should have recommended Roggenbach, I should like to see him employed in Alsace, where he knows all about things. Non-Prussians ought to be encouraged, but the Emperor will not listen to anything about it.

DIFFERENT KINGDOMS BUT ONE EMPIRE.

Jan. 23.—In the evening I receive a Cabinet order about my title, but that is a secondary matter compared with its inner meaning; for I only feel myself to be a German, knowing no difference between Bavarian, Badener, and all the other inhabitants of our thirty-three minor Fatherlands, but will on no account interfere with their internal affairs, or seek to deprive them of their peculiarities. Oh that all Germans would look upon me and my wife as their own, and not as North German intruders!

Favre appears suddenly in the afternoon, and puts up at Bismarck's quarters.

Jan. 24.—Greatest excitement. At a conference in his Majesty's quarters attended by Moltke, Roon, and myself, Bismarck announces that Favre is prepared to conclude an armistice, surrender the forts, and lay down his weapons. He confesses that there is famine in Paris, and that "une sédition a éclaté." Trochu had drawn back, and was now only "President of the Defence." Favre is afraid to return, and at supper with Bismarck displays the appetite of a wolf. Silence was enjoined upon us, but Bismarck, coming from the Emperor, whistled the "Halali"—(in at the death)—and that was enough for Lehn-dorff.

Jan. 25.—Favre again here; Bismarck tells us he eats like three persons, and is said to have taken some smoked geese with him yesterday.

Jan. 26.—Conference with his Majesty regarding armistice till Feb. 19, with the exception of the Jura; demarcation line of ten kilometres, "Constituante"; the forts are given over, with the exception of Vincennes, which is the State prison. The Germans will not enter Paris before the end of the armistice, at which the King is angry, but it cannot be otherwise arranged, as nobody can be sure of the safety of foreigners with the embittered Parisians. The enceinte is being disarmed; the gun stands are taken away; only the cannon tubes, which are not portable, remain; the presentation of arms takes place, with the exception of those of 12,000 men to keep the peace; as soon as the armistice ends, without peace being concluded, everybody is prisoner of war. Favre apologizes for coming without a military companion; Trochu had sworn not to capitulate; Vinoy could not do it after having just been made commander; and Ducrot would probably not have been received.

A PRAYER FOR THE PRESENT EMPEROR.

Jan. 27.—This is William's thirteenth birthday. May he grow up to be an able, honest, and upright man, a true German, prepared to continue without prejudice what has now been begun! Heaven be praised, between him and us there is a simple, natural, and hearty relationship, which we shall strive to preserve, so that he may thus always look upon us as his best and truest friends. It is really an oppressive reflection when one realizes what hopes have already been placed on the head of this child, and how great is our responsibility to the nation for his education, which family considerations and questions of rank, and the whole Court life at Berlin and other things will tend to make so much more difficult. Favre is here again with Beaufort d'Hautpoul, who comes in a merry mood, and who takes rather too much of a good thing, so that negotiations are difficult, and Favre much confused. When the French outpost at the bridge of Sèvres learned the object of Favre's journey hither, officers and men at once began to dance a cancan with one another. Jan. 28.—Forckenbeck is with me.

Jan. 30.—Visit to Valérien: terribly dirty in the forts: the guns are turned towards Paris: the French tell us openly of all the mines. Favre is quite loyal: Gambetta is said in Oppenheim banker's circles to have saved millions.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

Feb. 2.—Bismarck says that during the last few days he has felt as if he were also in the service of France, as every Frenchman now comes to him for advice.

Feb. 6.—Rumour of the preparation of presents for us at home, which I decline at once. The Grand Duke of Baden proposes that the German Princes should present the Emperor with a life-sized painting of the Imperial Proclamation. Werner was present at it.

Feb. 6.—Conditions of peace. Delbrück will not listen to anything about colonies and men-of-war. Frederick Charles is with me; carries a cane riding-whip with a gold button, around which a black and silver tassel is wound such as the Austrian field-marshal's wear; but he does not carry it when the King is present.

Feb. 8.—Bismarck finds Favre moderate and depressed, but so incapable of business and phlegmatic that the most pressing answers are often days in arriving, because he forgets half of them.

A POPISH PLOT.

Feb. 14.—Cardinal Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen, is with me; very cultured, straightforward; after carefully looking round to see whether his chaplain in the next room could hear him, he brought the question of the contribution forward, and touched on the position of the Pope. He hopes through the re-establishment of the Empire to return to the Pope the landed property which it is quite essential for him to possess; he wants to confine Italy to Lombardy and Venetia, to re-establish the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for the former of which Russia will become surety, and for the latter Austria; while Germany, through its Emperor, will be able to keep down the Revolution, thus at the same time rendering France a service, anarchy otherwise being sure to break out after the return of our troops. In answer to my question as to how he would bring all this about, he replied, "By a Congress." Himself a convert, he judges Protestants mildly.

Feb. 15.—Miss Von Oertzen reports horrible things from Stettin about voluntary sick nursing.

ENGLAND AND THE GERMAN ALLIANCE.

Feb. 16.—Russell deplores the policy which is being pursued in England; England could prevent war by speaking out decidedly; with her present policy she will sink to a Power of the second rank. It is to be hoped, however, that as England's Crimean ally is abandoning her she will seek an equivalent in Germany. At Paris people are talking of letting windows for the occasion of our entrance.

Feb. 17.—With Eulenburg, Mischke, Winterfeld, and Hahnke to Orleans; see Dupanloup there before his departure to the "Constituante," a polite old gentleman, but rather full of phrases. Blois—splendid Renaissance castle; I never saw such a wealth of carving, beautiful stone work, clever utilization of monograms and parts of escutcheons, artistically arranged knots, and cords, and all this dates from the most bloody period of French history.

Feb. 18.—Chambord; bare interior, picture of a banished Prince. Chaumont, belonging to the strict Legitimist Count Walsh, furnished in modern style, nothing of the curio-cabinet. Amboise, Chenonceaux, belonging to Mdme. Pelouse, née Wilson. Evening at Tours, where Frederick Charles caused me to be treated as Field-Marshal, which consisted in one of the adjutants coming to meet me on the third step on the stairs, and there remaining posted, a fact which my cousin pointed specially out to me, as I, of course, did not notice it. His riding-whip does not leave him even in the house.

Feb. 20.—Back ; Thiers arrived.

Feb. 21.—I think Metz might be sacrificed. Bismarck agrees with me, but fears to do badly with regard to the military demands. A coronation would only weaken the 18th of January.

A PICTURE OF THIERS.

Feb. 22.—Receive. Thiers, he declares that France is yearning for peace, but the Parisians lay great weight upon no entry being made into the capital. Excesses and demonstrations are then to be feared. As to the surrender of territory, that of Alsace was hard enough, but no Frenchman would consent to the surrender of Lorraine ; six milliards an impossible sum. He lays the chief blame of the war on Napoleon III. : expresses himself in sharp terms about Gambetta ; is pleased that the Emperor lives at the prefecture, and leaves the palace to the wounded ; says that the freely-elected "Constituante" is the true expression of the people. Flattering words as to the reputation which I have won for myself in France. He spoke with little modulation, mostly with downcast eyes, resigned, with perfect tact, fluently, without mannerism or empty phrases. As I spoke he looked straight and scrutinizingly at me, with twinkling, clever eyes, through big, strong spectacles. His appearance is like that of a sturdy banker. Feb. 23.—The next calling, when peace is concluded, is the solution of social questions, which I shall thoroughly study. It is said that the King of Würtemberg is coming. Feb. 24.—To Dreux, hereditary burial-place of the Orleans, curious mixture of Gothic and Greek style. Louis Philippe and others as saints on glass paintings. Contradictory rumours concerning the negotiations ; suggested to win Luxemburg instead of Metz. Feb. 25.—When I arrived to transact business as usual the Emperor asked me at once what I thought of the incredible result of yesterday's negotiations, which had lasted into the night. As I looked at him in utter astonishment—for, as usual, nobody had thought proper to inform me of anything—he refused at first to believe me. Thiers did not agree to obtain Luxemburg for us, as Bismarck requested, upon which the alternative of Metz or Belfort was offered, Bismarck giving a casting vote for Metz. Thiers had talked a great deal, until Bismarck lost patience, and in anger addressed him in plain German. Thiers complained of barbarous treatment : Bismarck protested at the sending of an old man with whom it was difficult for him to use plain language. Thiers's ignorance of business has always given him the disadvantage. Our successes are enormous. Russell, too, says so.

PEACE SIGNED.

Feb. 26.—Signature. Where are the men to be found who can see clearly enough to put together true principles which are to stand side by side with these successes ? The Emperor brings the news that, after the whole day had been spent in negotiations, peace was signed at five o'clock ; embraces me, Moltke, and Roon. On expressing to Bismarck my surprise at his not having communicated with me he excuses himself on the ground of the lateness of the hour and the complete exhaustion of his subordinates. He confessed that the great reluctance which he felt in justifying before the army the cession of Metz had chiefly induced him to stick to that place.

Feb. 27.—The King of Würtemberg had a smoke with me in the evening. Extremely polite to everybody I introduced to him.

Feb. 28.—I am going to be in command at the parade of 30,000 soldiers at Longchamps, just on the spot where in 1867 the French review took place which followed Berezoffski's attempt.

March 1.—Empress Eugénie telegraphs to the Emperor in the name of all mothers and children to prevent the march of the troops, because of the inevitable bloodshed. March 2.—Ratification takes place. Favre had telegraphed early in the day and had then come himself, but as Bismarck was still in bed he was not admitted, so that he could only repeat his communication in writing, whereupon he was told that the original document was wanted. The Emperor regrets that the guards did not enter the town ; but Moltke and Roon advise strict adherence to conditions. I drove with the Grand Duke in the totally deserted Bois de Boulogne ; we lost our way and found ourselves suddenly at the Arc de l'Etoile ; we decided to go into Paris. Drove across the Champs Elysées, full of soldiers and civilians. The women were in mourning, but curious ; the statues tied with crape, otherwise everything as before.

March 3.—Bleichröder on Frenchmen's incapacity for business. Bismarck very severe to Rothschild, who addressed him first in French.

March 4.—To Chartres, where Gothic came into the world ; the treatment of the human figures is particularly remarkable, their peculiar stiffness clinging to the architectural forms. Harry Arnim, who has become Count, says that the Vatican is a mad-house, and not the rallying point of all intelligence. Russell takes leave, very much moved by the manner in which his Majesty dismissed him ; his presence was a real blessing.

March 6.—I try to gain Bismarck over to make Roggenbach Governor of Alsace, but was entirely unsuccessful.

"I DECLARE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS."

March 7.—Ferrières. Even the greatest imprudence can no longer undo what has been attained. I doubt whether the necessary uprightness exists for the free development of the Empire, and think that only a new epoch which will one day come to terms with me will see that. Such experiences as I have collected during the past ten years cannot have been won in vain. In the nation united at last I shall find a strong support for my ideas ; more especially I shall be the first Prince who has to appear before his people after having honourably declared for constitutional methods without any reserve. More than ever I remember in these days the sentence, "He whose mind is turned towards the whole community, has done with the fight in his own breast." I do not bring with me feelings of hatred against the French, but endeavours for conciliation.

March 8.—Calm. I walk about with Stosch. Rothschild has amassed *articles de luxe* without system. Bismarck is to be made Prince ; Moltke Field Marshal.

NAPOLEON PROPOSES WAR AGAINST ENGLAND.

March 8.—Granville, Triquetti, and Hyacinthe do justice in their letters to my character, apart from military matters in which the moment decides. As far as moral earnestness and political convictions

are concerned, they can only be the result of inward ripeness and inward struggles which have to be daily renewed and which one must fight out alone. And when I see that my efforts for the oppressed are recognized in Germany and by her neighbours in such a way that confidence is felt in my future; that makes me happy. Napoleon quietly seeking a

rapprochement with us, moderation of the peace conditions on promise of a common war against England.

March 11.—Go to Rouen instead of the Emperor. At Amiens brave Goeben comes. The Gothic here has assumed much of the English art.

March 12.—Homewards, after almost nine months of separation.

PRINCE BISMARCK'S REPLY TO THE DIARY.

Prince Bismarck's reply to the Diary was published in the form of the following representation to the Emperor :—

"Friedrichsruhe, Sept. 23, 1888.

"In obedience to your Majesty's commands" (be this noted) "I have the honour to make the following report with reference to the alleged diary of the late Emperor" (Frederick) "as published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*" :—

HOW THE CROWN PRINCE WAS DISTRUSTED.

"I consider the diary in its present form not to be genuine. It is true that his Majesty the then Crown Prince in 1870 stood outside the sphere of political negotiations, and was therefore liable to be incompletely or inaccurately informed about many incidents. I possessed not the permission of the King to talk with his Royal Highness on esoteric questions of our policy, as his Majesty, on the one hand, dreaded the indiscreet revelations which might thus be made to the English Court, that was full of French sympathies, and, on the other, was apprehensive lest detriment might thus accrue to our relations with our German allies by reason of the far-reaching aims and the violence of the means which were recommended to his Royal Highness by political counsellors of doubtful ability. Thus the Crown Prince stood without the sphere of all business negotiations.



PRINCE BISMARCK.

HOW THE DIARY MISREPRESENTS ME.

"Nevertheless, it is scarcely possible that, if the impressions which he received had been recorded daily, so many mistakes of fact and especially of time could have crept into his diary. It seems rather as if the daily notes themselves, or at least later additions to them, had originated with some one in the entourage of the Crown Prince. At the very beginning of the diary it is said that on the 13th of July, 1870, I looked upon peace as secured, and therefore wanted to return to Varzin, while as a matter of fact—which can be proved by documentary evidence—his Royal Highness already knew then that I regarded war as necessary, and was resolved only to go to Varzin after retiring from office if it were avoided ;

and his Royal Highness was at one with me about this, as appears from the alleged entry on the 15th July, where it is said that the Crown Prince completely agreed with me that peace and concession were already impossible.

AND THE OLD EMPEROR.

"Nor is it right that his Majesty the King had not much objection to the mobilization. His Majesty continued to believe, as the Crown Prince knew, that he could still preserve peace and spare the nation" (the calamity of) "war. His Majesty was in Brandenburg, and during the whole of the railway journey from there to Berlin withstood my advocacy of mobilization. But after hearing M. Ollivier's speech, which was read to him at the Berlin station and commanding it to be read to him a second time, he considered it as tantamount to a French declaration of war, and the King himself, without more ado, and *proprio motu*, decided to mobilize. It was then that the Crown Prince, who had already the day before agreed with me as to the necessity of a complete mobilization, put an end to all further wavering by announcing the Royal decision to the public—that is, to the officers present, with the words, 'Krieg, mobil.'

WHERE MY MEMORY DIFFERS FROM THE "DIARY."

"Further, judging from conversations which I then had with the Crown Prince, it is not possible for his Royal Highness to have foreseen after this war a pause in the era of battles and bloodshed" (as recorded under date of the 1st of August), "seeing that his Royal Highness shared the general conviction, and expressed it too, that whatever might be the issue of this war it would inaugurate a series of wars, and that a warlike century was inevitable.

"Again, it is impossible that the Crown Prince could have said that he had some difficulty in persuading the King to confer the Iron Cross on non-Prussians also, seeing that when at Versailles months afterwards I was repeatedly commissioned by the King to beg the Crown Prince himself to proceed with the conferring of the Iron Cross on non-Prussians, and did not at once find the Crown Prince inclined to do so, and that it required the repeated intervention of his Majesty to get the order attended to.

THE "DIARY" CALUMNIATES ITS ALLEGED AUTHOR.

"Especially remarkable in one's examination of the genuineness of the alleged diary is the chronological error implied in the statement that a lively

discussion between the Crown Prince and me with reference to the future of Germany, and the relations of the Kaiser to his fellow Sovereigns, took place no earlier than at Versailles. This conversation between us had already been held at Donchery on the 3rd of September, and part of it even on previous occasions, several hours at a time, of which I only remember that we were on horseback, and therefore probably at Beaumont or Sedan. At Versailles there were no longer any discussions or differences of opinion" (expressed) "between his Royal Highness and me as to the future constitution of Germany. I may, I think, rather assume that his Royal Highness had by this time convinced himself that the line of the attainable marked out by me was the correct one, for on the few occasions when the future of Germany and the Kaiser question came up for discussion, in presence of both father and son (*beide höchste Herrschaften*), I enjoyed the agreement of his Royal Highness in combating the scruples of his Majesty. The assertion of the diary that his Royal Highness could have thought of employing force against our allies, and of thus breaking the treaties which had been faithfully kept by them, and sealed with their very blood, is a calumny of the deceased Prince. Such ideas, which are equally contemptible from the standpoint of honourable feeling and from that of policy, may have found advocates among the entourage of the Crown Prince, but they were too dishonourable to find an echo in his heart, and too clumsy to appeal to his political sense."

THE DILEMMA OF THE PUBLISHERS OF THE DIARY.—I. IF GENUINE.

Prince Bismarck then enumerates some minor blunders which, he says, the Crown Prince could not have made, and continues:—

"In view of all this, I hold the diary, in the form in which it is published in the *Rundschau*, to be spurious. If it were genuine, it would, in my opinion, come under Article 92 of the Penal Code, which runs thus:—

"Whoever wilfully makes public State secrets or intelligence whereof the secret keeping is essential to the welfare of the German Empire,' &c.

"If there were any State secrets at all, they would primarily include the fact, if fact it was, that when the German Empire was in course of re-establishment, Kaiser Frederick advocated the idea of breaking faith and treaties with the South German States, and using force with them. A number of other passages, such as those recording the opinion of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince as to their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and referring to the alleged intentions of the Prussian Government in the matter of Papal Infallibility, such passages, if true, would most unquestionably fall within the category of State secrets and intelligence of which the publication would imperil the existence and future of the German Empire, which to a great extent depends upon the unity of its Sovereigns; and, therefore, comes within the scope of Article 92 of the Penal Code.

II.—IF SPURIOUS.

"If the publication is held to be genuine, Article 92, sec. 1, applies to it. But if, as I assume it to be, the publication is a forgery, it will primarily, perhaps, come under Article 92, sec. 2. And if there are any legal doubts as to its applicability, then, apart from Article 189 referring to libellous assaults on the memory of deceased persons, I think there are other clauses which may form the basis of a judicial investigation whereby at least light may be thrown on the origin and aims of this publication, which forms a calumny of the deceased Emperors Frederick and William. That this should be done is in the interest of your Majesty's two predecessors, whose memory forms a valuable possession of the people, and of the dynasty, that should be preserved from the disfiguring tendencies with which this anonymous publication, accomplished in the interest of revolution and domestic discord, is primarily directed against the Emperor Frederick.

"In this sense I respectfully pray your Majesty graciously to empower me to convey to the Minister of Justice your Majesty's commands to direct the Public Prosecutor to take criminal action against the *Deutsche Rundschau* and the authors of the publication complained of.

"VON BISMARCK.

"To his Majesty the Emperor-King."

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