

**WÜRTTEMBERG**  
**(STUTTGART)**



## STUTT GART

### **FO 82/169: Henry Barron to Earl Granville, No 19, Stuttgart, 5 May 1884**

[Received 7 May by messenger. ‘This does not seem to call for any action. I cannot say I feel much sympathy for these inebriates.’ J.P. [Julian Pauncefote], 7 May; G[ranville]]

*Three British men tried for drunken offences and infractions of Imperial Criminal Code*

I have the honor to report that three British subjects have been tried and convicted here under the following circumstances.

During the night of the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> of February a drunken affray took place at the Stuttgart railway terminus between four young foreigners (three of them English) and some railway porters. No one was much hurt.

Another disturbance occurred in the night of 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>d</sup> of March, in which two<sup>1</sup> of the same Englishmen and three others of different nationalities were implicated. This time lamps, windows, trees and other property were damaged.

Six young men were now arrested, of whom three, Francis Baker, Alexander Fraser and Gerard Anderson were British subjects. The two first have been kept in prison ever since; the last named was released on bail.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of April all six were brought to trial before the “Strafkammer” (Correctional Chambers) of the “Landgericht”,<sup>2</sup> and all pleaded guilty.

The indictment comprised thirty seven separate counts. The proceedings lasted eleven hours. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baker and Fraser were sentenced to five months and three months imprisonment respectively, for “Resistance” and “Damage to property”. M<sup>r</sup> Anderson was sentenced to 14 days for “Resistance”. Their long detention of nearly two months was credited to Baker and Fraser as one month in reduction of their respective terms. All were condemned jointly to pay the costs.

This case now calls for some short observations.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Baker and Alexander Fraser.

<sup>2</sup> ‘District Court’.

In the first place the rank of the Tribunal and the cumbrous nature of the proceedings have tended to magnify the importance of and probably also the penalties for these drunken frolics. I have ascertained that some of the offenses committed are by the German Code classified as “Vergehen” (délits)<sup>3</sup>, and could not therefore be tried by the Police court.

Secondly the Crown Prosecutor<sup>4</sup> very improperly denounced the accused as aliens, who should therefore be treated with special severity.

Thirdly the damages have been fully paid for. No one appeared to claim compensation, a fact which aroused the indignation of the Crown Prosecutor. The compensations paid and the costs of the trial must form a heavy addition to the penalties imposed.

It is highly probable that, under the advice of their advocate M<sup>r</sup> Kaulla, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baker and Fraser will pray for a mitigation of their sentence, and will ask me to support their petition.

In such an event I should, considering all the circumstances, consider myself bound to support their appeal to the clemency of the Crown, and at the same time to call the attention of the Government to the improper language of its’ Crown Prosecutor.

[...]

P.S: I beg to include a summary of reports of this trial taken from a newspaper.<sup>5</sup> Being alone I am not able to prepare a translation in time for tonight’s messenger. H[.]B.

### **FO 82/169: Henry Barron to Earl Granville, No 31, Stuttgart, 3 November 1884**

[Received 6 November by messenger. For: The Queen / Gladstone / Berlin; G[ranville]]

*Reichstag elections; strong performance by National Liberal and Free Conservative coalition*

The elections of Deputies to the Reichstag took place as throughout all Germany on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October. In Wurtemberg they have produced much excitement and many surprises.

Of the 17 seats assigned to this Kingdom, (one for 116000 inhabitants) only 14 were definitively filled up at the first poll. The constituencies, where an “absolute majority” was not polled by any

<sup>3</sup> French: ‘misdemeanours’. Article 1 of the German Penal Code of 1871 differentiates between indictable offences (*Verbrechen*), non-indictable offences (*Vergehen*) and infringement (*Übertretung*).

<sup>4</sup> Karl Schönhardt.

<sup>5</sup> Enclosure: original (cutting) ‘Gerichtssaal’, *Neues Tagblatt*, 2 May 1884.

candidate, will have to proceed to a second election between the two candidates who at the first election had polled the greatest number of votes. This “ballottage” must take place within 14 days from the declaration of the poll.

Of the 6 organized political parties, only 4 were represented by Wurtemberg deputies in the late Reichstag, viz; the Conservative party by 5 deputies; the Centre<sup>6</sup> by 4, the Volkspartei (Democratic) by 6, the Freisinning (Progressist) by 1, Unenumerated (Wild) 1.

The most conspicuous feature of the present struggle had been the alliance of the “Conservative” and “National-Liberal” parties, with a view of forming a working majority for supporting the present Imperial policy.

The general result of the elections in Germany may be somewhat disappointing to the Chancellor.<sup>7</sup> But in Wurtemberg they have brought him an unexpected accession of strength. The new so-called “middle party”<sup>8</sup> has already wrested three seats from the two Democratic parties, and will probably gain two of the three still in suspense.

As compared with the rest of Germany, the Socialist party has made little progress in Wurtemberg, having polled in all 8100 votes, as against 6,150 in 1881.

In all 240,000 votes were recorded, of which 112000 were given to the 2 Allied parties, an increase of 21800 above 1881; 66,157 to the two democratic parties,<sup>9</sup> a decrease of 7,552; 53,490 to the Centre candidates, (Catholic party) a decrease of 6,780.

### **FO 82/170: Henry Barron to Earl Granville, No 5, Stuttgart, 7 February 1885**

[Received 12 February by messenger. Qy: War Office, copy – what answer?; Done; To Sir H. Barron No [no number given], 28 February; T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]

*Recruitment of foreign nationals to British army*

A M<sup>r</sup> Wilhelm Steller requests me to inform him on what conditions he would be admitted to serve in the British army. Having served three years and risen to the ranks of sub-officer in the German army, he is anxious to utilize his military knowledge by active

<sup>6</sup> *Zentrumspartei* (Catholics).

<sup>7</sup> Otto von Bismarck.

<sup>8</sup> A contemporary name for the coalition of the National Liberal Party and *Deutsche Reichspartei* (Free Conservatives).

<sup>9</sup> *Württembergische Volkspartei* and the *Deutsche Fortschrittspartei*.

employment in the service of a Colonial Power, more especially, if possible, in the present Egyptian campaign.<sup>10</sup>

Applications of this nature are frequently addressed to me. I believe that, as a rule, aliens are not enlisted in Her Majesty's military service. But exceptions certainly are or have been made to that rule.

I have the honor therefore to request that Your Lordship will enable me to answer similar applications on official authority, and to refer applicants if need be, to the proper Department for further particulars.<sup>11</sup>

**FO 82/170: Henry Barron to Earl Granville, No 8,  
Stuttgart, 6 March 1885**

[Received 11 March by messenger. For: The Queen; G[ranville]]

*Appointment of a new minister for worship and education*

I have had the honor to report a slight change in the Wurtemberg Ministry. By a Royal Decree of the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo D<sup>r</sup> von Gessler Minister of Worship and Education has at his own request been allowed to retire, and D<sup>r</sup> Otto von Sarwey has been appointed Minister in his place.

D<sup>r</sup> Gessler has held the above office since 1870. His retirement is no doubt connected partially with the rejection of his bill on Church Temporalities.<sup>12</sup> [Note in margin: 'vide my N<sup>o</sup> 39 of 1884'] As however D<sup>r</sup> Sarwey was the author of the Committee Report of the First Chamber highly favorable to the above measure, he is committed on this essential point to the policy of his predecessor.

D<sup>r</sup> Sarwey[,] once a practicing advocate, has made himself known by a standard work on the political laws of Wurtemberg,<sup>13</sup> and has risen by his ability to the Council of State, to the Privy Council and to the First Chamber.

<sup>10</sup> Barron is referring to the continued British war against the Mahdist Sudanese after the fall of Khartoum in January 1885 (see n. 32 in Berlin section).

<sup>11</sup> In his dispatch No 3 of 28 February 1885 Granville acquainted Barron with the information provided by the secretary of state for war on the matter, 'that foreigners are only allowed to be enlisted for the British Army in special cases, where their services are required with Regimental Bands & that each case is submitted for the approval of the Secretary of State for War before the enlistment takes place.'

<sup>12</sup> On 22 December the Württemberg chamber of deputies resolved not to proceed with the reading of the bill on administration of property and possessions of Catholic parishes, and asked the government to introduce an amended bill.

<sup>13</sup> *Das Staatsrecht des Königreichs Württemberg*, 1883, 2 vols.

Like the Ministry as a whole, he is not classified under any political party. Party affiliations and party spirit do not prevail in the Upper or indeed in either Chamber of the Landtag. The Government, though responsible to the Legislature, is not held bound to retire on every defeat. Each measure is therefore considered solely on its' own merits, not on its' party bearings.

### **FO 82/170: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury, Treaty, No 7, Stuttgart, 21 November 1885**

[Received 28 November by messenger. S[alisbury]]<sup>14</sup>

*Extradition treaty with Russia declined by Württemberg chambers*

A treaty for the mutual surrender of criminals was in 1884 [*sic*] signed between Germany and Russia, was approved by the Bundesrath<sup>15</sup> and laid before the Reichstag, but owing to its' bad reception in this Body was allowed to drop. In its' stead a similar treaty was signed during the present year by Prussia with Russia, and afterwards (on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October) another by Bavaria.<sup>16</sup> These treaties, not requiring the sanction of the Prussian and Bavarian Parliaments, have, I believe become law.

In the debate on the Bavarian budget of Foreign Affairs the Russo-Bavarian treaty was severely criticized by two speakers,<sup>17</sup> and defended in a long speech by the responsible Minister.<sup>18</sup> The objections urged against it were twofold; firstly that it was unconstitutional on the part of one Confederate State to negotiate separately with a foreign Power; secondly that the provisions of the new treaty were dangerous and monstrous. The chief stumbling block, but also the very essence of these treaties, consists in the clause providing that political offences shall not be pleaded as a bar to extradition.

<sup>14</sup> Note on docket: 'It is clear that the plan by which it is proposed if possible to nullify the rejection of the Russo German Extradition Treaty by the Reichstag, is, conclusion of separate treaties to the same effect between Russia and the component states of the Germany Empire. Copy to Home Office for perusal', J.H.G.B. [John Henry Gibbs Bergne].

<sup>15</sup> Federal Council.

<sup>16</sup> After the Federal Council declared its consent for the measure on 12 February 1885, the Russo-German Extradition Treaty was signed on 20 March of that year. It was based on the treaty concluded between Prussia and Russia (13 January 1885) and presented to the Reichstag on 6 May 1885 where it stalled. The Russo-Bavarian treaty was signed on 1 October 1885, and published on 17 October.

<sup>17</sup> Wolf Frankenburger and Joseph Egid Geiger, on 12 November 1885.

<sup>18</sup> Friedrich Krafft von Crailsheim.

I have thought it necessary to recapitulate thus briefly the above facts, before reporting to Your Lordship that overtures have been made here by Russia for the conclusion of a similar treaty. I am informed that those overtures have hitherto been declined on the ground that the Wurtemberg Chambers would disapprove of such a treaty.

There is no formal text of law, as in Belgium,<sup>19</sup> requiring the sanction of the Legislative Chambers to a treaty. It would however evidently be difficult to put it into execution in the face of their opposition.

**FO 82/170: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury,  
No 37, Stuttgart, 21 September 1885**

[Received 24 September by messenger. For: The Queen; T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]]

*Emperor and other dignitaries visit Würtemberg in honour of army manoeuvres*

I have the honor to report that His Majesty the German Emperor, accompanied by the Crown Prince<sup>20</sup> and the Princes William and Albert of Prussia and Arnulph of Bavaria, arrived in Stuttgart by special train from Carlsruhe on the 18<sup>th</sup>.

His Imperial Majesty was received at the railway station by the King of Wurtemberg, the Princes of the Royal Family now here and Prince Herrmann [*sic*] of Saxe-Weimar. There were also present at this reception the Cabinet Ministers, the Royal Household, the Prussian Legation, the General Officers, the Burgomaster<sup>21</sup> and Municipal Colleges &c.

After most cordial greetings the Royal Personages proceeded to the Palace amidst the applause of a vast multitude. There they were received by the Queen and the Princess of the Royal Family.

These fine illustrious guests, together with their numerous suites, including Field Marshal Count Moltke Chief of the General Staff, are accommodated in the Royal Palace to the number of 41 persons. 46 foreign and German officers deputed to attend the manoeuvres are accommodated in an hotel as the Kings guests. Thus 87 guests, besides their servants, are being entertained by the King during 5 days.

The manoeuvres of the Wurtemberg army (forming the 13<sup>th</sup> German Army-corps) began on the 19<sup>th</sup> instant by a grand review

<sup>19</sup> Barron is referring to Article 167 of the Belgian constitution of 1831.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm.

<sup>21</sup> Theophil Friedrich von Hack.

near Ludwigsburg, which was attended by the Emperor and the King. Their Majesties drove in a “daumont”<sup>22</sup> phaeton along the front of the army, followed by a numerous and brilliant Staff representing most European countries. They then took separate carriages and witnessed the first “défilé”<sup>23</sup> in a standing position. The Queen<sup>24</sup> and the Princesses were also present in open carriages. An immense concourse of spectators had assembled from all parts of the Kingdom. A remarkable feature of this review was the large muster of “Kriegervereine”, voluntary societies of old soldiers.

Yesterday the Emperor attended a fête given to him by the City in the Stadgarten, Prince William of Wurtemberg, and assisted at a “gala” performance at the Court theatre.

His Majesty has held no reception of the Diplomatic Body, but desired that I should be presented to him at the theatre. He proposes to attend the field manoeuvres for three days and to leave for Baden on the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant.

I beg to inclose an official programme of the festivities and proceedings proposed to be carried out during his Majesty’s stay.<sup>25</sup>

The Emperor has been everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. This visit is certainly calculated to display, probably to strengthen, the attachment of the Wurtemberg People to the Imperial Throne.

### **FO 82/171: Henry Barron to Earl of Rosebery, No 8, Stuttgart, 24 February 1886**

[Received 1 March by messenger. For: The Queen / Gladstone; R[osebery], 1 March]

*Second chamber rejects constitutional amendment to increase the number of peers in first chamber; demands for revision of constitution*

The chief political measure of the present session, viz; the constitutional amendment brought in by the Government for increasing the number of Peers has been rejected by the Chamber of Deputies.<sup>26</sup>

The Constitution of Wurtemberg<sup>27</sup> provides that the Chamber of Peers shall consist of:

<sup>22</sup> A carriage without a coach box driven by outriders or jockeys.

<sup>23</sup> French: ‘march past’.

<sup>24</sup> Olga.

<sup>25</sup> Enclosure: ‘Programme of festivities during the presence of His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia in Stuttgart, 18–23 September 1885’.

<sup>26</sup> On 18 February 1886.

<sup>27</sup> Articles 129–132 of the constitution of 1819.

- 1.<sup>o</sup> The Princes of the Royal Family; (there are now 6);
- 2.<sup>o</sup> The Heads of the Mediatised Houses (“Standesherren”) who were formerly endowed with votes in the Imperial or Provincial Diets; (there are now 20);
- 3.<sup>o</sup> Of members appointed by The King, hereditarily or for life. (there are now 9)

The aggregate number of these appointed under the 3<sup>rd</sup> category is not to exceed one third of the number of the other two categories.

It has now come to pass from various causes that the number of those qualified to hold seats under the two first categories has fallen from 40 to 26. Consequently the number of seats at the disposal of the Crown has now fallen from 13 to 8, and the whole number of Peers to 35, of whom many are incapacitated by infirmity or absence. This Chamber contains not one trained jurist.

It is now admittedly necessary to increase the strength of the Upper chamber. The measure proposed by the Government,<sup>28</sup> and unani- mously accepted by that Chamber,<sup>29</sup> consisted of a law in the following article, to be substituted for the original article 132 of the Constitution. “The number of Members named by The King for life cannot exceed the third part of the other members of the First Chamber. The number of Hereditary Members named by the King shall not exceed the fourth part of those included in the two first categories.”

The result of this measure might have been to increase the cham- ber by 6, thus raising its number to 41 members. In reality the Government only intended to create two more life Peers from amongst experienced State Functionaries, but by no means to create any new hereditary members. This measure was rejected, not on its own demerits, but on strategical party considerations.

The object of the two so-called “German” and “Democratic” par- ties<sup>30</sup> is to remodel thoroughly not one Chamber alone but both. A revision of the constitution in this sense has been long demanded by a majority of the Chamber, and even promised by the Crown. Many partial amendments of the Constitution have been enacted since its original promulgation in 1819. In the present state of public indifference on the subject it was felt that the promised reforms might be postponed till the Greek calends unless some means were found of bringing pressure to bear on the Government. This useful leverage was discovered in the present critical condition of the Chamber of Peers, which urgently calls for a remedy.

<sup>28</sup> On 4 May 1885.

<sup>29</sup> On 15 May 1885.

<sup>30</sup> *Deutsche Partei* (National Liberals) and *Volkspartei*.

The Chamber of Deputies is now composed of the following six categories: amounting in all to 92 members: –

1. 13 deputies of the “Ritterschaft” (the minor Nobility) owning certain estates;
2. The 6 Protestant “Superintendants-General”;
3. 2 Catholic Dignitaries including The Bishop;
4. The Chancellor of the University;
5. One deputy elected by each of the 63 “Oberamts” (administrative districts).

The object of the opposition is to form this Chamber exclusively by universal suffrage, ejecting The Nobility and Clergy. Their tactics have so far entirely succeeded. The Committee of the Chamber reported against the bill, mainly on the ground that a more complete reform was necessary and should be introduced without delay.

In a masterly speech D<sup>F</sup> von Mitnacht<sup>31</sup> the Prime Minister finally announced that the Cabinet had resolved to seek the Royal permission to bring in before the next elections (in 1888) a comprehensive measure amending Chapter IX of the Constitution, that affecting the Legislative Chambers. He carefully guarded himself against promising a popular chamber to be elected solely by universal suffrage, as such a Body might be dangerous to the Crown and to the State. He announced that the new measure would be drawn on the lines of the electoral law proposed by him and Baron Varnbüler in 1867,<sup>32</sup> therefore on the principle of a tax-paying franchise combined with indirect elections.

Notwithstanding this pledge the Chamber rejected the Government measure before it by 53 to 31 votes.

### **FO 82/172: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury, No 9, Stuttgart, 24 February 1887**

[Received 28 February by messenger. For: The Queen / Circulate; S[alisbury]]

*Reichstag election results; government parties gain support*

I have the honor to report that the elections for the Reichstag in Wurtemberg have resulted in a success surpassing all expectations for the two combined Government Parties.

<sup>31</sup> On 17 February 1886.

<sup>32</sup> The bill – part of a comprehensive plan to revise the Würtemberg constitution – was submitted to the Würtemberg chamber of deputies on 19 December 1867.

The Opposition has lost five seats viz; Stuttgart, Heilbronn, Tübingen and Mergentheim previously held by the “Volkspartei”, and Rottweil previously held by the “Freisinnig”<sup>33</sup> Party. The “Centre”<sup>34</sup> has preserved its four seats; but two of its’ members will certainly vote for the military bill,<sup>35</sup> while two will probably follow M<sup>r</sup> Windthorst.

The proportion of the two so-called “National” Parties to the Opposition is now as 13 to 4 instead of 8 to 9 as before. In the division of January 14<sup>th</sup> 8 Wurtemberg deputies voted for and 8 against the “Septennat.” The Democratic Party previously numbering 8 votes in the Reichstag will now disappear entirely from that Assembly, a singular result of universal suffrage!

The numbers of votes recorded were unprecedented. In Stuttgart alone out of 32 000 electors 29 000 recorded their votes. The closest contest was that for the 15<sup>th</sup> district (Ehingen-Blaubeuren) where of 20,650 electors 18,974 went to the poll and gave a majority of 1379 to the “Centre” candidate.<sup>36</sup>

The Wurtemberg Deputation now consists of 8 National-Liberals Mess<sup>rs</sup> Veiel, Leemann, Fischer, Adä, Siegle, Grub, Keller, Bayha; of 5 Conservatives (Reichspartei) Mess<sup>rs</sup> Neurath, Ow, Stälin, Ellrichshausen, Burkhardt [*sic*]; of 4 “Centre” members, Counts Neipperg and Adelman, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Göser and Gröber.

The Socialists have progressed in numbers (in Stuttgart from 3346 to 4590) but have not carried any seat in Wurtemberg.

The evident cause of this great wave of public opinion shown by the elections of the 21<sup>st</sup> has been the late war panic.<sup>37</sup> It has been loudly inculcated by the highest Authorities that the only chance of avoiding war lay in strengthening the army to the utmost.

### **FO 82/173: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury, No 10, Stuttgart, 23 February 1888**

[Received 27 February by post to Darmstadt. For: The Queen / Berlin for perusal, P.L. [printed letter], 29 February; P.C. [Philip Currie]]

*Landtag session prorogued; issues at heart of debate on constitutional change*

I have the honour to report that the Landtag has been prorogued from the 18<sup>th</sup> instant sine die<sup>38</sup> by a Royal

<sup>33</sup> *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* (see n. 3 in Berlin section).

<sup>34</sup> *Zentrumspartei* (Catholics).

<sup>35</sup> For the seven-year the army bill (Imperial Military Law), see n. 119 in Berlin section.

<sup>36</sup> Adolf Gröber.

<sup>37</sup> For the war panic of 1887, see pp. 231–232 and 491–492.

<sup>38</sup> Latin: ‘without a date (for a future meeting)’.

Rescript.<sup>39</sup> It is expected that it will be convoked again about November.

Of the three measures which necessitated the holding of this short session two have been passed, that on the insurance of Agricultural labourers and that on the compulsory expropriation of land for public purposes.<sup>40</sup> That on agricultural boundary rights was lost in consequence of differences between the two Chambers.

Informal discussions have proceeded between the Government and the delegates of the three Parties<sup>41</sup> with a view to a revision of the Constitution<sup>42</sup> without however having as yet led to an agreement.

A revision of the IX<sup>th</sup> Chapter, that concerning the composition of the Legislative Chambers,<sup>43</sup> has been promised ever since 1848; but it is doubtful whether any proposal whatever would secure the necessary majority of two thirds in both Chambers.

On the main principle viz; the transfer of the 28 representatives of the privileged classes from the lower to the upper Chamber, no serious difference exists. It is on the two subsidiary questions viz; the future composition of the lower Chamber, and the future enlarged powers necessarily claimed by the upper Chamber, that an agreement has hitherto been found impossible.

The Constitution of Wurtemberg, now unique in Europe, and resting on a combination of the feudal and Democratic principles, has hitherto worked fairly well. Nothing however will satisfy the Democratic Party but a Popular Chamber emanating solely from universal suffrage.

This is what the Government is firmly determined to resist.

It is probable that a compromise will be effected on the following lines. The new Chamber of Deputies to consist of 90 Deputies, of whom 73 to be elected, as at present, by ballot and universal suffrage, 1 by each of the 63 Oberamts<sup>44</sup> and 10 by the cities. The 17 remaining deputies to be elected by the highest tax-payers.

<sup>39</sup> The rescript was dated 16 February 1888.

<sup>40</sup> The Württemberg chamber of deputies met from 26 January to 18 February 1888; the bills in question were passed on 9 and 16 February.

<sup>41</sup> *Deutsche Partei* (National Liberals), *Demokratische Volkspartei* (Progressives), and *Landespartei* (Catholics).

<sup>42</sup> Constitution of 1819.

<sup>43</sup> See pp. 429–431.

<sup>44</sup> Administrative districts.

**FO 82/173: William Conyngham Greene to Marquess of Salisbury, No 32 Stuttgart, 19 June 1888**

[Received 20 June by post. For: The Queen / Mr Bergne; S[alisbury]]

*Death of emperor; commemorative actions in Stuttgart*

The painful news of the death of the Emperor Frederick reached Stuttgart soon after midday on Friday last.<sup>45</sup>

The bells of all the churches in the town were immediately tolled, and flags were displayed at half mast on the principal buildings. In the brief interval which elapsed between the receipt of the sad intelligence and the time fixed for the funeral commemoration the whole town assumed a mourning aspect. The main streets, including both shops and private residences, were decked with black flags, and the blinds were drawn down in the principal houses of business. Special editions of the Newspapers were issued from time to time and eagerly purchased by the passers by, and the latest particulars from Berlin perused with sorrowful interest. Expressions of condolence in the bereavement of The Widowed Empress Victoria were general, and the regret of the public was very sincere.

His Majesty The King at once deputed His Royal Highness Prince William to proceed to Berlin as His representative at the funeral of The Emperor, but subsequently countermanded the order on learning that the ceremony was to be confined to the nearest relatives of the deceased Sovereign.

A commemorative Service was held yesterday in the Schloss Capelle<sup>46</sup> here which was attended by Their Royal Highnesses Prince and Princess<sup>47</sup> William, representing The King and The Queen,<sup>48</sup> by Prince and Princess<sup>49</sup> Hermann of Saxe Weimar and Their daughter The Princess Olga, The Grand Duchess Wera, Duke Albrecht of Wurtemberg, The Duke of Urach, the Corps Diplomatique, and the Dignitaries of the Court and State.

I have the honour to enclose a copy the form of service used on the occasion.<sup>50</sup>

Similar services were held in the Churches of all confessions in the Capital.

<sup>45</sup> Friedrich III died on 15 June 1888.

<sup>46</sup> Palace chapel.

<sup>47</sup> Charlotte.

<sup>48</sup> Olga.

<sup>49</sup> Auguste.

<sup>50</sup> Enclosure: programme of service ('Zum Trauergottesdienst für Seine Majestät den deutschen Kaiser Friedrich'), Königliche Schlosskapelle, 18 June 1888.

**FO 82/173: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury,  
Confidential, No 50, Stuttgart, 31 October 1888**

[Received 3 November by messenger. X / See Mr Cadogan's No 63; S[alisbury]

*Woodcock affair; defamatory press article about the King of Württemberg*

Much sensation has been caused here by a clever article in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* [note in margin: 'No 488 of 23<sup>d</sup> Oct.'] which professes to describe a neighbouring Court, evidently that of Wurtemberg. As this paper has been seized I am not yet able to inclose a copy, but I have prepared a summary of the article in question and I will add a few comments. It is headed;

Unpleasant discussions.

- §1 [Note in margin: 'The divisions are my own.'] There are things which run from mouth to mouth in saloons and taverns, but which never appear in the Press. Such a state of things we have long known in Bavaria. For a newspaper to discuss the affairs of its' own Court is like handling a hot iron. But we think that an open discussion of principal facts is better than irresponsible and secret scandal-mongering.
- § 2 The Sovereign of a neighbouring State stands honorably by the great German cause. The long years of his reign have been fruitful for trade and Industry, Art and Science. But increasing years and infirmities have gradually estranged him from his people. He passes but a short season in his Capital, spending the summer at the extremity of his dominions, the winter on the French Riviera or in Italy. His delicate health makes him shun intercourse with others than his immediate surroundings. He transacts business only thro' his Secretary<sup>51</sup> even with his own Ministers. As these are honorable and able men the Government has hitherto worked smoothly and efficiently.
- § 3 But a painful impression is now gaining ground that all is not as it should be. The People, thoroughly monarchical as it is, misses the personal presence of it's Sovereign and the sight of a brilliant Court. It would submit patiently to these ills if they were owing to the malady of it's Sovereign. But it is believed that there are men who exploit that malady for their own selfish purposes, to the injury of the Benefactor and the State. That these persons are foreigners makes the matter worse.

<sup>51</sup> The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* was probably alluding to Karl's *Kabinettschef*, Albert Julius Freiherr von Griesinger.

- § 4 The first one of these persons [note in margin: ‘M<sup>r</sup> R. Jackson.’] made his appearance about 7 years ago, having been employed in a foreign Consulate. The invalid Monarch took an interest in this intelligent foreigner, appointed him to be his reader, and loaded him with orders, titles and presents. Other Courts also conferred distinctions upon him. The Emperor William alone refused him the desired Order. The parvenu soon became the inseparable companion of the Sovereign, while the life-long devoted friend of the latter [note in margin: ‘Baron Spitzemberg.’] was thrust aside. It must be admitted that this foreigner did not abuse his influence and abstained from all interference in personal or political affairs.
- § 5 Suddenly<sup>52</sup> there appeared on the scene two new figures[,] compatriots of the previous favorite. [Note in margin: ‘M<sup>r</sup> C. Woodcock. M<sup>r</sup> D. Hendry.’] These gentlemen were less moderate in their pretensions. They obtained large gifts of money and a house in the Capital. The Sovereign appears here almost daily. Busy tongues speak of mysterious “spiritist séances”, at which the ancestors of this illustrious race are made to appear. These performances have exercised a most pernicious effect on the health of the Sovereign. A celebrated physician<sup>53</sup> insisted on the immediate banishment of the two adventurers. These actually did depart for a time after receiving a considerable “douceur” in money, but re-appeared again after the doctor’s departure.
- § 6 Since this event these two strangers have more and more captured the confidence of the illustrious invalid. They gambled away and squandered his money to such an extent that the Court establishment had to be reduced. The expenditure for the last sojourn in Italy was so enormous that it has not yet been liquidated.<sup>54</sup>
- § 7 The population of the Capital makes these aliens responsible for all these evils and shows its’ ill humor in various modes. Employés of the State have been known to avoid their accustomed evening beer tables in order not to have to listen to unpleasant remarks. The collection for the approaching Jubilee<sup>55</sup> of the Monarch has given rise to painful debates.

<sup>52</sup> In 1883.

<sup>53</sup> Carl Liebermeister.

<sup>54</sup> Karl stayed in Italy, near Florence, from December 1887 to May 1888.

<sup>55</sup> The 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Karl’s reign was in July 1889.

- § 8 The recent promotion of one of these adventurers to the Nobility<sup>56</sup> is most warmly discussed in the Public, tho' not in the Press with the sole exception of a democratic organ<sup>57</sup> which adds that this mark of favor will probably not appear in the *Staatsanzeiger*.<sup>58</sup>
- § 9 The Nation, devoted as it is to its' ruling Dynasty, is now doubly anxious at seeing that the Heir Presumptive<sup>59</sup> exhibit a strong tendency towards seclusion. Moreover after a second marriage he has no male issue, so that the Crown will probably pass to the Catholic branch of this reigning family, who are almost strangers to this chiefly Protestant country.
- § 10 All this reminds one involuntarily of the state of affairs in Bavaria which ended in such a fearful catastrophe.<sup>60</sup> If the Clique should drive things to extremities, the People asks whether it will find such a wise and strong head as we have found to steer the vessel into port. We hope that this patriotic revelation of the work of these dark beings may lead to a change for the better.

I have sought information from the best and most impartial sources, and can assure Your Lordship that the real facts are very different from those recorded in the above indictment.

As to § 2. that the King shuns intercourse with others and even with his own Ministers is the reverse of the truth. He is when at Stuttgart and Friedrichshafen in daily personal communication with his Prime Minister Baron Mitnacht, who also passes the summer in the latter town. He gives daily audiences all the year round with readiness and constant dinner parties wherever he resides. His malady certainly has not affected his temper or bearing which are quite the reverse of morose and misanthropic.

As to §§ 3 and 4, it is true that he has promoted two American gentlemen to positions of friendship and honor. The first of these Mr Jackson Vice Consul of the United States in 1880 first attracted the King's notice by his musical talents. He was appointed first a reader, then (in 1881) the title of Hofrath<sup>61</sup> and the order of the Crown.<sup>62</sup> He generally accompanies the Court on its' travels. He is a quiet

<sup>56</sup> Woodcock was elevated to Freiherr von Savage on 5 October 1888.

<sup>57</sup> *Der Beobachter: Ein Volksblatt für Schwaben*, 21 October 1888.

<sup>58</sup> *Staatsanzeiger für Württemberg* was the official Württemberg newspaper.

<sup>59</sup> Wilhelm.

<sup>60</sup> See pp. 480–487.

<sup>61</sup> Court councillor.

<sup>62</sup> The Order of the Crown (*Ritterkreuz erster Klasse*) was bestowed on Richard Jackson in September 1881.

unassuming person well spoken of by all. He had nothing to do with the resignation of Baron Spitzemberg[,] late Grand Chamberlain.<sup>63</sup>

(§5) M<sup>r</sup> Charles Woodcock seems to have ingratiated himself with the King by his literary and musical accomplishments, also, according to rumor by his powers as a medium or “spiritist”. He is described as a highly educated and intellectual person. He is not an inmate of the Palace but inhabits a house which has been lent (not given to him) by the King. He has lately been ennobled under the title of Baron von Savage. The third person alluded to, M<sup>r</sup> Hendry, is only a relative and companion of Baron Savage.

All the statements under paragraphs 6 and 7 are mere guesses or absolute falsehoods. No such interference of D<sup>r</sup> Liebermeister is believed or has ever been before been heard of. Neither is there any sign or rumor of a reduction or embarrassment of the Royal Household.

It is quite true that people grumble at the King’s protracted absences from his Capital, and that this is attributed partly to the influence of the “Americans”. This is the real grievance which is impairing the King’s popularity. As for the tendency to seclusion attributed to Prince William I have seen or heard no sign of it. On the contrary both Their Royal Highnesses contribute largely to and take a constant part in the social gaieties of Stuttgart.

§ 10. These doleful forebodings and comparisons are simply ridiculous and perfidious. The King is a man of good intellect and abilities, both quite unimpaired by age or illness. Thro[?] a long and eventful reign he has evinced undoubted wisdom in the choice of his counsellors and in the Government of his Kingdom during most critical periods.

I can assure Your Lordship that the “patriotic revelation” is a list of exaggerations and inventions founded on a slight basis of fact, somewhat in the manner of the Paris Figaro.<sup>64</sup> It is in fact a kind of romance or rather more properly it may be called a “novel with a purpose”. That purpose becomes clear enough after a little consideration.

The King’s real crime is that he selects France for his winter residence, which we know on high authority [note in margin: ‘Norddeutsche Allg. of Oct. 24.’] to be “a nation of savages”; and to make the matter worse, he resides at the very town where a Prussian spy has just been sentenced to 5 years imprisonment!<sup>65</sup> Here is in my opinion the secret cause of all this virtuous indignation.

<sup>63</sup> Spitzemberg retired due to ill health in April 1886.

<sup>64</sup> *Le Figaro* published a lewd article on the Woodcock affair on 28 October 1888.

<sup>65</sup> Barron is referring to Fritz Kilian who was sentenced under the provisions of the French Law of Espionage at Nice, on 26 October 1888.

This mysterious article is evidently intended as a warning to the King that the eyes of the “National” party are upon him. What makes it more ominous are the hints thrown out in § 9, which clearly show that not only the King but the Dynasty is threatened.

[...]

P.S. I have at last procured from Munich and beg to inclose a copy of the article in question.<sup>66</sup>

**FO 82/173: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury,  
Confidential, No 55, Stuttgart, 14 November 1888**

[Received 17 November by post. X]<sup>67</sup>

*Cabinet and court reactions to press article implying scandalous relations between King of Württemberg and Baron Savage*

The *Staatsanzeiger* of today publishes an announcement (copy and translation inclosed),<sup>68</sup> [note in margin: ‘No 267. 14 Nov. Translation’] relating the proceedings which have taken place in the Cabinet in consequence of the recent notorious article dated 23<sup>rd</sup> ultimo in the *Münchener N.[eu]ste Nachrichten*.

It is here recorded that a Cabinet Council<sup>69</sup> presided by Prince William unanimously agreed to address an information to the King recommending a prosecution for libel, and respectfully warning His Majesty of the dangers which might arise from further exciting utterances of the Press;

that the King<sup>70</sup> answered by thanking his Ministers for their “good intentions and loyal feelings”;

that the Minister-President<sup>71</sup> had travelled to Nice by the King’s desire and had found Baron Savage already departed of his own free will;

<sup>66</sup> Enclosure: article ‘Unliebsame Erörterungen’ (‘Unpleasant discussions’), *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 23 October 1888.

<sup>67</sup> An additional note to No 55 in FO 82/173 reads: ‘The previous despatches respecting the “unpleasant discussions” were not sent to the Queen. I have not therefore suggested sending either of these 2 despatches to Her Majesty.’ H.H. [Henry Hervey], 17 November; S[alisbury].

<sup>68</sup> For the ‘Woodcock affair’, see the preceding dispatch. Enclosures: original (article), ‘Wiederholt aus letzter Nummer’ (‘Repeated from the last issue’), *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 13 November 1888; original and translation of announcement in *Staatsanzeiger für Württemberg*, 14 November 1888.

<sup>69</sup> On 24 October 1888.

<sup>70</sup> Royal decree of 29 October 1888.

<sup>71</sup> Hermann von Mittnacht; he arrived at Nice on 6 November 1888.

that the said gentleman has never taken a part in “spiritist” experiments;

that the Ministers have no reason to complain of his interference in affairs of State;

that they have not offered or hinted at their resignation;

that they have never demanded the removal of any person from the “entourage” of the Sovereign;

finally that the King had ordered all criminal proceedings initiated or projected to be dropped.

Thus apparently ends this deplorable crisis, which seems to have been most humiliating to all the parties concerned. The dignity of the Crown and the harmony of the State have been certainly compromised by the evident pressure put on the Sovereign in consequence of a mendacious newspaper article, which pressure it is vainly attempted to disguise.

**FO 82/174: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury,  
Confidential, No 17, London, 23 May 1889**

[Received 23 May by hand. This matter has not hitherto been dealt with officially. Qy: Private Secretary. For: The Queen; P.C. [Philip Currie]; S[alisbury]; ‘I think it would be best avoided’, V.R. [Victoria Regina];<sup>72</sup> Draft Sir H. Barron, 10 June 1889]

*Rumoured amalgamation of British legations at Stuttgart and Munich meets with King of Württemberg’s disapproval*

I have the honor to inclose the copy of a note which I have received from Baron Mitnacht<sup>73</sup> alluding to a rumor which had reached his ears that Her Majesty’s Government proposed to incorporate the British Legation at Stuttgart with that of Munich.

His Excellency is instructed to express the deep regret which such a transfer would cause to the King of Wurtemberg. He requests me to convey to Your Lordship those apprehensions and the anxious desire that Her Majesty’s Legation should continue to reside at Stuttgart.

This step on the King’s part has taken me by surprise. I certainly knew that he would feel hurt by such a project being carried out, but I did not suppose that he attached so much importance to the matter.

<sup>72</sup> An additional note to No 17 in FO 82/174 reads: ‘The Queen writes on it [the dispatch] “I think it would be best avoided” i.e. better keep the Mission.’ S[alisbury], 26 May 1889.

<sup>73</sup> Enclosure: copy of Mitnacht to Barron, Stuttgart, 17 May 1889. For the amalgamation of the missions at Stuttgart and Munich, see pp. 5–8.

I have for obvious reasons kept this project entirely secret, and have no means of knowing how it reached the Wurttemberg Government.

Under these circumstances, I am sure that Her Majesty will feel that a withdrawal of her Mission during the present reign, but especially in the present year, would be ill timed. In the ordinary course of nature a suitable opportunity for carrying out such a measure must arise before very long.

In this view I am not moved by any personal considerations, being convinced that, if the two Missions were to be united, my claims to hold the new united Mission are such as could not be passed over.

If economy be the object in view, I may mention that my Legation has already suffered diminution at my expense by the withdrawal of the Secretary, which ought to satisfy the demands of the Treasury.<sup>74</sup>

### **FO 82/174: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury, No 36, Stuttgart, 24 October 1889**

[Received 26 October by post. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

*Dubious background of the man accused of attempting to assassinate Prince Wilhelm*

The searches instituted by the Ludwigsburg Tribunal have cleared up the mystery which surrounded the recent outrage, and have given it a different complexion from that which it assumed from the prisoner's declarations.<sup>75</sup> These have proved to be false in every particular.

He is not Klaiber a saddler from Ulm, but Martin Müller from Oethlingen in the Oberamt<sup>76</sup> Kirchheim, a member of the Evangelic[al] Church, son of a highly respected wool spinner once Landtag Deputy<sup>77</sup> now deceased, and nephew of a well known Stuttgart Prelate.<sup>78</sup>

His antecedents are very unfavorable. He has been employed in various trades and places, and lost two of these situations through acts of swindling. He returned lately from Munich to Oethlingen and was received by his brothers who have kept up their father's business. He showed such signs of mental derangement that he was placed under medical observation.

<sup>74</sup> Conyngham Greene, second secretary, was transferred to The Hague in April 1889.

<sup>75</sup> Barron is referring to the attempted assassination of Prince Wilhelm at Ludwigsburg on 20 October 1889.

<sup>76</sup> Administrative district.

<sup>77</sup> August Müller.

<sup>78</sup> Gottlob von Müller.

An anonymous letter lately received by the Princess Charlotte warning her of some impending misfortune is now proved to have emanated from Müller.

On the day of the crime he was visited in the prison by Prince William, who said: "Why did you try to kill me"? He answered that he bore no ill will to His Royal Highness personally, but that he wanted a Catholic King for Wurttemberg.

The next day Monday he changed his story and boasted of being the agent of some secret "anarchist" society.

All this is evidently empty braggadoccio. The man seems to be really demented, and affected with the "vainglorious" as well as the "homicidal" forms of mania.

Strange to say; this is the first instance recorded in history of an attempt to murder one of the reigning family in Wurttemberg.

[...]

P.S. The King has ordered a Prayer of Thanksgiving to be read in all the Evangelical churches on Sunday next the 27<sup>th</sup> of October.

**FO 82/174: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury,  
No 40, Stuttgart, 26 November 1889**

[Received 29 November by messenger. Qy: Private Secretary; T.V.L. [Thomas Villiers Lister]; 'Lord Salisbury will allow him to remain until the end of the financial year. This hardly seems to require an answer.' E.B. [Eric Barrington]; S[alisbury]]

*Personal objections to proposed amalgamation of Stuttgart and Munich legations*

In compliance with the instruction conveyed in your N<sup>o</sup> 5 of June 10<sup>th</sup> I duly acknowledged Baron Mittnacht's note of May 17<sup>th</sup> and informed him that his observations would receive the careful and respectful consideration of Her Majesty's Government.<sup>79</sup> In that note Baron Mittnacht stated that the King and the Government of Wurttemberg regretted deeply the proposed removal of Her Majesty's Legation from Stuttgart, adduced several arguments favoring the maintenance of this ancient Legation, and adverted to the excellent mutual relations which had existed between us during my tenure of this office.

Since that time the appointment of a Secretary<sup>80</sup> to this Legation has confirmed the Government in its' confidence that the Legation would be maintained.

<sup>79</sup> Salisbury's No 5 conveyed these instructions to Barron, but no further details about amalgamating the British missions at Munich and Stuttgart. See also p. 000.

<sup>80</sup> Baron Vaux of Harrowden, was transferred to Stuttgart on 1 November 1889.

Nevertheless it would now appear that the above measure is still contemplated, “in view of a pledge of long standing to the Treasury”.

That pledge is in the annual Estimates worded as follows: “it is proposed on the occurrence of vacancies to amalgamate the Missions at Munich, Darmstadt and Stuttgart so as to reduce the cost.”<sup>81</sup>

This pledge is indeed of such long standing that it seems to have been till now quite forgotten. It was certainly overlooked in 1883 and 1885, when, on the occasion of vacancies at Stuttgart and at Munich, it might have been carried out without any injustice. The above pledges, so far from threatening existing rights, forms their strongest guarantee! On the faith of it I accepted my present office. It clearly does not apply to the present conjuncture when there is no vacancy. Moreover my pension, added to the provision necessary to be made in some shape for carrying on the business of the suppressed Mission, would certainly absorb all the saving expected. Therefore the proposed measure would, during my life at least, not tend “to reduce the cost.”

I have therefore the honor to submit respectfully that Her Majesty’s Legation should not be removed under present circumstances; firstly in deference to the strong feeling on the subject by the King of Wurttemberg. Secondly because the alleged saving would prove to be illusory; Because the “pledge to the Treasury” constitutes an equally valid pledge of fair treatment to the holders of the offices concerned; and of respect to vested rights; Because the Treasury might possibly not sanction the grant of a pension to a person in fairly good health five years before the appointed age for retiring;<sup>82</sup> Because it is certainly not intended by the Regulations (clause XVII)<sup>83</sup> and would be against all precedent that the career of a Minister, after his having served a long and expensive apprenticeship with a view of attaining that rank, should be compulsorily closed after five years tenure; Because the Queen, whom I have served faithfully for 49 years without a censure and with scanty reward cannot allow my long unblemished career to be thus terminated in apparent disgrace.

A vacancy or other opportunity must arrive before long in the ordinary course of nature. Meanwhile there is no apparent urgency

<sup>81</sup> This recommendation was first made in the *Estimates for Civil Services for the Year Ending 31 March 1885*, which was printed by order of the House of Commons on 25 February 1884 and repeated in subsequent financial years up to that of 1889–1890.

<sup>82</sup> Retirement age was seventy years.

<sup>83</sup> Barron is referring to the *Regulations for Her Majesty’s Diplomatic Service* (as revised in 1872) according to which, after five years (or less), ‘the question of reappointment [...] or a transfer to another mission shall be open for consideration’.

for carrying out the above measure in the face of so many serious objections.

**FO 82/175: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury, No 8, Stuttgart, 4 March 1890**

[Received 7 March by messenger. For The Queen / Circulate, P.L. [printed letter], 13 March / Home Office for perusal; S[alisbury]

*Reichstag election results; changes in political representation for Württemberg; lesser turnout at the polls in comparison to 1887*

With reference to my No 7 of the 21<sup>st</sup> ultimo I now have the honour to enclose a statement showing the final result of the late general election for the Reichstag in Wurttemberg as compared with that for 1887.<sup>84</sup>

The nine second ballots have resulted in a great success for the Democratic party, which has now carried nine of the 17 seats allotted to this Kingdom.

The so-called “Volkspartei” is a speciality of Wurttemberg and has its head-quarters at Stuttgart; (vide my No 38 of Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> 1889).<sup>85</sup> It has put forward a few candidates in other parts, but without success, excepting alone in the adjacent town of Pfarrheim. It will enter the Reichstag with 10 members under the leadership of Mr Payer. But if, as is probable, it should coalesce with the “Freisinnig” party under Mr Richter, it would form a strong Fraction of 79 members.

The aggregate numbers polled at this election viz: 299,243 votes show a decrease of 21,300 as compared with those of 1887.

The two Parties belonging to the Coalition termed “Kartell”<sup>86</sup> have been the principal sufferers, having lost nine seats and 85,170 votes. The National-Liberal candidate<sup>87</sup> however finally retained his seat for Stuttgart against a Socialist competitor<sup>88</sup> by 16,349 to 13,458 votes. The “Centre”<sup>89</sup> has lost 6224 votes, this probably because its four seats were known to be safe, and because no others could be seriously contested by this party.

<sup>84</sup> Elections were held on 20 February 1890; run-off elections in Württemberg were held on 1 March. Enclosure: comparative statement of results regarding the two general elections of deputies to the *Reichstag* in Württemberg, Stuttgart, 4 March 1890.

<sup>85</sup> Not included in this volume.

<sup>86</sup> See n. 208 in Berlin section.

<sup>87</sup> Gustav Siegle.

<sup>88</sup> Karl Kloß.

<sup>89</sup> *Zentrumspartei* (Catholics).

The Socialist party has not yet conquered a seat here, but has increased its numbers from 11.013 to 26.669 votes. It will number 37 members in the new Reichstag. This rapid and alarming growth now forms the chief danger threatening Germany. It is evidently the result of the Direct Universal Suffrage rashly given to the Empire in 1871.<sup>90</sup> The only remedy would seem to consist in some gradual reform of that institution.

**FO 82/175: Henry Barron to Marquess of Salisbury, Treaty, unnumbered, Stuttgart, 13 April 1890**

[Received 18 April by messenger. For: The Queen; S[alisbury]]

*Letter of recall received by Queen of Württemberg in a special audience; her dismay at closure of legation*

I have the honor to report that the Queen of Württemberg<sup>91</sup> received me yesterday in a special audience for the purpose of my delivering to Her the Letter from Her Most Gracious Majesty announcing the termination of my mission at this Court.<sup>92</sup>

Her Majesty expressed to me most emphatically the sense of mortification which She experienced at the withdrawal of this ancient Mission from residence at Stuttgart, especially now in Their Majesties' declining years. This expression of feeling was evidently intended to be reported.

**FO 82/175: Baron Vaux of Harrowden to Marquess of Salisbury, No 31, Stuttgart, 14 October 1890**

[Received 17 October by messenger. For: The Queen / Berlin for perusal, 23 October; S[alisbury]]

*Remarks on political sensitivities associated with command of Württemberg army corps; German Emperor and Prince Wilhelm discuss Alvensleben's successor*

I have the honour to report that His Royal Highness Prince William of Württemberg returned on Saturday from a short visit which he had been paying to the German Emperor in Berlin.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Universal male suffrage for citizens over 25 years of age was introduced in the North German Confederation in 1866. It was enacted as imperial law in 1871.

<sup>91</sup> Olga.

<sup>92</sup> Despite his protest to the Foreign Office, Barron officially retired on a pension on 1 April 1890. He presented his letter of recall to the King of Württemberg on 9 April.

<sup>93</sup> Prince Wilhelm visited Wilhelm II at Potsdam on 9 October 1890.

I met His Royal Highness shortly after his return and in the course of conversation he informed me that there was no truth in the newspaper reports that he had gone to Berlin to join a shooting party of the Emperor's, but that on the contrary he had been summoned there at very short notice, and at considerable inconvenience to himself, in order that the Emperor might have an opportunity of discussing with him the question of the appointment of a successor to General von Alvensleben, who is shortly to resign the command of the Wurttemberg army, which forms the 13<sup>th</sup> Army Corps of the German Imperial army.<sup>94</sup>

Since the conclusion of the military convention between Wurttemberg and Prussia,<sup>95</sup> nearly 20 years ago, the General Commanding the Wurttemberg army has invariably been a Prussian.

Of late years considerable friction has arisen between the Prussian Commanding Officers with the members of their staff, who have generally been Prussians, on the one hand, and the native officers of the army on the other hand. This has been especially marked during the last 2 or 3 years of General von Alvensleben's tenure of the Command, and some eighteen months ago a very serious quarrel occurred between Prince William and the General, which resulted in His Royal Highness refusing to serve any longer under General von Alvensleben and resigning the command of the Brigade which he then held.

Since that time Prince William has taken no active part in military affairs here. Now however that the removal of General von Alvensleben has been decided on, a very general wish has been expressed throughout the Country, that Prince William may be appointed to the command of the Wurttemberg Army Corps. The appointment would be very popular both in the army itself and amongst the people generally.

The officers of this army are appointed and commissioned by the King of Wurttemberg, but the Convention to which I have already referred provides that the appointment of the General commanding the 13<sup>th</sup> Army Corps must also receive the consent of the German Emperor. Up to the present time the result of this has been that a Prussian officer has always held the Chief Command here.

At the present moment the appointment of Prince William would probably be the best way of arranging matters, but unfortunately

<sup>94</sup> Alvensleben was recalled on 19 October 1890; his successor was the Wurttemberg general Wilhelm von Wölkern.

<sup>95</sup> Military convention signed between the North German Confederation and Wurttemberg at Versailles, 25 November 1870.

there are some objections to the appointment which make it unlikely if not impossible.

In the first place His Royal Highness himself is personally averse to taking the Command, and moreover during the King's repeated absences during the last few years in France and Italy, Prince William has acted as Regent, and would probably do so again under similar circumstances. It is considered that it would be very difficult if not impossible for one person to combine the office of the Command of an Army Corps as intimately connected with Prussia as this one is, with the independent position which ought to be occupied by the Regent. The further minor objection that as Prince William is not yet a General of Division, he is not eligible for the Command of an Army Corps, would probably not prove an insuperable bar to his appointment.

If, as appears to be generally expected, Prince William is not given the Command, great hopes are entertained here that the German Emperor may be induced to give his consent to the appointment of a Wurttemberg officer[.]

Active negotiations are at present in progress with a view to this object. General von Caprivi recently paid the King a visit at Friedrichshafen,<sup>96</sup> where Prince William was also present, and the recent journey of His Royal Highness to Berlin was undertaken in consequence of the desire of the German Emperor to converse personally with him on the subject.

The relations between the two Courts are very friendly. Prince William assured me that he parted on excellent terms with the Emperor. The recent appointment by the Emperor of his most intimate personal friend, Count Philip zu Eulenburg as Minister at this Court,<sup>97</sup> is sufficient evidence that no strained relations are likely to exist, and that any questions that may arise will be settled in the most amicable manner.

No appointment to the Command of this Army Corps has yet been made, it is sincerely to be hoped that it will be found possible to appoint an officer who will succeed in avoiding the friction which has been the cause of so much ill feeling of late years.

<sup>96</sup> On 3 and 4 October 1890.

<sup>97</sup> Count Philip zu Eulenburg was appointed in March and accredited on 31 May 1890.

**FO 82/178: Victor Drummond to Earl of Rosebery, No 23,  
Munich, 15 March 1893<sup>98</sup>**

[Received 17 March by bag. X; R[osebery]]

*Speech by Friedrich Ludwig Gaupp on constitutional revision in Württemberg; minimal immediate effect but likely to aid those seeking reform of upper chamber; limited prospects for reform*

A meeting of the “German party”<sup>99</sup> was lately held at Tubingen in Wurttemberg when a well known Wurttemberg Jurist delivered a discourse of some importance on Wurttemberg constitutional revision, a translation of which I have the honour to enclose herewith taken from the published account in the Wurttemberg newspaper the “Beobachter” or “Observer”; —<sup>100</sup> and although D<sup>r</sup> Gaupp’s conclusions have not been much noticed in the Wurttemberg Press they open the road later to agitation in favour of at least reforming the Upper Wurttemberg Chamber and the remarks made from the Wurttemberg Working class newspaper the “Beobachter” show that a revision of the Wurttemberg constitution in this sense would be favourably received by the party it represents, although it acknowledges that several years must elapse before such a reform could be obtained.

D<sup>r</sup> Gaupp wishes nothing less than the abolition of the First Wurttemberg Chamber; he bases his arguments on the fact that it no longer acts as a Bulwark against revolutionary attempts of the Chamber of Deputies, as the German Empire is the only guarantee against revolutionary movements, all political questions being now decided by the “Reichstag” and are not brought before the Wurttemberg parliament which was no defence against the Revolution of 1848 nor would be now.

The Wurttemberg Upper Chamber is dead. For 300 years from 1514 to 1806 there was only one Chamber, and King Frederick included but one Chamber in his Draft Constitution. The Congress of Vienna forced the present two Chambers on Wurttemberg.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> From 1890, dispatches on Württemberg were mostly sent from Munich and are filed both in the FO 82 (Württemberg) and FO 9 (Bavaria) series.

<sup>99</sup> *Deutsche Partei* (Württemberg National Liberals). The meeting took place on 8 February 1893.

<sup>100</sup> Enclosure: translation of article entitled ‘Revision of the Wurttemberg Constitution’, *Der Beobachter: Ein Volksblatt für Schwaben*, undated.

<sup>101</sup> The Württemberg *Ständeverfassung* (representation of the estates whose rights were regulated by the Tübingen contract of 1514) was revoked by King Friedrich on 30 December 1805. In November 1815 Friedrich, after a failed attempt to impose a new constitution, presented a new draft which was subsequently also rejected by the Assembly of

D<sup>r</sup> Gaupp condemns both the Nobles of the Wurttemberg Upper Chamber, many of them youths whose votes can counterbalance those of the most valued statesmen, and the system of voting by proxy. The Life Members he says are turned into forced labourers and spend their lives in doing the work of the nobility.

D<sup>r</sup> Gaupp however, in the latter part of his discourse declaims against universal suffrage, showing that he holds not only Radical but Conservative opinions, declaring that it leads to mob rule and caesarism or electoral corruption.

The "Beobachter" criticizes these remarks upon universal suffrage, showing that the evils pointed at by D<sup>r</sup> Gaupp can be overcome by the continued political education of the masses by associations and the press, but agrees that the abolition of the Upper Chamber is a necessity, although not believing in the 'German party' giving the effect to its good intentions.

I have taken some trouble to inform myself upon the effect caused at Stuttgart by D<sup>r</sup> Gaupp's discourse. The person to whom I addressed myself for information states that it has made some impression, but he does not believe that the proposed Reform will ever be accepted, although there has been continued complaint that the Members of the Upper Chamber did not interest themselves much in questions which interested the Württemberg people but only in those where their own interests are concerned.

D<sup>r</sup> Gaupp's idea to form one Chamber and to permit a portion of the First Chamber to enter it will probably never be realized. There is much more probability that the First Chamber will be reformed by obtaining a number of new members, representatives of the lower nobility, the clergy, trade and industry, and such fresh elements as it is considered would be certainly advantageous; but at all events this change will not take place at present; it will take time to bring in a Reform Bill in this sense and to induce the First Chamber to accept Reform of any kind which would curtail its privileges which the majority, the "Standesherrn" or higher nobility by birth have enjoyed for so long. These Reforms may be greatly needed, but as Württemberg is so well governed and great abuses nowhere exist, the present state of things will remain probably for a long time in their actual condition.

the Estates. The bicameral system was finally introduced by the Württemberg constitution of 1819. Article 13 of the Act of the German Confederation included the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna of 1815, to which Drummond refers, and which promised each German state a constitution (*Landständische Verfassung*). It did not, however, specify the type of representation to be established by the individual states.

**FO 82/178: Victor Drummond to Earl of Rosebery,  
Treaty, No 3, Munich, 28 March 1893<sup>102</sup>**

[Received 1 April by bag. For: Western Department / X; R[osebery]]

*Impressive speech by Mittnacht in favour of maintaining Württemberg's diplomatic representation at Munich; abolition of legations at St Petersburg and Vienna*

With reference to my Despatch N<sup>o</sup> 21 Treaty of the 8<sup>th</sup> December last upon the Württemberg diplomatic posts at Vienna and S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that on the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant the Estimates for the Wurttemberg Diplomatic Service were debated in the Chamber of Deputies.

On the estimate for Legations and Consulates, Baron Mittnacht the Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke in defence of some Legations whose existence was attacked by the "Deutsche"<sup>103</sup> and "Volks"<sup>104</sup> parties on economical and other grounds.

The Petersburg mission whose *raison d'être* was to a great extent lost since the deaths of the late King and Queen of Wurttemberg,<sup>105</sup> was dropped by the Government from the estimates, but the Munich and Vienna missions were defended by them, and the Munich mission after a weighty speech by Baron Mittnacht was agreed to without a division. The Vienna Legation on the other hand was only voted for one year, so that after the year 1894 it will be abolished. The Berlin Legation was not attacked, all parties agreeing as to its necessity.

Baron Mittnacht, in reviewing the history of this question, pointed out that the necessity for Wurttemberg of having Legations at Munich and Vienna stood on a different footing from what might be called the 'family post' at S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg. There were numbers of Germans in Austria, many of them Wurttembergers, all of whom could look to the Wurttemberg representatives for assistance and advice. Much valuable information came to the Wurttemberg Government, through its representatives at these neighbouring and important posts, which would otherwise be wanting. In Baden for instance there was no Wurttemberg Legation, and the consequence was that the Wurttemberg Government failed to receive much valuable information respecting Baden, obtaining only imperfect and

<sup>102</sup> From 1890 dispatches on Württemberg were mostly sent from Munich, and are filed both in the FO 82 (Württemberg) and FO 9 (Bavaria) series.

<sup>103</sup> *Deutsche Partei* (Württemberg National Liberals).

<sup>104</sup> *Württembergische Volkspartei*.

<sup>105</sup> Olga was the daughter of Nicholas I of Russia. Olga died in October 1892; Karl in October 1891. The mission at St Petersburg was abolished from 1 April 1893.

inaccurate accounts of important matters through the Press. No respectable Government could confine its information to mere newspaper reports. Prussia found this, and, in spite of the existence of the Bundesrath<sup>106</sup> in Berlin, Prussia kept up Legations in all the German States of any importance, which furnished her with very valuable information. It was not true that official personages sent occasionally in special missions could replace regular Ministers.

They had not the same local knowledge, nor the same intimate relations with the Government of the country, and could not therefore do the same work.

Regular reports made by an intelligent regular representative on the spot were of the greatest use to his own Government.

Baron de Mittnacht went on to say that the influence of the Bavarian Government in the affairs of the Empire was undoubtedly an important one. Bavaria was the second German State in size and importance, and was fully recognized and respected as such especially in Berlin, – perhaps more so than is agreeable to many Prussians. Whenever Prussia and Bavaria were agreed on any common course of action in any Imperial question, different proposals from any other quarter would hardly be of any account at all; the question would then in fact be settled out of hand. Wurttemberg again had many interests in common with Bavaria. North and South German interests did not always and everywhere exactly tally even when the most correct attitude in the transaction of the affairs of the Empire was observed. Wurttemberg had thus every interest to maintain a very accurate understanding with Bavaria, and for this purpose a permanent Envoy was necessary. Then again there was the question of the reserved rights (of the separate States).<sup>107</sup> Baron Mittnacht referred to his experience of more than twenty years and assured the house that important interests of the country would be injured if the Legation in Munich were abolished. In Bavaria, where so many Wurttemberg subjects resided, a Wurttemberg representation was especially necessary to advise and assist them in their needs, and to keep the Wurttemberg Government regularly informed. The regular representative of Wurttemberg in Munich<sup>108</sup> had many opportunities of obtaining interesting information from his colleagues of the Corps Diplomatique. The just influence of Bavaria in Germany was very great and even on this ground alone Wurttemberg required a Legation in Munich.

<sup>106</sup> Federal Council.

<sup>107</sup> For the so-called *Reservatrechte*, see. n. 220 in Munich section.

<sup>108</sup> Oskar von Soden.

After Baron Mittnacht's impressive speech, all further objection to the Legation at Munich was withdrawn.

**FO 82/178: Victor Drummond to Earl of Rosebery, Confidential, No 84, Munich, 9 December 1893<sup>109</sup>**

[Received 20 December by post. For: The Queen / Berlin; R[osebery]]

*Resignation of Württemberg's envoy to Berlin; political friction between Prussian and Württemberg governments*

It is reported from Stuttgart, that, Herr von Moser, the Wurtemberg Minister at Berlin, has sent in his resignation,<sup>110</sup> and that this resolution on his part has been taken, owing to his position there becoming embarrassed from the unsatisfactory relations existing between the Prussian and Wurtemberg Governments.

With respect to this matter, I am enabled, through a confidential source, to bring to Your Lordship some of the reasons which have led to Herr von Moser's retirement.

First. The Wurtemberg Manœuvres last September.

His Imperial Majesty The German Emperor gave instructions<sup>111</sup> that the Wurtemberg and Baden Troops should fight for several days against each other, that Wurtemberg should call out its "Landwehr" Militia, and that the Baden Troops should enter Stuttgart after beating back the Wurtemberg army. The drought, however, in Wurtemberg last summer, was very severe, and the Wurtemberg Chambers agreed unanimously,<sup>112</sup> that it would be a heavy tax on agriculturists, if Manœuvres on as large a scale as proposed should be carried out. The Government was, therefore, invited to take measures to have the programme curtailed.

Baron de Mittnacht[,] President of the Council and Minister of foreign affairs, then instructed Herr von Moser to bring this proposal to the notice of the Chancellor of the Empire,<sup>113</sup> expressing the hope that His Imperial Majesty would give it His favorable consideration, and if possible, reduce the Manœuvres to two days; it appears that The Emperor very graciously acceded to this, but His Imperial

<sup>109</sup> From 1890, dispatches on Württemberg were mostly sent from Munich and are filed both in the FO 82 (Württemberg) and FO 9 (Bavaria) series.

<sup>110</sup> Moser handed in his resignation in early December whilst on leave of absence from Berlin; he retired on 19 February 1894.

<sup>111</sup> Imperial order (*Cabinetssordre*) of 14 February 1894.

<sup>112</sup> On 2 June 1893. The motion was carried by 39 to 35 votes.

<sup>113</sup> Moser notified Leo von Caprivi on 19 July 1893.

Majesty was offended at the request being made through the Wurtemberg Minister, instead of through the General commanding in Wurtemberg, General von Wölkern, who ought to have reported directly to The Emperor as his Commander in Chief; however, on reviewing the Wurtemberg Troops on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September last,<sup>114</sup> His Imperial Majesty expressed His entire satisfaction with their appearance, and with the officers who led them; but, from that time The Emperor has shown His dissatisfaction with Baron de Mittnacht and the Wurtemberg Military Authorities, owing, it is said, to reports made to Him at Stuttgart, that He had been deceived as to the necessity of curtailing the Manœuvres through the dearth of fodder; I am told that His Imperial Majesty spoke very shortly to General Caprivi, whom he reproached for having induced Him to consent to a reduction in the Manœuvres.

#### Second.

Baron de Mittnacht's visit to Prince Bismarck at Kissingen.<sup>115</sup> It was a very natural thing that Baron de Mittnacht should wish to see his old friend once more, whose illness at the time caused his friends considerable anxiety, but The Emperor, it is said, believed that the visit was made to annoy Him, and Baron de Mittnacht was afterwards made aware of His Majesty's displeasure.

The King of Wurtemberg availed Himself of the opportunity presented, by requesting Baron de Mittnacht to use his influence, when with Prince Bismarck, to bring about a reconciliation between the Prince and the Emperor; The King of Wurtemberg expected that the Negotiation would be successful, and that The Emperor would then have been grateful for the Service rendered Him; Prince Bismarck, however, refused a reconciliation, and when His Imperial Majesty arrived at Stuttgart<sup>116</sup> to attend the Manœuvres, neither Baron de Mittnacht, nor General von Schott Minister of War, nor General Wölkern met with a graceful reception. It was very different with The King of Wurtemberg, whose relations with The Emperor are most friendly.

#### Third.

The Wurtemberg Government's strong opposition to the proposed Imperial Tax on Wine in the Federal Council,<sup>117</sup> and their having

<sup>114</sup> The emperor viewed the manoeuvres of the XIII (Royal Würtemberg) Corps on 15 and 16 September 1893, not on 20 September as stated in the dispatch.

<sup>115</sup> On 25 and 26 August 1893. At the time Bismarck was suffering from shingles and pneumonia.

<sup>116</sup> On 14 September 1893.

<sup>117</sup> Würtemberg voted against the majority of the Federal Council on 20 November 1893. The wine tax bill was eventually dropped in January 1894 after its first reading in the *Reichstag*.

persuaded the Baden Government to join in their protest, met with General Caprivi's displeasure, apparently shared in by the Emperor, for on His Imperial Majesty's recent visit to Babenhausen<sup>118</sup> to shoot with The King of Wurtemberg, He could not be induced to discuss the matter.

Four.

I am informed that on the abovementioned visit to Babenhausen, His Imperial Majesty pointed out to The King the great inconvenience arising out of the actual state of things with respect to the army and asked whether it was not advisable to alter the Versailles agreement<sup>119</sup> by a new Military Convention, abolishing the Wurtemberg Ministry of War, and forming instead a Military Cabinet in its' place, the same as in Baden;<sup>120</sup> it is believed, that The King was personally satisfied with the reasons for this alteration at the time, but, to carry out such an arrangement, it must be remembered that it must be presented to both Chambers, and to carry it through a two thirds majority is necessary, now it is very improbable that this majority can be obtained, a Dissolution of the second Chamber is out of the question, neither would such a course be advisable; for it is confidently believed that the next Elections<sup>121</sup> will bring in more Members of the opposition, already well represented in numbers. There is a great amount of discontent amongst all classes, and Public opinion in Wurtemberg is a great Factor, the late Kings William and Charles of Wurtemberg carefully avoided any conflict with it, and in consequence the Wurtembergers are used to utter freely their sentiments. They cling to their reserved rights,<sup>122</sup> and it will be difficult to induce them to surrender them, or give up their peculiarities, one is a dislike to Strangers and the preference which has been lately shown for North Germans engenders many bitter remarks. It is possible, however, that His Majesty The King of Wurtemberg seeing the present temper of His Subjects, and who is most patriotic in His feelings, may, through a personal friendly understanding with The Emperor prevent for the present any

<sup>118</sup> From 6 to 11 November 1893.

<sup>119</sup> Military convention between the North German Confederation and Württemberg of 25 November 1870. It was one of the 'November Treaties' of Versailles, by which the South German States joined the North German Confederation to form the basis of the German Empire.

<sup>120</sup> The *Militärkabinett* was an advisory body under the command of the German Emperor; its jurisdiction included officers from Baden. Following the military convention, and the complete integration of the Baden army into the Prussian army, the Baden ministry of war was abolished in December 1871.

<sup>121</sup> The next elections were held on 1 February 1895.

<sup>122</sup> On the *Reservatrechte*, see n. 220 in Munich section.

attempt to alter the Versailles agreement, and it looks as if this had happened, if the reports which are now circulated in the Press are correct, namely, that a large interchange of Prussian and Wurtemberg officers in both armies, is to take place in the near future.

It is impossible to say exactly how far the Prussian proposals have gone,<sup>123</sup> but very likely the answer given from Stuttgart was not satisfactory, and that Her von Moser who is a rich man and who only accepted the Post at Berlin under great pressure, feeling that his position was one which he could no longer sustain owing to the differences between the two Governments, at once declared his intention to resign, and it will be very difficult to find anyone with all the necessary qualifications to replace him.

**FO 82/178: Victor Drummond to Earl of Rosebery,  
Confidential, No 87, Munich, 23 December 1893<sup>124</sup>**

[Received 26 December by post. For: The Queen; R[osebery]]

*Plans to change Versailles military agreement abandoned after popular outcry; Württemberg retains reserved rights over her military for the time being*

With reference to my Despatch N<sup>o</sup> 84, confidential, of the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, respecting the resignation of Herr von Moser,<sup>125</sup> Wurtemberg Minister to Berlin, and the causes which induced him to retire, namely, difficulties between the Prussian and Wurtemberg Governments, one of those related to the desire of His Imperial Majesty, The German Emperor[,] to have the Versailles Military Agreement altered in favour of a Military Cabinet at Stuttgart, abolishing the Ministry of War there,<sup>126</sup> I have now the honour to inform Your Lordship that the Wurtemberg Minister of War, General Schott von Schottenstein has just returned to Stuttgart from making an official Visit to Berlin,<sup>127</sup> and that it appears that all idea of altering

<sup>123</sup> See the following dispatch.

<sup>124</sup> From 1890 dispatches on Württemberg were mostly sent from Munich, and are filed both in the FO 82 (Württemberg) and FO 9 (Bavaria) series.

<sup>125</sup> See n. 110 in this section.

<sup>126</sup> See preceding dispatch.

<sup>127</sup> Schott, carrying out a royal order of 1 December 1893, visited Berlin from 15 to 22 December to establish the definitive terms of exchange between Württemberg and Prussian officers, as stipulated in the military convention of 25 November 1870. The intended harmonization also included recognizing the length of service of Württemberg officers seconded to the Prussian army (as compared to Prussia officers of the same rank) and details of their uniform.

the Versailles Agreement is for the present abandoned, and that the Military privileges of The German Emperor and The King of Wurtemberg remain undisturbed as regards appointments and promotions in their respective armies, the pending negotiations concern only the regulations for an interchange of Officers, particularly with regard to the quota of Senior Officers (Captains) they do not relate to changes in the highest grades.

There is no doubt, that an agreement had been arranged between the Prussian and Wurtemberg Governments, with the view of placing the Wurtemberg Troops under the direct control of the Prussian War Office and for abolishing the Wurtemberg Ministry of War, neither is there any doubt, that if the suspicion of such an arrangement had not leaked out, which enabled the voice of public opinion to protest vehemently against such an infringement of Wurtemberg's reserved rights,<sup>128</sup> the agreement would have been effected.

It was Baron de Mittnacht who used his authority with The King and who pointed out to His Majesty the serious consequences which would ensue from an infringement of the Versailles agreement, and thus determined His Majesty to address Himself to The Emperor to prevent the proposed change, it is said, through the mediation of the Adjutant-General, General von Franckenstein who is a "persona gratissima"<sup>129</sup> with The Emperor, it appears, that His Imperial Majesty was pleased to yield to the arguments used against the proposal, which has probably saved The Emperor from a serious conflict with the South German States and Saxony, for I am informed confidentially, that the Governments of these States were all prepared to bring their influence to bear, to uphold the reserve[d] rights of Wurtemberg.

**FO 9/269: Victor Drummond to Earl of Kimberley, No 19, Munich, 7 June 1894<sup>130</sup>**

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

*Bill to revise Württemberg constitution withdrawn; heated debate on amendments to electoral law; closure of chambers until after elections will affect political business*

With reference to my despatch No. 14 of the 12<sup>th</sup> ultimo, I have the honor to inform Your Lordship that after five days<sup>131</sup> Debate on

<sup>128</sup> On the *Reservatrechte*, see n. 220 in Munich section.

<sup>129</sup> Latin: 'a highly favoured person'.

<sup>130</sup> From 1890 dispatches on Württemberg were mostly sent from Munich, and are filed both in the FO 82 (Württemberg) and FO 9 (Bavaria) series.

<sup>131</sup> 29 May to 2 June 1894.

the question of the Revision of the Constitution to amend the Württemberg Electoral law, Baron de Mittnacht yesterday informed the Württemberg Chamber of Representatives that by His Majesty The King's Royal Order, the Bill as presented to their consideration in regard to this matter, has been withdrawn, and that the Sittings of the Chamber were now closed.<sup>132</sup>

The real cause for this proceeding has been occasioned by the great divergence of views which separated the different parties in the Chamber, and which showed that it was very doubtful if the Government could obtain the  $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>rd</sup> majority necessary to pass such a measure.

During the Debate the Democrats insisted on reform, in favour of a Representative Chamber of the People, the abolition of the Upper Chamber, and declared that they will persist in this determination as long as the Party exists.

The Centrum (Ultramontane) party<sup>133</sup> declared against privileged members being allowed in the Lower Chamber, upheld the Upper Chamber with modifications, and advocated Proportional representation.

The German Liberal Party<sup>134</sup> could come to no general agreement, all holding different views.

Several Members spoke in favour of the modifications proposed in Committee, those referred to in my abovementioned despatch.<sup>135</sup>

In fact the different parties were so thoroughly disunited that it was no use continuing the debate, and the withdrawal of the Bill (which was not unexpected) became necessary.

On the other hand the closing of the sittings of the Chambers was hardly a wise proceeding, there were two important matters which had been assented to by the Chamber, one, a new Law for reforming the Württemberg Public School system to bring it more in agreement with that of the other German States, and which was, at the time, being carried through the Upper Chamber with

<sup>132</sup> The bill to revise the composition of the chambers of the Württemberg *Landtag* (chapter 9 of the Württemberg constitution of 1819) was presented to the *Ständischer Ausschuss* (joint committee of both chambers) on 8 April 1894. Mittnacht's notifications to withdraw the bill and close the sittings were dated 4 June 1894; they were read to the second chamber on 5 June 1894.

<sup>133</sup> At the time of the despatch the Württemberg *Zentrumspartei* (Catholics) had not yet been founded; however it had been represented de facto in the Württemberg *Landtag* since 1889. On 14 May Deputy Gröber proposed to form a *Zentrum* faction. See also n. 145 in this section.

<sup>134</sup> *Deutsche Partei* (Württemberg National Liberals).

<sup>135</sup> In its report of 8 May 1894 the commission of the second chamber requested an increase in the number of cities represented in the second chamber. This was instead of the proposed inclusion of six representatives from the regional agricultural associations (*Landwirtschaftliche Gauverbände*) and the chambers of trade and commerce.

very slight modifications,<sup>136</sup> this Law cannot now be passed before next year, after the Elections in January;<sup>137</sup> again, at the beginning of the late Parliamentary Session, a matter which caused a good deal of sensation last year in Würtemberg (a reported modification of the Military Convention of 1871 [*sic*]<sup>138</sup> between Prussia and Würtemberg, in regard to the interchange of officers)<sup>139</sup> was strongly commented on by one of the Democratic party, Herr Payer, who moved<sup>140</sup> that the Chamber should be informed what truth there was in the rumour; Baron de Mitnacht declared that the agreement relating to this point in no way modified the Convention; upon which, Herr Graber [*sic*], a member of the Centrum party, moved that the Chamber be informed whether the number of officers sent to serve in Prussian Regiments did not surpass the limit of the Convention and whether the Imperial Treasury did not gain at the expense of Würtemberg?<sup>141</sup> These motions were referred to a Committee to give their judgement thereupon, but, now, of course their decision cannot be presented.

It is not likely that the Chambers will be again convoked before the general Elections in January 1895, when it is believed that the Democrats will gain two or three more seats from their political opponents, they are a united party with capable and clever Leaders; at the same time, Baron de Mitnacht has great influence and will undoubtedly use it to try and obtain a Government Majority, he has already pointed out that a Reform of the Electoral law as demanded by the Democrats could not be acceded to for fear the peace of the land and the Monarchy itself might suffer, and he will probably, at the proper time, bring this view prominently before the electors to prevent them voting for that party.

<sup>136</sup> On 16 May 1894. The reform of the elementary schools was eventually delayed until the *Volksschulgesetz* of 1909.

<sup>137</sup> Elections took place on 1 February 1895; the *Landtag* was opened on 20 February.

<sup>138</sup> See n. 119 in this section.

<sup>139</sup> See n. 127 in this section. The debate took place on 26 May 1894.

<sup>140</sup> On 23 May 1894.

<sup>141</sup> Article 8 of the military convention between the North German Confederation and Würtemberg of 25 November 1870 did not set a limit on the number of seconded officers. With regard to the second part of his motion Gröber referred to the fact that savings resulting from the exchange were paid to the imperial treasury.

**FO 9/269: Arthur George Vansittart to Earl of Kimberley, Confidential, No 52, Munich, 1 November 1894<sup>142</sup>**

[Received 5 November by messenger. For: Lord Rosebery; K[imberley]]

*Assessment of political parties and their prospects ahead of Württemberg general elections*

With reference to my despatch No. 46 of the 19<sup>th</sup> ultimo, in view of the approaching general elections in Württemberg,<sup>143</sup> perhaps the following information, which I have been able to procure from a private and confidential source may prove of interest.

Of the different factions in the field it may be asserted that, at the present moment, the Württembergische Volkspartei<sup>144</sup> stands very good chances. After a long period of stagnation, there are visible symptoms of considerable movement amongst its partisans, and the number of adherents to this party has of late increased. Its most dangerous adversaries would seem to be in the first place the Conservatives of all kinds, behind whom stand the Government with their large staff of functionaries.

In Württemberg, where the Government has no small amount of power, their influence is considerable. The army of functionaries of all kinds are assisted by the Evangelical clergy and there is no doubt they will, when the time comes, offer considerable resistance to the designs of the Volkspartei in obtaining seats in the Chambers.

In addition to the Conservatives the Volkspartei must count with the new Centrumspartei,<sup>145</sup> which is the outcome of the Catholic reaction since 1870, and is now led by Herr Gröber, the Deputy. In religious, political, and social relations the new Centrum faction hold the same views as the German Centrumspartei.

In former years the Catholics and Democrats assisted each other against the Government candidates, and it was not uncommon for them to vote together against the Ministers, more especially when the latter were assisted by the strictly Conservative Evangelical party.

But, of late, this policy has ceased, and the above-mentioned alliance cannot now be said to exist any longer.

Finally, the Social Democrats, who find that the Volkspartei is too moderate in its views, promise to become a dangerous adversary.

<sup>142</sup> From 1890, dispatches on Württemberg were mostly sent from Munich and are filed both in the FO 82 (Württemberg) and FO 9 (Bavaria) series.

<sup>143</sup> Elections took place on 1 February 1895.

<sup>144</sup> Left liberal party; part of the *Deutsche Volkspartei* at imperial level.

<sup>145</sup> After the initiatives of July 1894 (when a provisory committee was established and a party program was drafted) the Württemberg *Zentrumsparitei* was officially founded on 17 January 1895. See also n. 133 in this section.

Taking into consideration all the above circumstances it is quite possible that the Government adherents, although they have of late greatly diminished, may ultimately obtain a majority.

The Prime Minister Herr von Mittnacht, who is a Catholic, may possibly succeed in gaining over the Centrum faction. Should he succeed in this, it will be extremely difficult for the Volkspartei to obtain a majority, for it must be remembered that in the Chambers there are about twenty privileged members<sup>146</sup> who chiefly vote for the Government. In the above event it may safely be prophesied that things will go on as at present, and remain as they are. But it will be necessary for the Evangelical party, which certainly enjoys the King's protection, to be careful not to hurt the feelings of the Catholic fraction; otherwise the Catholics would soon be driven over to the opposition.

As regards the press, the "Beobachter", which is the favourite Democratic organ, is at present engaged in warfare with the "Deutsche Volksblatt" (organ of the Centrum party) and the "Schwäbischer Merkur" (organ of the National liberal party).

I might mention here that, in spite of meetings, propaganda, etc... the cause of Social Democracy has not advanced quite so quickly in Württemberg, as it perhaps has in Bavaria. The Württemberg populace is distinctly shrewd, and rather attaches itself to the Volkspartei, which party contents itself with reasonable reforms.

It is the opinion of some persons of high rank and standing that Social Democracy could be most successfully combated by the real Liberal fraction, but this belief is certainly not shared by the governing powers who, invariably, endeavour to subdue the Moderate-Democrats, and by so doing, they, in reality, further the designs of the Socialists.

In conclusion it may be added that Württemberg, on the whole, is a well governed and thriving country; that public opinion has considerable influence, and that really abuses cannot be said to exist.

As long as Herr von Mittnacht continues at the head of affairs serious troubles need not be anticipated. His Excellency is extremely moderate in his ways and speeches, and he possesses the gift of reconciling people, and disarming his opponents. But he has aged of late, and is beginning to show signs of being weary of his long term of office. In Berlin he undoubtedly has powerful adversaries of his Württembergische policy, and it is perhaps there where the danger lies.

<sup>146</sup> The privileged members were the representatives of the *Ritterschaft* (noble landowners, of which there were thirteen), the churches (eight) and Tübingen University (one). Altogether the second chamber consisted of ninety-three deputies.

**FO 9/270: Victor Drummond to Earl of Kimberley, No 8,  
Munich, 20 February 1895<sup>147</sup>**

[Received 27 February by messenger. For: ~~Lord Rosebery~~; K[imberley]]

*Remarks on Württemberg election results; democrats in the ascendant*

With reference to my despatch No. 7 of the 16<sup>th</sup> instant upon the elections in Wurtemberg,<sup>148</sup> I have the honour to make the following remarks: –

The Government parties have been defeated. His Excellency Baron de Mittnacht, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, still represents Mergentheim a seat he has held for thirty years. He was opposed by an Ultramontane.<sup>149</sup>

The Socialist members for Stuttgart and Canstatt,<sup>150</sup> who now for the first time enter the Wurtemberg diet, owe their debut entirely to the democrats who voted for them in the 2<sup>nd</sup> balloting.

Will the democrats, now, being the strongest party show themselves as moderate in their political aims as has been suggested? may they not develop a socialist tendency? if so, this must result in either more demands being made by the proletariat, or by widespread alarm in the classes holding more conservative views.

The democrats in the last Parliament declared that their stand point was, that there should be no privileged members in the 2<sup>nd</sup> chamber,<sup>151</sup> and in favour of a single chamber. Baron de Mittnacht<sup>152</sup> said the Government would never consent to such a measure, as it would be a danger to the tranquillity of Wurtemberg, and even a danger to the Monarchy. The democratic programme is now the same, including administrative reforms, School, direct taxation, and railway reforms, state economy, the amelioration of the middle and lower classes, and a progressive income tax.

I hear the Württemberg Minister of Finance<sup>153</sup> will present to the diet a Bill in this sense. There is a question still unanswered remaining over from the last session made by the Leader<sup>154</sup> of the democrats.

<sup>147</sup> From 1890 dispatches on Württemberg were mostly sent from Munich, and are filed both in the FO 82 (Württemberg) and FO 9 (Bavaria) series.

<sup>148</sup> Elections took place on 1 February 1894, second ballots on 14 and 15 February.

<sup>149</sup> Johann Hofmann.

<sup>150</sup> Karl Kloß and Menrad Glaser.

<sup>151</sup> See n. 146 in this section.

<sup>152</sup> On 2 June 1894.

<sup>153</sup> Karl von Riecke. A tax reform bill was presented to the Württemberg *Landtag* on 14 May 1895; the bill was finally rejected in January 1899.

<sup>154</sup> Friedrich von Payer; on 23 May 1894. See p. 000.

Was the royal order of the 1<sup>st</sup> December 1893 in agreement with the military convention of 1870, and with the Würtemberg Constitution?<sup>155</sup> this question will again be asked and lead probably to some burning remarks as to Prussian demands concerning the interchange of Wurtemberg Prussian officers.

With respect to the demeanour of the democrats and the Centrum party towards the Wurtemberg Government in the coming session, I have every personal reason to believe that if Baron de Mittnacht grants certain concessions and conciliatory treatment to both parties, the current legislative measures of the Government may run smoothly.

I have the honour to refer Your Lordship to my despatch No. 14 of the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1894,<sup>156</sup> giving a summary of the Bill proposed in the last session of the Wurtemberg diet for the revision of the Constitution to amend the electoral Laws, and to my despatch No. 19 of the 7<sup>th</sup> of July [*sic*], 1894, showing what led to its withdrawal.<sup>157</sup>

**FO 82/182: Victor Drummond to Marquess of Salisbury,  
Confidential, No 9, Munich,<sup>158</sup> 13 March 1897**

[Received 22 March by messenger. For: Mr Chamberlain / Duke of Devonshire / Mr Balfour / Mr Goschen; T.H.S [Thomas Henry Sanderson]]

*Negative feelings amongst Würtembergers and Germans towards Britain and her policies*

With reference to my Despatch N<sup>o</sup> 5 of the 15<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, I have the honour to state that during my stay at Stuttgart I made inquiries in regard to the feelings in Wurtemberg towards England and whether it was as hostile as during the past year; I regret to say that from my conversations with Gentlemen who I knew were not unfriendly to us that there can be no doubt that the undercurrent of unfriendliness still exists, in proof of this one Gentleman showed to me a letter he had just received from a friend who holds a prominent position in one of the Wurtemberg provinces, a person of culture and refinement, in this letter referring to the German Emperor's proposal for a Blockade of the Piraeus and which Her Majesty's

<sup>155</sup> See n. 119 in this section.

<sup>156</sup> Not included in this volume.

<sup>157</sup> For the dispatch of 7 June 1894, see pp. 456–458.

<sup>158</sup> After the amalgamation of the missions in Stuttgart and Munich most dispatches on Würtemberg were sent from Munich.

Government did not assent to,<sup>159</sup> the writer declared that it was a rudeness on England's part which was constantly being shown towards Germany and that his hatred for France had now been transferred to England, he added that the time would come when Germany would have a fleet capable of fighting England and that then Germany would wipe out England's insults and rudeness to Germany.

I found also a general feeling that our Navy is not considered to be in an efficient state, there is the same feeling in Bavaria.

The feelings that pervades [*sic*] the Germans is that it is impossible that England can do any thing for honestys' sake and without any pecuniary or political design.

<sup>159</sup> On 14 February 1897 Wilhelm II proposed to Austria, Britain, and Russia a joint naval blockade of the Piraeus to prevent the Greeks further assisting the Cretan revolt against Ottoman sovereignty. Salisbury, in his circular of 17 February, stated that any blockade should be preceded by an understanding on the future status of Crete.