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REMINISCENCES OF THE KING OF ROUMANIA



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REMINISCENCES OF THE
KING OF ROUMANIA

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL WITH
AN INTRODUCTION BY
SIDNEY WHITMAN



WITH PORTRAIT

AUTHORIZED EDITION

NEW YORK AND LONDON
HARPER & BROTHERS
1899

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INTRODUCTION

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Volk und Knecht und Ueberwinder,
 Sie gestehn zu jeder Zeit;
 Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder
 Sey nur die Persönlichkeit.

GOETHE (*West-Oestlicher Divan*).

It is said to have been a chance occasion which gave the first impetus towards the compilation of the German original^[1] from which these "Reminiscences of the King of Roumania have been re-edited and abridged." One day an enterprising man of letters applied to one who had followed the King's career for years with vivid interest: "The public of a country extending from the Alps to the ocean is eager to know something about Roumania and her Hohenzollern ruler." The King, without whose consent little or nothing could have been done, thought the matter over carefully; in fact, he weighed it in his mind for several years before coming to a final decision. At first his natural antipathy to being talked about—even in praise (to criticism he had ever been indifferent)—made him reluctant to provide printed matter for public comment. On the other hand, he had long been most anxious that Roumania should attract more public attention than the world had hitherto bestowed on her. In an age of universal trade competition and self-advertisement, for a country to be talked about possibly meant attracting capitalists and opening up markets: things which might add materially to her prosperity. With such possibilities in view, the King's own personal taste or scruples were of secondary moment to him. So the idea first suggested by a stranger gradually took shape in his mind, and with it the desire to see placed before his own subjects a truthful record of what had been achieved in Roumania in his own time. By these means he hoped to give his people an instructive synopsis of the difficulties which had been successfully overcome in the task of creating practical institutions out of chaos.

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As so often happens in such cases, the work grew beyond the limits originally entertained. But the task was no easy one, and involved the labour of several years. However, the result achieved is well worth the trouble, for it is an historical document of exceptional political interest, containing, among other material, important letters from Prince Bismarck, the Emperor William, the Emperor Frederick, the Czar of Russia, Queen Victoria, and Napoleon III. It is, in fact, a piece of work which a politician must consult unless he is to remain in the dark concerning much of moment in the political history of our time, and particularly in the history of the Eastern Question. "The Reminiscences of the King of Roumania" constitute an important page in the story of European progress. Nor is this all. They also contain a study in self-revelation which, so far as it belongs to a regal character, is absolutely unique in its completeness—even in an age so rich in sensational memoirs as our own.

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The subject-matter deals with a period of over twenty-five years in the life of a young European nation, in the course of which she gained her independence and strove successfully to retain it, whilst more than trebling her resources in peaceful work. In this eventful period greater changes have taken place in the balance of power in Europe than in many preceding centuries. A republic has replaced a monarchy in France, and also on the other side of the Atlantic, in Brazil, since the days when a young captain of a Prussian guard regiment, a scion of the House of Hohenzollern, set himself single-handed the Sisyphean task of establishing a constitutional representative monarchy on a soil where hitherto periodical conspiracies and revolts had run riot luxuriously. Just here, however, our democratic age has witnessed the realisation of the problem treated by Macchiavelli in "Il Principe"—the self-education of a prince.

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To-day, the man who thirty-three years ago came down the Danube as a perfect stranger—practically alone, without tried councillors or adherents—is to all intents and purposes the omnipotent ruler of a country which owes its independence and present position entirely to his statesmanship. Nor can there be much doubt that but for him Roumania and the Lower Danube might be now little more than a name to the rest of Europe—as, indeed, they were in the past.

II

King Charles of Roumania is the second son of the late Prince Charles Anthony^[2] of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen: the elder South German Roman Catholic branch of the House of Hohenzollern, of which the German Emperor is the chief. Until the year 1849 the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringens, whose dominions are situated between Württemberg and Baden, near the spot where the Danube rises in the Black Forest, possessed full sovereign rights as the head of one of

the independent principalities of the German Confederation. These sovereign rights of his own and his descendants Prince Charles Anthony formally and voluntarily ceded to Prussia on December 7, 1849. Of him we are credibly informed:

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"Prince Charles Anthony lives in the history of the German people as a man of liberal thought and high character, who of his own free will gave up his sovereign prerogative for the sake of the cause of German Unity. His memory is green in the hearts of his children as the ideal of a father, who—for all his strictness and discipline—was not feared, but ever loved and honoured, by his family. He was always the best friend and adviser of his grown-up sons." His letters to his son Charles, which are frequently quoted in the present memoir, fully bear out this testimony to the Prince's intimate, almost ideal, relationship with his children, as also to the magnanimity with which he is universally credited.

Of the King's mother—Princess Josephine of Baden—we learn: "Princess Josephine was deeply religious without being in the least bigoted. Her unselfishness earned for her the love and devotion of all those who knew her. As a wife and a mother her life was one of exceptional harmony and happiness. The great deference which King Charles has always shown to the other sex has its source in the veneration which he felt for his mother."

Prince Charles was born on April 20, 1839, at the ancestral castle of the Hohenzollerns at Sigmaringen on the Danube, then ruled over by his grandfather, the reigning Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. The castle was not in those days the treasury of art and history which it is at the present day. The grandfatherly *régime* was of a patriarchal, almost despotic kind: every detail of household affairs was regulated with a view to strict economy. Though, perhaps, unpleasant at times, all this proved to be invaluable training for the young Prince, whose ultimate destiny it was to rule over one of the most extravagant peoples in Europe. Punctuality was strictly enforced: at nine o'clock the old Prince wound up his watch as a sign that the day was over, and at ten darkness and silence reigned supreme over the household.

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Prince Charles was a delicate child, and was considered so throughout his early manhood, though in reality his health and bodily powers left little to be desired. The first happy years of his childhood were passed at Sigmaringen and the summer residences of Inzigkofen and Krauchenwies. This peaceful life was broken by a visit in 1846 to his maternal grandmother, the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden. On this occasion Prince Charles attracted the attention and interest of Mme. Hortense Cornu, the intimate friend and confidant of Prince Louis Napoleon—later Napoleon III.

It cannot be said that the young Prince progressed very rapidly in his studies; but though he learned slowly, his memory proved most retentive. His naturally independent and strong character, moreover, prevented him from adopting outside opinions too readily, and this trait he retained in after years. For though as King of Roumania he is ever willing to listen to the opinion of others, the decision invariably remains in his own hands.

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An exciting period supervened for the little South German Principality with the year 1848, when the revolutionary wave forced the old Prince to abdicate in favour of his son Prince Charles Anthony. Owing to the action of a "Committee of Public Safety," the Hohenzollern family quitted Sigmaringen on September 27. This the children used to call the "first flight" in contradistinction to the "second," some seven months later. Though Prince Charles Anthony succeeded in gaining the upper hand over the revolutionary movement of '48, the trouble commenced again in 1849 owing to the insurrection in the Grand Duchy of Baden. As soon as order had been completely restored, Prince Charles Anthony carried out his long-cherished plan of transferring the sovereignty of the Hohenzollern Principality to the King of Prussia, and in a farewell speech he declared his sole reason to be "the desire to promote the unity, greatness, and power of the German people." The family settled first at Neisse in Prussian Silesia, then at Düsseldorf, as Prince Charles Anthony was appointed to the command of the Fourteenth Military Division, while Prince Charles Anthony, and later on also his brother Friedrich, were settled with their tutor in Dresden, where Prince Charles spent seven years.

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Before joining his parents at Düsseldorf, Prince Charles successfully passed his ensign's examination, though he was entitled as a Prince of the House of Hohenzollern to claim his commission without submitting to this test. As a reward for his success he was permitted to make a tour through Switzerland and Upper Italy before being placed under his previously appointed military governor, Captain von Hagens. This officer was a man in every way fitted to instruct and prepare the young Prince for his career by developing his powers of initiative and independence of action. In accordance with his expressed wish, he was gazetted Second Lieutenant in the Prussian Artillery of the Guard, but was not required to join his corps until his studies were completed. A thorough knowledge of the practical part of his profession was acquired at the fortress of Jülich, followed, after a visit to the celebrated Krupp Works at Essen, by a course of instruction at Berlin.

The betrothal of his sister, Princess Stéphanie, to King Pedro V. of Portugal, in the autumn of 1857, was followed by her marriage by proxy at Berlin on April 29, 1858, whilst another important family event occurred in November of the same year. William, Prince of Prussia (afterwards King William I., who had assumed the regency during the illness of his brother the King, Frederick William IV.), appointed Prince Charles Anthony, of Hohenzollern, to the Presidency of the Prussian Ministry. His son Charles developed the greatest interest in politics, and at that time unconsciously acquired a fund of diplomatic knowledge and experience which was to stand him in good stead in his future career.

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In the midst of the gaities of Berlin the Prince was deeply affected by the melancholy news of

the death of his sister Stéphanie on July 17, 1859. Two years later the marriage of his brother Leopold to the Infanta Antoinette of Portugal afforded him a welcome opportunity of visiting the last resting-place of his dearly loved sister near Lisbon. On his return from his journey, Prince Charles requested to be transferred to an Hussar Regiment, as the artillery did not appear at that time to take that place in public estimation to which it was entitled. This application, however, was postponed until his return from a long tour through the South of France, Algiers, Gibraltar, Spain, and Paris. After a short stay at the University of Bonn, Prince Charles again resumed military duty as First Lieutenant in the Second Dragoon Guards stationed at Berlin, where he speedily regained the position he had formerly held in the society of the capital. The Royal Family, especially the Crown Prince, welcomed their South German relative most warmly, and the friendship thus created was subsequently more than equal to the test of time and separation.

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A second visit to the Imperial Court of France in 1863, this time at the invitation of Napoleon III., was intended by the latter to culminate in a betrothal to a Princess of his House, but the project fell through, as the proposed conditions did not find favour with the King of Prussia. Prince Charles was forced to content himself with the consolation offered by King William, that he would soon forget the fair lady amidst the scenes of war (in Denmark). As orderly officer to his friend the Crown Prince of Prussia, Prince Charles took part in the siege and assault of the Düppel entrenchments, the capture of Fridericia, and the invasion of Jütland. The experience he gained of war and camp-life during this period was of inestimable benefit to the young soldier, who was afterwards called upon to achieve the independence of Roumania on the battlefields of Bulgaria.

The war of 1864 having come to an end, Prince Charles returned to the somewhat dreary monotony of garrison life in Berlin. This not unnaturally soon gave rise to a feeling of *ennui* and a consequent longing on his part for more absorbing work than that of mere subordinate military routine. Nothing then indicated, however, that in a short time he would step from such comparative obscurity to the wide field of European politics by the acceptance of a hazardous, though pre-eminently honourable, position of the utmost importance in Eastern Europe—the throne of the United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which, thanks to his untiring exertions and devotion to duty, are now known as the Kingdom of Roumania.

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III

In starting on his adventurous, not to say perilous, experiment, Prince Charles already possessed plenty of valuable capital to draw upon. In the first place, few princes to whose lot it has fallen to sway the destinies of a nation have received an early training so well adapted to their future vocation, or have been so auspiciously endowed by nature with qualities which in this instance may fairly be said to have been directly inherited from his parents. His early and most impressionable years had been passed in the bosom of an ideally happy and plain-living family, and this in itself was one of the strongest of guarantees for harmonious development and for future happiness in life. Both his father and mother had earnestly striven to instil into their children the difference between the outward aspect and the true inwardness of things—the very essence of training for princes no less than for those of humbler rank. Also we find the following significant reference to the Prince and his feelings on the threshold of his career:

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"The stiff and antiquated 'Junker' spirit which in those days was so prevalent in Prussia and Berlin, and more particularly at the Prussian Court, was most repugnant to him. His nature was too simple, too genuine, for him to take kindly to this hollow assumption, this clinging to old-fashioned empty formula. His training had been too truly aristocratic for him not to be deeply imbued with simplicity and spontaneity in all his impulses. His instincts taught him to value the inwardness of things above their outward appearance."

Nor was it long before he had ample opportunity of putting these precepts into practice. Neither as Prince nor as King has the Sovereign of Roumania ever permitted prosecution for personal attacks upon himself. The crime of *lèse majesté* has no existence—or, to say the least, is in permanent abeyance—in Roumania.

Anti-dynastic newspapers have for years persisted in their attacks upon the King, his policy, and his person—sometimes in the most audacious manner. Although his Ministers have from time to time strenuously urged his Majesty to authorise the prosecution of these offenders, he has never consented to this course. He even refused to prosecute those who attacked his consort, holding that the Queen is part of himself, and, like himself, must be above taking notice of insults, and must bear the penalty of being misunderstood, or even calumniated, and trust confidently to the unerring justice of time for vindication.

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The King's equable temperament has enabled him to take an even higher flight. For let us not forget that it is possible to be lenient, even forgiving, in the face of calumny, and yet to suffer agonies of torture in the task of repressing our wounded feelings. King Charles is said to have read many scurrilous pamphlets and papers directed against him and his dynasty—for singularly atrocious examples have been ready to his hand—and to have been able sometimes even to discover a fund of humour in the more fantastic perversions of truth which they contained.

Speaking of one of the most outrageous personal attacks ever perpetrated upon him, he is reported to have said that such things could not touch or affect him—that he stood beyond their reach. Here the words employed by Goethe regarding his deceased friend Schiller might well be applied:

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Und hinter ihm im wesenlosen Scheine
Lag, was uns Alle bändigt: das Gemeine.

His absolute indifference towards calumny is doubtless due to his conviction that time will do him justice—that a ruler must take his own course, and that the final estimate is always that of posterity.

IV

One who for years has lived in close contact with the Roumanian royal family gives the following sympathetic and yet obviously sincere description of the personal impression the King creates:

"King Charles had attained his fiftieth year when I saw him for the first time. There is, perhaps, no other stage of life at which a man is so truly his full self as just this particular age. The physical development of a man of fifty is long completed, whereas on the other hand he has not yet suffered any diminution of strength or elasticity. His spiritual individuality is also ripe and complete, in so far as any full, deep nature can ever be said to have completed its development. It is only consonant with that true nobility which precludes every effect borrowed or based on calculation, that the first impression the King makes upon the stranger is not a striking one: he is too distinguished to attract attention; too genuine to create an effect for the eye of the many. An artist might admire the handsome features; but the King lacks the tall figure, the impressive mien which is the attribute of the hero of romance, and which excites the enthusiasm of the crowd. On the other hand, his slender figure of medium height is elegant and well knit; his gait is energetic and graceful. His sea-blue eyes, which lie deep beneath strong black eyebrows—meeting right across his aquiline nose—now and then take a restless roving expression. They are those of an eagle, a trite comparison which has often been made before. Moreover, their keenness and their great reach of sight justifies an affinity with the king of birds."

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It is not generally known—but it is true, nevertheless—that the King of Roumania is half French by descent. His grandmother on his father's side was a Princess Murat, and his maternal grandmother, as already mentioned, was a French lady well known to history as Stéphanie Beauharnais, the adopted daughter of the first Napoleon, and later, by her marriage, Princess Stéphanie of Baden. It is to this combination in his ancestry that people have been wont to ascribe some of the marked characteristics of the King. His personal appearance—notably the fine clear-cut profile—undoubtedly recalls the typical features of the old French nobility. Also the slight, symmetrical, and graceful figure is rather French Beauharnais than German Hohenzollern. His gift for repartee—*l'esprit du moment*, as it is so aptly styled—is decidedly French; and perhaps not less so his sanguine temperament, which has stood him in such good stead, and encouraged him not to lose heart in the midst of his greatest troubles, particularly years ago, when his subjects did not know and value him as they do now. An abnormal capacity for work and an absolute indifference towards every form of material enjoyment—or gratification of the senses—have also singularly fitted him for what posterity will probably deem to have been King Charles's most striking vocation: that of the politician. And his success as a politician is all the more remarkable, since his youthful training as well as his early tastes were almost exclusively those of the Prussian soldier. He even lacked the study of law and bureaucratic administration, which are commonly held to be the necessary groundwork of a political career. Yet not an atom of German dreaminess is to be detected in him; nor aught of roughness: little of the insensible hardness of iron; but rather something of the fine temper of steel—the elasticity of a well-forged blade—which, though it will show the slightest breath of damp, and bend at times, yet flies back rigid to the straight line. Thus I am assured is King Charles as a politician—not to be swayed or tampered with by influences of any kind, the sober moderation of an independent judgment has, in fact, never deserted him. It is also owing to a felicitous temperament that he has always been able to encounter opposition—even bitter enmity—without feeling its effect in a way common to average mankind.

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He had to begin by acquiring the difficult art of "taking people," and this—as the King himself admits—he only acquired gradually. However, he possessed an inborn genius for the business of ruler. By nature he is a practical realist whose insatiable appetite for facts, *faits politiques*, crowds out most other interests. So he quickly profited by experience, which, added to an independence of judgment which he always possessed, has made him an opportunist whose opportunity always means the welfare of his country. In dealing with public questions he endeavours to start with the Gladstonian open mind: *i.e.*, by having no fixed opinion of his own. He listens to all—forms his own opinion in doing so—and invariably finishes by impressing and influencing others. He even indirectly manipulates public opinion by constantly seeing and conversing with a vast number of people. For in Roumania there is no class favouritism so far as access to the monarch is concerned. Anybody may be presented at Court, and on any Sunday afternoon all are at liberty to call and see the King even without the formality of an audience paper to fix an appointment.

Personal favouritism has never existed under him. In fact, so thoroughly has he realised and carried into practice what he considers to be his duty of personal impartiality, that he once vouchsafed the following justification of an apparent harshness: that a ruler must take up one and drop another as the interests of the country require. In other words, he must not allow personal feeling to sway him—whereas in private life he should never forsake a friend. And yet withal King Charles is anxiously intent upon avoiding personal responsibility—not from timidity,

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but from an idea that it is irreconcilable with the dignity of a constitutional king to put himself forward in this way. Thus not "Le Roi le veut," but rather "I hold it to be in the public interest that such and such a thing should be done" is his habitual form of speech in council with his Ministers.

One of the King's favourite aphorisms is singularly suggestive in our talkative age: "It is not so much by what a prince *does* as by what he *says* that he makes enemies!" Like all men of true genius—or what the Germans call "geniale Naturen"—King Charles is of simple, unaffected nature;^[3] without a taint of the histrionic in his composition, yet gifted with great reserve force of self-repression, and rare powers of discernment and well-balanced judgment.

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With all the pride of a Hohenzoller, a sentiment which he never relinquishes, and which, indeed, is a constant spur to regulate his conduct by a high standard, he yet holds that nobody should let a servant do for him what he can do for himself. Also, he has ever felt an unaffected liking for people of humble station who lead useful lives, and have raised themselves *honestly* by their own merit. In fact, the man who works—however lowly his sphere of life—is nearer to his sympathies than one whose position gives him an excuse for laziness. He instinctively dislikes the "loafer," whatever his birth. He admits as little that exalted position is an excuse for a useless life as that it should be put forward to excuse deviation from the principles of traditional morality. And in this respect his own life, which has been singularly marked by what the German language terms "Sittenreinheit," "purity of morals," offers an impressive justification for his intolerance upon this one particular point.

V

It is said to be King Charles's earnest conviction that the maxims he has striven to put into practice are the only possible ones upon which a monarchy on a democratic basis can hope to exist in our time. But here he is obviously attempting to award to principle what, in this instance at least, must be largely due to the intuitive gifts of an extraordinary personality. Maxims are all very well so far as they go, but they did not go the whole length of the way. Did not even Immanuel Kant himself admit that, during a long experience as a tutor, he had never been able to put those precepts successfully into practice upon which his work on "Pädagogik" is founded? Also many of the difficulties successfully encountered by the King of Roumania have been of such a nature as cut-and-dry application of precepts or maxims would never have sufficed to vanquish. Among these may be cited the acute crises which from time to time have been the product of bitter party-warfare in Roumania. Thus, during the Franco-German War, when the sympathies of the Roumanian people were with the French to a man, his position was one of extreme difficulty. The spiteful enmity he encountered in those days taxed his endurance to its utmost limits, and even called forth a threat of abdication. A weaker man would have left his post. Again, in 1888, when a peasant rising brought about by party intrigues seemed to threaten the results of many years' labour, even experienced statesmen hinted that the Hohenzollern dynasty might not last another six months. The King was advised to use force and fire upon the rioters. This he declined to do. He simply dismissed the Ministry from office, and called the Opposition into power, and subsequent events proved that his decision was the right one. But by far the greatest crisis of his reign, and at the same time the greatest test of his nerve and political sagacity, was furnished by the singularly difficult situation of Roumania during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877: here, indeed, the very existence of Roumania was at stake. The situation may be read between the lines in the present volume.

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The King, by virtue of a convention, had allowed the Russians to march through Roumania, but the latter had declined an acceptable alliance which the Roumanians wished for. When things in Bulgaria went badly with the Russians, they wanted to call upon some bodies of Roumanian troops which were stationed on the banks of the Danube. The King, or, as he was then, Prince Charles, with the instinct of the soldier—and in this case, moreover, of the far-sighted politician—was burning to let Roumania take her share in the struggle. But he was determined that she should only enter the fray—if at all—as an independent belligerent power. So he held back—and held back again, risking the grave danger which might accrue to Roumania, and above all to himself, from ultimate Russian resentment. In the meantime, the Russians were defeated in the battles round Plevna; still he held back; not with a point-blank refusal, but with a dilatory evasiveness which drove the Russians nearly frantic. For, during those terrible months of July and August 1877, in which their soldiers were dying like flies, they could see the whole Roumanian army standing ready mobilised, but motionless, a few hours away to the north, on the Danube—immovable in the face of all Muscovite appeals for assistance. At last the Russians were obliged to accept Prince Charles's conditions, to agree to allow him the independent command of all Roumanian troops, and to place a large corps of Russian troops besides under his orders. Then, indeed, the former Prussian lieutenant started within twenty-four hours, after playing the Russians at their own game for four months, and beating them at it to boot. Had Russia refused his demands, not a single Roumanian would have entered upon that struggle in the subsequent course of which their Sovereign covered himself with renown. It was no part of his business as the ruler of Roumania to seek military glory *per se*, although the instinct for such was strong within the Hohenzoller. Also on the 11th September, the battle of Grivitza—which was fought against his advice—saw him at his post, and sixteen thousand Russians and Roumanians^[4] were killed and wounded under his command, probably a greater number slain in open battle in one day than England has lost in all her wars since the Crimea! Surely there was something of the heroic here; and yet it could hardly weigh as an achievement when compared with those Fabian tactics which preceded it, and the execution of which, until the psychological moment came,

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called for nerves of steel. Hardly ever has *la politique dilatoire*—of which Prince Bismarck was such a master in his dealings with Benedetti—had an apter exponent than King Charles on this eventful occasion. And its results, although afterwards curtailed by the decision of the Berlin Congress, secured the independence of Roumania and its creation as a kingdom.

VI

King Charles is peculiarly German in his passionate love of nature. At Sinaja—his summer residence—he looks after his trees with the same solicitude which filled his great countryman, Prince Bismarck. He spends his holidays by preference amid romantic scenery—at Abbazia, on the blue Adriatic, or in Switzerland. He visits Ragatz nearly every year, and thoroughly enjoys his stay among the bluff Swiss burghers. It is impossible for him to conceal his identity there; but he does his best to avoid the dreaded royalty-hunting tourist of certain nationalities, and finds an endless fund of amusement in the rough politeness of the inhabitants, with their customary greeting: "*Herr König, beehren Sie uns bald wieder*"—"Mr. King, pray honour us again with your visit."

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He also loves to roam at will unknown among the venerable buildings of towns, such as Vienna and Munich, to look at the picture and art galleries, and gather ideas of the way to obtain for his own people some of those treasures of culture which he admires in the great centres of civilisation. He has even, at great personal sacrifice, collected quite a respectable gallery of pictures at Bucharest and Sinaja.

If I have dwelt somewhat at length upon the King's personal characteristics and his political methods, it has been in order to assist the reader to appreciate what kind of man he is, and so the more readily to understand cause and effect in estimating how the apparently impossible grew into an accomplished fact. This seemed to be all the more necessary as the "Reminiscences" themselves—far more of a diary than a "Life"—are conceived in a spirit of rarely dispassionate impartiality. The letters, in particular, addressed to the King by his father—whilst they afford us a sympathetic insight into a charming relationship between father and son—do credit to the fearless spirit of the latter in publishing them; and the frankness with which the most painful situations are placed on record can scarcely fail to elicit the sympathy and respect of the reader. In fact, the book contains passages which it would trouble the self-love of many a man to publish. This it is, however, which stamps it with the invaluable hall-mark of veracity, whilst, at the same time, it leaves the reader full liberty to form his own judgment.

[xxx]

SIDNEY WHITMAN.

REMINISCENCES OF THE KING OF ROUMANIA

[1]

CHAPTER I

THE PRINCIPALITIES OF MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA

After the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula by the Turks, who were intent on extending the Ottoman Empire even to the north of the Danube, there was little left for the Roumanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, deserted and abandoned to their fate by the neighbouring Christian States, except to make the best possible terms with the victorious followers of the Crescent. Each Principality, therefore, concluded separate conventions with the Sublime Porte, by means of which they aimed at domestic independence in return for the payment of tribute and military service. These conventions or capitulations were not infrequently violated by the Turks as well as by the Roumanian Hospodars or Princes. Though the rulers of Bucharest and Jassy were appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the Grand Seignior, the very existence of the Principalities was due solely to the provisions of the treaties above mentioned, by virtue of which they escaped incorporation in the Ottoman Empire; nor were the nobility of Moldavia and Wallachia forced to follow the example of their equals in Bosnia and Herzegovina in embracing Islam, in order to maintain their power over the Christian population. Still the Principalities of the Danube did not entirely escape the ruin and misery which befell Bulgaria and Roumelia; but, since the forms and outward appearance of administrative independence remained, it was yet possible that the Roumanian patriot might develop his country socially and politically without threatening the immediate interests of the Turkish Empire south of the Danube.

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Chief amongst the difficulties which beset the regeneration of Roumania was the rule of the Phanariotes,^[5] to whom the Porte had practically handed over the territories of the Lower Danube. The dignity of Hospodar^[6] was confined to members of the great Phanariot families, who oppressed and misruled the whole country, whilst the Greek nobles in their train not only monopolised all offices and dignities, but even poisoned the national spirit by their corrupt system. Even to-day Roumania suffers from the after-effects of Levantine misrule, which blunted the public conscience and confused all moral conceptions.

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Since the end of the eighteenth century the Danubian Principalities have attracted the unenviable notice of Russia, whose objective, Constantinople, is covered by them. In less than a century, from 1768 to 1854, these unfortunate countries suffered no less than six Russian occupations, and as many reconquests by the Turks. It speaks highly for the national spirit of the Roumanians that they should have borne the miseries entailed by these wars without relapsing into abject callousness and apathy; and that, on the contrary, the memory of their former national independence should have continued to gather fresh life, and that their wish to shake off the yoke of their bondage, be it Russian or Turkish, should have grown stronger with the lapse of time. The Hospodars, appointed by the Russians, were hindered in every way by the Turks in their task of awakening the national spirit and preparing the way for the regeneration of their enslaved people. Besides this, many of these Hospodars were prejudiced against the introduction of reforms which could only endanger their own interests and positions. They were, therefore, far more disposed to seek the protection of foreign States than to rely upon the innate strength of the people they governed. Such were the causes that hindered the development of the moral and material resources of the Roumanian nation.

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The ideas from time to time conceived by the rulers of Russia for the unification of the Principalities were based solely on selfish aims and considerations. Thus, for instance, a letter dated September 10, 1782, from Catherine II., who gave the Russian Empire its present shape and direction, to the Emperor Joseph II., shows clearly that the state then proposed, consisting of Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia, was to be merely a Russian outpost, governed by a Russian nominee, against the Ottoman Empire. Even in this century (1834) Russia would have been prepared to further the unification of the Principalities, if only they and the other Great Powers had declared themselves content to accept a ruler drawn from the Imperial House of Russia, or some closely allied prince. As, however, this was not the case, the Russian project was laid aside in favour of a policy of suppressing the national spirit by means of the Czars influence as protector. The Sublime Porte, on the other hand, was straining every nerve to maintain the prevailing state of affairs. And finally, Austria, the third neighbour of the Principalities, hesitated between its desire to gain possession of the mouths of the Danube by annexing Wallachia and Moldavia, and its disinclination to increase the number of its Roumanian subjects by four or five millions, and thereby to strengthen those incompatible elements beyond the limits of prudence. At the same time Austria looked upon the interior development of Roumania with an even more unfavourable eye than Russia, and it seemed as though Moldavia and Wallachia, in spite of the ever increasing desire of their inhabitants for union and for the development of their resources, so long restrained, were condemned to remain for ever in their lamentable condition by the jealousy of their three powerful neighbours.

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At length came the February Revolution of 1848 in Paris, the effects of which were felt even in far Roumania. An insurrection arose in Moldavia: the Hospodar was forced to abdicate; and a Provisional Government, the *Lieutenance Princière*,^[7] was formed at Bucharest, and proceeded to frame a constitution embodying the freedom of the Press, the abolition of serfdom and all the privileges of the nobility. The earlier state of affairs was, however, restored on September 25 of the same year by the combined action of the Russians and the Turks, with the result that the Principalities for a time lost even the last remnants of their former independence, and the power of the Hospodars was hedged in with such narrow restrictions by the Treaty of Balta Liman (May 1, 1849) that they could undertake no initiative without the sanction of the Russian and Turkish commissaries, under whose control they were placed.

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The Crimean War brought with it emancipation from the Russian protectorate, but although the situation was now improving, much was still necessary before the Roumanians could regain their domestic independence. A French protector had taken the place of the Russian. The pressure, it is true, was by no means so severe, nor was it felt so directly as formerly, yet the country perforce suffered no inconsiderable damage, both moral and material, from the half-voluntary, half-compulsory compliance with the wishes of the French ruler. Napoleon wished to elevate Roumania, the "Latin sister nation," into a French dependency, and thereby to make France the decisive factor in the Oriental question. A willing tool was found in the person of the new Hospodar of the now united Principalities, and thenceforth everything was modelled upon French pattern.

An international Commission assembled in Bucharest in 1857, together with a Divan convoked by an Imperial Firman for Moldavia and Wallachia, to consider the question of the future position of the Danubian Principalities. The deliberations of these two bodies, however, resulted in nothing, as neither the Sublime Porte nor the Great Powers were inclined to agree to the programme submitted to them, the main features of which were: the union of the two Principalities as a neutral, autonomous state under the hereditary sovereignty of a prince of a European dynasty, and the introduction of a constitution. A conference held at Paris, on the other hand, decided that each Principality should elect a native Hospodar, subject to the Sultan's confirmation.

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The desire for national unity had, however, become so strong that the newly elected legislative bodies of both countries rebelled against the decision of the Great Powers, and elected Colonel Alexander Kusa as their ruler in 1859. Personal union was thus achieved, though the election of a foreign prince had, for the time being, to be abandoned. Still Prince Kusa was required to pledge his word to abdicate should an opportunity arrive for the closer union of the two countries under the rule of a foreign prince.

Guided by the advice of the Great Powers, the Sultan confirmed the election of Prince Kusa, but by means of *two* Firmans, a diplomatic sleight of hand, by which the *fait accompli* of the irregular

union remained undisturbed, albeit unrecognised. Formal sanction to the union was not conceded by the Sublime Porte until 1861. Prince Kusa, whose private life was by no means above reproach, endeavoured to fulfil in public the patriotic ambition of furthering his people's progress. But Roumania at that period was not prepared for the purely parliamentary form of government it had assumed, and the well-meant reforms initiated by the Prince and the Chamber achieved no immediate result. Prince Kusa, therefore, felt himself compelled to abolish the Election Laws by a *coup d'état*, and to frame a new one, which obtained the sanction of the Sublime Porte, and eventually the approval of the majority of the nation.

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The increased liberty of action gained by the Prince was utilised to the full in formulating a series of necessary and excellent reforms; he failed, however, to place the budget on a satisfactory footing, and the finances remained in the same unfavourable condition as before, whilst several of his measures were directly opposed to the interests of certain factions and classes of the population. In addition to these difficulties, scandals arose which were based only too firmly upon the extremely lax life which Prince Kusa led, and a conspiracy was formed for his overthrow which found a ready support throughout the land. The Palace at Bucharest was surprised on the night of February 22, 1866, by a band of armed men, who forced the Prince to abdicate and quit the country. This accomplished, the leaders of the various parties assembled and formed a Provisional Government under the *Lieutenance Princière*, or regency, which consisted of General N. Golesku, Colonel Haralambi and Lascar Catargiu.

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The Chamber at once proceeded to elect a new ruler, and their first choice fell upon the Count of Flanders, the younger brother of the King of Belgium. Napoleon III., however, who was then still able to play the arbitrator in the affairs of Europe, hinted that the Count would be better advised to decline the proffered crown. The Emperor's wish was acceded to, and, although the Provisional Government for a time appeared to persist in the election of the Count of Flanders, Roumania was ultimately forced to look for a candidate whose election would not be opposed by any of the Great Powers.

The choice was difficult, if not impossible; for the Paris Conference, which had reassembled in the meantime, had decided against the union of the Principalities; and, unless Roumania could attain its object semi-officially by the favour of the Great Powers, the position was hopeless.

It was, indeed, a serious, not to say alarming, situation; for a war between Prussia and Austria for the hegemony of Germany was imminent, and threatened to lead to further complications in the East. If the election were delayed until after the outbreak of hostilities, one of the belligerent parties was certain to reject the candidate whose election the other approved, whilst Russia would take advantage of the interregnum to stir up the whole of Roumania, especially Moldavia, against the union; for anything that might tend to impede the Russian advance upon Constantinople could not fail to evoke the most lively hostility in St. Petersburg. It was, therefore, upon France and her Emperor that all the hopes of the Roumanians reposed: with Napoleon on their side everything was possible, without him nothing.

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The leading Roumanian statesmen were well aware of the difficulties in the way, and eventually fixed upon Prince Charles of Hohenzollern as their candidate, for he was related to both the French and Prussian dynasties, upon whose goodwill and support he might confidently reckon. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, to move him to accept their offer at once, and to obtain the sanction of the nation by a *plébiscite*.

CHAPTER II

[11]

THE SUMMONS TO THE THRONE

The Roumanian delegate, Joan Bratianu, arrived at Düsseldorf on Good Friday 1866, to lay the offer of the Roumanian people before Prince Charles and his father. In an audience granted by the latter on the following day, March 31, Bratianu announced the intention of the *Lieutenance Princière*, inspired by Napoleon III., to advance Prince Charles Anthony's second son, Charles, as a candidate for the throne of the Principalities. Bratianu succeeded in obtaining a private interview with Prince Charles the same evening, in order to acquaint the latter with the political situation, and to point out the danger which must inevitably be incurred if the present Provisional Government remained in power. Prince Charles replied that he possessed courage enough to accept the offer, but feared that he was not equal to the task, adding that nothing was known of the intentions of the King of Prussia, without whose permission, as chief of the family, he could not take so important a step. He therefore declined for the moment to give any definite answer to the proposals of the Roumanian Government. Bratianu returned to Paris, after promising to take no immediate steps in the matter. Prince Charles Anthony without delay addressed a memorial regarding this offer to the King of Prussia, and clearly defined the circumstances which had led to his taking this step. A similar communication was forwarded to the President of the Prussian Ministry.

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A few days later Prince Charles arrived in Berlin, and at once visited the King, the Crown Prince, and Prince Frederick Charles, as he reported in a letter to his father:

"The King made no mention of the Roumanian question at the interview, but the Crown Prince, on the other hand, entered into a minute discussion with me, and did not appear to be at all against the

idea. The only thing that displeased him was that the candidature was inspired by France, as he feared that the latter might demand a rectification of the frontier from Prussia in return for this good office. I replied that I did not consider that the Emperor Napoleon had thought of such a bargain, but had been induced to take the initiative in this matter by family feeling rather than by any selfish consideration. The Crown Prince, moreover, considered it a great honour that so difficult a task had been offered to a member of the House of Hohenzollern. Prince Frederick Charles also at once started upon a minute discussion of the Roumanian question. He seemed to be intimately acquainted with the issue, and volunteered the opinion that I was intended for better things than to rule tributary Principalities: he therefore advised me to decline the offer."

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The following telegram, published in the Press, was handed to Prince Charles as he was sitting with his comrades at the regimental mess-table:

"BUCHAREST, 13th April.

"The *Lieutenance Princière* and Ministry have announced the candidature of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern as Prince of Roumania, under the title of Charles I., by means of placards at the street corners; it is rumoured that the Prince will arrive here shortly. The populace appeared delighted by the news."

The Prince at once visited Colonel von Rauch, who had been entrusted with the delivery of Prince Charles Anthony's memorial to the King, and learnt that an answer would be sent on April 16. The following report was despatched to Prince Charles Anthony by his messenger on the 14th: "I was commanded to attend their Majesties at the *Soirée Musicale* yesterday evening. The King took me into a side room and expressed himself as follows: 'I have not yet replied to the Prince, because I am still waiting for news from Paris, as the Porte has declared its intention of recalling its ambassador from the Conference if the election of a foreign prince is discussed.

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"Should the protecting States have regard to this declaration of the Porte, the election of a Hohenzollern prince would be rendered impossible; on the other hand, should the majority decide for a foreign prince, and the coming Chamber in Bucharest follow their example, the whole matter would enter upon a new phase. However, that I may not keep the Prince waiting, I shall express my opinions shortly as to the future acceptance or refusal of the Roumanian crown."

The King of Prussia forwarded the following autograph letter to the young Hohenzollern prince early the next morning:

"Your father has, no doubt, imparted to you the enclosed (telegram from Bratianu). You will remain quite passive. Great obstacles have arisen, as Russia and the Porte are so far opposed to a foreign prince.

"WILLIAM."

The telegram ran thus:

"Five million Roumanians proclaim Prince Charles, the son of your Royal Highness, as their sovereign. Every church is open, and the voice of the clergy rises with that of the people in prayer to the Eternal, that their Elected may be blessed and rendered worthy of his ancestors and the trust reposed in him by the whole nation.

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"J. C. BRATIANU."

The long expected reply from the Prussian monarch arrived at Düsseldorf on April 16. After discussing the probable moral and material bonds of union which would unite Prussia and Roumania in the event of the offer being accepted, the King continued:

"The question is whether the position of your son and his descendants would really be as favourable as might otherwise be expected? For the present the ruler of Roumania will continue as a vassal of the Porte. Is this a dignified and acceptable position for a Hohenzollern? And though it may be expected that in future this position will be exchanged for that of an independent sovereignty, still the date of the realisation of this aim is very remote, and will probably be preceded by political convulsions through which the ruler of the Danubian Principalities might perhaps be unable to retain his position! With such an outlook, are not the present position and prospects of your son happier than the life which is offered him?

"Even in the event of my consenting to the election of one of your sons to the throne of Roumania, is there any guarantee that this elective sovereignty, even if it becomes hereditary, will remain faithful to him who is now chosen? The past of these countries shows the contrary; and the experience of other States, ancient and well established, as well as newly created and elective empires, shows how uncertain such structures are in our times.

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"But, above all, we must take into consideration the attitude of the Powers represented at the Paris Conference to this question of election. Two questions still remain undecided: (a) Is there to be an union or not? (b) Is there to be a foreign Prince or not?

"Russia and the Porte are against the union, but it appears that England will join the majority, and if she decides for the union the Porte will be obliged to submit.

"In the same way both the former States are opposed to the election of a foreign Prince as the ruler of the Danubian Principalities. I have mentioned this attitude of the Porte, and yesterday we received a message from Russia to say that it was not disposed to agree to the project of your son's election, and that it will demand a resumption of the Conference. All these events prevent the hope of a simple solution. I must therefore urge you to consider these matters again. Even should Russia, against its will of course, consent to the election of a foreign Prince, it is to be expected that intrigue after intrigue will take place in Roumania between Russia and Austria. And since Austria will more willingly vote for such an election, Roumania would be forced to rely upon her as against

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Russia, and so the newly created country with its dynasty would be on the side of the chief opponent of Prussia, though the latter is to provide the Prince!

"You will gather from what I have said that, from dynastic and political considerations, I do not consider this important question quite as *couleur de rose* as you do. In any case we must await the news which the next few days will bring us from Bucharest, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople, and we must see whether the Paris Conference will reassemble immediately.

"Your faithful Cousin and Friend,

"WILLIAM."

"P.S.—A note received to-day from the French Ambassador proves that the Emperor Napoleon is favourably inclined to the plan. This is very important. The position will only be tenable if Russia agrees, as she is influential in Roumania on account of her professing the same religion and owing to her geographical proximity and old associations. These constitute an influence against which a new Prince in a weak and divided country would not be able to contend for any length of time. If you are desirous of prosecuting this affair your son must, above all things, gain the consent of Russia. It is true that up to now the prospect of success is remote...."

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Prince Charles Anthony replied, assuring the King that, although the examples of such enterprises in Greece and Mexico had proved disastrous, yet the complications which might arise from Roumania were not likely to affect the prestige of Prussia, and he therefore begged his Majesty not to refuse his consent so long as there was a chance of arranging the matter. A most important interview then took place between Count Bismarck and Prince Charles at the Berlin residence of the former, who was at that time confined to his house by illness.

Bismarck opened the conversation with the words: "I have requested your Serene Highness to visit me, not in order to converse with you as a statesman, but quite openly and freely as a friend and an adviser, if I may use the expression. You have been unanimously elected by a nation to rule over them; obey the summons. Proceed at once to the country, to the government of which you have been called!"

Prince Charles replied that this course was out of the question, unless the King gave his permission, although he felt quite equal to the task.

"All the more reason," replied the Count. "In this case you have no need for the direct permission of the King. Ask the King for leave—leave to travel abroad. The King (I know him well) will not be slow to understand, and to see through your intention. You will, moreover, remove the decision out of his hands, a most welcome relief to him, as he is politically tied down. Once abroad, you resign your commission and proceed to Paris, where you will ask the Emperor for a private interview. You might then lay your intentions before Napoleon, with the request that he will interest himself in your affairs and promote them amongst the Powers. In my opinion this is the only method of tackling the matter, if your Serene Highness thinks at all of accepting the crown in question. On the other hand, should this question come before the Paris Conference, it will not take months merely, but even years to settle. The two Powers most interested—Russia and the Porte—will protest emphatically against your election; France, England, and Italy will be on your side, whilst Austria will make every endeavour to ruin your candidature. From Austria there is, however, not much to fear, as I propose to give her occupation for some time to come!... As regards us, Prussia is placed in the most difficult position of all: on account of her political and geographical situation she has always held aloof from the Eastern Question and has only striven to make her voice heard in the Council of the Powers. In this particular case, however, I, as Prussian Minister, should have to decide against you, however hard it would be for me, for at the present moment I must not come to a rupture with Russia, nor pledge our State interest for the sake of family interest. By independent action on the part of your Highness the King would escape this painful dilemma; and, although he cannot give his consent as head of the family, I am convinced that he will not be against this idea, which I would willingly communicate to him if he would do me the honour of visiting me here. When once your Serene Highness is in Roumania the question would soon be solved; for when Europe is confronted by a *fait accompli* the interested Powers will, it is true, protest, but the protest will be only on paper, and the fact cannot be undone!"

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The Prince then pointed out that Russia and Turkey might adopt offensive measures, but Bismarck denied this possibility: "The most disastrous contingencies, especially for Russia, might result from forcible measures. I advise your Serene Highness to write an autograph letter to the Czar of Russia before your departure, saying that you see in Russia your most powerful protector, and that with Russia you hope some day to solve the Eastern Question. A matrimonial alliance also might be mooted, which would give you great support in Russia."

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In reply to a question as to the attitude of Prussia to a *fait accompli*, Bismarck declared: "We shall not be able to avoid recognising the fact and devoting our full interest to the matter. Your courageous resolve is therefore certain to be received here with applause."

The Prince then asked whether the Count advised him to accept the crown, or whether it would be better to let the matter drop.

"If I had not been in favour of the course proposed, I should not have permitted myself to express my views," was the reply. "I think the solution of the question by a *fait accompli* will be the luckiest and most honourable for you. And even if you do not succeed your position with regard to the House of Prussia would continue the same. You would remain here and be able to

look back with pleasure to a *coup* with which you could never reproach yourself. But if you succeed, as I think you will, this solution would be of incalculable value to you; you have been elected unanimously by the vote of the nation in the fullest sense of the word; you follow this summons and thereby from the commencement earn the full confidence of the whole nation."

The Prince objected that he could not quite trust the *plébiscite*, because it had been effected so quickly, but Bismarck replied:

"The surest guarantee can be given you by the deputation which will shortly be sent to you, and which you must not receive on Prussian territory; moreover, I should place myself in communication with the Roumanian agent in Paris as soon as possible. I communicated this idea *sous discrétion* to the French Ambassador, Benedetti, after we had learnt that Napoleon wished to hear our views, and he declares that France will place a ship at your disposal to undertake the journey to Roumania from Marseilles, but I think it would be better to make use of the ordinary steamer in order to keep the matter quite secret."

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As in duty bound, Prince Charles proceeded to the Royal Palace after this interview, to ascertain the King's views on the proposed course of action. His Majesty did not share Count Bismarck's view and thought that the Prince had better await the decision of the Paris Conference, although, even should this be favourable, it would still be unworthy a Prince of the House of Hohenzollern to place himself under the suzerainty of the Sultan! To this Prince Charles replied that, although he was ready to acknowledge the Turkish suzerainty for a time, he reserved to himself the task of freeing his country by force of arms, and of gaining perfect independence on the field of battle. The King gave the Prince leave to proceed to Düsseldorf, embraced him heartily, and bade him Godspeed!

Prince Bismarck sent for Colonel Rauch, who had played an important part in the negotiations with the King, and informed him on April 23 that the Paris Conference had decided by five votes to three that the Bucharest Chamber was to elect a native prince, and that France had declared that she would not tolerate forcible measures either on the part of Russia or of the Porte. The President of the Prussian Ministry then repeated the advice he had given to Prince Charles, viz., to accept the election at once, then proceed to Paris, and thence to Bucharest with the support of Napoleon, and to write at once to the Czar Alexander, hinting at the projected Russian marriage. If Russia was won, everything would be won, and the intervention by force of one or the other of the guaranteeing Powers would be no longer to be feared. As regards the consent of the King, which of course could not be given now, it would not be refused to a final *fait accompli*. Prince Charles must decide for himself whether he felt the power and decision to solve the problem in this straightforward fashion; but it must be understood that no other method offered any prospect, for the Powers would eventually agree upon a native prince, and the Roumanians must submit. "I spoke," he added, "to the Roumanian political agent in Paris, M. Balaceanu, in a similar strain yesterday evening, and laid stress upon the fact that the King cannot at present decide or accept the election of Prince Charles, because political complications might be created thereby."

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From Paris came the news that nothing would be more agreeable to the Emperor and his Government than to see Prince Charles on the throne of Roumania, but that nothing could be done in the face of the decision of the Conference, and that the Prince's project of a *fait accompli* was so adventurous that the Emperor could not promise his support. An interview was then arranged at the house of Baroness Franque in Ramersdorf, with M. Balaceanu, who declared that the intention of the Roumanian Government was to adhere to its choice, and, if necessary, to carry on the government under the name of Charles I. Roumania would allow herself neither to be bent nor broken.

Two days later, on April 29, Colonel von Rauch returned from Berlin with the royal answer to Prince Charles Anthony's second memorial, which contained a repetition of the King's objections to the acceptance of the offer, and still more to the *fait accompli*, which was so warmly urged from Paris. The "*Memorial Diplomatique*" of the 28th contained this suggestive phrase: "... *l'initiative de la France n'a pour object que les faits à accomplir!*"

Prince Charles Anthony received M. Bratianu and Dr. Davila on May 1 at Düsseldorf. They came to announce the arrival of the deputation with the verification of the *plébiscite*, and to inquire whether or no Prince Charles intended to decline their offer definitely. It was then decided to telegraph in cipher to Bucharest that the Prince had decided to accept the offer, but only on condition that the King should give his consent.

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In answer to a telegram from Prince Charles Anthony, the King of Prussia begged him to come to Berlin to discuss the question of the *fait accompli*. The result of the interview was that the King agreed to refrain from influencing the decision of Prince Charles directly and to permit the *fait accompli* to "take place." The Prince was to resign his commission as a Prussian officer after passing the Prussian frontier.

On the receipt of this news from Berlin, the Prince at once sent for MM. Balaceanu and Bratianu, and on their arrival informed them that he was prepared to set out for Roumania without delay. The question then arose as to which route was to be taken, since Prussia might declare war any day with Austria, whilst a sea journey *viâ* Marseilles or Genoa risked a possible detention at Constantinople. The Prince eventually decided on the shortest route, *viâ* Vienna-Basiasch; but this plan had to be reconsidered, as owing to an indiscretion the proposed itinerary became public.

The long expected mobilisation order of the Prussian Army was signed by the King on May 9, and Prince Charles in consequence received an order from his colonel to rejoin his regiment at

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once, from which, however, he was exempted by the six weeks' leave granted by the King himself. Balaceanu urged the Prince by letter not to delay his departure, and reiterated his entreaties on behalf of the Roumanian people, who were anxiously awaiting the arrival of their chosen ruler.

The last day at home was Friday, May 11, 1866, and with it came the inevitable anguish of parting with his dearly loved parents. Repressing the emotions which might otherwise have betrayed the pregnant measure he had undertaken, Prince Charles, clad for the last time in the uniform of the Prussian Dragoons, rode down the avenue towards Benrath Castle, where his eldest brother resided and awaited him. Upon arriving there, he exchanged his uniform for mufti and proceeded to the station with his sister, Princess Marie, who accompanied him for the first few hours of his journey, and at Bonn the Prince joined Councillor von Werner, with whom the momentous journey was to be undertaken. Zurich was reached at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the travellers broke their journey for the first time in order to arrange the difficult question of passports. Von Werner telegraphed to a Swiss official, whom Prince Charles Anthony had already asked about the passes, to arrange a meeting at St. Gallen, but as the official was not at home at the time, a delay of twenty-four hours occurred, which Prince Charles spent in writing to the Emperors of Russia and France and the Sultan of Turkey. [27]

Baron von Mayenfisch and Lieutenant Linche, a Roumanian staff officer, who both joined the party in Zurich, set out independently, the former for Munich, the latter for Basiasch on the Danube. The Prince and Von Werner occupied themselves with erasing the marking of the Prince's linen and reducing the quantity of his baggage to indispensable limits. The following day (May 14) found the Prince and his companion at St. Gallen, where a passport was obtained for the former under the name of "Karl Hettingen," travelling on business to Odessa, and at the Prince's request a note was made on this document of the fact that Herr Hettingen wore spectacles. The acquisition of these passports, however, and the fact of his travelling second-class, were not alone sufficient to overcome all further difficulties and dangers, for on reaching Salzburg, on the Austro-Bavarian frontier, on the 16th, a customs official gruffly demanded the Prince's name, and he to his horror found that he had forgotten it. Luckily Von Werner, with great presence of mind, flung himself into the breach by insisting on paying duty for some cigars, and so diverted the intruder's attention, whilst the Prince refreshed his peccant memory with a glimpse at his passport. But this was not all, for scarcely had this little manœuvre been successfully carried out than several officers of the "King of Belgium's" Regiment, with whom the Prince had served in 1864 in Denmark, entered the waiting-room and caused him no little misgiving lest he should be recognised. Here fortune, however, again favoured him, and all passed off well, the travellers continuing their journey as far as Vienna, which they found crowded with troops. Pressburg, Pest, Szegedin and Temesvar found them still caged in the dismal squalor of a dirty second-class carriage, and suffering much discomfort from an icy wind which chilled them to the bone. The tedious railway journey at length ended at Basiasch, from whence they were to proceed down stream by steamer. The mobilisation of the Austrian troops had, however, completely disorganised the river service, and a most unwelcome delay of two days took place at this unsavoury spot. [28]

Joan Bratianu arrived from Paris in time to accompany his future sovereign upon the last stage of his journey, but, as strict secrecy was still imperative, he was compelled to treat the Prince as a stranger. The Roumanian frontier was reached at last, and the boat lay alongside the quay of Turnu Severin. As the Prince was about to hurry on shore, the master of the steamboat stopped him to inquire why he should land here when he wanted to go to Odessa. The Prince replied that he only intended to spend a few minutes on shore, and then hurried forward. As soon as he touched Roumanian soil, Bratianu, hat in hand, requested his Prince to step into one of the carriages waiting there. And as he did so he heard the captain's voice exclaim: "By God, that must be the Prince of Hohenzollern!" [29]

After the despatch of a couple of telegrams to the *Lieutenance Princière* and the Government, the Prince and Bratianu set out for the capital in a carriage drawn by eight horses at a hand gallop, which never slackened its headlong pace throughout the ice-cold, misty night. At four o'clock they reached the river Jiu, but lost some time there, as the ferry was not in working order. At Krajowa, where the news of his arrival had brought together an enormous and enthusiastic multitude, a right royal welcome awaited the new Prince, and, escorted by two sections of Dorobanz Cavalry (Militia hussars), he reached the prettily decorated town of Slatina at noon, where a halt of a couple of hours was made before proceeding to Piteshti. *En route* the Prince overtook the 2nd Line Regiment marching on Bucharest, and was greeted by them with enthusiastic cheers. A numerous escort of cavaliers, amongst them Dr. Davila, met the Prince outside Piteshti, where yet another most enthusiastic reception was accorded him. General Golesku and Jon Ghika, the President of the Ministry, were presented to the Prince, who expressed his pleasure at greeting the first members of the Government. The night was passed at Goleshti, where the Prince entered upon his duties by signing a decree pardoning the Metropolitan of Moldavia for his share in the Separatist riots of April 15. Prince Charles rose early the following morning to make all necessary arrangements for his triumphal entry into the capital, where the inhabitants were waiting impatiently to do him honour. The keys of the town were presented by the Burgomaster, who also addressed a speech to the new ruler. The procession then passed along the streets lined by soldiers of the Line and National Guard, until they reached a house outside which a guard of honour was posted. "What house is that?" asked the Prince in the innocence of his heart. "That is the Palace," replied General Golesku with embarrassment. Prince Charles thought he had misunderstood him, and asked: "Where is the Palace?" The General, still more embarrassed, pointed in silence to the one-storeyed building. [30]

At length the procession halted at the Metropolie, the Cathedral of Bucharest, where the venerable Metropolitan received the Prince and tendered him the Cross and Bible to kiss. After hearing the *Te Deum*, the Prince, with his suite, proceeded to the Chamber, which stands exactly opposite the Metropolie. Here he took the oath to keep the laws, maintain the rights, and preserve the integrity of Roumania.—"Jur de a pazi legile Romaniei, d'a mentine drepturile sale si integritateã teritoriului!"^[8] Then, after replying in French to the address of the President of the Chamber, Prince Charles repaired with his suite to the Palace to refresh himself after the exertions of the day. The rooms, though small, proved to have been tastefully furnished by Parisian upholsterers during the government of Prince Kusa, but the view from the windows was primitive indeed; on the one side stood an insignificant guardhouse, whilst the other offered the national spectacle of a gipsy encampment with its herd of swine wallowing in the gutters of the main road—it could hardly be called a street. Such were the surroundings amongst which the adventurous Hohenzollern Prince commenced his new career!

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CHAPTER III

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STORM AND STRESS

The first Roumanian Ministry under the new *régime* was composed of members of all political parties, Conservatives and Liberals, Moldavians and Wallachians, Right, Centre, and Left. Lascar Catargui was appointed President of the Ministry, which, amongst others, included Joan Bratianu (Finance), Petre Mavrogheni (Foreign Affairs), General Prince^[9] Jon Ghika (War), and Demeter Sturdza (Public Works).

The chief task of the new Government was to secure the recognition of their new ruler by the Powers, but the telegrams from the Roumanian agents abroad showed very plainly that the *fait accompli* was only the first step towards the desired end. The initiative of the Prince found favour, it is true, with Napoleon, but his Minister, Drouyn de L'Huys, regarded his action as an insult to the Paris Conference, whilst the Sultan refused to receive the letter addressed to him by Prince Charles, and announced his intention of applying to the Conference for sanction to occupy the Principalities by armed force. To meet this possibility, the immediate mobilisation of the Roumanian Army was decided upon by the Cabinet, and the Prince seized an occasion for reviewing the troops on May 24. The Turkish protest against the election was submitted to the Conference on the following day, but the Powers decided that Turkey was not entitled to occupy Roumanian territory without the previous consent of the Powers, and also declared that they had broken off official communications with the Prince's Government. As the news from Constantinople became more and more threatening, a credit of eight million francs was voted by the Roumanian Chamber for warlike purposes, and orders were issued for the concentration of the frontier battalions and Dorobanz Cavalry. The former, however, mutinied and refused to leave their garrisons, whilst an inspection of the arsenal showed that there was scarcely enough powder in the magazines for more than a few rounds to each soldier.

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The deputation sent to conciliate Russia met with a cold reception from Prince Gortchakoff, who complained that France had been consulted before the *fait accompli*. He further remonstrated against the collection of Polish refugees on the Roumanian frontier. On the other hand, he did not appear averse from an alliance between Prince Charles and the Russian Imperial family. Bismarck received the members of the deputation with cordiality, and recommended them to assume an anti-Austrian attitude in the event of an insurrection in Hungary. In the meantime, the Paris Conference declined to appoint commissaries for the Principalities, as had been done formerly under the Hospodars, and practically decided to leave Roumania an open question.

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The finances of the Principalities were completely disorganised, as the Public Treasury was empty, the floating debt amounted to close on seven millions sterling, and it seemed as though the year 1866 would indicate a deficit of another six millions. To complete the financial ruin of the country, a proposal to create paper money was set on foot, but was thrown out by the Chamber.

The chief measure laid before the Chamber was the draft of a new Constitution. The Prince insisted upon an Upper and a Lower House as well as upon an unconditional and absolute veto, whilst the Chamber wished to grant a merely suspensive veto, such as is exercised by the President of the United States of America. Owing in great part to the efforts of Prince Charles, the report of the Committee upon the Constitution was presented on June 28, when a series of heated debates arose on the question of granting political rights to the Roumanian Jews. The excitement spread rapidly throughout Bucharest, and a riotous mob destroyed the newly erected synagogue. Thereupon, the unpopular sections of the Constitution were hastily abandoned by the Government in deference to the wishes of the Jews themselves. A better fate, however, befell the veto question, which was decided in favour of the Prince, and on July 11 the Constitution was unanimously passed through the Chamber by ninety-one votes.

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On the following day the Prince proceeded, with the same ceremonies as before, to the Metropolie to attend the *Te Deum* before taking the oath to the new Constitution in the Chamber. He then seized the opportunity of reminding the representatives of the nation that Roumania's chief object must be to remain neutral and on good terms with the neighbouring Powers.

The Prince's daily routine at this period was calculated to tax to the utmost even his abnormal

energy and strength. After a ride in the early morning, the correspondence of the day was gone through before the Ministers were received. Then followed miscellaneous audiences, and the inspection of some Government institution or school in Bucharest. The organisation of the Ministries and Courts of Justice was modelled on those of France: the hospitals, thanks to the liberality of former Hospodars, were well endowed, and able to treat patients free of charge. In many cases, however, the hospital buildings were insanitary; the prisons were in the most unsatisfactory condition, the food of the prisoners was of very indifferent quality, while, last, but by no means least, among the many points which demanded his close attention at this time, was the question of barracks and military establishments. At six o'clock the Prince dined with his household, and often some ten or twelve guests of opposite political opinions were invited, in order that he might become more closely acquainted with the views of the various parties. As, however, punctuality was at that time a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance in Bucharest, it frequently happened that the Prince had to commence dinner without one or other of his guests. After dinner Prince Charles generally drove along the *chaussée*, which, enclosed on either side by handsome gardens, formed the rendezvous of the fashion of the capital. On other days the Prince rode to one or other of the numerous monasteries and cloisters in the neighbourhood, such as Cernika, the burial-place of the Metropolitans, Pasere and Caldaruschan.

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Prince Jon Ghika returned from Constantinople on the 15th of July with a draft of the conditions upon which the Porte was willing to recognise Prince Charles. A Council of Ministers was assembled the same evening to consider this project, which was then unanimously rejected, and a counter-project was drawn up and discussed in all its bearings on the 17th. The main features in dispute were as follows: The Porte wished to retain the name of the "United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia," whilst the Ministry were in favour of either "Roumania" or "The United Roumanian Principalities." The Porte declared that the princely dignity must continue to be elective, whilst the Roumanians in return demanded the recognition of the right of hereditary succession and, in the absence of a direct descendant of the Prince, his brother's family was to succeed. In reply to the Turkish demand for military aid in any war, the Ministry declared that Roumania would only render assistance in a defensive war. The proposal of the Porte to send an agent to protect Turkish interests in the Principalities was rejected entirely, as was also the demand that Roumania should neither coin money nor confer decorations.

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Acting on his father's maxim, "A wise and an honest ruler must never pursue a personal policy, but only a national one," Prince Charles declined to countenance a rebellion in Hungary advocated at a private interview by General Türr, the well-known Hungarian patriot and agitator. A similar course was pursued with regard to a Servian deputation, which assured the Prince that all the Eastern Christians rested upon him their hopes of deliverance from the Turkish yoke.

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The first Ministerial crisis occurred on July 25, 1866, owing to the financial troubles and the disagreement existing between the President and MM. Bratianu and Rossetti. The Prince confided the task of forming the new Ministry to Jon Ghika, who had proved himself an able and energetic diplomat in conducting the negotiations with the Porte.

In the midst of these difficulties the sorrowful news of the death of his brother Anthony, from wounds received at Königgrätz, reached the Prince early on August 7. The sympathy which this family event evoked amongst all classes of the Roumanian nation was the surest proof of the affection and regard already inspired by their new ruler. Ministers, municipal authorities, officers of the Army and Militia, and all the notabilities of the country hastened to express their sympathy with the Prince's family in the warmest manner.

The serious condition of the finances forced the Prince to diminish the strength of the Army by 7000 men, although the attitude of the Porte still rendered it advisable to concentrate all available forces. Prince Charles also addressed the following letter to the Emperor Napoleon to induce him to favour a Roumanian loan in Paris:

"In accepting the throne of Roumania, I knew that the duties devolving on me were enormous: still I confess that the difficulties to be surmounted are even greater than I thought.

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"The most complete disorder in the finances as well as in all the branches of the Administration gives rise to difficulties against which I have to struggle every day, and which render my task extremely painful....

"A greater power than that of man—the Divine—sends us fresh trials. The whole country, especially Moldavia, is threatened with a famine.... The only means of succouring the populace is by means of a loan.... Trusting, Sire, in the affectionate sentiments of your Majesty, I ask you for the aid of your all-powerful goodwill, because it is the knowledge of your Majesty's constant goodwill to the Roumanians and, I venture to say, to me personally, that has sustained me in the midst of the difficulties with which I have had to contend...."

The Prince concluded with the words: "The happiness of the Roumanian nation has become the aim of my life: I have devoted to this mission all my time and all my aspirations."

Owing to the active support of France, the Sublime Porte declared its willingness to concede certain points of the Roumanian counter-project, such as the election of the Prince, the hereditary succession in the Prince's family, and the establishment of the Army at 30,000 men, but demanded in return the recognition of Roumania as a *partie intégrale* of the Ottoman Empire.

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On August 21, Prince Charles set out on a journey through Moldavia, accompanied by General Prince Ghika, Mavrogheni, and his aides-de-camp. The route ran through Buseu, Fokschani, which was devastated by cholera, and Ajud, where the long awaited rain first fell on the dried-up country, then through Kaitz to Okna, where the Prince inspected the great salt mines and the

prison. The next important halts were made at Botoschani, an almost wholly Jewish town, and at the Moldavian capital, Jassy, romantically situated on the banks of the Bachlui. The town is built in terraces on the hillside, where the numerous domes and towers scattered amongst the green trees lend it a most picturesque and almost oriental appearance. The reception accorded to the Prince was brilliant and hearty in the extreme, the only discordant note being the refusal of the Rosnovanu family to share in the public rejoicings. It is, however, pleasant to note that in later years this family sought to show by every means how completely their opinions had changed.

Important and urgent news from Constantinople then forced the Prince to bring his tour to an end, and Cotroceni, near Bucharest, was reached on September 7, after some 920 miles had been traversed in seventeen days by means of about 3000 post-horses. The result of the journey was altogether favourable, for not only had the Prince gained a clearer insight into the affairs of Moldavia, but the Separatist faction had been considerably weakened by the intercourse of Prince Charles with the leading men of the Principality. [41]

The following day the Prince received the English and French Consuls, who came to advocate compliance with the demands of the Sublime Porte, which, though couched in far more moderate language, still contained the disputed clauses of the former project. The Ministry thereupon decided to send Ministers Stirbey and Sturdza to Constantinople to negotiate better terms for Roumania.

The Prince received a letter from his father on September 14, 1866, containing the following significant paragraph:

"The political horizon is still very overcast; a war with France is unavoidable, although it will not take place this year. The 'chauvinism' of the French Press is colossal, and the Emperor, who is personally inclined for peace, will probably have to give way to the pressure!..."

The news from Constantinople now became more favourable, as both General Ignatieff and the Marquis de Moustier brought pressure to bear on Ali Pacha in favour of Roumania. Moreover, the condition of Crete, where an insurrection had broken out, aided and instigated by Greece, was in itself a reason why the Porte should come to a definite settlement with Roumania. Negotiations, however, suffered further delays owing to the departure of the Marquis de Moustier and the renewal of impossible demands by Ali Pacha, who was now supported by England and France. The last named believed that Prussian influence caused the Prince's reluctance to comply with the Emperor Napoleon's advice and proceed to Constantinople before receiving recognition by means of a firman, and the relations of Roumania to France became consequently cooler. The whole affair turned upon the words, "*partie intégrale de mon Empire*," which the Roumanian Ministry refused at first to accept, but now sought to modify by the addition of "*dans les limites fixées par les capitulations et le Traité de Paris*." This addition was at last agreed to by Ali Pacha, and the long struggle ended on October 20. An exchange of letters, as recommended by the French Ambassador, then took place between the Grand Vizier and Prince Charles, who announced his intention of proceeding to Constantinople to receive the firman from the hands of the Sultan. [42]

The Prince granted an audience to the Consuls of the Powers on the following day to receive the congratulations of their Governments upon his recognition by the Porte before setting out on his journey to Constantinople. At Rustchuk the Governor of the Danubian vilayet, Midhat Pacha, received the Prince with the utmost ceremony. On arriving at Varna Prince Charles embarked at once on the Imperial steam yacht *Issedin*, which had brought Djemil Pacha and Memduh Bey to escort him to the Golden Horn. [43]

On his arrival at Constantinople the Prince landed at Beglerby, where an imperial palace had been destined for his reception. Thence the Prince, in the uniform of a Roumanian general, proceeded to Dolma Bagdsche, where the Sultan came to the door of his cabinet to welcome him. Next the sofa on which the Sultan was to sit a chair was placed for the Prince, but he pushed it gently aside, and as a Prince of Hohenzollern sat down next to his Suzerain. The conversation which then ensued turned first upon the Prince's journey, and afterwards on the state of affairs in Roumania. At the conclusion of the audience the Sultan handed Prince Charles a paper, which he laid on the table without looking at it, and then asked for permission to present his suite, one of whom took charge of the firman. The Sultan took a hearty leave of the Prince, who then visited the Sublime Porte, where the Grand Vizier welcomed him and presented to him the various Turkish great dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire.

On October 26 Prince Charles received the Ambassadors of the Powers, amongst their number Lord Lyons, who had been of material assistance in obtaining the recognition of the Prince, but who was strongly opposed to any slackening of the bonds between Turkey and the Vassal States. [44]

The impression left in the Prince's mind by the magnificent reception was that it was due more to his descent from the House of Hohenzollern than to the fact that he was ruler of Roumania, for the Hospodars had been treated merely as highly placed officials, and as a symbol of their vassaldom were obliged to hold the Sultan's stirrup as he mounted.

The second visit to the Sultan took place on October 28, and was marked by the same heartiness as before. Prince Charles, on leaving the Palace, *en route* for a review specially ordered in his honour, passed through the Marble Gates, which are generally opened for the Sultan alone. The review took place in pouring rain on the heights of Pancaldi, where six battalions, two cavalry regiments, and four batteries were drawn up. Ali Pacha entertained the Prince at dinner the same evening, when Prince Charles proposed the health of the Sultan, and expressed the wishes he shared in common "with all Roumanians" for the welfare of the Sultan

and of the Turkish Empire. In reply the Grand Vizier laid special stress upon the deep interest his Imperial Majesty took in the Prince and "the Moldo-Wallachian population." Ali Pacha subsequently offered the Prince a number of Turkish orders of the various classes, adding that the patents would be sent to him in blank every year, and might be granted as the Prince thought fit. This offer was, however, declined, and the permission of the Porte was obtained for the institution of a medal for the Roumanian Army. After taking leave of the Sultan on October 30, Prince Charles returned to Varna in the Imperial yacht *Issedin*, arriving in Bucharest on November 2.

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The impending elections now claimed the attention of Prince Charles, who, in a letter to the President of the Ministry, declared that "not even the shadow of influence" must be brought to bear on the electors. The Government, however, misconstrued the expression of this wish as a concession to the Liberal Opposition. The result of the elections was a bitter disappointment to the Prince and his advisers: one-third of the new Chamber was composed of partisans of the ex-Prince Kusa and Separatists, a second of supporters of the Government, and the third of Liberals. Not one of these parties, therefore, could dispose of a decisive majority. The Chamber was opened on November 27 by Prince Charles in person, who adjured the Deputies to lay aside all jealousies and personal interests, and to aid him in reorganising the country by "accepting the wholesome principles of honesty, industry, and economy, which alone can raise the civilisation, wealth, and power of the nation."

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The failure of the crops in conjunction with famine and cholera had added to the already heavy financial difficulties of the country. The paper currency was at 30 per cent. discount, whilst the pay of the Army and the officials remained in arrears. In spite of the applause with which the Prince's speech was received, the Government measures were obstructed at every turn by incessant intrigues in the Chamber.

The following most interesting letter from the Prince's father, bearing on the difficulties of Napoleon's position, was received on December 24, 1866:

"The position of France is at present most insecure. Napoleon's dynasty must struggle with four immense difficulties:

"(1) The bitter resentment of the nation at Prussia's success in war. The Clericals do not cease to add fuel to this smouldering fire, and it will not be their fault if the national hatred does not break out into open flames. The Emperor is the most sober and reasonable of all Frenchmen, but it is quite possible that he may allow himself to be dragged into a war with Prussia in order to preserve his dynasty.

"(2) The Roman question is one of equal importance. The withdrawal of the French force from Rome will either lead to the instantaneous downfall of the Papal State, which would cause an unbounded agitation by the very strong Ultramontane party in France against the Emperor, and entail the most serious consequences for him, or else the withdrawal of the troops will not lead to the fall of the Papal State—in which case a great bitterness would arise amongst all the Liberal circles of France, which see the chief obstacle to national progress in the effete government of the Pope.

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"Under any circumstances, the solution of this question is dangerous for the Emperor, especially as the Empress will materially hinder the settlement of the situation by her Spanish temperament and bigoted inclinations, just as she will probably achieve her unnecessary pilgrimage to Rome in spite of the Ministry, calculating on the domestic weakness of the Emperor.

"(3) The Mexican affair is the first and most flagrant defeat of the French Government. It is no longer a secret that the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico is the result of an earnest, even menacing pressure from North America. If this pressure should be ignored in Paris, the weak French force in Mexico would be exposed to a Sicilian vesper. The troops must therefore retire, and with them probably all Frenchmen settled in Mexico.

"This is a terrible situation for the Emperor. He destroys his own creation, the throne of Maximilian, and so offers a most material *point d'appui* to the powerful Opposition in France. In other words, this is a personal defeat of the Empire, than which none greater can be conceived! Either a war or a disgraceful peace with North America must follow, against which a war with Germany, contrived in order to flatter the French and wipe out the bad impression, will be the only means of salvation and safety. Many millions of French money will be lost over this business, and the shaken and impoverished families will continue to fan the fire of discontent. The Opposition, which was opposed to the Mexican expedition from the beginning, will now be justified in the eyes of the nation, and the prestige of the Empire will be materially injured.

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"(4) The bad condition of the French finances and a deficit increasing from year to year form another great danger. The French Court itself unfortunately does not set an example of wise economy, and is thereby morally responsible for the ever increasing immorality of the Administration....

"The Oriental question, though theoretically dangerous, does not at first appear to be a source of real danger. Russia, indeed, might make it so, but England, Austria, Italy, France, and Prussia have a too substantial interest in the *status quo* to exclude the hope that several years of peace will ensue so far as that is concerned....

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"There can be no doubt now that Bismarck is not only the man of the hour, but that he is also indispensable. Prussia has become a power of the first rank, and from henceforth must be taken into consideration.

"The foreign policy of Prussia is firm, clear, decisive, and to the point. At home various elements of wavering and contradiction make their influence felt.

"The annexed territories might already have become more Prussian, were not the fear of democracy so great in Berlin.... The Chambers are willing, everything has been passed and sanctioned that the Government demanded—but unheard-of truths have been told, so much so that

the feudal party has not quite the courage to glorify personal government beyond reasonable limits.

"The nation has obviously matured, politically speaking. Political extravagances have also decreased rather than increased in the army, owing to the consciousness of a gloriously ended war.

"In Southern Germany public opinion is still continually excited, especially in Württemberg; Bavaria sways like a reed. Prince Hohenlohe Schillingsfürst^[10] may become President of the Ministry in place of Pfordten; his appointment would be a sign in favour of Prussia. Baden's attitude is the most correct; there they would prefer the supremacy of Prussia to that of Bavaria and Württemberg.

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"A proof of the want of earnestness in the unity of Southern Germany is afforded by the fact that Bavaria is improving its Podewils rifle, Württemberg adopts the Swiss arm, Baden the Prussian needle gun, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse retains the Minié! And yet everybody is complaining of the want of unity amongst politicians and soldiers...."

In reply to a letter from Napoleon III. Prince Charles explained the chief difficulty of the situation thus:

"The Panslavonic party seeks to produce complications in the East by all possible means. They have already been able to influence Greece; the Cretans have rebelled, and, strong in the aid of nationalities which they cannot call upon in vain, claim the assistance of Europe. Agitators under Greek names are busy amongst the Christian populations and fan their latent courage.... Emissaries endeavour to incite the population of Moldavia, and even our Chamber of Deputies is prepared to create difficulties for us.

"If the interest and sympathy of the great Western Powers lead us to hope that the Eastern Question will be solved in our favour, we must confess that we are not yet ready to obtain advantage from the situation.... We must, therefore, expect everything from the support of our traditional protectors, and especially from the friendship of your Majesty. It appears to me, Sire, most desirable that France, England, and Prussia should now come to an understanding on the matter of Eastern affairs. A close concert between these three Powers would be the surest guarantee of our national independence...."

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Prince Charles received the following autograph letter from Queen Victoria on February 13, 1867, *à propos* of his recognition by the Sultan:

"MY DEAR COUSIN,

"I cannot possibly allow the formal answer to your letter to be despatched without adding at the same time a few lines to the brother of my dear and never-to-be-forgotten niece Stephanie and my dear nephew Leopold.

"I also desire to offer my sincere congratulations on the happy solution of the difficulties with the Sultan, as well as my warmest wishes for your future and lasting happiness and welfare.

"I shall always take the warmest interest in your success, and I do not doubt that you will continue faithful in the future to the principles of moderation and wisdom, which you have hitherto pursued.

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"I remain always your sincere cousin,

"VICTORIA REG."

The condition of Crete and the consequent agitation in Greece formed the chief topic of a letter addressed to Prince Charles by the King of the Greeks. King George pointed out the difficulties caused by the patriotic excitement of his people, whose longing for war was so strong that they expected him to fight Turkey without money, troops, ships, or allies. He could not appear in the streets without being greeted with cries of "To Constantinople" from men and women of all classes. It was the special misfortune of his people that they thought every insurrection must bear golden fruit, because they themselves had always gained some end by revolution.

The Cretans formed three distinct Corps which were kept supplied with ammunition and recruits by Greek ships. This the Turkish fleet was powerless to prevent, as it had no coal, and was therefore forced to remain at anchor. The Greeks reckoned confidently upon an insurrection in Thessaly and Epirus, though, of course, they were well aware that Russia only fomented this movement in order that the Turkish efforts to suppress it might indirectly strengthen the Slav element by exciting sympathy in Eastern Europe. It was at this time that the Russian Government announced that it did not aim at the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, but only desired emancipation and humane treatment for the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and that it was awaiting a more favourable moment for the release from the onerous conditions of the 1856 Treaty and the re-acquisition of Bessarabia. The cession of Crete to Greece was, however, strongly advocated by the Russian diplomatists.

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A ministerial crisis in Roumania was brought to an end on March 5 by the laconic motion: "The Chamber has no confidence in the Ministry!" which was passed by a majority of three votes. Eventually a new Ministry was formed under the presidency of Cretzulesku, a moderate Conservative, and was on the whole well received by the Chamber.

A Roumanian statesman sent on a confidential mission to Vienna by the Prince reported that the feeling of the Austrian Government was now far more friendly than formerly, and that the questions of extradition and commercial treaties, consular jurisdiction, and the appointment of an accredited agent in Vienna would find more favourable consideration with the Austrian statesmen.

A law was passed by the Chamber and promulgated in the official *Moniteur* conferring honorary citizenship on W. E. Gladstone, J. A. Roebuck, Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, St. Marc Girardin, J. E. Ubicini, and P. T. Bataillard, in recognition of their efforts on behalf of the Balkan States.

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About this time Prince Charles Anthony wrote his son an interesting letter referring to the Luxemburg Question, which at that moment threatened to cause a war between Prussia and France. The Prince wrote as follows:

"Once more we are on the threshold of great events—it is possible that a continental war may soon break out again, and equally possible that we may enjoy a lasting peace. This much at least is certain, Napoleon's star is sinking and France is seething and fermenting."

A letter from Paris aptly described the views of the French Government on the subject of Roumania and Prince Charles.

"The Prince is very popular, much loved and highly esteemed personally, but his Government (that of Ghika) is unpopular, wanting in initiative, foresight, and firmness, so that its position is not solid. Reforms make no progress, Russian intrigues have ample play, because the indecision of the Government and its want of energy throw doubt on its stability. Only to-day a diplomat remarked to me that the Russian party is getting the upper hand, that Russophile officers, such as a certain Solomon and others, have regained their influence and position, and that those who helped to elect the Prince are discouraged at seeing Russia, the eternal enemy of the country, in the ascendant."

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After alluding to the project of a Russian marriage, the letter continued:

"The Prince will soon be convinced that Russian ambition will not give way to sentiment or family ties. It marches straight to its goal in spite of opposition, and yields to nothing but superior force."

Another letter from the same quarter addressed to the Prince gives the following quaint definition of the faults of the German character:

"The German is never sympathetic to foreign nations, he is deficient in charm, in grace. The North German is too stiff; the South German is too heavy ever to awaken feelings of sympathy. This is as true as that the earth turns on its axis. Even admitting that in diplomacy one may be ungrateful, nevertheless the punishment seldom fails, as witness Austria, which has paid heavily for its ingratitude. It is most imprudent to alienate yourself from France."

An application for permission to return to Roumania was received on May 26, from the exiled Prince Kusa, who alleged that his presence was required in a lawsuit affecting his private interests. Though Prince Charles was inclined to grant this favour, the decision was left to his Ministry, who opposed the project, as they had reason to believe that Prince Kusa's presence might provoke troubles.

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An unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Czar was made on June 7, 1867, when the Prince wrote to congratulate his Imperial Majesty on his escape. The Czar replied as follows:

"I thank your Highness for the sentiments which you have expressed in your letter of June 10, on an occasion when Divine Providence has deigned to manifest its protection so clearly. You are right in not doubting the affectionate interest which I feel for you, and the warm solicitude which I have not ceased to consecrate to the welfare of my Christian brethren in the united Principalities. The hopes which I entertain regarding them are particularly founded on the fact that a spirit of order and authority will prevail over the passions which have excited them only too deeply during these last days. It is for your Highness to establish these principles firmly, for without them no society can prosper; and I like to believe that you will display therein a firmness equal to the wisdom which you have shown since your accession to power."

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"ALEXANDER."

The news that Omar Pacha had at last gained a signal victory over the Cretan insurgents was of the greatest interest to Prince Charles, who was well informed as to the general situation in that quarter. Whilst the majority of the Powers had proposed as early as April the cession of that island to Greece, France had gone still further, and demanded the cession of Thessaly and Epirus as well. Austria and Russia were, however, opposed to this, for though Russia desired to weaken Turkey in every possible respect, it was no part of her plan to help in strengthening Greece. In such cases the diplomacy of the Turkish statesmen appears to lie in the art of giving evasive answers and in skilfully playing off one Power against the other.

The recently appointed Russian Ambassador to the Porte, General Ignatieff, made use of the energetic demand of France on behalf of Crete to persuade the Sublime Porte that the Western Powers were the greatest enemies of Turkey, whilst Russia was her only true friend and natural ally. His influence was, however, lessened by the Sultan's unexpected invitation to visit the Paris Exhibition, followed by another from England. Count Ignatieff was forced to content himself with the sarcastic reflection that, though every Court in Europe might in turn invite the Sultan, Russia would still have the satisfaction of seeing him ruined financially.

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Prince Charles proceeded to Giurgiu, on August 5, on his way to meet the Sultan at Rustschuk, who was returning from Paris. The interview with his suzerain lasted about half an hour, and Ali Pacha acted as interpreter. The Sultan appeared in excellent spirits at the result of his visit, and delighted with the reception he had met with on his travels.

Owing to the continued hostility of France, especially as regarded the Jewish Question, J. Bratianu was forced to resign his portfolio, and a day later the entire Ministry followed him. The news of this step spread consternation throughout the country, and threw the greatest difficulties in the way of Stephen Golesku, who was entrusted with the formation of the new Ministry. The Separatists also seized upon this critical state of affairs to reproach the Prince openly with having sacrificed his Minister to pressure from abroad; indeed, the whole political situation appeared most threatening. Influential persons in France were inciting ex-Prince Kusa to agitate

in Roumania: the Minister of Finance wanted to resign because there were no funds for most necessary expenses—*e.g.*, the officers on the half-pay list had not received their pay for two months; the open hostility of the Austrian and French Press; the anti-dynastic and separatist movement in Moldavia, fomented by Russia: all these contributed to increase the difficulties which beset the path of the young ruler.

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The state of affairs in Crete remained practically unaltered; supported by Greece and Russia, the Cretans demanded nothing less than incorporation with Greece, whilst England and France viewed this proposal with disfavour. Ali Pacha, the Grand Vizier, was sent to Crete with the most extensive powers to pacify the island; in addition to other reforms, a Christian Governor-General was to be appointed. A sudden change, however, took place in the views of the Porte, for the Sultan at last recognised the futility of constantly giving way to foreign interference, and determined to hold his own by force of arms. No fewer than 80,000 men were to be despatched to the island, though the season was by no means favourable to military operations.

In the meantime a special session of the Roumanian Chamber was convoked on November 6 to introduce reforms in the army, to confirm certain railway concessions, and to vote the supplies without which the administration had become impossible. In spite of the continued hostility of France towards J. Bratianu, the Prince appointed that statesman Minister of Finance. The Chamber was then dissolved by the advice of the Ministry, who gave the following considerations as their reasons:

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The Chamber had been elected shortly after the accession of the Prince, at a period when the nation scarcely knew what policy their ruler intended to adopt, or, indeed, the details of the new Constitution. The consequence of this ignorance was a wrong application of the election laws—fully half the elections would have been annulled had they been strictly investigated. It was evident from the first that no Ministry could reckon upon a majority in a House so equally divided, and so it happened that the Budget could not be passed at the proper time. In February the factions had combined so far as to defeat the Ministry, but the new majority was again divided into three factions, and unable therefore to do its duty. The Senate was dissolved for the same reasons.

A complete victory was scored by the Liberal Government at the general election, both in the Chamber and the Senate. The speech from the throne on January 15, 1868, congratulated the Deputies on the peaceful course of the elections; and, after touching on the Jewish Question, insisted upon the necessity of legislating for the army, the Church, and finance, which all demanded their closest attention.

Count Bismarck pointed out to the Prince that Russian support would be of the greatest benefit to Roumania, an opinion shared by Prince Charles Anthony, who remarked that Russia was either a powerful friend or a dangerous enemy. The future of the Orient belonged to Russia in the probable development of European affairs. "France will continue to lose *prestige*; it is, therefore, only common sense to step voluntarily into the Russian sphere of influence before one is forced to do so, yet at the same time without falling out with France...."

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In a letter, which crossed the above, Prince Charles wrote:

"The greatest danger for Roumania is a Franco-Russian Alliance. The former Power at present does its utmost to effect this. To-day France is forced to make friends of its enemies, for nobody sides with it. The whole Orient is against France.... Italy will have need of Prussia, and Prussia of Italy, for they both have only evil to expect from France.... France has lost much ground here, and if we did not remember that she has done much good for Roumania, we should break with her entirely...."

A Treaty—purely "platonic," as the Prince termed it—was ratified with Servia on February 2, 1868, to "guard the reciprocal interests of the two countries ... and to develop the prosperity of the countries in conformity with their legitimate and autonomous rights."

The ill-will and pique of the French Government led to an official request for information about the Bulgarian rebel bands, which were reported to be assembling along the Danube preparatory to invading Turkish territory, aided and abetted by the Roumanian Government. These accusations, it must be confessed, were partly founded on fact, for it was impossible to prevent the Roumanian nation from testifying in a practical manner to its sympathy with its oppressed neighbours. Besides this, many influential Bulgarian families had sought refuge in Roumania from the pressure of Midhat Pacha's iron hand. The wave of hatred and enmity of the Christian religion which at the time appeared to sweep over the whole Turkish Empire contributed materially to incite the Bulgarians in Roumania to undertake reprisals in revenge of the outrages inflicted upon their native country.

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The following letter from Count Bismarck was received by Prince Charles:

"BERLIN, 27th February, 1868.

"I had the honour to receive your Highness's gracious letter of the 27th inst., and make use to-day of the first secure opportunity of tendering your Highness my humble thanks for the gracious sentiments expressed therein. It will always be a pleasant duty, and the outcome of my personal attachment, to be of service to your Highness's interests here. I have endeavoured to show my devotion in the latest phase of politics by maintaining in London and Paris my conviction that the rumours about the warlike undertakings on your Highness's territory are malicious inventions. The origin of these reports appears to be a Belgian Consul, whom we had cause to complain of in Brussels. At the same time, it must be remembered that the rumours have been used in Paris to make your Highness feel that an *entente* with Russia does not accord with the intentions of France.

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This does not affect the fact that every stable Government of Roumania has need of friendly relations with Russia as much and, indeed, owing to its geographical situation, even more than with any other of the European Powers. Your Highness must expect the reaction which will result from pursuing your own course. I do not doubt that the mission to St. Petersburg will result the more favourably, as the Bishop of Ismail succeeds in enlisting the active sympathy of his brethren and fellow priests in Petersburg, and in publicly fostering the impression that this has happened....

"v. BISMARCK."

As foretold by Bismarck, the mission to St. Petersburg caused the Paris Government to look upon Roumania as lost to France. Bratianu was accused of having thrown himself into the arms of Russia, backed by his large majority at the recent elections. Again and again the young Prince was warned not to offend the French Emperor by base ingratitude.

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Prince Charles Anthony wrote to his son that "Bismarck's ... observation that Roumania is the Belgium of South-Eastern Europe is perfectly correct. Roumania, like Belgium, must not attempt foreign politics, but must live on the best possible terms with her neighbours: she will then share in the fruits which in due season will fall from the tree of Europe. But she must not pluck them herself, especially while they are unripe.... The situation of the Jews, such as prevails on the Lower Danube, is an evil rash upon the body of the State; but it is as impossible to solve this Jewish Question with one blow as to drive a rash away at once. However, I have complete confidence in your ability to use the right means. The same applies to the dreaded declaration of independence. Such a one-sided action would be the most colossal imprudence: the force of circumstances and not the wish of the Roumanian nation will be the operative factor." This sage counsel prevailed, although the declaration of independence was strongly advocated by many of the Prince's advisers.

In June 1868 the arrival of Prince Napoleon on a visit to the Prince of Roumania was heartily welcomed by the whole nation, which was glad of an opportunity of expressing her sympathy and regard for France and the Imperial dynasty. Prince Napoleon, however, created a very indifferent impression, for not even the utmost enthusiasm, the deafening cheers, the showers of bouquets from the hands of fair ladies, were able to move him from the passive and icy demeanour which he displayed on his arrival. Although he had barely one word to say to the many persons presented to him, his manner to Prince Charles was very amiable, and he frequently repeated his offer of assistance to the Prince. The conversation did not take a political turn, with the exception of the one sentence: "Paris considers you wholly in the Russian camp."

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The greatest confusion still prevailed in Crete, where the inhabitants persisted in their demand for union with Greece, and even elected sixteen Deputies to represent the island in the Athenian Chamber. This step, however, created a great difficulty for the Greek Government, for if these Cretan Deputies were allowed to sit, the censure of the European Powers would be incurred, whilst if they were sent about their business the excitement of the populace might easily precipitate a crisis.

The news of the assassination of Prince Michael of Servia, who had always preserved the most friendly relations with Prince Charles, was received on June 11, 1868, with consternation and sincere regret by the Roumanian nation. Prince Milan Obrenowitch was unanimously elected Prince of Servia, under a regency composed of MM. Blagnavatz, Ristitch, and Gavriloitch, by the Skuptchina on July 5, 1868.

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A band of one hundred and fifty Bulgarians assembled in Roumanian territory and crossed the Danube on July 16 near Petroschani, abetted by a farmer, who concealed their rifles on an island in midstream. Aided by the Bulgarians south of the river, the insurrection spread rapidly, until Midhat Pacha defeated the rebels at Letzwitz. A proclamation of the provisional government of the Balkans was found among them, calling the Bulgarians to shake off the Turkish yoke and found a Bulgarian kingdom. With barbarous severity Midhat Pacha thereupon ordered all prisoners to be executed in their native villages as a deterrent to the remainder of the population. The Roumanian Government was accused of fomenting the insurrection, or at least of having taken no steps to prevent the congregation of insurgents on Roumanian territory; but the real culprits were proved to have been Russian instigators. Prince Charles refers to the incident as follows, in a letter to his father:

"The insurrection appears to be wholly suppressed for the present, and the few insurgents still remaining in Bulgaria have retired to the Balkans. How long the peace will remain undisturbed I cannot say; but the fact remains that the bitter feeling of the Bulgarians has reached its climax, and can only be compared to religious fanaticism. Numerous bands of insurgents are still on Roumanian territory, but we are forcing them to disperse. Much anxiety is caused by guarding our extended frontier."... "Public works have now come to the front: a law has been formulated and passed by the Chamber that each Roumanian shall work three days or pay for three days' labour in the year on the roads of the country. This measure was at first opposed, as it was considered a *corvée*, but we succeeded in refuting this argument.... I fully realise your advice, that my chief aim must be directed to the development of the material interests of the country. I should prefer to leave politics severely alone, and cut myself off from the rest of the world for some time to come, but the foreign Powers will not permit it. France in particular is attempting to throw difficulties in my way; the Marquis de Moustier desires at all costs to fix some quarrel on Roumania and to turn out my Ministry, which no longer inspires confidence in France; for this I am sorry; but, nevertheless, it will not induce me to dismiss a Ministry which possesses *my* entire confidence. I forgot to mention that Bourée, *à propos* of the Bulgarian incident, expressed the opinion: 'This circumstance must be utilised to demand the fall of the Roumanian Ministry.' I think it more important to change the Ministers in France than in Roumania—the events in Paris, in the Sorbonne, the Rochefort trial in consequence of the violent article in the *Lanterne*, &c., are ominous portents. The Second Empire is

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severely shaken, and can only be maintained by radical means if the fatal sentence '*il est trop tard*' is not to come true—as I am inclined to believe it will be. Sympathy with France has disappeared in the East, and she has only herself to thank if the Christian nations throw themselves into the arms of Russia. Turkish and French politics are identical here....

"Many irregularities and embezzlements still occur in the various branches of the administration, but by no means in the same degree as formerly; a considerable period will probably elapse before this evil can be wholly remedied.... The juries are not always capable of fulfilling their task; they often sentence those who have been guilty of minor offences and acquit notorious criminals.... I am against Press prosecutions in Roumania, for what the papers write is valueless; I am in favour of unlimited freedom of the Press; it is decidedly less dangerous than limited freedom, the consequences of which are visible in France to-day."

Events in Spain now appeared to be reaching a critical period, as Marshal Prim and Serrano were engaged in the task of selecting a ruler for the vacant throne. Rumour pointed to the following as possible candidates: The King of Portugal, the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern, Prince Philip of Coburg, and the Duc de Montpensier. [69]

In a letter to the Crown Prince of Prussia, thanking him for a communication received through Colonel von Krenski, [11] Prince Charles remarked:

"The revolution in Spain came very much *à propos*, for France will now be forced to keep quiet. As an old acquaintance I deplore the fate of the poor Queen, but honestly confess it was no more than was to be expected. I should like to see an Orleans or Philip of Coburg ascend the Spanish throne, but on no account a regent put forward by Napoleon! If the Republic is victorious in Spain it will soon break out in France, and at the present time this would be a lesser danger for the development of Germany than the Napoleonic dynasty."

The repeated attacks of Austria, or rather of Count Beust, on the Golesku Ministry and on Bratianu in particular, proved that the retention of the latter might lead to the most serious consequences. The nature of these attacks may be recognised from the misstatements in the Austrian Red Book, which estimated the number of needle-guns sold to Prince Charles at 50,000 instead of 10,000, whilst Roumania was termed an "arsenal" by Count Beust. Shortly after the opening of the Chamber the Ministry resigned, and Prince D. Ghika was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry. The most prominent member was M. Cogalniceanu, and the Ministry was composed of statesmen belonging to every political party. In a letter to the President Prince Charles praised his programme as truly national, and expressed the hope that he would succeed in effacing all differences of opinion and those intrigues so prejudicial to the interests of the State. [70]

On December 9, 1868, the following letter was received from Prince Charles Anthony:

"The candidature for the Spanish throne has hitherto been discussed only in newspapers; we have not ourselves heard a single word about it, and even should this project be placed more closely before us, I should never counsel the acceptance of this hazardous though dazzling position. Moreover, France would never be able to consent to the establishment of a Hohenzollern on the other side of the Pyrenees on account of our relations with Prussia; nay, it is already swollen with jealousy because a member of that house rules the Lower Danube.... [71]

"Bismarck appears to me just now to possess rather less influence in Home questions.... In the Foreign Office, however, he continues undisturbed, although even there he has often to bow to the views of the King."

In a subsequent letter to his son congratulating him on the excellent results of the change in the Ministry, Prince Charles Anthony wrote:

"England, which now possesses a new Ministry, must be managed with tact, for the independence of the Porte is the *corde sensible* of both Tories and Whigs. If England is convinced that Roumania does not wish to emancipate herself, you will be able to reckon with confidence on England's sympathy and friendship for Roumania."

Since Greece on December 18 declined to accept the Turkish ultimatum, all Greek subjects living in Turkey were informed that they would have to leave the country in fourteen days' time, and a Conference assembled in Paris for the purpose of adjusting the differences of these two nations and preventing a war. Their efforts were crowned with success, for Greece accepted the declaration of the Conference on February 6, 1869.

Count Andrassy, the Hungarian statesman, endeavoured to convince the Roumanian Government that its chief source of danger lay in Russia and that the interests of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were centred in a strong Roumania, which would be able to oppose a barrier to the Pan Slavonic element. After offering his services in the way of smoothing over the difficulties which had arisen between the two States, Count Andrassy expressed the opinion that the best solution of the Eastern Question would be a Confederation of the Eastern nations and the creation of various independent States, "to make the West understand that the question could be solved without the influence and beyond the aspirations of Russia." [72]

In reply to a letter of Prince Charles regarding the *entente cordiale* with Hungary, Prince Bismarck wrote on February 2, 1869, as follows:

"I consider it a very fortunate and cleverly managed turn of events that your Highness's relations to the Porte should have improved. I am convinced that if the Porte believes that it has nothing to fear for its possessions from the Roumanian Government, it will be a more useful and perhaps a more sincere friend to your Highness than the majority of the European Powers, who can hardly interfere with your Highness so long as you are on good terms with the Porte. Turkey has much less

to fear from a strong government in Roumania which maintains peace and quiet—than from a weak and revolutionary state of affairs in the Principalities. I therefore consider, if your Highness will graciously permit me to give expression to my long and active political experience, that the first requirement of your Highness's policy is the establishment of your authority in the interior, and the maintenance of confidential relations with the Porte. The means by which such relations can be promoted by personal intercourse with influential men in Constantinople will doubtless be known to your Highness's agents there. The maintenance of your Highness's authority at home rests principally upon the maintenance of an absolutely reliable force of a couple of thousand men able to enforce obedience wherever they are assembled. The result of such obedience will then render possible a regular administration and a certain execution of the law. If your Highness achieves this result, the glory and practical success of your Government will be greater and more lasting than any extension of the Roumanian rule in the East could make it. The ideal for Roumania appears to me to be the title *de la Belgique des bouches du Danube*, and for your Highness the glory and the gratitude of Europe such as King Leopold left behind him. The Roumanians, as we judge them from this distance, are neither essentially warlike nor ambitious to rule other nations....

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"If this conception meets with your Highness's approval, amicable relations with Hungary would arise spontaneously. I by no means advocate the cooling of the *entente* with Russia; nor need it suffer through Roumania's friendly feeling for Hungary, if your Highness only succeeds in cultivating relations with the Czar and Chancellor in St. Petersburg, without employing the channel of excited and exciting consular agents. The Imperial Government itself is far more liberal and moderate than its agents in the East....

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"The present demands of all nations and most of the Governments of Europe are secure conditions of peace, and everything that your Highness may do to maintain these, if you announce at the same time that it is done for the sake of peace, will receive the applause of Europe, though at first the hired papers of the intriguers for war may decry your action. But if your Highness believes that there is no power to render innocuous those who for foreign money endanger the peace and the stability of your Highness's rule, I cannot divine the motives which persuade a scion of so illustrious a house as that of your Highness to persevere in so ungrateful a task...."

Prince Charles described the motives which led to the dissolution of the Chamber as follows to his father:

"The conflict between the Chamber and the Ministry—sought by the former in the appointment of General Macedonski to the command of the Bucharest Division—shows clearly how the Chamber endeavoured to prevent the consolidation of the present Ministry in the hope of undermining all authority. I considered this a great danger, and the greater the danger, the more rapidly and energetically must one intervene. Europe desires peace; and it is not for us, a little State, which has such an endless labour of development yet before it, and so much to do before it can become strong—it is not for us to seek and agitate for war. I hope that in the next Chamber the quiet and reasonable element of the country will be represented, for this alone can ensure its future. The election struggles will, however, be hotly contested, as the opposition will employ every means to victory. Two days before the dissolution of the Chamber I had a five hours' conversation with Bratianu.... He thought that the situation at home was most serious, and that a catastrophe was imminent. I replied that I feared nothing. '*Un Hohenzollern ne se laisse pas si facilement renverser comme un prince parvenu.*'"

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Amongst other rumours, that of an intended abdication gained much credence at this time, whilst several letters were received threatening assassination. Prince Charles declined to pay the least heed to these menaces, and to show his confidence in his adopted country rode long distances daily in all directions. It was only natural that Prince Charles Anthony's paternal anxiety should be aroused by the gloomy picture of the affairs of Roumania and their effect on the Prince's health. He wrote:

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"I have seen Krenski and learnt from him much that is new and interesting, but find that he regards matters in too gloomy a light and views everything with ultra-Prussian eyes. It is a real calamity that the Prussians, despite their qualities of spirit, character, and knowledge, are frequently deficient in objective conception and judgment!

"Krenski draws a gloomy picture of your situation, and I had to restrain him from painting the matter too darkly to your dear mother. You were looking ill, had no appetite, little sleep, and your exhaustion was patent to every one!...

"I consider it absolutely necessary that you should come here as arranged in April. It is of the utmost importance for two reasons: first of all, it will give the lie to the current reports that you dare not leave the country for a moment owing to imminent dangers. It is politically most important that it should be seen that you can safely venture, in spite of all, to be absent for a short time. Secondly, you will never be able to think of marriage unless you take steps personally in the matter....

"There is no news at all. I do not know whether I shall be able to go to Berlin for the birthday. My foot is better, but it is not completely cured, and the greatest caution is necessary. It is depressing for me to feel myself an invalid when otherwise in perfect health.

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"After a spring-like winter we are now having a winter-like spring. It is to be hoped that April will bring us the inexpressible happiness of a reunion with you!"

Prince Charles replied to this letter as follows:

"I hope you are not angry because I have not complied with your urgent invitation to come to Germany. I do not think it can be necessary to assure you how much my heart draws me to my deeply loved parents, my dearest possessions on earth. But he who assumes so great a responsibility as I have must not be ruled by his heart, but by his head. I fear Krenski has described the situation here in too gloomy a light—it is not so serious as he thinks. With patience, endurance, and energy everything can be attained, and I am convinced that I shall reach my appointed goal. It is true that during the time Krenski was here I had an enormous amount of work, little peace, and much

annoyance. This, however, did not discourage me for a moment, whilst Krenski, who has much too soft a heart for a man and a soldier, often despaired. It was only natural that I should have no appetite or sleep, as the many wearisome tasks, without any distraction, exhausted and excited me. At present I am in excellent health, and await the result of the elections with calmness and less excitement than my *entourage*, for I know what I have to do, if it should come to a serious conflict. Most decidedly I shall not draw the shorter lot...."

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The news of the death of the former Hospodar of Wallachia, Barbu Stirbey, was received from Nice in April 1869. Only a few weeks before he had written to the Prince, thanking him for some photographs of his native country. "God will bless the labours of your Highness and will grant you the glory of being the founder of a new Roumania. Nobody knows better than I the difficulties in the path of a Roumanian Prince who endeavours to attain what is right; they will not discourage your Highness, though they may defer the realisation of your hopes. To conquer all these difficulties at once would be impossible...."

Prince Charles spent his thirtieth birthday (April 20, 1869) on a tour in Moldavia, where he inspected the progress of the railways. Thanks to the initiative of the Prince, the great bridge over the Buseu, 550 yards long, had been completed, and communication between the two great provinces was no longer exposed to interruption by bad weather or floods. No less than five bridges in all had been constructed for the line to Fokschani, and it was with the greatest pleasure that the Prince noticed the expression of the gratitude of Moldavia in the inscription on the triumphal arch at Bakau: "Welcome to the founder of the Roumanian railways."

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A report from Paris informed the Prince that an intrigue was on foot there to instigate a revolution in Bucharest, and that this project was also known at Vienna. A suitable pretender had been sought for in the Roumanian capital, ever since the recall of the French military mission, and a son of a former Hospodar was now said to have been selected to replace Prince Charles. The alleged reason for this Parisian intrigue was the complaint that since Bratianu's resignation Prussia practically ruled the Principality through the North German Consul-General.

It was, therefore, with the greatest joy that Prince Charles turned from these sordid affairs and devoted himself for a time to his elder brother Leopold. After a separation of a long and anxious three years the brothers met on April 27, shortly before Easter, at the capital of Moldavia, Jassy. Prince Leopold was thus able to witness a striking episode, which occurred as the venerable Metropolitan quitted the Church on Easter morning to announce, in accordance with traditional custom, to all the world: "Christ is risen." At the same moment Prince Charles stepped forward on the dais, before which some thirty convicts in chains stood waiting the clemency of the Sovereign, and ordered their fetters to be struck off to commemorate the holy hour. It was an affecting moment! The clatter of the falling chains imparted a bitter-sweet tone of gladness and sorrow amidst the universal rejoicings of the great festival of the Eastern Church.

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The visit of the Hereditary Prince was, however, spoilt by the terrible downpour of rain, which prevented most of the festivities in his honour. Many of the smaller bridges were carried away by the floods, and on one occasion the Hohenzollern Princes were in imminent danger of being swept away by a mountain torrent. Prince Otto^[12] of Bavaria passed through Bucharest on his way to Constantinople; but, strangely enough, his arrival was announced through the Consul-General of Austria and not by the North German Consul. At a dinner given in his honour the Prince displayed great amiability, but Prince Charles noticed with regret the great melancholy with which Prince Otto's mind appeared to be surrounded.

Prince Leopold, accompanied by his brother, set out on his homeward journey on June 7, and visited Kalafat, Turnu Severin, and Orsowa, where a monument had been erected to commemorate the recovery of the stolen crown of Hungary. After taking an affectionate farewell of his brother, Prince Charles returned, lonely and rather downcast, to his work in Bucharest.

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Prince Ypsilanti, the Greek Ambassador at Paris, awaited the return of the Prince to lay before him the draft of a treaty between Roumania and Greece. The proposals aimed at nothing less than the "complete independence of Roumania and the Greek provinces of Turkey" by means of a combined action of the two rulers, which was to take place six months after the necessary arrangements had been settled. The numbers to be employed, and the support of an insurrection in Bulgaria were also touched upon.

Prince Charles, however, adopted the same reserved attitude towards these startling proposals as he had done on a previous occasion, when Prince Ypsilanti, as early as May, brought a letter from the King of Greece thanking Prince Charles for his sympathy in the late crisis, and excusing the delay in replying.

"I have not hesitated to comply with the decision of the Paris Conference on being confronted by the alternative, due to the ill-will of Europe towards the heroic struggle in Crete, of either allowing the insurrection to extend in that island without any practical result, or of commencing a war with Turkey, which was fraught with disadvantageous conditions for Greece." This bitter decision would not have been in vain if it sufficed to prove to the Christian nations of the East that they must first be strong enough to achieve their rights by force before they could attempt to throw off the Turkish yoke.

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Prince Charles's reply ran thus:

"You cannot doubt, Sire, that I share with all my heart the sentiments expressed in your letter, and sympathise with the painful impressions which you recall. The community of interests in politics and religion between Greece and Roumania, as well as the identity of their commercial interests in so many points, naturally imposes upon us the duty of endeavouring zealously on both sides to strengthen the bonds which already unite the two nations. This tendency will respond to my dearest wishes."

CHAPTER IV

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MARRIAGE AND HOME LIFE

Early in the summer of 1869 Prince Charles received a very cordial invitation to visit the Czar at Livadia in the Crimea. This mark of regard was the more welcome as a project was on foot in St. Petersburg for the abolition of consular jurisdiction in Roumania, a measure which Prince Charles was most eager to see adopted. In writing to his father he gratefully referred to this topic: "Russia has very wisely taken the initiative in this most important question, which will be unwelcome to France; but *tant mieux*, for the French Cabinet is still very conservative, as it wishes to keep in with Turkey. But why should it agree with Turkey only about Roumania and not about Egypt? Why does it side *with* England in Roumania, and oppose England *à couteau tiré* in Egypt? This policy, in one word, is based upon interest—material interest. It is, therefore, only politic to endeavour to attract French capital for our great undertakings: I have already discussed this idea with several people. England is, on the whole, neutral to Roumania, and we have nothing to expect from that quarter. Its Eastern policy is by no means favourable to the Christian nations."

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The Ministry were empowered by a decree, signed on August 9, to act as regents during the first absence of Prince Charles from Roumania, and the Prince set out for the Crimea on August 14. After a smooth sea passage Odessa was reached on the 16th, and the Prince continued his journey to Sebastopol the following day on board the imperial yacht *Kasbek*. The aspect of this once prosperous port was melancholy in the extreme, and it almost seemed as if time had stood still since the date of the terrible siege. All the large buildings near the harbour, such as barracks and warehouses, remained in the state in which the British and French shells had left them. In riding round the south front of the fortress the Prince easily recognised the approaches and parallels of the Allies: the Malakhoff Tower had been so effectually bombarded that it was difficult to believe how strong a work it had once been; the Redan, on the other hand, which had cost England so many lives, was in comparatively good condition.

Continuing his journey by carriage the next morning, Prince Charles reached Livadia at five in the afternoon after a long and fatiguing drive. The Czar received him with the greatest cordiality, and remarked at once that the courteous attitude of the Prince was enough to attract the animosity of the whole of Europe. The conversation then turned upon the affairs of Roumania, about which the Czar showed himself well informed on every point. Prince Charles was then presented to the Czarina, a cousin of his mother, to the Grand Duchess Marie, and later on to the Czarevitch and his wife, as well as to the Grand Duke Alexis. Unfortunately the tropical heat affected both the Czar and his guest to no slight degree, and the pleasure of the meeting was thus materially discounted. As early as August 22 Prince Charles was forced to bid his hospitable hosts good-bye, that he might attend the Roumanian manœuvres before his visit to his parents in Germany.

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The fears, which had been openly expressed, for the safety of Roumania during the Prince's absence proved to have been utterly unfounded, for, though the papers, the *Romanul* and the *Trajan*, emulated each other in their attacks upon the dynasty, their revolutionary efforts met with no response at all, and it was therefore with a light heart that Prince Charles set out on September 7 to rejoin his dearly loved parents in South Germany. Before he quitted the territory of Roumania an amnesty was granted for all political and Press offences, in order to show the Prince's confidence that no intrigue was able to shake his hold upon the hearts of his people.

The journey to the West, which was to exert so potent an influence on the Prince's life, was broken first at Vienna, where the Emperor of Austria had announced his intention of receiving the Roumanian Prince. For the first time since the war of 1866 the Emperor wore the ribbon of the Black Eagle, as a compliment to the house of Hohenzollern. Prince Charles seized the opportunity of assuring his Majesty that it would always be the policy of Roumania to stand on the best terms with Austria. Count Beust, who ventured to remark that the cost of the Roumanian Army was out of all proportion to its Budget, received the apt retort that the arsenals were unfortunately empty, a reference to the Count's statement that "Roumania was simply a large arsenal." The reception accorded to the Prince was so hearty that the Viennese Press expressed the opinion that Prince Charles would later on have to answer to the Porte for his assumption of sovereign bearing.

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After a short stay in Munich, where he met Prince Hohenlohe Schillingfürst [the present German Chancellor], Prince Charles rejoined his parents on September 16, after a separation of more than three years. The peace and quiet of home life, however, was interrupted the very next day by the arrival of a delegate of the Spanish Cortes, Don Eusebio di Salazar, who came to offer

the Hereditary Prince the Crown of Spain. The idea was by no means new, for several papers had, in October 1868, mentioned the Prince Leopold as a likely candidate on the ground that he was not only a Catholic and the son-in-law of the King of Portugal, but the very opposite of his "amiable brother, the Roumanian Prince Carol, by the Grace of Bratianu." There was no lack of candidates for the vacant throne. Napoleon favoured the aspirations of the Prince of Asturia, the Empress Eugénie those of Don Carlos, and the Spanish Ambassador in Paris those of the Duke of Genoa. Don Salazar mentioned that the eyes of the Spanish nation had first turned towards Prince Charles, who had shown such courage and talent in a similar position. The Hereditary Prince declared that he would only consider the offer if he was elected unanimously and without rivals.

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On September 28 Prince Charles left the Weinburg for Baden, where he was to meet the Prussian Royal Family. The Crown Prince urged him to lay aside all other views, and to seek the hand of Princess Elisabeth of Wied, whom he knew intimately, as one who would bring the same devotion to the duties of her position as the Prince himself. He concluded by offering to arrange a meeting, as if by chance, at Darmstadt on the 13th, to which proposal Prince Charles at once assented.

In the meantime, the Prince paid a promised visit to the French Emperor, whom he found much altered in personal appearance since the last time he had seen him in 1863. Napoleon received him with great cordiality and presented him with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. Prince Charles was commissioned to inform King William of the peaceful intentions of France, and of the Emperor's sincere wish to remain on the best terms with Prussia. Napoleon declared that no one could understand the difficulties of Prince Charles's position better than he, for to rule a Latin race was no easy matter. On hearing of the projected marriage, Napoleon expressed his satisfaction, and added with emphasis: "The German princesses are so well brought up!"

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As the interview with Princess Elisabeth was to take place at Cologne instead of Darmstadt, Prince Charles set out for the former city on October 12. The meeting took place at the *Flora*, where the Dowager Princess of Wied was dining with her daughter before proceeding to Madame Schumann's concert. Prince Charles and Princess Elisabeth, who had already met once or twice before in Berlin society, walked a little ahead of the remainder of the party, talking over old times in Berlin. Before the promenade came to an end, Prince Charles had fallen sincerely in love with Princess Elisabeth, and was resolved to risk all, and to ask for her hand. A private interview with her mother the Princess of Wied was arranged, and resulted in the Princess consenting to ascertain her daughter's wishes. After a long quarter of an hour the answer "Yes" was brought to the Prince, who at once hastened to receive the reply from the lips of the young Princess herself. Affairs of State of an urgent nature, however, prevented the Prince from obeying the dictates of his heart and remaining in the company of his betrothed.

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After an absence of forty-eight hours Prince Charles returned from Paris to Neuwied, where the betrothal was celebrated on October 15, 1869. An enormous number of congratulatory telegrams were received by the young couple, including messages from the King and Crown Prince of Prussia and the Emperor Napoleon. The general impression created by Prince Charles's choice was extremely favourable, as an alliance with a reigning House would have evoked much jealousy and intrigue. As the marriage was purely one of inclination this danger was avoided; and the political neutrality of Roumania was by no means affected.

Affairs of State demanded the speedy return of the Prince to the land of his adoption, and the wedding-day was fixed for November 15. A numerous and distinguished company, including the Queen of Prussia, accompanied by the Grand Duchess of Baden, attended the ceremony at Neuwied, which was first celebrated in the Roman Catholic Chapel and afterwards according to the rites of the Protestant Church. The text of the sermon was aptly chosen, as alluding to the difficulties and troubles which were to be encountered in the far-off Eastern country: "Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."

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Only a few days remained before the stern call of duty summoned the happy pair to their life-work in Roumania. The journey to the Princess's new home in Bucharest was commenced on November 18. After a short stay in Vienna the travellers reached Roumanian territory on the 22nd. Every town through which they passed was profusely decorated, and the enthusiasm of the Roumanian nation appeared to surpass even that with which they had welcomed Prince Charles on his accession. A hundred and one guns announced the arrival of the Prince and Princess in Bucharest, and the town had put on all its finery in honour of the occasion. After a *Te Deum* had been celebrated by the venerable Metropolitan Niphon, fifty happy couples who had been married at the cost of the State defiled past their Highnesses.

The following day deputations from all parts of the country were received in the throne-room, when the Princess wore for the first time the diamond coronet presented by the people of Bucharest.

Princess Elisabeth at once commenced to take an active share in her husband's labours, and visited with him the various charitable and educational establishments in the capital. The innate generosity and liberality of the Prince had, however, made such inroads upon his purse, that many of their cherished designs had to be abandoned for the time being for lack of funds. At this moment, however, the most prominent members of the Chamber were on the point of introducing a measure granting the Princess a yearly sum of £12,000, but Prince Charles declined to accept this offer until the financial situation of Roumania had improved. The Opposition at once seized the opportunity of representing such a proposal as a "robbery," and their organs vied with each

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other in the most violent and unworthy attacks on the Prince and Princess. Some even lowered themselves so far as to send the grossest of these attacks to the Princess in registered letters! The violent scenes and the obstruction in the Chamber left the Budget unvoted, and again placed the Ministry in a most unenviable position, from which they were only released by their resignation in February 1870.

The new Ministry under A. Golesku displayed its weakness from the day of its formation. The Opposition openly used threats such as: "This dynasty cannot be endured," "Golesku will be the last of Prince Charles's Ministers," and declared that a "bloody tragedy" would shortly be enacted in the streets of the capital. A far-spreading conspiracy against the peace of the country made itself the more felt, since there were no police worthy of the name; the National Guard also was a source of real danger, whilst the apathy of the Ministry permitted these evils to flourish unchecked.

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The question of the Spanish throne appeared to have been satisfactorily dismissed, to judge from a letter from Count Bismarck: "The political horizon, seen from Berlin, appears at present so unclouded that there is nothing of interest to report, and I only hope that no unexpected event will render the lately arisen hope of universal peace questionable." Eight days later, on March 1, Prince Charles received the news that Don Salazar had been despatched to Berlin to urge once more upon Prince Leopold the acceptance of the Spanish crown, but both he and his father felt disinclined to accept this offer, unless it was considered absolutely necessary to the interests of the Prussian State. Bismarck, on the other hand, warmly supported the offer of the Spanish Regency, and pointed out to the King the benefits which must ensue if an allied country lay upon the other side of France. The commerce of Germany would also receive a great impetus if the resources of Spain, with its enormous sea-board, were developed under a Hohenzollern. King William, however, did not agree with his Minister's opinion, and left the decision entirely in the hands of Prince Leopold, whose chief objection appeared to be the number of pretenders to the throne. The Crown Prince of Prussia had also warned him that, though the Government might support him at first, it was by no means certain that this support would be continued afterwards! On March 16 Prince Leopold informed the King that he felt compelled to decline the offer; but, as Bismarck still insisted upon the throne being accepted by a Hohenzollern, his younger brother, Prince Frederick, was recalled from Italy by telegram to take the place of his brother. The young Prince, however, also refused to accept the offered crown unless ordered to do so by the King. Nevertheless, in spite of opposition, the Chancellor persisted in declaring that the necessities of politics demanded that a Hohenzollern Prince should accede to the wish of the Spanish Regency.

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"From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, *March 20, 1870.*

"I have been here [Berlin] for a fortnight on most important family business: nothing less was on the *tapis* than the acceptance or refusal of the Spanish crown by Leopold, which was offered officially by the Spanish Government, though under the seal of a European State secret.

"This question preoccupies everybody here. Bismarck wishes it to be accepted for dynastic and political reasons; whilst the King asks whether Leopold will willingly accept the summons. A very interesting and important council took place on the 15th, under the presidency of the King, the Crown Prince, ourselves, Bismarck, Roon, Moltke, Schleinitz, Thile, and Delbrück being present. The unanimous decision of the councillors was in favour of acceptance, as fulfilling a Prussian patriotic duty. For many reasons Leopold, after a long struggle, declined. But since Spain desires *avant tout* a Catholic Hohenzollern, I have proposed Fritz in the event of his consenting. He is at present between Nice and Paris, but has not been reached or found by telegraph. We hope, however, to communicate with him shortly, and I hope that he will then allow himself to be persuaded.

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"But all this is in the future and the secret must be preserved for the present...."

Prince Charles Anthony informed his son of the course of events in a letter dated from Berlin, April 22:

"The Spanish Question has again brought me here; it is now approaching its decisive stage. After Leopold refused the offer for weighty reasons, the candidature of Fritz was seriously taken in hand. An immediate settlement was necessary, as pressure was brought to bear from Madrid; your brother, however, most decidedly declared that he could not undertake the task! The matter must therefore be allowed to drop, and an historical opportunity has thus been lost for the house of Hohenzollern, an incident which has never occurred before and which probably will never occur again.... If the King had given the *order* at the last hour, Fritz would have obeyed; but as he was left free to decide, he resolved not to undertake the task.... The Spanish secret has been kept wonderfully well; and it is of the utmost importance that it should remain unknown in the future—at least so far as we are concerned. Olozaga^[13] in Paris was not initiated. Serrano and Prim were the men who held the matter in their hands."

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A month later Prince Charles Anthony wrote: "Bismarck is very discontented with the failure of the Spanish combination. He is not wrong! Still the matter is not yet completely given up. It still hangs by a couple of threads, as weak as those of a spider's web!"

To return, however, to the affairs of Roumania; Prince Charles opened the new mint at Bucharest in March, when the first Roumanian coins bearing a profile of the Prince and the

inscription "Prince of the Roumanians" were struck. The coins consisted of *Carols d'or* in gold and one *leu* (franc) in silver. Ali Pacha at once protested formally against the illegal coinage with the Prince's likeness, and refused to allow it to circulate in Turkey. Owing, however, to the support of Austria and France, this difficulty was eventually smoothed over satisfactorily.

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Financial difficulties, coupled with the unsatisfactory reports on the Roumanian railway concessions, led to the fall of the Golesku Ministry in April. M. E. C. Jepureanu succeeded in forming a new Cabinet, which received cordial support from abroad as well as at home. The vexatious Jewish question and the very serious state of the railway finances, for which the Opposition sought to make the Prince personally responsible, were the chief of the many difficulties of the Government.

The result of the general election was by no means as favourable as the Prince had been led to expect, and a serious riot occurred at Pitéschti. The troops were called out and ordered to fire upon the mob, several of the soldiers having been wounded by stones. Similar occurrences took place at Plojeschti, a regular hot-bed of seditious intrigue, and the National Guard of that town had to be subsequently disbanded for taking part in the political demonstrations.

The attention of Prince Charles was suddenly averted by a change in his eldest brother's views with regard to the Spanish throne. Prince Leopold had at last decided to accept the crown under certain definite conditions, as he had become convinced of the great services which he could thus render to his Fatherland. King William at once gave his consent, and Don Salazar returned to Madrid on June 23 with the news of Prince Leopold's readiness to accept the crown. An unfortunate mistake in a cypher telegram caused the Cortes to be prorogued from June 24 to October 31, and the election of Prince Leopold was therefore delayed until late in the autumn, thus offering ample opportunities to malcontents for the prosecution of intrigues and agitations against the Hohenzollern candidature.

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The *Agence Havas* reported from Madrid on July 3 that the Spanish Ministry had decided upon the candidature of the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern, and that a deputation were already on their way to the Prince. This news caused the greatest excitement throughout Paris, and the French Ambassador at Berlin was commissioned to express to the Foreign Office the "painful surprise" caused by these tidings. The Prussian Secretary of State replied that the matter did not concern the Prussian Government. The excitement of the Parisian Press increased from hour to hour, whilst the Duc de Gramont, in an interview with the Prussian Ambassador, declared that the Emperor would never tolerate the candidature of a Hohenzollern Prince; and M. Ollivier, who was also present, expressed the same opinion. Gramont also openly accused Prince Charles of having induced his brother to take this step, and remarked to M. Strat, the Roumanian agent: "As soon as Prince Charles conspires against the interests of France, it is only fair that we should do our best to overthrow him, and we shall at once commence action in the event of a war with Prussia, in order to satisfy public opinion, which has so often reproached the Emperor with having sent a Hohenzollern to the Danube."

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King William wrote to Prince Charles Anthony on the 10th, mentioning that France was obviously bent upon war, and that he was as willing to sanction Leopold's withdrawal as he had formerly been to assent to his acceptance of the offered throne. Two days later the Hereditary Prince withdrew his name by means of a telegram from his father to Marshal Prim:

"Having regard to the complicated interests which appear to oppose the candidature of my son Leopold for the Spanish throne, and the painful position which recent events have created for the Spanish people by offering them an alternative where their sense of liberty alone can guide them, and being convinced that under such circumstances their votes, on which my son counted in accepting the candidature, can neither be sincere nor spontaneous, I withdraw from the position in his name.

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"PRINCE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

"SIGMARINGEN, July 12th, 1870."

The unexpected and unheard-of demands which Benedetti was forced by his Government to submit to King William at Ems shattered the last hopes of peace, and France declared war against Prussia.

In spite of the nationality of their Prince, the Roumanian nation sided entirely with France: "Wherever the banner of France waves, there are our sympathies and interests." The Chamber demanded that the Government should explain the policy it intended to adopt with regard to the belligerent parties, but, though the Ministry adhered to a strictly neutral attitude, a motion was passed to the effect that the sympathies of Roumania would always be with the Latin race.

The Roumanian agent in Paris, M. Strat, telegraphed to know whether, in the event of Russia taking part in the war, the Roumanian Government would conclude a treaty with France or not! The apparently peaceable intentions of Russia pointed to a treaty merely on paper, notwithstanding which Roumania would reap advantages at the conclusion of peace. Austria had been sounded on this question, and approved of supporting Prince Charles.

The Roumanian Government replied: "If France categorically demands from us the signature of a treaty to influence our attitude towards Russia in the event of Oriental complications, you are empowered to conclude such a treaty on the following basis: the Roumanian Government is resolved to oppose any hostile movement of Russia hand-in-hand with the Western Powers and Turkey. Mavrogheni has been specially sent to England to negotiate to the same end. We can place a well-equipped army of 30,000 men into the field."

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The *Times*, on July 26, published a draft of a treaty drawn up in 1867, in which France offered Prussia the union of the North German Confederation with South Germany and a united Parliament in return for the sacrifice of Belgium and Luxemburg. This epoch-making announcement was confirmed by a despatch from Count Bismarck, received on the 29th. Count Benedetti, in whose handwriting and on whose paper this draft was written, maintained that he had merely put down the Chancellors ideas, "as it were at his dictation," a statement which caused the greatest surprise even in the French Press.

The minor engagement at Saarbrücken, the "baptism by fire" of the unfortunate Prince Imperial, was reported as a great French victory, and greeted as such with unbounded enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Bucharest. These rejoicings were, however, cut short by the news of the German victories at Weissenburg, Wörth, and Spichern, when the Imperial Army was forced to retreat on Metz. In consequence of these disasters the Gramont-Ollivier Ministry was defeated, and a new Cabinet formed under Count Palikao.

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A most interesting letter from Prince Charles Anthony was received at Bucharest on August 16:

"I decidedly support Strat, for he has proved himself a devoted and faithful servant to you and to our family.

"He arrived at Sigmaringen at a moment when the French Government was peculiarly exasperated. It was from him that I learnt the actual spirit and intention in Paris; it was due to him that I published Leopold's renunciation twenty-four hours earlier perhaps than I should have done without his urgent advice. In neutralising the French pretext for war, by making the renunciation public at the right moment, the Franco-Prussian War has, perhaps, become a *popular, i.e., a German*, war. Any delay on my part would have given the war a dynastic complexion, and the whole of Southern Germany would have left Prussia in the lurch.... Napoleon has brought about the unity of Germany in twenty-four hours."

The excitement in Roumania culminated in an attempted revolution in that hot-bed of sedition, Plojeshti, on August 29, when the militia barracks were stormed and a proclamation issued, deposing Prince Charles and appointing General A. Golesku regent *ad interim*. A deputy, Candianu Popesku, at the head of the mob, entered the telegraph office and, revolver in hand, threatened to shoot the clerks, unless they telegraphed the news of the deposition of the Prince to the foreign countries and the larger towns of Roumania. With admirable presence of mind the clerks reported the occurrence to the Ministry at Bucharest instead of complying with the insurgents' demands. A battalion of Rifles under Major Gorjan was immediately despatched to the scene of the insurrection, which they promptly quelled. Both General Golesku and J. Bratianu, who appeared to be implicated in these affairs, were arrested at once, but were soon released by order of Prince Charles, who expressed his conviction that the insurgents had used their names without any authorisation. On being arrested, Bratianu begged that his papers might be left undisturbed, for, as he remarked with a smile, he was "*too experienced a conspirator*" to retain possession of compromising documents. Some twenty persons were arrested in connection with this affair, though, as Prince Charles wrote to his father, it seemed improbable that there was sufficient evidence to convict them.

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The news of a great battle fought near Sedan caused the wildest excitement in Bucharest, and elaborate arrangements were made to celebrate a French victory. Rumours were current that King William had been taken prisoner with a force varying from 20,000 to 60,000 men, but a telegram announcing the voluntary surrender of the Emperor seemed to point, at any rate, to an undecided action. When the truth became known the greatest consternation prevailed in the Roumanian capital, where, in spite of the earlier German victories, the hope of the eventual success of the French arms had never been quite relinquished. The crowning defeat of the Imperial Army was followed by the flight of the Empress-Regent and the fall of the Napoleonic dynasty.

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The birth of a daughter, Marie, on September 8, at a moment when the whole of Germany stood shoulder to shoulder against their foe, was welcomed by the Prince and Princess as a happy omen for the future. In accordance with the Constitution the child was baptised according to the rites of the Orthodox Church in the church of Cotroceni, on October 13, in the presence of the heads of the military and civil departments. A salute of twenty-one guns announced the moment of the ceremony to the capital.

The joyful news of the birth of a Princess was communicated to the various Courts and to the deposed French Emperor, who replied as follows:

"MY DEAR PRINCE,

"I thank you for the letter which you have kindly written to inform me of the birth of Princess Marie. I shall always take a lively interest in all that contributes to your happiness; and I pray that family joys may sweeten the bitterness inseparable from power. I am much touched by the memories you have preserved of your visit to Paris, and I again assure you of the sentiments of sincere friendship with which I remain

"Your most Serene Highness's cousin,

"NAPOLEON."

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The call of duty, however, prevented Prince Charles from devoting as much time as he otherwise would have done to his wife and daughter, for the disquieting effects of the German victories upon French soil were felt only too plainly in Roumania. The work on the railways, too, had suffered in consequence of the war, whilst the exports of grain had practically fallen to zero. Farmers and peasants were unable to sell their produce except at ruinous prices, and were

wholly unable to pay their taxes. As the Prince had prophesied six weeks before, the Plojeshti insurgents were all acquitted by the jury. The Ministry wished to resign as a proof of their disapprobation, but Prince Charles was unable to accede to their request.

The acquittal of those who had sought to overthrow the Government confirmed the Prince in his intention to abdicate as soon as he could assure himself that the country would not lapse into absolute anarchy. He had already assured the representatives of the Great Powers that the present state of affairs in Roumania could not and *must not* continue. Prince Charles, however, did not inform them that he would not be beholden to any foreign intervention for his future career, and that, in his father's words, he would relinquish his self-imposed task if he could not "anchor his power solely and exclusively in Roumania." He felt that it would be impossible for him to govern the country after foreign intervention had taken place. [105]

Prince Charles had taken a solemn oath to the Constitution, and therefore could not depart from it, though Roumanian statesmen of both parties had frequently represented to him that, when a choice had to be made between a "sheet of paper and a country's ruin," one must not hesitate to tear up the paper. It was, however, impossible for Prince Charles to agree to this view, for the Constitution was more to him than a piece of paper, even though it offered him no means of securing the prosperity and development of the country.

In the meantime the action of Russia in declaring its intention of disregarding the neutralisation of the Black Sea, decreed by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, threatened to create yet another European crisis. When the Note containing this information was handed to the Grand Vizier, he at once asked whether M. de Stahl was bringing him war. "On the contrary," replied the Ambassador, "I bring you eternal peace." Before this General Ignatieff had endeavoured to persuade the Turkish statesmen that, though the Western Powers endeavoured to represent Russia as the evil genius of Turkey, she was in reality the most sincere ally of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan would never be able to reckon on Germany, whose policy would always be selfish and ambitious. Austria, too, was only intent on annexing Bosnia and Herzegowina, whilst France, on the other hand, as soon as she had recovered from her reverses, would, next to Russia, be the most effective supporter of Turkey. The Sublime Porte was convinced that Russia had obtained the consent of Germany, though Count Bismarck had telegraphed that the Russian declaration had been a painful surprise to him. [106]

The Note created a storm of indignation in Austria and England, which Bismarck increased still more by proposing the assembly of a Conference in London to settle the vexed question.

After a long discussion with the President of the Ministry, Prince Charles decided to explain the situation in Roumania to the guaranteeing Powers. The wording of the document, however, caused great difficulties, for, if the Prince declared his firm intention of abdicating, the country would be exposed to the danger of annexation, whereas the Prince wished above all things to preserve the autonomy of the State, and to assure its future prosperity by strengthening the hands of the Government. Prince Charles in these letters expressed his regret that he was no longer able to curb the passions of the various Roumanian parties, and therefore suggested that the future of Roumania should be regulated by the proposed Congress. Only a stable and a strong government could remedy the internal and external evils of the country, which at present was in the most deplorable condition, despite the wealth of its resources. The letters for the sovereigns of the guaranteeing Powers were handed to their representatives on December 7, except that addressed to the Sultan, which was kept back until a reply was received from the British Ambassador, who had been asked to present it to the Sultan, to ensure the document being kept strictly secret. [107]

These letters had hardly been despatched when the following telegram was received from Count Bismarck by the Prussian Consul-General:

"Advocate His Highness delaying any decision to appeal to the guaranteeing Powers until after the conclusion of peace. Any Roumanian complication would be doubly undesirable at present: the Prince could not even hope for our moral support." [108]

Prince Charles replied that this advice had reached him too late, and that complications in the East could not possibly arise, as the documents in question were to be kept private. So far as he was concerned personally his position was neither of service to Roumania nor to Europe, whilst he himself was exposed to contumely; he therefore could not much longer continue to bear the responsibilities of government.

To crown the difficulties of the Prince's position information reached him on December 18 that the railway contractor was unwilling or unable to pay the coupon of the bonds due on January 1. The blow was indeed a bitter one, for the thought that it was to him that Roumania owed its railway system had always been one of comfort. It suggested at least *one* service which he had been able to render his adopted country. Now that even this last consolation had been taken from him, Prince Charles was still more firmly convinced that he could not forsake Roumania in its day of peril, and that his cherished plan of abdication must not take place until this serious financial trouble had been settled.

It was during these dark days that he poured out his innermost thoughts to his truest friend, his father: "When once this enormous difficulty has been surmounted I shall be able to say that I have stood the ordeal of fire; then the cruel sport will be finished; then you will find me some spot where I can rest my weary head—some quiet remote corner where one can entirely forget oneself for a time. Switzerland would be the most welcome to me; there we might blot out the hard separation of five years in your company, my dearest parents. But for the present these are [109]

but pious wishes, since I cannot to-day fix the moment of their fulfilment: may it not be long in coming!"

The Chamber found worthy representatives—the chief instigators of the recent insurrection—to convey the scandalously worded address to the ruler who had never a thought save for the welfare and prosperity of his country.

In reply to that passage of the Speech from the Throne referring to the Plojeschti sedition—"A free government, that is, one which is always in agitation, cannot maintain itself without laws *capable de correction*"—the Chamber declared that "the best means to prevent such occurrences in the future would be compliance with the wishes of the people and respect for the law!" Prince Charles informed his Ministers that he could not accept an address couched in such terms, but eventually gave way to their prayers and entreaties that he would not offer the Opposition such an opportunity for attacking the dynasty. The ill-considered action of passionate and reckless Deputies, they urged, would only gain an importance which it otherwise would have lacked, from the fact of the Prince refusing to acknowledge it.

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A most interesting document, dated December 22, 1870, the publication of which at a later period had so far-reaching an effect on the Roumanian nation, contains the reasons which led Prince Charles to confess himself beaten.

"Nearly five years have now passed since I formed the bold resolution of placing myself at the head of this country, so richly endowed by Mother Nature, and yet, in other respects, so poor. On reviewing this period, so short in the life of a nation, so long in the existence of a man, I must confess that I have not been able to be of much use to this beautiful country. I often ask myself the question, 'At whose door does the fault lie—at mine, in being ignorant of the character of this nation, or at that of the nation, which will neither allow itself to be guided nor understand how to guide itself?'

"My numerous journeys in all parts of the two Principalities, and my many-sided intercourse with all grades of society have almost convinced me that the real blame rests not on me personally, nor on the majority of the nation, but rather on those who have constituted themselves the leaders of the country which gave them birth. These men, the greater number of whom owe their social and political education to foreign countries, and have thereby only too thoroughly forgotten the condition of their own country, aim solely at transplanting to their Fatherland the ideas they have gained abroad by casting them into Utopian form, without having tested them. This unfortunate country, which formerly suffered so much oppression, has thus passed at one bound from a despotic government to a Liberal constitution such as no other nation in Europe possesses.

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"My experiences lead me to consider this the greater misfortune since the Roumanians can boast of none of the citizenly virtues which appertain to such a quasi-republican form of State.

"Had I not taken to my heart this magnificent country, for which, under other circumstances, the richest future might have been foretold, I should have lost patience long ago; but I have now made one final effort which will perhaps cause me to appear unkind to my country in the eyes of the parties, as well as in those of the national Roumanian leaders, by putting all personal considerations behind me, and possibly by completely sacrificing my popularity; it would, however, have been an inexcusable neglect of duty to conceal this evil any longer, or to permit the country's future to be sacrificed to party intrigues. The man who has the courage to speak the truth and to call things by their right names will often get the worst of the bargain, and this in all probability will be my fate. Yet I gratefully recognise this difference, that I am at liberty to return to an independent life, free from care, to the joys of home and family in my native land, that powerful magnet which has never ceased to attract me in the heavy hours through which I have been passing.

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"I regret with my whole heart that my good intentions have been so misconstrued and rewarded by ingratitude; but, since I share this fate with the majority of mortals, I shall learn to console myself and by degrees forget what once I aimed at, in intercourse with congenial spirits. I shall accept the address of the Chamber to-morrow, a masterpiece of Phanariot perfidy, the contents of which will reach you through the papers. The only circumstance which can justify my acceptance of a document in which a legislative body dares to speak to the Sovereign of conditional allegiance is the serious financial situation of the country, threatened as it is by bankruptcy. Just as in private life the disapproval of an action can only affect the agent, so in this case the entire responsibility falls on the shoulders of those who do not understand how to honour the Prince whom they have themselves chosen—a man dishonours himself when he does not know how to respect that which he has himself created.

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A series of passionate debates, which at times threatened to end in violence, resulted in a vote of no confidence in the Ministry on December 24. Prince Jon Ghika succeeded in forming what must under the circumstances be termed a strong Ministry, and declared that his policy lay in effecting a compromise between the Prince, who had lost all confidence in the country, and the representatives of the people.

The North German Consul-General handed the following letter from Prince Bismarck to the Prince on January 19, 1871, dated from Versailles, January 10:

"... I cannot form an opinion of the internal conditions of Roumania, nor of the means at the disposal of your Highness for conquering the prevailing difficulties and establishing your government on a secure footing.

"I must assume that the impediments, due to the character and previous history of the nation, almost prohibit an orderly existence for the State, since the noble intentions and the pure ideals which animate your Highness have hitherto failed to create institutions which would assist the execution of your plans. Your Highness alone can judge whether any hope still exists that these institutions may yet be created....

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"No matter what the causes are, nor how many misunderstandings and misrepresentations have contributed to the result, it is certain that the distrust of the Porte has not been allayed, and that it is still unconvinced that the union of the Principalities under the rule of your Highness is not dangerous to its suzerainty. Nor is it confident that the conditions, which might force your Highness to abdicate, will be more disquieting to the peace of the East than the present situation.

"The English Government has never taken an interest in the Danube Principalities nor in the fortunes of your Highness personally, and the attitude of its representatives abroad does not at present appear to inspire confidence. Although I do not positively pre-suppose a hostile feeling in London, it may be accepted as certain that on this question England's policy will not greatly differ from that of the Sultan.

"At this moment France, of course, need not be taken into consideration, except so far as there is a possibility of her opposing your Highness by intrigues and secret agitation in the hope of doing Prussia some ill-turn or injury....

"I have for a long time cherished the hope that your Highness would find effectual support in St. Petersburg, and have therefore always recommended cordial relations with Russia. Even now I do not doubt the personal views of his Majesty the Czar, who, I am sure, retains the best and most friendly wishes for your person. But I have been regretfully forced to recognise, especially of late, that this personal good-will is out-weighed by the traditional conception of Russian policy, which is opposed to the union of the Principalities. The fact that your Highness must expect no support from Russia, not even in diplomacy, is in accordance with this traditional policy, whilst the hostile attitude towards your Highness in Vienna appears to me to lack any logical explanation, considered from the standpoint of Austro-Hungarian policy.

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"It is only natural that your Highness should look to the illustrious Head of your house, to Prussia and Germany. Your Highness is well aware of the views with which his Majesty the King regards your person, but you know also that the present military situation renders it impossible for Germany to intervene effectually in Eastern affairs under the circumstances we have been considering.

"On reviewing all these considerations I can only arrive at the conclusion that your Highness cannot expect any outside assistance, but rather ill-will, and that your decisions must be based solely upon the means of support which are still left to you in your own country. If you expect a crisis, for the defeat of which you consider the better elements of the country insufficient, it appears to be a duty to yourself and to your house that your every decision should be really independent and voluntary, and should not seem to be forced upon you by foreign force; and the high and noble motives which guide your Highness should stand prominently forth.

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"It pains me to be able to give no other counsel to your Highness and to offer you no better hopes. But I know that your patriotic sympathy and hearty joy at the successes of our German army, and at the glory which surrounds the revered head of our King, will not be affected even by the painful experience your Highness has endured, and I conclude with the hope that your wishes for an honourable and safe peace may soon be fulfilled."

The letter addressed to the Sultan, which had been delayed until an answer was received from the British Ambassador, was eventually forwarded by the Prince with a voluntary explanation of the delay. Ali Pacha in reply expressed the concern with which the Sultan had heard of the critical situation of affairs in the Principalities.

At the same time Prince Charles was informed from a trustworthy source that in Constantinople, as well as in other places, his position was considered untenable. "The Government of Prince Charles is universally recognised to have had its day, and the representatives of the Powers here are more occupied in considering what may happen after the departure of the Prince than in any scheme for prolonging his rule. Sir H. Elliott goes furthest of all, and already speaks of commissaries who must be sent to the Principalities, and whose departure he wishes to take place at once...." The same writer, Count Keyserling, also adjured the Prince to hope for no outside aid. "The only choice, therefore, lies between the continuance of the present *régime*, to which even your Highness's worst foe could not advise you, and a separation from a country and a nation which, oblivious of the fact that their Prince has shown an almost superhuman devotion to his duties, have sinned a thousand times against the person of their ruler, whom they themselves elected, and to whom they took the oath of allegiance and obedience.

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"The Grand Vizier asked me in a very significant manner: 'Do you think that, after Prince Charles's experience, another Prince of a reigning house could be found for Roumania?'—and then answered his own question: 'Except, perhaps, Prince Napoleon, I can think of no one; and we desire to have nothing at all to do with him—as little as with a republic.'"

Prince Charles replied to Count Bismarck's letter on January 27, 1871, thanking him for the sympathy he had shown for the ruler of Roumania, if not for the country itself, and assuring him of the heartfelt interest and joy with which the recent military events in France inspired him. He continued: "The situation here is serious; for the present I can avail myself of the Party intrigues to maintain my position as long as I consider it suitable and advisable. I have to act like a ship's captain, who must remain at his post day and night during a storm. The waves now sweep my ship to the skies, now dash it down to the depths, but as surely as God is my helper I will not let it be wrecked! To-day the crew would willingly throw me overboard, but a few of them still possess sufficient intelligence to know that I alone can steer them safely into port.

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"I will not lose sight of two points; I intend to bring my name clean and unspotted out of this turmoil, but I will not heartlessly and without a conscience leave *le déluge après moi*. This refers, above all, to the finances, the desertion of which might be fraught with grave danger both at home and abroad."

The letter already referred to, in which Prince Charles set forth the reasons which led him to

think of abdicating, was published in the columns of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, and created the greatest excitement in Roumania. A discussion in the Chamber upon the authenticity of this document took place on February 11, 1871, when a Deputy, N. Blaramberg, declared that either the letter was a forgery, or that the Prince was about to abdicate and leave Roumania to the tender mercies of its enemies. "A Prince who quits his country in its hour of danger may be compared to a deserter or a traitor to the State!"

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The President of the Ministry was unable to deny the authenticity of the document, but assured the Chamber that the views contained in it, if they were ever actually current, prevailed no longer. Cogalniceanu then proposed the following counter-resolution: "The Chamber, deeply moved by the explanations communicated by the Ministry, expresses its devotion to the Throne and Dynasty, guaranteed by the Constitution, and proceeds to the order of the day with every confidence in the future of the country, and in the firm resolve to adhere to the Constitution."

An infinitely more loyal tone prevailed in the Senate, where the contents of Prince Charles's letter were also discussed. A resolution was carried with only four dissentients to the effect that the chief duty of the Senate lay in supporting the Sovereign whom the nation had so enthusiastically elevated to the throne, and that the consolidation of the dynasty was indissolubly bound up with the peace, existence, and political development of the country.

The reports of the Roumanian agents abroad showed that, though the Powers were unwilling to take any steps to support Prince Charles, they were, nevertheless, anxious that his abdication should be deferred for the present. The separation of the two Principalities, each under a native ruler, would be acceptable to Russia, Austria, and England, provided no anarchical *interregnum* took place. The Sublime Porte, accordingly, was anxious that the Prince should remain at his post, until the question of his successors was definitely settled. As the great German Chancellor remarked, it appeared that the uncertain possibilities of a catastrophe on the Lower Danube, coupled with the fear of further complications, had resulted in a sort of repentance on the part of the Powers for the intrigues against the consolidation of the Roumanian State. Austria in particular now saw clearly that the mistrust with which Roumania had always been regarded under Prince Charles, owing to the fear that she was merely a tool in the hands of Prussia, was utterly unfounded.

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Prince Charles Anthony wrote to his sorely tried son:

"The description of your position has gone to my heart; I have sorrowed and suffered with you.... I have always found that a healthy constitutionalism is the corrective for caprice, and the support of a strong Government, and that, where the system is honestly employed by both sides, it has always maintained itself; but where it is only used as a cloak for anarchical tendencies, it is noxious and confusing.

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"It can never injure your personal reputation if you lay down a task you are unable to complete. You have shown the whole world your good intentions and your qualifications for governing Roumania. You did not force yourself upon the country, but were elected and summoned thither; you have founded great institutions, regenerated the army and created a new system of communications, and conferred innumerable benefits on the Church and the poor; you have protected the arts and sciences, and by your family happiness testified to the sanctity of marriage; liberality of all kinds has been supported by your purse—all this secures for you, if not at present, at least eventually, a blessed memory, and proves to your contemporaries, in the event of your abdication, that it was not the imaginary splendour of this veritable crown of thorns that blinded and deceived you, but that it was the shipwreck of your honest intentions and your thirst for useful labour that matured your decision and helped it to issue in act.

"I already dream of a family life which would be the consolation of my old age. Looking backward to an eventful past, you would find the same spiritual compensation that I find in the peaceful life that lies before me, but with this difference, that a longer life than mine will be vouchsafed to you.... Krauchenwies offers a suitable and comfortable home, in forty minutes you can reach Sigmaringen.... If Krauchenwies does not suit you, you might live at Inzigkofen, and if not at Inzigkofen, then at one of the Hechingen manors, such as Lindich or Villa Eugenia...."

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Yet even darker troubles lay before Prince Charles Anthony's courageous son, in the defalcations of Dr. Strousberg in the matter of the Roumanian railways. As the January coupon still remained unpaid, the Prussian Government threatened to use pressure to force the Roumanian Government to act in accordance with its guarantee. Unfortunately the Principalities were absolutely unable to comply with this demand, and indignant sentiments prevailed regarding everything that was German. The passions excited amongst the population of Bucharest culminated in an attack on the German colony on the occasion of a banquet given in honour of the German Emperor's birthday on March 22, 1871. A riotous mob quickly assembled, broke the windows of the house, and attempted to force their way up to the first floor. At nine o'clock Major Skina hastened to the Prince and informed him that the demonstration, which had been started half an hour previously by a few youths, had already attained serious dimensions, that the windows were bombarded with stones, and that the police remained entirely passive. The Prince at once despatched his *aide-de-camp* to find the President of the Ministry and the Prefect of Police, but neither of them was to be found. The excitement increased with every minute, until at length the mob, having extinguished the street lamps, raised the cries: "To the Palace!" and "Long live the Republic!"

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General Solomon, the Commandant of Bucharest, now occupied the streets with troops, in spite of the efforts of the President of the Ministry, Jon Ghika, to prevent so violent a course. The mob

obeyed the order to disperse after having been in possession of the streets for about two and a half hours.

Prince Charles received Consul-General von Radowitz the same night, and, after expressing his regret at this disgraceful occurrence, mentioned that he had already taken the first steps towards replacing the guilty Ministers. At one A.M. next morning Jon Ghika arrived at the Palace, and eventually succeeded in convincing the Prince that the cause of the outrage was in no way to be attributed to him. Prince Charles, however, demanded his resignation, and informed him that he intended to summon the *Lieutenance Princière* in the morning to resign the reins of government to them.

Accordingly at ten o'clock D. Sturdza was commissioned to summon the members of the *Lieutenance Princière* of 1866 to meet the Prince at the Palace at half-past eleven. The Prince then informed them of his intention to place the government in their hands, after having held it for nearly five years. [124]

Lascar Catargiu and N. Golesku—Colonel Haralambi was not in Bucharest at that time—both adjured the Prince to abstain from a step which they felt convinced would bring the greatest misfortune upon Roumania. The State would lapse into complete anarchy after such an action on the Prince's part, and they therefore respectfully declined to accept the burden of such a responsibility. At length the earnest entreaties of the two Roumanians gained the day, and Prince Charles consented to reconsider his decision, if a strong and loyal Ministry could be formed. Should this be impossible, or should the Chamber decline to vote the Budget, he would at once leave the country.

A secret sitting of the Chamber took place the same afternoon, when Lascar Catargiu informed the Deputies of the interview which had taken place in the morning. A passionate debate ensued on the question whether further negotiations with the head of the State should be commenced or not. In spite of the windy utterances of the leaders of the Extreme Democrats and Independents, it soon became apparent that a comparatively large majority supported the dynasty. [125]

Lascar Catargiu succeeded in forming a Ministry composed of men who had already won their spurs in the arena of politics; but he was unable to induce the Chamber to vote the Budget. The Chamber was therefore dissolved forthwith, and with it the whole agitation ceased. It had always been confined to the capital.

The following letter was received from the Emperor William on March 30, 1871:

"Accept my heartiest thanks for your affectionate and welcome congratulations for the 22nd. This time, certainly, the day overflowed with feelings of gratitude towards Providence, which decreed that I, aided by my army and the self-sacrifice of my people, should achieve things, to expect or demand which at the commencement of this glorious but bloody war would have been presumption. The Almighty has guided and secured all, and we must rejoice that He has found us worthy to be His instruments. The foundations of a new German Empire have been laid, and the blood shed has been made into a mortar with which we may hope that a strong house will be built upon *this* foundation, under the wise guidance of my successors.

"With heartiest greetings to the Princess,
"I remain, your faithful Cousin and Friend,

"WILLIAM."

"P.S.—I say nothing about your situation, and can only pray that the Lord may help you to choose whatever way is right and best." [126]

In reply, Prince Charles expressed his grief that March 22, an anniversary so dear to him, should have been troubled by such an occurrence in Bucharest. "Nothing could have wounded me more deeply than that this particular occasion should have been seized for the outbreak of a long-smouldering intrigue.... Having regard to the critical situation, especially that of the great and calamitous financial question, I was forced to take extreme steps to rally the better element from its apathy. I therefore summoned the *Lieutenance*, from whose hands I had received the reins of government in 1866, in order to return them their trust. Terrified by this imminent danger, all the Conservative factions combined to form the new Ministry. To-day it is a point of honour with me to support with all my might those men, who are resolved to protect the country against serious complications, and in conjunction with them to carry out the necessary reforms. Should these prove unattainable with the aid of such supporters, the country will be irretrievably lost.

"It cannot be denied that the state of affairs is very serious, and that the creation of a better state of things is beset with the greatest difficulties: the future is hidden from me in impenetrable darkness. But the greater the danger, the less must one's courage be allowed to sink!" [127]

Catargiu informed the Prince that an attempt was to be made on his life during the evening service on Good Friday, and endeavoured to persuade him not to proceed to the Metropole. During the procession the Ministers surrounded the Prince in order to protect his person, but fortunately nothing occurred to disturb the ceremony.

Count Keyserling, who in many ways proved his sincere friendship and admiration for the Prince, wrote as follows:

"Prince Bismarck lays special stress on your Highness's maintaining the very best relations with the Porte at this moment. Ali Pacha, for his part, is inclined in your favour. Your Highness and the present Cabinet will be sincerely supported in Constantinople by the Austrians: England's attitude, on the other hand, is thoroughly ambiguous. Lord Granville has spoken to the Turkish Ambassador and Count Apponyi in London in a strain which suggests that one is listening to Mr. Green, the

The same view was held by Prince Charles Anthony:

"I reserve my further views on the situation, because I have been unable to get any information about your own opinions. In any case, it was well to show the world by a last attempt that it was not from want of courage that the thought of abdication arose.

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"You must hold out to the limits of possibility, and, when once they are reached, you must demand guarantees that a period of stability will then commence, for to allow oneself to be blown hither and thither like a frail reed, and to depend upon the *bon vouloir* of each Ministry is no position for a Hohenzollern.

"Under prevailing circumstances I can only give you one word of advice, and that is to lean upon Turkey: this Power has the greatest interest in the peace of Roumania—the interest of self-preservation—and she will inspire none of the other protecting States with distrust....

"Nothing can be done in the Strousberg affair; an independent court of law alone can succeed in settling this impending financial difficulty. Moreover, this Strousberg question is only an empty pretext and means of agitation against you; the whole movement in Roumania is based upon hostility towards the German dynasty, and is the result of socialist-republican intrigue!"

CHAPTER V

[129]

FINANCIAL TROUBLES

Perhaps the chief amongst the many obstacles which beset the path of Prince Charles in his task of raising Roumania from the depth to which it had sunk was the very serious state of the national finances. The effect of the previous drains upon the country's resources, and the expense of keeping an army prepared to meet any emergency, caused by the hostile attitude of Turkey, were thus summed up by the Prince in July 1866.

"The worst wound of the country is at present its finances. We have not a penny, in the literal sense of the word, and the Ministry, in order to restore the equilibrium of the Budget, has to adopt measures which will scarcely gain friends for us: the taxes have to be raised; 30 per cent. of salaries and pensions, which have not been paid for four months, have to be kept back. For my part, I have surrendered another 12,000 ducats of my Civil List. Only a loan can save us now; we are in communication with financiers, but their conditions are more than hard. With patience we shall yet escape from this calamity, but for the moment the situation is very difficult. Retrenchment must be made, wherever possible."

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It is interesting to note that, whilst the receipts amounted to only 56,000,000 francs in the first year of the Prince's rule, they reached the total of 180,000,000 in 1891, being thus more than trebled in twenty-five years.

Though the financial situation was only slightly improved during 1867,^[14] Prince Charles entered in the autumn of that year into negotiations with the Austrian financier, Herr von Ofenheim, for the construction of a railway from Suceava to Bucharest, passing through Jassy and Galatz. These negotiations, commenced as far back as 1862, had been allowed to drop; and Roumania had thus lost the favourable moment for appealing to the British money market, which, moreover, was never at any time favourable to the enterprise. However, Ofenheim's Syndicate, which included three Englishmen (amongst them Mr. T. Brassey), arranged for the construction of the line, which was to be built by sections, commencing with 110 miles from Suceava to Roman. How necessary railways were to the country is shown by the fact that only a quarter of the corn and wood intended for export that year could be moved by ship to its destination. Eventually the Chamber confirmed the Ofenheim concession, voting 230,000 francs for the first section, and a subsidy of 40,000 francs per kilometer.

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Ofenheim only undertook to carry out the northern half of the concession, and ceded the southern portion to a Prussian syndicate, of which the well-known financier, Strousberg, was Chairman. This syndicate was granted a concession by the Roumanian Chamber on October 2, 1868.

Unfortunately for the progress of the railways, the question soon gave rise to heated debates in the Chamber. For example, on June 11, 1869, a great commotion was caused there by a charge brought against the Syndicate that it had extended the line unduly by a ten-mile curve at Barboschi (payment, it will be remembered, was to be made according to the mileage). Nevertheless, in spite of all this petty opposition, the Prince had the satisfaction of seeing the first section of the Roumanian railways, connecting Bukowina and Moldavia, completed on December 15, 1869, whilst no less than 130 miles of much needed high roads were opened for traffic, chiefly on the western frontier of Roumania.

As the payment for the railways was to be governed by the completed mileage, the Finance Minister instructed the Roumanian Commissary in Berlin, Privy Councillor Ambronn, to control his payments by the certificates of the engineer, countersigned by the chief of the newly created Technical Bureau. This evoked an immediate protest from one of the concessionaries, Dr. Strousberg, who threatened to appeal to the law courts against so unjustifiable a check on the honesty of the contractors. Councillor Ambronn reported that he felt unable to refuse payment, although the engineers' certificates were not countersigned, and further, that the proceeds of the

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bonds were deposited, partly in cash, partly in stocks bearing interest, at the Berlin Kassenverein. This led to a Parliamentary inquiry into the state of the funds entrusted to Councillor Ambronn, and later on to a unanimous resolution by the Ministry relieving him of his duties. Prince Charles, however, was of the opinion that this measure would only damage the credit of the railways, and declared his willingness to accept the responsibility for the railway construction which was thus thrust upon him by the country.

However, a report from the special commissioner, Herr Steege, sent to Berlin in the autumn of 1870, placed the affair in a different light, as it was then discovered that the money realised by the sale of the railway bonds (35,000,000 francs) had been placed in the Joseph Jacques Bank without the consent of the Roumanian Government. This incorrect procedure on the part of the Commissary placed the Prince in a most unpleasant position; for, though he considered it in no way desirable that the money should be left lying idle, he had never intended that it should be invested in a private company, and so exposed to every fluctuation of the market. M. Steege was therefore appointed to relieve Councillor Ambronn of his duties in connection with the railway funds. [133]

It seemed that the climax of the railway dispute must have been reached with December 18, when Strousberg informed the Government that he was neither able nor willing to pay the coupon due on January 1, and further maintained that this payment should be made by the State, though, as a matter of fact, he had paid the July coupon himself. The interest, it is true, was guaranteed by the State, but the terms of the concession provided that the interest should be paid by Strousberg *whilst the line was in course of construction*.

The entire weight of the blow fell on Prince Charles; the railways were his pet idea, nay, even his consolation, as a passage in one of his letters to his father shows. "I have at least done *something* for my country—I have given it a railway!" But now even that comfort had been taken away.

Prince Charles, however anxious he was at that time to escape from his almost intolerable position in Roumania, felt that he could not quit his adopted country until he had procured justice for his people, and removed the slur which appeared to rest upon their honesty. [134]

Early in March 1871 M. Sturdza thus described the financial situation of the Principalities. The expenditure, but not the receipts, of the State had increased threefold during the last thirteen years; the public debt, which in Prussia amounted to 2 francs a head, reached a total of 7 francs in Roumania, whilst 34,000,000 out of the 84,000,000 francs received had to be devoted to the payment of interest, thus leaving only 50,000,000 available for expenditure. It was, therefore, scarcely a matter for surprise that the Chamber should openly testify to the general indignation felt by the nation, when the fresh burden of the interest on the railway bonds was thrust upon the resources of the country. In their wrath, however, the deputies forgot to be just, and threw the whole blame on Prince Charles. Not a single voice was raised to point out that the Prince himself suffered most from the painful situation to which dishonesty and carelessness had brought the railways. He could not be expected to know in detail all the requirements of such concessions. The only just reproach which could be made against him was the unconditional confidence which he, in his youthful enthusiasm, had placed in Strousberg and Ambronn, from a desire to procure the benefits of the railway for his country as soon as possible.

The attacks turned chiefly on the circumstance that Ambronn had been for a long time in the service of the Prince of Hohenzollern, though this was rather a reason for excusing the Prince, who was surely justified in employing a man whose honest administration had already gained the confidence of his father. [135]

As a way out of the difficulty Prince Charles thought that the State should pay the January coupon and sue Strousberg for the amount, in accordance with paragraph 7 of the concession. Unfortunately the Treasury was empty, the Chamber would never consent to such a measure, and to raise a loan was out of the question.

To crown the disaster an official intimation was received from the Prussian Government that the coupon due must be paid by the Roumanian State, as the bonds were only placed on the market owing to the confidence inspired in the Roumanian State guarantee.

Pressure was brought to bear on Roumania by a Note maintaining the rights of the German bondholders, addressed by Prince Bismarck to the Sublime Porte as Suzerain of the Principalities. The Strousberg affair thus threatened to become more a *question de force* than a *question de droit*. It appeared, moreover, that a lawsuit against Strousberg was out of the question, as the bondholders, and not the Roumanian Government, were the injured parties. Needless to say, this opinion of the Prussian law-officers evoked great indignation in Roumania. [136]

Eventually, on January 2, 1872, the Chamber decided to offer the bondholders two alternatives:

(a) To take over the rights and obligations of the first concession, to complete the railways in three years with an annual grant of nine millions towards the coupons; the payment of the last year's interest, and the restitution of the deposit to be obtained from Strousberg.

(b) To transfer all their rights to the Roumanian State, which pledged itself to pay off the bonds (to be exchanged for State papers) in forty-nine years' time by an annual payment of eleven millions.

Three weeks later the Prince had the satisfaction of informing his father that the vexed question appeared to be solved at last.

"You can hardly imagine what I have lived through during the last weeks of the old year! Excitements, anxieties, and hopes changed with every day. Day after day passed without any result, or any hope of solving the unfortunate railway question: such a strain on the nerves might have caused the strongest man to give way. At first weeks passed before the matter reached the order of the day, then the preliminary debates lasted fully four days; the result was by no means certain the first two days, as the Opposition brought all its batteries into action. I breathed again on the evening of the fourth day, and the city also calmed down at once from its former feverish excitement. The agitators are afraid that the settlement of the railway question, which they had made a dynastic one, has robbed them of their last dangerous weapon....

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"The Opposition used Von Radowitz's declaration in Constantinople—that the Emperor was directly interested in an arrangement—with much skill and perfidy, drawing the deduction that the House of Hohenzollern was mixed up in this dirty business. It is much too hackneyed and ridiculous to be even annoyed about!"

The expense of the many reforms initiated by the Prince also contributed to the chronic want of money. For instance, a report by M. Jepureanu on June 9, 1874, showed the existence of a floating debt of fifty-seven million francs, which was out of all proportion to the resources of an agricultural country, where a failure of the crops occurred about once in six years. It was further stated that of late years, in spite of all the new taxation, the expenditure had always exceeded the receipts.

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, January 26th, 1875.

"Only a few days ago I was confidently looking to the immediate future, and hoped that the Roumanian railway system, which I had achieved for the country after such severe struggles, would soon be opened for traffic. I believed that this intolerable affair, which has cost me several years of my life, was finally settled, and looked forward to enjoying the fruits of my labour. But no! To-day the railways are again the disturbing element. After great effort I had achieved the stability and peace so necessary for the development of the country: domestic affairs had become consolidated, and abroad we enjoyed respect and confidence. All this may again be at stake.

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"... The Berlin Company must raise a loan of seventy-five million francs to pay the debts incurred in construction; in so doing they want our support, and ask for a law giving this loan preferential rights in the annuities. This is, of course, out of the question, as the former creditors must always have the first claim.... We do not conceal the seriousness of the situation, the more so since the German Government urgently requests us to give way to the entreaties of the company, and so prevent a catastrophe which would principally be felt by the shareholders. In the event of our inability to regulate this affair the German Government would in future be compelled to withhold the exercise of its benevolent interest in Roumania!

"This threat is very serious, and we foresee its evil consequences."

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To PRINCE BISMARCK.

"For several weeks we have been exclusively occupied with the difficulties which the new loan for the completion of our railway system causes both here and in Berlin. Animated with a lively wish to bring this important affair to a satisfactory conclusion, my Government has commissioned the Minister of Public Works, M. Th. Rosetti, to proceed to Berlin, and to place himself in personal communication with the railway company.

"I cannot conceal from your Serene Highness that the proposals of the company, which must be settled by constitutional methods, encounter no small difficulties, arising from the very nature of the affair. Nevertheless, my Government has every wish to prepare a solution which would be acceptable to both parties, and which could be successfully promoted in the Chamber here. If we may hope for the benevolent interest of your Highness in this delicate question, I do not doubt that it will soon be solved. M. Rosetti is able to give the necessary information should your Highness desire to enter more fully into the question."

From PRINCE BISMARCK, March 1875.

"I return my humblest thanks to your Highness for the gracious letter which Minister Rosetti has handed to me. The knowledge and personal amiability of the latter has made a favourable impression on all circles here, and he has brought the negotiations to such a point that their conclusion may be expected, provided the result here gains the approbation of your Highness's Government. I myself entertain the hope that such may be the case, the more willingly since so large an amount of German capital is placed in no other foreign enterprise, and the solidly assured future of the railways must exert a decisive influence on the development of the rich resources with which Roumania is blessed by nature. The protection afforded to the enterprise by your Highness will contribute materially to maintain and further public interest in Germany for the welfare of Roumania."

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Whilst these delicate negotiations were in progress, the question of the right of Roumania to enter into commercial treaties was brought to a close. The intimate relations of the Principalities to Austria-Hungary rendered it desirable that the first treaty should be concluded with that State,

not without opposition in the Chamber, and it was actually voted on July 10, 1875. "This international act," the Prince wrote, "is of great importance, as it contains the germ of Roumanian independence."

The Budget of 1876, which announced a deficit of 30,000,000 francs, was received with a storm of indignation, and eventually led to the fall of the Catargiu Ministry.

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To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, April 26th, 1876.

"The excitement here is very great; there are rumours of conspiracies and revolutions; but all this cannot terrify me, for I go straight ahead and do my duty. The condition of our finances, and the serious situation in the East, does, however, make me anxious. The former is the consequence of the latter; for months no money has come into the country, and trade is completely at a standstill. All our securities have fallen, railway and customs returns have decreased, farmers cannot pay, and taxes are hard to collect. Nevertheless, the engine of State must not be allowed to stop, and we must pay the interest on our debts in order to maintain our credit! All this has materially affected our finances, which were in a satisfactory state."

To THE SAME, December 14th, 1876.

"Neither the approach of the war, nor the probable passage of foreign troops makes me really anxious: I am troubled rather by the comfortless state of our finances, which have reached a stage impregnated with danger for the immediate future. The State can only maintain its credit at the greatest sacrifice, by paying the coupons of the foreign debt with the little money remaining in the country, and in addition it must raise sufficient to pay the army.

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"Under these circumstances only a well-assured peace, or a war, can be of any assistance; a long extension of this uncertainty will be our ruin!"

To THE SAME, January 20th, 1877.

"The money famine increases daily, and I cannot see how we are to be helped out of our difficulty. Only the most necessary payments are made. Even the Civil List has not been paid for months."

The longed-for war, bringing with it the independence of Roumania, arrived at last, and with it came perhaps the lowest point touched by Roumanian finance. All payments were stopped both at home and abroad, every tax was doubled, and 30,000,000 francs of paper money were issued on the security of the Crown lands, to be redeemed at 10 per cent. above par. Such were the sacrifices which the Roumanian nation offered at the shrine of patriotism and independence.

CHAPTER VI

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THE JEWISH QUESTION

The first years of Prince Charles's rule were overcast by the shadow thrown by that source of constant trouble in Eastern Europe, the Jewish Question, and by the pro-Semitic agitation in the Western Press. The bulk of the Jewish population of Roumania was settled in the Province of Moldavia, where it held mortgages on the greater part of the estates. In addition to this, as "universal providers" they almost monopolised the trade in spirits, whilst the bulk of the retail trade also lay in their hands. In times of famine and scarcity they were always ready to lend money at exorbitant rates to the heedless landowner and ignorant peasant, and thus acquired a hold over them which could not be shaken off. The bitter hatred with which the Moldavian population regarded their oppressors, and the violence caused by that feeling, were powerless to prevent the constant immigration of Jews from Poland and Southern Russia, where they experienced a far harder lot than that which awaited them in Roumania. That the anti-Semitic feeling was not wholly unjustifiable is shown by the opinion of M. Desjardins, who had ample opportunity of learning the rights and wrongs of the case. The French *savant* declared that the Jews were not only aliens and strangers in Roumania by their language, religion, and customs, but that they actually desired to remain so. They refused to send their children to the Roumanian schools, though entitled to do so free of expense, and besides monopolising the whole retail trade of Moldavia, they exerted a most evil influence on the progress of the country by their usury. The peasant was forced to pay up to fifty per cent. *per mensem* on loans, as there were no other means of raising money in times of scarcity. The Moldavian Jew was dirty and utterly neglected, and could not from any point of view be considered a desirable acquisition to the State.

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The Jews of Eastern Europe in general, and of Roumania in particular, have no intention, and, for the matter of that, no inclination to stoop to handicraft or manufacture. The quicker methods of getting money appeal to them more; and they are perfectly content to live on the needs and necessities of the original inhabitants of the land, though at the same time they bitterly resent

the feeling with which they and their methods of money-making are regarded. The first outbursts of racial hatred during Prince Charles's reign proved too strong for the good intentions of the Government, nor was it to be expected that the Roumanian legislature would grant the alien race further rights or further liberty than Russia or even Austria felt inclined to do.

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Crémieux, the well-known politician and founder of the *Alliance Israélite*, interviewed the Prince on June 14, 1866, to try to obtain an alteration in the laws enabling Jews to hold land in Roumania, and, acting on the time-honoured maxim of *do ut des*, offered in return for this privilege a loan of £1,000,000 at a low rate of interest. The Prince informed him that the Government had already remembered the condition of the Jews in the draft of the Constitution, since the following paragraphs had been inserted: "Creed is no impediment to naturalisation in Roumania," and "So far as the Jews at present domiciled in Roumania are concerned, a special law will provide for their gradual admission as naturalised citizens." However, as soon as these proposals were laid before the Chamber, a wave of dissent swept over Moldavia, where the anti-dynastic party sought to create trouble by appealing to racial hatred. They succeeded only too well, for a riotous mob destroyed the recently completed synagogue at Bucharest in June 1866. The obnoxious paragraphs of the Constitution were withdrawn owing to the representations of the Jews themselves, who feared further excesses, if the Government persisted in them. The foreign Press eagerly seized the opportunity for spreading the report that, owing to the weakness of the Government, the paragraphs had been withdrawn in obedience to the wishes of the mob. The liberally minded Prince, to show his displeasure at the action of a section of the populace, and at the same time to prove his toleration in matters of religion, subscribed 6,000 ducats from his own purse for the restoration of the wrecked synagogue, but at the same time the Chamber, by passing the clause: "Only Christians can become Roumanian citizens," denied the Jews the possession of any political rights.

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In April 1867 the Minister of the Interior, J. Bratianu, addressed a circular to all prefects, ordering them to proceed against all "vagabonds" in their districts; as, owing to the abolition of passes, the number of paupers had increased to such an extent as to add seriously to the already enormous difficulties of the Government in feeding the starving inhabitants. England, France, and Austria protested vigorously against this measure, which was chiefly directed against immigrant Jews, and the Emperor Napoleon addressed the following telegram to the Prince on this subject:

"I must not leave your Highness in ignorance of the public feeling created here by the persecutions of which the Jews of Moldavia are said to be the victims. I cannot believe that the enlightened Government of your Highness authorises measures so opposed to humanity and civilisation.

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"NAPOLEON."

To which the Prince replied at once:

"Your Majesty may rest assured that I am not less solicitous for the Jewish inhabitants than your Majesty. The measures which the Government has thought necessary to take are not exceptional, and are a matter of common law. I shall, moreover, institute a severe inquiry to ascertain whether the subaltern officials have exceeded their instructions. Those guilty will be punished with all the rigour of the law.

"CHARLES."

All the laws against the Jews which had been passed in Moldavia since 1804 were published in the official *Moniteur* on May 28, 1867, to counteract the prejudice which the recent circular had created. It was thus made clear that Jews had always been prohibited from becoming tenants of farms, public-houses, and drinking-booths; and that the sole motive of the Ministerial Circular was to remind the prefects of the existence of these regulations, which had been allowed to fall somewhat into abeyance.

Sir Moses Montefiore, the well-known British merchant and philanthropist, who was touring through Roumania to investigate personally the condition of the Jews, was presented to the Prince by the British Consul on August 25, 1867. Sir Moses was able to inform his Highness that he could not trace any persecution of the Jews in Wallachia, and on his return to England declared, through the Press, that the situation of his brethren in Roumania had been painted in colours far too dark, and that there could be no question of their ill-treatment, as both the Prince and his Ministers were very tolerant, and had given him every assistance in eliciting the truth.

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The Chamber, however, continued to persist in anti-Semitic legislation, and a "free and independent party" of thirty-three Moldavians introduced a measure on March 17, 1868, which contained the following provisions: "Jews may only settle in urban districts by permission of the town council, but on no condition, and for no length of time, in the rural districts.

"They are not allowed to possess real property in towns or in the country. Sales and purchases in their favour are null and void.

"They are also forbidden to become tenants of farms, vineyards, public-houses, hotels, kilns, bridges, &c., or to manage the same, and neither the State nor Communalities are to entrust them with contracts.... They are not to sell food or liquor to Christians, but only to Jews." Bratianu, whom the foreign Semitic Press hounded down as a persecutor of the Jews, opposed this motion with the greatest vigour, and openly broke with its proposers. He was in consequence overwhelmed with contumely and reproaches, and was on one occasion stoned by anti-Semitic mobs in Moldavia.

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The Jewish Question was ably summed up by Prince Charles Anthony in a letter to his son, received on May 21, 1868.

"The Jewish question has reached a stage which attracts the rapt attention of the whole of Europe. It is a most unfortunate episode in the otherwise peaceful development of Roumanian internal economy, and is at the same time a great danger to the dynasty. I have already pointed out that all Jewish affairs are a '*noli me tangere*.' This fact is a symptom of European weakness; but, since it is a fact, it must be accepted; nothing can be done, as the whole Press of Europe is controlled by the Jewish financial powers. In one word, the moneyed Judaism is a Great Power, whose favour may have the most advantageous effect, but whose opposition is dangerous. From every side, from all corners and ends of the earth, a cry of horror arose in unison about the Bakau incident, and nothing, not even the official *dementia*, could mitigate or alleviate the impression created by these incidents. It seems to me that Bratianu has not shown sufficient energy in this question, and is inclined to stake too much on one card!"...

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"Innumerable petitions have reached me from all parts imploring my support in this unfortunate Jewish affair, especially from the *Alliance Israélite* (Crémieux); Paris has made the most noise about it. This cannot be altered; and you have gained nothing but increased experience."

Advice on this difficult question was also tendered from a quarter whence it was least expected. Fuad Pacha pointed out to the Roumanian agent in Constantinople that the Principalities ought to take Turkey as an example of tolerance in matters of religion, for at Constantinople one might see Jews sitting side by side with Mohammedans and Christians in the Council of State!

On September 12, 1869, Prince Charles received a deputation of Jews on the occasion of his stay in Vienna. In reply to their representations on behalf of their brethren in Roumania, Prince Charles declared that the alleged persecution only existed in the imagination of agitators, and that the condition of the Roumanian Jews was by no means so miserable and abject as the European Press was ready and anxious to believe.

At the same time, the anti-Semitic element in the Chamber sought to overthrow the Ghika Ministry by accusing it of a tendency to favour the Jews. The Minister of the Interior, Cogalniceanu, it appeared, had recommended two Delegates of the *Alliance Israélite* to the prefects of the districts, in order that they might have every opportunity of knowing the country and its inhabitants. It was also proved by statistics that the number of Jews in Moldavia was steadily increasing, whilst the Roumanians were being forced back by this constant stream of immigration. The measure of their success and increasing influence was in direct proportion to the corresponding weakness and poverty of the Christian tillers of the soil. Cogalniceanu, however, showed that the Jews were not favoured at the expense of the Roumanians, and that the Government had no means of preventing Jewish immigration from Russia or Galicia. He also pointed out that he had proposed to allow the Jews to settle near the delta of the Danube; but, as that proposal had been negatived, he could only suggest that the Chamber should formulate some other measure.

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Nearly three years later (May 1872) a petition from the Jews of Eastern Prussia was laid before the German Reichstag, praying that Germany would use its influence in putting a stop to the persecution of Jews in Roumania. Dr. Miquel pointed out that, although he sympathised deeply with the sufferers, it was necessary to proceed with caution, as otherwise their situation might become even worse, for no Government was ever so weak as that of Roumania, and continual exhortations would only incite the inhabitants to further outrages, which might eventually lead to animosity against their German Prince. Von Bunsen supported Miquel's view and showed that no persecutions had taken place between 1866 and 1872. Eventually a resolution was carried, recognising the previous efforts on behalf of the Jews, and requesting the Chancellor to do everything possible to prevent the recurrence of such incidents in the future.

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England also took up the cudgels on behalf of the Jews, and proposed to the various guaranteeing Powers to comply with the 46th Article of the Treaty of Paris, and grant political rights to the Jews. Prince Gortchakoff came to the assistance of Roumania, and reminded the Western Powers that it was impossible to compare the Jews of the Orient with those of the West. Russia had no intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of another State, though she would unite with the Powers in representing the matter to the Roumanian Government. He therefore advised England to communicate direct with the Roumanian Government before invoking the aid of the other Powers.

A letter from the Prince to his father contained the following passage about this difficulty:

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"My only fear is lest the Jews^[15] should continue to agitate and petition the guaranteeing Powers for the concession of political rights to their brethren here, until the Powers at last comply with their wish, and force our hand. This would lead to the overthrow of the present, or, indeed, any other Ministry.

"A few months ago the Jews here received some sympathy from certain circles, but since they have raised such a cry throughout Europe, and since the Jewish Press in every State has attacked this country in so unworthy a manner with the object of forcing the equality of the Jews upon us, the latter have nothing to expect here for the present...."

Another letter of Prince Charles also refers to this point:

"The newspapers again accuse us of persecuting the Jews, because the recent licensing law forbids a Jew to keep a public-house in a village. This is a reasonable measure; and we are determined to repel any representations or interventions in this matter. One must know the villages of Moldavia to be able to judge the noxious influence exerted on the rural population by the Jew

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with his adulterated brandy. In Poland and Hungary the Jew is to this day forbidden to keep a village public-house—and very rightly too! On the other hand, it is a pity that Roumania has excluded Jews from holding licences for the sale of tobacco, as they will now become the most arrant smugglers."

Russia replied to the Note, addressed by England to the Great Powers, referring to the persecution of the Moldavian Jews, with a circular to its representatives abroad directing them to defend the Roumanian measures.

The struggle so briefly touched upon in these pages affected the welfare of Roumania in its young days very keenly, as the great Jewish capitalists supported the demands of the Jewish population for the franchise by refusing to aid the young State in its financial troubles. Incalculable harm was done by the Press in giving a too-ready credence to the alarming reports of wholesale expulsion of Jewish families from Roumania and the confiscation of their property. The anti-Roumanian feeling thus caused in England, France, and in part of Germany was for many years a serious stumbling-block to the development of the Danube Principalities.

CHAPTER VII

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PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT

The day selected by the Prince and Princess of Roumania for the commencement of their tour through Moldavia—April 20, 1871—was one of good omen for the result of that journey. Prince Charles was anxious to reinstate the close and intimate relations which had existed between him and his people before the recent agitation, as well as to give the lie to the calumny that he no longer took an interest in his subjects. The Princess, too, was eager to become more closely acquainted with the beauties of her new country under her husband's guidance. Unfortunately the pleasure of the trip was marred by the constant downpour of rain, which laid half of Jassy under water. But the Prince and Princess did not allow the weather to interfere with their plans, and succeeded in visiting every noteworthy place or institution. At their departure from the Moldavian capital, as on their arrival, they received a most enthusiastic ovation, to which Prince Charles replied that the heartiness of their welcome everywhere had convinced him that the lately dissolved Chamber had in no way expressed the sentiments of the nation. The memory of the heartfelt sympathy accorded to the dynasty in Jassy had, he added, given him fresh courage and energy to devote to the high duties entrusted to him by the nation.

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Prince Charles expressed the same views to the Ministry on his return to Bucharest, and informed them that he had given up the thought of abdication, as his tour through Moldavia had satisfied him that the nation would be loyal to the Sovereign they had elected, whilst condemning the revolutionary aims which had been the source of the recent trouble. The marvellous change which had taken place in the Roumanian situation in the short space of five weeks did not fail of prompt recognition abroad. The Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople remarked: "If Prince Charles succeeds in managing Roumania with his own resources, and in rendering it governable, it will be the greatest *tour de force* I have witnessed in my diplomatic career of more than half a century. It will be nothing less than a conjuring trick!"

Prince Charles thus described the surprising change of situation between March 22 and May 22:

"Then there were revolts in the streets, breaking of windows, and an approaching abdication. Now there is rejoicing throughout the country, ovation after ovation, and a celebration of the anniversary of my accession in a more hearty and universal fashion than I have been accustomed to for a long time. Everything that was possible has been done to wipe out the memory of our bitter experiences of last winter, alike during our tour through Moldavia and on our return and on May 22...."

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"Moldavia has recently been the arena of anarchical and separatist intrigues so wide in extent that no great success could be expected at the recent elections, the more so as a rumour had been spread throughout Moldavia that I had decided to turn my back on the country very shortly. Our tour effected a complete change. Towns like Galatz and Fokschani, which have sent anti-dynastic Deputies to the Chamber for four years in succession to advocate my deposition, have now elected men who openly declared themselves to be on the side of my dynasty during the most critical period. The elections throughout the country have resulted satisfactorily, and my Ministry can count upon a secure majority.... Tell voted against a foreign prince in 1866, as he was of opinion that such a ruler could neither become intimately acquainted with the country, nor would enjoy the same language or religion.... He informed me on entering the Ministry that no Prince had ever known the country better or respected the Church so much as I had done.... He says: 'I think more of the happiness of the country than of its liberties!'..."

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"General Solomon and Colonels Slaniceanu, Lupu, and Sefcari are thorough soldiers, who were all at their posts in the hour of danger and did their duty loyally. The army, moreover, behaved excellently at the critical time, which gave me great pleasure, as I have always given it special attention.

"... I should like to be able to lengthen every day, for none suffices for my continuous work. Everything that is performed in silence by the chiefs of departments in other countries is here laid before me; no decision is arrived at without my being consulted. Every one wants an audience of the Prince to lay a grievance before him. But the more work I have the better I like it, and I by no means wish to complain."

Owing to the sudden illness of the Grand Vizier, Ali Pacha, through overwork, and the prevailing centralisation of the Turkish Government, all affairs of State came to a standstill for the time being. The Sultan refused to appoint a substitute, and Ali Pacha refused to resign: "I shall die, if needs be, but I shall die as Grand Vizier!"

The Prince and Princess, with their little daughter, sought protection from the climate of Cotroceni in the cloister of Sinaja on August 2. The arrangements made for them were extremely primitive: the small whitewashed rooms, or rather cells, were connected only by a wooden verandah on the inside of the building, round the inner court of the cloister. The magnificent view over the mountain scenery, however, amply compensated for the lack of comfort; whilst a heavy thunderstorm, with brilliant flashes of lightning, cleared and cooled the atmosphere shortly after their arrival. The weather that followed left nothing to be desired, and the Prince spent the greater portion of each day in the company of his wife and daughter in the glorious Carpathian woods under a cloudless sky. The Princess of Wied arrived at Sinaja on August 31 to take part in the festivities of the first birthday of the little Princess Marie, who, as her father reported with joy, "has already two teeth, and will soon be able to run about."

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Almost daily some expedition or picnic in the woods was arranged, especially at that spot in the valley of the Pelesch where Prince Charles thought of building a summer residence. This plan had, however, to be given up, as the situation of the proposed house was too much exposed to the violent winds which swept down the valley.

These happy days came to an end, only too soon, when on September 11 the Prince returned to Cotroceni, followed two days later by the remainder of the family. The Princess of Wied was forced to commence her journey home on October 28. The Prince and Princess accompanied her a short distance on the Giurgiu line. Prince Charles Anthony expressed his great joy at the favourable impression which the Princess's mother had formed of their surroundings in Bucharest. "Her impressions are generally favourable and, best of all, she has gained an insight into your home life, which could not be happier. That is of the greatest comfort to us, since other circumstances remain unchanged.... Moreover, Princess Wied is satisfied with the social elements, and has everywhere found receptivity for what is nobler and better; a firm mortar alone is wanted to prevent the good from dissolving and the evil from working to the surface...."

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Prince Charles replied the same day: "Elisabeth has created her own sphere of action; she frequently visits the schools and communicates the remarks and observations made whilst the instruction is going on personally to the *conseil permanent de l'instruction publique*. By this method she has already succeeded in introducing several minor improvements; in addition to this, she is translating some school-books for children into Roumanian, with the aid of some young ladies; and once a week she presides over the Society for the Poor, which has done good work since its institution a year ago.... We are all well. Little Marie is full of life, and runs from room to room. When I have a minute to spare, I play with her. The dear child is my greatest joy!"

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Prince Charles and his family decided to celebrate the Christmas festivities of 1871 according to the Eastern calendar, on December 24 (January 5). Prince Charles Anthony's Christmas letter contained the following interesting allusion to German affairs:

"On the whole everything is satisfactory in Germany. The Prussian officers sent to Württemberg and Baden find it difficult to grasp the situation of South Germany; but all is satisfactory, since necessity knows no law. Manteuffel plays a great part in France, and is endeavouring to traverse Bismarck's plans and intentions. But it is really of no importance; everything succeeds with us. Both Military Cabinet and Government of State go their own way, and yet finally effect a junction, because the National-Prussian principle outweighs all else.

"May Thiers and the Republic long steer France! any so-called dynastic revolution would cause a war with Germany—not that we fear one, but we need peace and development."

The Chambers passed a law on January 5 by which Roumania undertook to pay the coupons commencing from January 1, 1872, and all that remained to end the matter was the consent of the Berlin Syndicate to the proposed compromise.

On January 28, 1872, Prince Charles was able to inform his father that the unfortunate dispute about the railways had at last been settled: "A telegram has just been received from Berlin informing us that the shareholders have accepted the first part of the law; you can imagine our delight! The history of this suffering has now reached its end—thirteen months of anxiety, excitement, and fears, form a long episode!"

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To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY.

"My chief news to-day is that the condition of Elisabeth's health renders a journey to the South an absolute necessity; she has never quite recovered from the violent attacks of fever of last summer, and in spite of all precautions has recently been ill again; this might lead to serious consequences if often repeated. Since change of air is the only really effective remedy, she will go to Italy, and meet her Nassau relatives and Therese of Oldenburg in Rome before Easter. Should the climate there not suit her, she will go on to Naples. The two months' separation, which lies before us, is indeed very hard, the harder for Elisabeth, since she must part with both husband and child! It is satisfactory for me to know that she will meet relations in Rome, whom she will be very glad to see again. I must submit to the inevitable; but I shall feel my solitude very much.

"We shall then spend the whole summer in Sinaja, where we shall be more comfortable this

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time than we were last year. Abegg is at present negotiating the purchase of some meadow and wood lands so that we can build a country house on our own estate, and have a refuge in the healthy mountain air from the fevers of the marshes....

"The following incident will show you the anti-German feeling here: The Court of Appeal has acquitted the rioters of the 10th-22nd March for want of evidence. Costa-Foru in consequence demanded the removal of the judges, but I refused my consent, to avoid further unpleasantness. He then laid a decree before me, which made the President of the Court responsible for the acquittal and transferred him as a punishment; this I signed. The result of this measure was the resignation of a large number of the best judges both of the first and second instance, a demonstration which has caused great excitement and has been received with satisfaction. The gentry in question are considered as *victimes de la Prusse*, and only a few have the courage to agree with Costa-Foru. This is, of course, water to the opposition mill, and the affair is exploited in every kind of way...."

In a long letter, received March 8, 1872, Prince Charles Anthony minutely discussed the Prussian and Roumanian views about the recently settled railway dispute, and devoted particular attention to the attitude of Bismarck and the Imperial Government.

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"I do not believe that the writer of the reports you forwarded to me can take an active share in politics, since he gives so free a rein to his dislike towards Bismarck and Radowitz.

"The German Empire to-day is a given factor, which the practical politician is forced to take into consideration. If you look back upon the scenes which took place nearly a year ago in Bucharest on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday, you cannot expect that Germany should meet the Roumanian population with much sympathy. Such incidents have a lasting and estranging influence. Moreover, the continual demonstration of the Roumanians in favour of France cannot but displease Germany, who has lost many thousands of her best sons in a war which was forced upon her against her will.

"I am no blind eulogist of Bismarck, but he is indispensable to Germany and Prussia, and aims solely at great ends and means.

"He steps courageously over every bound; just as he passed over us in the Spanish question, he has now proved the correctness of his views and his courage in the retirement of Mühler, and in insisting on the School Inspections Bill, which were both fundamentally *opposed* to the King's wish and opinion. It is easy to understand that he must neglect you in striving for great political aims.

"It is not *because* you are a Hohenzollern, but *in spite* of your being one, that no consideration could be paid to your name and race in the recent solution of the railway question.

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"I am convinced that, now that Roumania has regained her international position with glory, the relations with the German Empire will take a more peaceful form. At all events, the advances lie on the shoulders of the smaller and weaker State: that is the ordinary course of events in politics.

"For that reason I dislike the following sentence in the report you sent me: 'Because certain capitalists are pleased to put their money into an industrial speculation, is it necessary that it should become a matter for the two Governments? If this principle is admitted, where will it lead?'

"The participation, therefore, in a loan guaranteed by the State is called an 'industrial speculation!' Germany, accordingly, is peaceably to allow her subjects to suffer loss through the Roumanian State, and if she complains about such treatment, where should the complaint be addressed if not to the State, that is the Government, which does not act in accordance with its pledges? On the other hand, one might well ask: 'If this principle is admitted, where will it lead?...'

"The importance of the names connected with the Strousberg Syndicate was by no means the reason for the decided steps that were taken in Berlin. The action was rather due to consideration for the many thousands of smaller men, who had confidently invested in the Roumanian bonds; the high rate of interest, it is true, was the chief inducement, but nobody imagined that his money was invested in a dishonest business.

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"I now come to the end of this long letter, in which I have spoken my mind so freely, but in which I hope you will only recognise a proof of my affectionate sincerity. I make no claim to be infallible, but I should like to impress upon you that the Teuton element to-day possesses the greatest vitality and the richest future, and that Roumania can only remain the master of her own future by a sensible union with it. Let society, the Press, and the general instinct of the nation be anti-German if they will—they must not, if they intend to put their feelings into practice, throw down the gage to the Teuton spirit."

Princess Elisabeth was forced to tear herself away from her husband and daughter on March 12, to seek health under the cloudless sky of Italy.

At Trieste the Princess of Hohenzollern was awaiting her arrival in order to accompany her to Rome, and, later on, to Naples, where the King and Queen of Denmark, and the Prince and Princess of Wales, with other Royal personages, were spending the Spring. The Prince of Wales discussed politics earnestly with Princess Elisabeth, and asked with which side Roumania would be ranged in the event of a war. The Princess quickly replied: "With the strongest, of course!"

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A very plain and straightforward letter was received from Prince Bismarck on April 25, 1872, in reply to an explanation which Prince Charles had sent him on the railway question.

"Your Highness can have no cause to doubt my devotion to your person. I am sincerely pleased that your Highness has reason to look towards the future with greater confidence and a more joyful assurance. My former respectful letters will have shown your Highness how highly I rate the difficulties of your position, and I hope that your present hopes will not be disappointed.

"In the railway crisis, which is now, we hope, so fortunately ended, the Government of his Majesty could adopt no other attitude than that of guarding the rights and interests of German subjects. The appeal to the suzerain power of the Porte, which your Highness complains of, was necessary on account of the position of these German interests and the principles of international law; and only the blindness of the parties in Roumania could see in it any damage to the autonomy of the country as established by the conventions."

After alluding to the anti-German demonstrations in 1871 and the acquittal of the rioters of March 22, Bismarck continued:

"It is therefore a surprise to us to learn that, as your Highness remarks, the hope is cherished in Roumania that the autonomy may be extended by the mediation of Germany, and new rights acquired, and that by this means friendly relations may be re-established. I am afraid that public opinion in Germany will scarcely appreciate the reconquest of the favour of the Roumanian nation, since we may say to ourselves that we have neither desired nor brought about its loss. Your Highness knows how unconditionally you may reckon on the good will of H. M. the Emperor and King and of his Government, and that we all entertain the best wishes for the prosperity and welfare of your country; but at the same time your Highness has too clear an insight into the wants of your country not to recognise that the conditions of that prosperity and that welfare must be sought in the development of its internal politics, and in the faithful fulfilment of the obligations it has undertaken, and that the influence exerted in Europe by the German Empire may be of great use to the Roumanian nation, if the latter in any way responds to, or even acknowledges, the friendly feeling for Roumania which still exists here."

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From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE.

"My best thanks for the photographs; your child must have charming and interesting features: she reminds one of both the families to which her parents belong! The surroundings amused us, and we greatly admired Elisabeth in the national costume. In spite of photographs, however, I can hardly imagine my old friend Charles as a married man and father with a child on his arm! It is an indescribable happiness to be a father, and I can only too readily imagine how you spend every free hour in the society of your child, and that you found the little mite the only consolation for her mother's absence during your first separation...."

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"When I reflect on the course of events in Germany, since the Düppel assault first attracted the attention of the world to us Prussians, it always seems to me as though I had listened with rapt attention to a long history lesson—that I was called to witness the reality appears a marvel. May our people in future preserve the same becoming earnestness and humility which up to now they have not laid aside in spite of all their successes! So long as that feeling is not abandoned we show ourselves worthy of the deeds we have witnessed."

"You will remember that the thought of a reconstitution of the Empire as the finishing touch in the work of German unity has always occupied me, and been among my sincerest wishes; truly, my aim was directed at a peaceable and bloodless achievement of this fact, and perhaps the same object might have been reached without a war. But these are idle questions which can no longer be considered: we have rather to look to a systematic and thorough completion of the Empire, the external form of which is perhaps attained, but many a year must pass before its southern component parts have quite found their place in the new building. The peoples, especially that portion which took active part in the war, are far more favourable to the new situation than the Cabinets; I shall therefore not be at all surprised if the next few years bring us some most disagreeable conflicts of aim. The peculiarities of each separate country forming the Empire will always be respected and interference with their internal affairs must be avoided; I therefore do not at all like the expression 'a uniform State.' But it is for that very reason that earnest pains must be taken that perfect unity may be shown in military, legal, and foreign-political fields, and that these elements may become more and more firmly welded together."

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"To my joy our neighbour States do not appear to view our union with unfavourable eyes, and that is in itself a great deal—we shall certainly not be loved by any of them. The revengeful feeling of France is only natural and explicable, though much water will flow between the banks of the Rhine before that feeling will issue in act...."

"You would hardly recognise my children again. William^[16] is growing and is hard at work. Henry has become stronger than he was. Charlotte does not seem to grow at all, yet she is pretty, like her fair-haired sister. The youngest you do not know at all—they are already very well-developed little atoms mentally."

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Princess Elisabeth reached Genoa on her way home to Bucharest on April 30. She had left Naples only a few days before a terrible eruption of Vesuvius, accompanied with earthquakes, which caused the death of some two hundred persons. At Vienna the Princess was visited by the Emperor of Austria, Count Andrassy, and a number of her relations. Prince Charles met the Princess near Orschowa and was delighted to find her completely restored to health. Their entry into Bucharest was greeted in every way as heartily as on their return from Germany in 1869. The streets of the capital were so densely packed by a most enthusiastic multitude that the carriage could only proceed at a walk.

The following letter from the German Emperor was brought by M. Mavrogheni:

"MY DEAREST COUSIN,—

"I have to thank you for two letters, one for March 22 handed me by your father, and the other by the bearer of this letter. Let me first thank you heartily for your loyal wishes on my birthday; since recent events took place that day has certainly gained more prominence than formerly, but it also reminds us to return thanks to Him who set us so unexpected a task, and who gave us strength to execute it. The feelings expressed to me on March 22 are in this respect of value and joy to me, since it is assuredly of God's mercy that one is selected to execute His will on earth on behalf of a nation and its army.

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"Your last letter gave me an occasion only yesterday to speak with your Minister, as I am suffering from an injured knee and cannot dress myself well. We discussed the Strousberg affair, which appears to be favourably settled on the whole, but which has had a very susceptible and aggravating effect at times. The Jewish question was then discussed. It is a hard task to have to side with a race of men whose character I know only too well from the Russian Poles. Although in the most examples the guilt of the Jews, according to your own Government's showing, was not at all as heinous as it appeared at first, still the punishment was severe, and some show of mercy would certainly be advisable; on the other hand, it must be regretted that the repression of riots and Jew-baiting was not employed quickly or effectually enough. This, of course, again creates the impression abroad that the internal politics of Roumania are not yet stable, and you will never eradicate this impression until you have created a well-organised and disciplined army, able to enforce obedience to the orders of the Government, not by strength of numbers, but by quality. I expressed this opinion years ago to you through Colonel Krenski, and I regret that you still do not grasp this point—*i.e.*, that you still place more value on the quantity of your forces than in their quality.

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"I realise the difficulty of your task, but it is absolutely necessary if Europe is to gain confidence in your Government through the prevalence of order and security in Roumania.

"I am indeed sorry that your wife's health made a separation necessary, but it was certainly high time to overcome the fever: nothing undermines the health more than lingering ill-health; I therefore hope the best from the Princess's change of air!

"Farewell, and preserve a friendly memory of your very sincere Cousin,

"WILLIAM."

The Roumanian Court moved to Sinaja on May 29, 1872, where the fresh mountain air completely restored the Prince and his family to robust health. The Prince wrote the following description of a great bear-hunt to his father:

"I went bear-hunting a week ago. Three hundred beaters with drums and trumpets, the sound of which re-echoed tenfold in the rocky valleys, and close on thirty hunters, who completed a circle of several miles, and secured our quarry. Two drives were arranged, each of which lasted from two and a half to three hours.

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"After leaving Sinaja about five o'clock I climbed the first summit, Furnica, which I reached at seven. It was just here that a large she-bear had killed several sheep three days before, and devoured them at a short distance from the shepherds, who looked on trembling. I posted myself at this point behind a rock overlooking two deep ravines. The drive then began, accompanied by the penetrating cries of the beaters, who descended the slopes on all sides in an unbroken chain. Suddenly the sky clouded over and a terrible storm broke, so that you could not see ten paces before you. As nothing was to be seen after a wait of two hours we sought refuge in a hut; in a short space of time the weather cleared up, and the pretty Prachova valley lay at our feet bathed in the brightest sunshine.

"This change in the weather encouraged Elisabeth and her ladies to leave Pojani Zapului, whither she had driven that morning, and proceed to meet me with the luncheon. After I had sat three hours in the hut waiting for the bear, or rather the luncheon, the latter arrived about noon, and we sat down to it together on a greensward; the hunters and beaters, the Dorobanzi and their horses camped round about us. All the groups were indescribably picturesque; in the background the bare rock summits of the Kairaman, Omul, &c., appeared like veritable ghosts. At two o'clock we again descended to Pojana Zapului, a little village at the entrance of the *valea babei*, the rendezvous of the bears. I separated from Elisabeth here, and climbed down into this haunted valley, where we came across a primeval wood. Again I found a position which overlooked two ravines. The greatest bear-hunter of the neighbourhood was close to me, and assured me that I should catch sight of some bears. I waited patiently for close on three hours behind a decayed tree; the cries of the beaters had long since died away, single shots were heard in the distance, a portion of the beaters had finished their task, and still nothing was to be seen. I laid my rifle aside discontentedly, but the huntsman whispered to me to have patience for another half-hour. I took up my rifle, and ten minutes had barely sped when I heard a loud rustling, stones rolled down the sides of the ravine, and two young bears crossed our field of sight, and one after the other descended the slope, breaking the rotten boughs with their broad paws. The distance was not great, and I could easily have put a bullet into one of them if boughs and tree-trunks had not impeded my aim. I therefore quitted my position, and climbed down a little way to get a free field of fire, but the huntsman had in the meantime reached the edge of the ravine and killed one of the bears with his first shot; the other would certainly not have escaped him if he had had a double-barrelled rifle. The great excitement now commenced, as the she-bear, which had already been fired on by the beaters higher up, was expected to arrive, but no one could say whether she had been wounded, or whether her cubs had preceded her. The circle of beaters and hunters now drew closer in, the *matador* of the hunters placed himself close by my side, and drew my attention to the danger of an attack by so savage an animal. We waited half an hour for the decisive moment; unfortunately the she-bear did not turn up, and the hunters declared it probable that she had been wounded and had hidden herself in some rocky crevice, as otherwise we should certainly have had a shot at her.

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"On the way home we witnessed another interesting scene. At least thirty large golden eagles had assembled round a carcass on the far side of a ravine, but the distance was far beyond our range. I fired at one which was hovering over my head, but only hit one of his feathers, which fluttered to the ground. The shot frightened the interesting inhabitants of the mountains from their meal, and they flew in all directions between the rocky spurs, where we were able to follow them with the naked eye for a long time."

The same letter also contained a most interesting picture of the situation of Roumania, both at home and abroad.

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"Since my last letter to you on April 30 many things have improved here, and every day shows more and more the advantages of a firm Government, which alone can secure progress and increase the prosperity of the country. The loyal and frank attitude of Catargiu's Ministry has practically crippled the intrigues of the parties, the more so since they have no burning question to exploit. The Opposition Press, it is true, is not ashamed to publish the grossest calumnies about the Government, or to prophesy that the fate of King Otto or the Emperor Maximilian will befall me unless I dismiss the Ministry soon! Fortunately their sallies are so violent that no one places any belief in their screech. As affairs stand at present only some external crisis can affect the resignation of the Cabinet; luckily it is in such favour with the Great Powers that even this anxiety disappears.... It is the immediate duty of my Government to maintain order at all costs, and to aim during the coming session at putting an end to the abuse of liberty, which only damages and discredits us in the eyes of foreign countries. As Roumania is the spoilt child of Europe and has been permitted to do so much, it knows nothing of reflection or fear. It is like an unbroken foal, which is imbued with liberty, and ignores every danger. Guizot says: 'There are times when nations are swayed by their desires beyond all else, and others where they act solely in accordance with their fears. According as the one or the other of these dispositions prevails, nations are intent on liberty or security for preference. It is the first degree in the art of government to distinguish between those sentiments.' To Roumania liberty is more than security: she only knows her own desires, and is fearless. I have not, therefore, been deceived hitherto about her sentiments, which in the eyes of the French statesman is the height of statescraft. For my part I consider that I have committed an error and that I should have achieved more if I had sometimes gone against the desires of the nation!

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"As a matter of fact, I have from the commencement devoted my whole energy to the development of the material welfare of these richly endowed countries. My groundwork was the execution of the net of roads and railways. This is the national-Roumanian policy which I have so far pursued, and which I shall continue in the future. Perhaps this is the very reason of the great wrath of those to whom the existence of Roumania is a thorn in the flesh. The enmity to which it is exposed by a paid Press is therefore well founded, for even a small country which makes material progress daily may in time become a factor with which perhaps the world may be forced to reckon. I have observed two currents in the policy of Austria-Hungary regarding us: the official circles appear at present to favour the stability and peaceful development of Roumania, whilst others—I know not how to define them: clerical, financial, Jewish—show their animosity by an incessant paper-warfare against the country. The Austrian and Hungarian papers compete with each other in this rivalry. What lasts too long ends by becoming tedious, and one may hope that the world will some day have had enough of this tangled web of printed lies. It may also be that much of this arrogance is based on Stock Exchange speculations. The Jewish *haute finance* has declared that it will not embark upon any business with "Jew-devouring" Roumania, and will oppose with all its might any of the country's aims. In the meantime we have concluded a tobacco monopoly with a great Hungarian Jewish house, and obtained an unexpected bid of 8,000,000 francs a year, a brilliant piece of business for both parties."

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To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, August 31st, 1872.

"Our stay at Sinaja, which, if the weather holds good, we shall prolong for another four weeks, suits us excellently. The life here is pleasant and unconstrained; every day brings fresh interests. A bevy of young girls adds much liveliness to our circle; in addition to the lately appointed maid of honour, Mlle. Valeanu, we recently had seven young ladies to dinner, with a dance and round games in the evening. Even nonsense refreshes the mind, and it was a real benefit to us all to let ourselves go. We made Costa-Foru dance and D. Ghika played with us. This is a very different matter from sitting head over ears in work. Until to-day it would have been impossible to accuse me of playing with my present and former Ministers, and hence it is a real satisfaction to me to have done so in Sinaja. Moreover, our stay here is of great benefit to us in many ways: it brings us into closer contact with people than would be possible in the city, where everything is red tape; we have also had the pleasant experience that, in spite of the difficulty of communication, everybody seems delighted to come here. We have had numerous visitors even from Moldavia....

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"On September 8 our little Marie will be two years old, but she might easily pass for three, for her mental and physical development is far more mature than that of most children of two years old. You ought to see my little daughter now, my dear parents. You would certainly take as great a pleasure in her as we do ourselves; she already speaks three languages—Roumanian, German, and, above all, English; is very independent, runs about alone, calls everybody by his proper name, and on Sundays goes to the chapel of the Monastery, where she keeps quite quiet during the service. Her character is amiable and gentle; she obeys every order, and gives up all her little possessions with pleasure."

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The birthday of the little Princess was celebrated in the same way as the year before, with the ceremony of breaking a cake over her little fair head, and with serenades, and fireworks. The childlike grace and charm with which her Serene Highness accepted the homage captivated all hearts.

To the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE, October 8th, 1872.

"We have been permitted, after many storms, to spend a quiet and happy summer, admiring nature and art, and visited by people of all kinds and of all nationalities—mutable and merry,

despite the stillness of the cloister surrounded by giant mountains. Even a few Englishmen put in an appearance, and I gave them the heartier welcome for the hope that they will now spread healthier ideas about Oriental countries amongst their fellow countrymen. Unfortunately the shade of Palmerston still moves amongst England's diplomatists, and her inhabitants are more Turkish than the Turks themselves, which fact you will be able to estimate correctly, as you are acquainted with Turkish rule. I have said this to all who came, and I hope that the Foreign Office will acquire a more just appreciation, particularly of the territories of the Danube."

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From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE, October 28th, 1872.

"We fared very well during the summer; my wife and I and our two youngest children enjoyed the Alps in Berchtesgaden and Salzburg, a region which we find extraordinarily attractive.

"There, as in the whole of South Germany, where later on I inspected troops, a reception was prepared for me as hearty and brilliant as any in the old Mother Country. The feeling of cohesion amongst all German races since the re-establishment of the German Empire has spread in those parts extraordinarily, broadly, and quickly. All feel themselves elevated and strengthened; they see themselves as members of a nation which commands a respect such as the former thirty Fatherlands could never have commanded. The enemies of our union, against whom we struggle, cannot prevail in face of this political power, but they will leave no means of damaging it untried. Only we must not make a mistake in our choice of weapons, for otherwise we shall make martyrs of our opponents, and shall reap neither thanks nor advantage."

From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, November 26th, 1872.

"The burning question in the new German Empire is the Church. This question is making a great stir and embittering family life; it undoubtedly points to future danger, since the Ultramontane Party will use it as a lever to intrigue against the new German Empire and the Protestant Emperor. Simply to oppose Germany, France is highly in favour of Rome and everything connected with it, and so she is enlisting the sympathies of our Ultras, who believe, or wish to have it believed, that France is the only sanctuary of Catholicism, and that Prussia's policy is universal evangelisation. This tendency in France is at present a means of agitation, inspired by revenge and not by the glorification of the Church.

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"The boundaries between the powers of the State and the Church are to be regulated by legislation in Berlin. This problem may possibly be solved in theory, but never in practice. When my opinion was asked, I advised the Emperor to decide each concrete case with the utmost rigour, but never to embark upon disputes about theoretical dogmas—history teaches that in such struggles the State invariably comes off the worst. The introduction of civil marriage, the separation of the schools from the Church, and the establishment of State examinations for the clergy are alone excepted from this. The Church must be left to herself; the State has nothing to do with dogmas, which depend entirely upon the conscience of Catholics.

"You have no idea of the agitation which these questions are causing just now, or of the prevailing misconceptions.

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"It is well that the Jesuit law is, so to speak, an already surmounted vantage-point; but those who expect improvement from it are mistaken; the greater part of the Catholic priesthood of to-day has been educated by the Jesuits. The whole struggle is grievous.

"If the contending parties had long ago arrived at an understanding, particularly in the time of King Frederick William IV., that the Throne and the Altar are two irreconcilable conceptions, it might have been possible to regulate their relation without the intervention of force. But that ruler's absolutist tendencies sought and found in the absolutism of Rome an alliance which is still a heavy burden upon our national development.

"You will certainly have followed the debates on the '*Kreisordnung*' in the Upper House with interest. To myself it is a brilliant satisfaction for the wrongs suffered in 1859 and 1860; what I then prophesied has happened to-day—the Upper House is an institution whose entire composition stands in urgent need of reform.

"The situation in Bavaria and Württemberg, especially in the dynastic spheres, is scarcely yet intelligible. Particularism is as obstinate as possible. The unification of the Empire from a military point of view is proceeding smoothly, and will not recede; but the minor Sovereigns take it very ill that they are to be mediatised in a military and diplomatic sense at once...."

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The unexpected news of the death of Napoleon III. was received at Bucharest on January 10, 1873. Prince Charles and the Roumanian nation were deeply moved by this sad event, for the dead Emperor had been the champion and protector of the national existence of Roumania in its darkest days. Throughout the whole land memorial services were held, though the Metropolitan at first objected on the ground that the late Emperor was not a member of the Orthodox Church. The universal expression of sympathy with the widowed Empress and the Prince Imperial created a certain friction with the Republican Government, and the Foreign Minister reminded M. Strat that the Roumanians ought not to forget that, after all, "it was to France, and not the Emperor, that gratitude was due"! M. Thiers, the President, also expressed his vexation that the Roumanian Chambers should have sent messages of condolence to the Prince Imperial as well as

to the Empress, since the former had never had anything to do with Roumania. This measure was considered to indicate that Roumania held the French Republic "*nul et non avenu.*" M. Thiers concluded with the remark: "If I had acted strictly in accordance with the rules of international custom, I should have recalled all my agents and broken off all communication with you!" M. Strat was able, however, to convince the President that Roumania had only paid a debt of gratitude to a benefactor, and had no intention of insulting France.

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The situation in Paris at the commencement of 1873 was described by M. Strat as "the same struggles, the same defiance in every camp, and the same uncertainty about the future as in the past." A sort of armistice existed between M. Thiers and the Majority of the National Assembly, who were anxious to foist a King upon France, whilst the adherents of the Republic were divided into two camps. "Those who desire a moderate and conservative republic do nothing to bring it to pass, and those who wish for a *régime* on the lines of Gambetta & Co. do everything in their power to render it permanently impossible." Gambetta's school, which unfortunately had made proselytes throughout the whole of Europe, aimed at "governing by inane discourses, banquets, harangues, demonstrations in the streets, and all the customary trappings of a vulgar democracy." Hampered by all these conflicting elements, M. Thiers was confronted by the task of maintaining order, paying milliards, and raising the commerce of the country. He would only secure peace with the National Assembly if he gave it complete liberty "to play upon that instrument which they call universal suffrage."

On February 13 King Amadeo of Spain announced in a special message to the Cortes that he had laid the crown aside, under the conviction that the incessant struggles of the parties were frustrating all his efforts for the peace and happiness of his country. The Cortes, by a large majority, proclaimed the Republic *pour l'éternité*, and elected as their President a well-known and thorough-going Republican, Senor Fiqueras. And so the saying of Napoleon III., that a Latin race is almost ungovernable, received a melancholy confirmation, which was only partly refuted by the Prince Charles's unquestioned success in ruling the "Latin sister-nation." Public opinion was only now beginning to realise the great merit of the Prince in achieving, by patience, abnegation, and perseverance, a stable Government, which only a few years before had appeared to be an aim Utopian and altogether beyond realisation to all those who were acquainted with the people and the affairs of Roumania.

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Prince Charles was invited by the Emperor of Austria to attend the Vienna Exhibition, where Roumanian commerce was to be represented by exhibits of tobacco, wool, silk, wood, salt and other minerals. There were scarcely any manufactures, but the Prince was confident that they would soon follow in the track of the railways.

The Princess, whose health had not been at all satisfactory, and her little daughter, set out on a visit to the Princess of Wied on May 31, 1873. Little Marie soon became accustomed to the motion of the yacht, and took the greatest interest in her first long journey. Neuwied was reached safely, and the first news which Prince Charles received on June 23 in Vienna was that they were delighted to be home, and that the German Crown Prince had given them a most hearty welcome.

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Prince Charles received the same treatment at Vienna, where he found his brother, the Hereditary Prince Leopold, awaiting him. He could not fail to notice that the reception accorded to him in 1873 was far more cordial than that in 1869, and he found, too, that his labours and sacrifices during the last four years had at last received due recognition in the Press.

Count Andrassy had a long and important interview with Prince Charles on June 25, when the Prince mentioned his project of declaring Roumania an independent State, because the relations with the Porte only led to constant friction, and were prejudicial to the welfare of his country. Moreover, a free Roumania, he held, would be a better friend to Turkey than it could possibly be under the existing circumstances. Count Andrassy pointed out that Roumania, as an independent State, would be exposed to danger from outside, while at present her safety was guaranteed by conventions and treaties. At the same time he gave emphatic denial to the rumour that Austria had any intention of annexing Roumanian territory. "We should be acting against our own interests, were we to increase the number of our discontented Roumanian subjects, and extend our frontier against Russia." Prince Charles replied that it would always be his aim to remain strictly neutral between his two all-powerful neighbours, Austria and Russia.

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The Roumanian section in the exhibition was altogether successful; the centre of attraction was a portrait by an American painter, Healy, of the Prince in cavalry uniform, and of the Princess in national costume. The many-coloured carpets and woven silks also received great commendation, as well as the wines of the country.

The Prince quitted Vienna on July 1 by the train which carried the German Empress back to Germany. The Empress expressed herself greatly pleased at the reception accorded her by the Austrian capital, especially by the amiability of the Emperor Francis Joseph. After a short stay at Neuwied Prince Charles proceeded to Ems to see the Czar before the latter left for Russia, and to congratulate him in person upon the approaching marriage of the Grand Duchess Marie to the Duke of Edinburgh. A couple of days later the Prince and Princess again visited Ems, this time to see the German Emperor, *en route* for Imnau, where they expected to rejoin the Princess of Wied. The Emperor William welcomed his Roumanian guests with the utmost cordiality and affection, and declared himself delighted with the improved relations of the Prince to the Austro-Hungarian State. He again pointed out to his young cousin the necessity of paying particular attention to his army, and reminded him that a small but well-disciplined force was far superior to a more numerous though less highly trained army.

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An amusing adventure happened to the Prince and Princess on their way to Imnau at Giessen,

where they had the misfortune to miss their train, and were forced to spend the night at a small hotel near the railway station, without either luggage or sufficient money to pay for their railway-tickets. As they desired to preserve their incognito, they determined to make use of their "honest looks" to induce the hotel-keeper to advance the necessary sum of money. This hope, it is pleasant to note, was not cherished in vain, and Imnau was reached on July 8. The Prince's parents remained at Hechingen, which lies only a short distance from Imnau, but met every day either at one place or the other, so that Prince Charles Anthony's favourite wish was at last fulfilled. In this peaceful fashion a month passed only too quickly, and, after a couple of days spent at Krauchenwies the wanderers returned to Sinaja on August 28, touching Vienna *en route*, so that the Princess might also have an opportunity of visiting the exhibition.

The affairs of Roumania were absolutely uneventful, and the efforts of the Prince, warmly supported by the Ministry, made satisfactory progress towards the attainment of the high ideal which Prince Charles had kept before him ever since he first took up his arduous task. In a letter written to his parents at Christmas the Prince remarked: "Roumania has never witnessed so peaceful or, in many respects, so happy a year as 1873. The general progress is excellent, and the good understanding between the Government and the Chambers still continues."

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The early part of 1874 was darkened by the illness of Princess Elisabeth, who was seized by a contagious disease whilst supervising the distribution of gifts to the poor children of Bucharest. Fortunately the trouble abated in time to enable the Princess to enjoy the visit of her brother-in-law, Prince Frederick. Princess Marie, too, was not spared by the epidemic, and for a few days her condition caused the gravest anxiety to her parents.

From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE, March 21st, 1874.

"You will certainly have followed with sympathy the course of the lamentable religio-political struggle between our Government and the Papal Curia. I am sorry that it should have occurred; but I foresaw it, as the custom, established these thirty years, of giving way to the demands of Rome rather than maintaining a firm position could not possibly continue. I think, perhaps, a different sequence in the legislature might have been observed; but since the struggle has been undertaken we must carry it through. Austria, very opportunely for us, is beginning to adopt a similar attitude.

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"I am sorry that there should be a current report that the Government wishes to attack the Catholic Church and its dogmas for their own sake. Every one who is capable of calm deliberation must know that nothing is further from our thoughts."

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, April 7th, 1874.

"I write to you oppressed by care and anxiety on account of our dear child, who is suffering from scarlet fever. On Saturday she was quite well, and drove out with us in the warm spring weather; early on Sunday she complained of not being well. Her malady increased towards midday, and was accompanied by sickness. Towards evening she became very restless and feverish, and Dr. Theodori recognised the symptoms of a dangerous illness. The poor child passed a very bad night, moaning and sleepless, whilst we watched by her bedside; at 2 A.M. her skin became deep red, and her temperature rose considerably. Theodori came at eight o'clock and pronounced it to be scarlet fever. At noon her whole body was burning with heat, and her head was affected. The doctor then informed me that the illness was so dangerous that he should like another opinion. A consultation took place the same evening in the sick-room, to which the local medical authorities were summoned. They did not conceal her serious condition from us, and declared that her age added to their anxiety.

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"Another bad night was passed, but the fever was less intense the following morning; there was no question of sleep. We do not lose our courage, and trust in God, who will not abandon us in the hour of our trouble...."

After a slight improvement on the 8th the condition of the child became so alarming at midnight that her parents, who had not left her side till eleven P.M., were again summoned to her bed. They found their little daughter gasping for breath. The hastily summoned physicians declared the condition of their patient to be hopeless. As she lay in the lap of her English nurse, the child's strength seemed to ebb with every minute, and as the first rays of the rising sun touched the windows of the room, the despairing parents were kneeling by the lifeless body of their only child. Only a short time could be given them to be near her; the little coffin was closed, and carried by the grief-stricken father out of the death-chamber. A long procession accompanied the body of the little Princess to the Church of Cotroceni, where it was to remain until the morrow, which was Good Friday. At two o'clock the last sad rites of the Orthodox Church were celebrated in the presence of an enormous concourse of sympathetic representatives of every class of society.

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From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE.

"We have just received the unexpected and afflicting news of the terrible misfortune that has befallen you. May God's grace be with you and grant you strength to bear the desperate sorrow,

the burden of which we know from our own experience! In thought I put myself in your frame of mind, and realise that you must both be numbed with grief at seeing your sweet child lifeless before you, and at knowing that you can never again see a light in her dear eyes, never again a smile on her face!

"These are hours in which, in spite of all Christian principles, one still asks: why need it have been? And certainly it is hard to say: 'Thy will be done!'

"I wrote this text on the tomb of my son Sigismund, your god-child, because I know of no other consolation: and yet I cannot conquer that pain to-day, though many years have already passed, and though God has given me a large family. Time does certainly blunt the keenest edge of a parent's anguish, but it does not remove the burden, which remains a companion for life....

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"Your grief is also ours, and you are both the object of our anxiety and our prayers; for that my wife is at one with me in these thoughts of sympathy you know as well as that these lines are for poor Elisabeth no less than for you. God be with you, and be merciful to you!"

In the following letter, addressed to the President of the Ministry, Prince Charles endeavoured to thank his people for their sympathy.

"The Almighty has summoned our only and dearly loved child from this world of trouble.

"If a proof of my country's devotion had been needed, it could not have been shown in a more affecting manner than in these days of sorrow, when the sense of the sincere sympathy of all has been our chief consolation in distress.

"And so I desire to assure my country that just as it has supported me by its affection in the hardest moment of my life, so I shall endeavour to repay in good measure the kindness which it has manifested towards me.

"The sweetest memory which our lost daughter has left us as an inestimable treasure is her boundless love for the country in which she was born, a love so strong that despite her tender age she felt the pangs of home sickness during her first stay abroad.

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"Our child's faith and the language which she spoke have assumed a new sanctity in our eyes, for every Roumanian word will from henceforth be to us the echo of that voice which we shall never again hear on earth.

"Though the dearest and most intimate bond of our family circle has been severed, a still stronger tie unites us now with our greater family, the Roumanian nation, which joins with us in mourning the loss of our and their child.

"It is a sacred duty with the Princess and myself to express to one and all, from the depth of our sorely tried hearts, our cordial gratitude, together with the hope that all will unite with us in prayer that the Almighty may grant us strength and patience in the trial which He, the Father of All, has in His inscrutable wisdom sent to us."

From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, April 15th, 1874.

"What terrible news! Though yesterday we awaited your telegram not without anxiety, still we were reassured towards evening. As long as I live I shall not forget to-day's awakening—I opened the telegram without agitation—speechless, and with the keenest heartache, I read it again and again. For a long time I could not believe in the possibility of the destruction of your domestic happiness. God's ways are inscrutable! He has for only too short a time entrusted to you a being whom He loved so much that he could not but recall her to Him. These lines are not meant to console you, for at such moments there can be no consolation: they are only to remind us all that we must humbly submit, come what may!"

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To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, May 5th.

"We established ourselves here (Cotroceni) yesterday, and we hope to find more peace and a little consolation for our sorrowing hearts, since we shall now be close to the resting-place of our loved child. The palace in the capital seemed so empty and melancholy to us that we awaited with impatience the day when we could leave it. But we shall feel our loss bitterly even here. Our daily walk is to her grave, where we sit and talk over the legacy of rich and manifold memories left us by our dear child. The whole country mourns for little Marie; this you know, and will have seen from our newspapers; many expressions of sympathy have also reached us from abroad. The German Emperor wrote me a very kind letter in which he shows his true kindness of heart. I also received a letter from the King of Italy, and Elisabeth one from the Queen of England, which was couched in very warm and affectionate terms. The Empress Eugénie also telegraphed her sympathy with me.

"... Elisabeth's nerves are so shaken that the greatest care is necessary. I must confess to you that I am often anxious myself, and am much depressed by pain, sorrow, and apprehension. I get but very little sleep at night, and have repeatedly heard my poor Elisabeth cry out in her dreams: 'Dead, dead!' This cry of pain is each time a fresh stab in my wounded heart!"

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Whilst Princess Elisabeth sought to conquer her grief by distraction in translating Roumanian

legends and fairy tales, Prince Charles's time was claimed by affairs of State. Great Britain, in pursuit of its Turkophile policy, wished to accredit its new agent, Mr. Vivian, with a letter in which mention was made of the "good relations which exist between England and the Sublime Porte and the territory governed by your Highness." The Roumanian Government declined to receive this communication, but the incident was eventually settled by an exchange of Notes between the English Consul-General and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Vivian had a private audience on May 4 with the Prince, who expressed his opinion very plainly on the Oriental policy of England.

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, May 26th, 1874.

"We are impatiently awaiting Leopold's arrival, which is promised for Monday. The Prince of Serbia will have left us by then; he has truly Oriental ideas of hospitality! We hold aloof from all public entertainments in his honour, and only invite him now and again to dinner or tea. Every time he comes to Cotroceni he brings a wreath, which he places, either with his own hand or by another's, on the grave of our child. He is a very pleasant, bright, and handsome man, an excellent talker; he is by nature gifted with understanding, but is deficient in higher culture. His visit here is making a great impression in Constantinople, which he quitted in anger. The Servians are now on a worse footing with Turkey than we are, since they have been refused Swornik. After voting us addresses of condolence *in corpore* the Chambers are endeavouring to overthrow the Ministry and to form a coalition."

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On June 7 a law was passed providing for the allotment of land in Bessarabia to the Bulgarians expelled from the right bank of the river. This measure was warmly advocated by the Russian Consul-General, but Prince Charles, mindful of Russia's declaration in 1871, was disquieted by the discovery that the Russian Government had not surrendered its hopes of the reacquisition of Bessarabia.

After a short stay in the pleasant groves of breezy Sinaja the journey to Franzensbad was commenced on July 15 in the company of the Hereditary Prince. The Princess of Hohenzollern arrived a few days later alone, Prince Charles Anthony's infirmities keeping him practically a prisoner in his room. Prince Charles was delighted to find that his mother's health was unaffected by her exertions: "We are inexpressibly happy to have her here, but reproach ourselves for having taken her from you, and we are grieved that you should remain alone at Krauchenwies. We fully appreciate the sacrifice you have made for us, and thank you with all our hearts."

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"The Empress had been so kind as to inquire from the Queen of England what watering-place would suit us best. The latter replied by telegraph that her physician, Sir W. Jenner, recommended Eastbourne for Elisabeth 'and her husband.'

"When ladies of so high degree look after a watering-place for us, we ought certainly to reap the full benefit from our stay! We shall, therefore, probably go to Eastbourne or Hastings."

"One day is very much like another, and we live solely according to the '*Kur*.'... These places in Bohemia are fortunately so accustomed to Royal visitors that a Queen and an Oriental Prince create very little stir."^[17]

After paying a flying visit to the German Emperor at Eger the Prince and Princess arrived in London on August 19. The Marchioness of Lorne came to express the Queen's regret at her inability to receive the travellers, as she was about to set out for Scotland. The Prince of Wales and the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh welcomed Prince Charles and his wife with warm sympathy. The young Duchess of Edinburgh had changed greatly since the first time Prince Charles saw her at Livadia in 1869. Then she left the impression of a charming child, but now she appeared with all the character of a young mother.

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During their three weeks' stay at St. Leonard's the Prince and Princess made many excursions to Brighton, Oxford, Woolwich, Chislehurst, and the neighbouring country seats of the nobility. The visit to Oxford, with Professor Max Müller as *cicerone*, was of especial interest to the Prince, who was much impressed by the ancient University, with its glorious colleges. By the courtesy of the Secretary of War, Gathorne Hardy, Prince Charles was able to make a minute inspection of the Woolwich Arsenal. The Prince was astonished to find that the heaviest naval guns for the British fleet were still built on the muzzle-loading principle, and endeavoured, without much success, to convince his guide, Major-General Simmons, of the advantages of the breechloading system.

Several very pleasant hours were spent at Lord Brassey's castle and on board his yacht. Lord Brassey had visited Roumania on several occasions, as he was interested in the Offenheim railway concession, and was, therefore, no stranger to the Prince. A couple of visits were also paid to Holmebury House to Lady Mary Anne Alford and her brother, Mr. Leveson-Gower, whose brother, Lord Granville, had formerly been in communication with Roumania as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

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"To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY.

"We shall commemorate in quiet and grief the birthday of our dear daughter on the 8th of September. She was the light of our home life. Now this anniversary will only teach us, as each

year comes round, that this earthly life, with all its pleasures and sorrows, is but the preparation for a better life, and that, therefore, we must not cling too much to the things of this world. England by no means seems full of this sentiment. I believe that in no other country has materialism gone to such a length as here. People live solely to enjoy their lives—*et voilà tout*. Commerce and industry, therefore, flourish, which bring in money, and money is the essential requisite for English comfort!

"I discussed the social condition of England with Max Müller, and derived much benefit from the insight into the situation here which I owe to him. [203]

"Roumania is a *terra incognita* here, and the sympathy with Turkey is so great that it is useless to struggle against this folly. Nevertheless, I have placed myself in communication with several influential Englishmen.

"In spite of the cutting cold winds, we continue our sea-bathing, and derive much benefit from it...."

Lord Derby, in reply to a letter from Prince Charles, who expressed his regret at not having met the Foreign Secretary in London, professed his deep concern at being unable to pay the Prince a visit before his departure from England.

On the way home Prince Charles visited the Oriental Congress in London, where representatives of all Eastern nations were assembled. Amongst others, the Prince made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the decipherer of the cuneiform inscriptions; of Léon Rosnez, the learned exponent of Semitic languages; of Sir Henry Bartle Frere; of Sir John Lubbock and Charles Kingsley. The majority of these were presented to Prince Charles at a Mansion House banquet given in honour of the Oriental Congress. The quaint ceremonies, the ancient costumes of the civic dignitaries, the luxury and wealth of the table appointments, and the excellent music discoursed during the dinner all contributed to attract the Prince's attention and interest. [204]

The homeward journey lay through Paris, where the ruins of the Tuileries awakened melancholy reflections; Strassburg, which still bore plain traces of siege, to the Weinburg where Prince Charles Anthony was feverishly awaiting their arrival. The meeting was most affecting, and the memories awakened by the deep mourning of his children almost overcame the aged Prince, whose bodily infirmities were increasing with every year. The stay at the Weinburg ended on October 8. Prince Charles Anthony's bodily suffering, though borne with heroic courage, threw a melancholy shadow over the otherwise happy home life of the Hohenzollern family.

With their return to Sinaja the grief of the unfortunate parents was constantly aroused by the absence of their dear one from the rooms which once were enlivened by her presence; the very gloom of the weather seemed to encourage this melancholy mood.

From the GERMAN EMPEROR, September 26th, 1874.

"I was very pleased to make the acquaintance of the bearer of these lines (the Roumanian Minister of War) and to see him at our manœuvres, which appeared to interest him greatly. My best thanks to you for the letter he brought me. I think it most natural that your journey this time should have been undertaken solely on account of the health of both of you, and that, moreover, your mood was not such as to care to make any visits except in the narrowest family circle. Let us hope that another time you will give us the pleasure and joy of seeing you here. In any case I am happy to have spoken with you, though only for a short time in Eger. [205]

"With a thousand greetings to your wife,

"Your sincere Cousin,
"WILLIAM."

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, November 28th.

"We quitted Sinaja three weeks ago with heavy hearts to return to Bucharest. The weather remained beautiful until a week ago, and our longing for the mountains was increased; the more so as the empty rooms of the Palace can never appear lively. We endeavour to distract ourselves as much as possible and invite people to dinner every day, but nothing can make us forget the dear voice of our child, which we miss everywhere and at all times.

"I opened the Chamber yesterday. My speech was short, and touched only on practical questions.

"The question of the commercial treaties is on the high road to an immediate solution, the only difficulties are matters of detail. We are now negotiating with Austria-Hungary, whose interest it is to enter on closer relations with us both politically and commercially. Even now the Porte cannot grow resigned to a defeat which is due to its own lack of skill. England, France, and Italy will have no course left but to adopt the same line as the three other Great Powers; their representatives here are quite willing to influence their Governments in our favour. We have every reason to be satisfied with our Diplomatic Corps; France and England, in particular, have sent us amiable and experienced men, who have already travelled throughout the country, and [206]

can judge of our circumstances with intelligence. They have both pleaded for the commercial conventions in their reports."

A most interesting and important report on the condition of the Servian forces in 1874 was received on January 9, 1875. M. Sturdza prefaced his remarks by insisting upon the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the truth about Servia: Chauvinism and love of exaggeration conspired to keep strangers in the dark. He had, however, been able to discover enough to prove that the Servian troops were, strictly speaking, no army at all. Both quality and quantity left much to be desired, whilst the standing force of 5000 men was hardly sufficient to keep order in the interior. The permanent force of cavalry amounted to but one solitary squadron, whilst only one battery was armed with modern guns. The fortresses were in an indefensible condition, as their sole armament consisted of the guns which the Turks had left there. The Territorial Army was of still less value than the standing army. Without officers and without equipment or proper arms it in no way deserved serious consideration. The political situation of Servia also gave rise to considerable doubt as to the stability of Prince Milan's Government. The Press constantly urged the Croats, Slavonians, and Hungarian Servians to rebel against Austria. Prince Milan had flouted Germany by his openly expressed sympathy with France, whilst England's favour had been lost by the anti-Turkish policy of the Ministry. Russia, Servia's best friend, had supported the Ministry, until it applied to the French Ambassador in Constantinople for his assistance in the Swornik question. Count Ignatiew was so much exasperated by this step that he counselled the Porte to resist the demands for the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from that fortress.

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The attitude of the populace of Montenegro and Herzegowina towards Turkey threatened most serious complications in January 1875. The massacres of Christians at Podgoritza late in 1874 still remained unpunished, though the instigators had already been sentenced by Turkish Courts. Representations to the Sublime Porte resulted in the preposterous demand that the Montenegrins, who had been the cause of the disturbance, should be tried by a Turkish Court before the sentences on the Ottoman officials were carried out. Eventually the Ambassadors of the Powers succeeded in persuading the Porte to abandon this claim.

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Prince Milan's popularity had suffered greatly by his favouritism and caprice, whilst his Ministry seemed to aim either at forcing him to abdicate, or at least at putting such difficulties in his way that the Powers would be forced to intervene, and thus effect his fall. His long stay in Paris in 1874, together with his unbounded extravagance, gave rise to most unfavourable comment. "It is asserted that the Prince's debts now amount to the whole of his private fortune. Bills of exchange arrive every day from abroad and cannot be paid. His landed property in Wallachia will be invaded. Expedients for borrowing from all sides are seen at the Palace. Many people here, even peasants, are owed money. The civil list has been spent six months in advance."

From PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER.

"... I only now realise the magnitude of the work your Highness has undertaken, a work which demands the highest form of heroism, the heroism of patience! To sow without the hope of enjoying the harvest demands a degree of faith such as is not common in the present day. If I were younger, I would enthusiastically offer my services to the warden of European culture on the Danube, and would leave him no peace until the schools and universities had become the pride of his people and an example to the whole world. Guns are wanted; railways are wanted; but, above all, schools are wanted; they are the most sacred duty of all! It is often hard to love or to benefit our neighbours, but we can all love and benefit our own posterity. When the Budget of Love (education) is as high as the Budget of Hatred (war), the Eastern Marches will be under the protection of Europe even without treaties.

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"Public opinion in England remains unaltered—the arrival of a telegram from the Danube makes us tremble in every limb. Two reasons for this are apparent. Humanity is the slave of phrase, and the phrase, 'integrity of the Ottoman Empire,' is as much a matter of course to the English as 'Britannia rules the waves.' Such phrases have a firmer hold on English policy than on French or German. The Turkish funds form the second reason...."

On February 14, 1875, Prince Charles received the Spanish Ambassador, who came to announce the accession of Alfonso De Borbon y Borbone "by the Grace of God and the National Will King of Spain." Don Gherardi was received with every honour usual on such occasions at the European Courts. Though this step of the King of Spain was entirely due to his personal relations to the Roumanian Court, and not to any political motive, it nevertheless caused much excitement in diplomatic circles, as it was practically tantamount to the recognition of the independence of Roumania. The Sublime Porte at once demanded satisfaction from Spain, and declared that Turkey would not recognise the new kingdom until such satisfaction had been given.

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From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY.

"One of the most ridiculous and narrow-minded of political interests is the unbounded

importance attached to the Spanish notification to Bucharest, which is treated as seriously as though the whole Eastern Question depended upon it. The English papers, followed by those of Berlin, never tire of discussing this matter from every point of view. It is truly ridiculous, but, on the other hand, discloses the still prevailing aversion from your emancipation."

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, March 19th, 1875.

"We lost all communication with abroad and the interior for a whole month in consequence of heavy snowstorms. Many accidents and considerable losses have occurred which will be more severely felt here, where misfortunes, as well as prosperity, are ascribed to the Government, than elsewhere. It is hard to realise the sufferings of the poor peasants: famine and typhus raged in several villages; and it was impossible to send them help! No one dared to go out of doors on account of the multitude of wolves which infested every locality in search of food. According to official reports, these brutes have devoured a number of human beings and cattle, whilst the bears have done equal damage on the mountains! The total suspension of railway traffic has caused a most unwelcome loss of 3,000,000 francs to the State at a moment when the deficit had been covered with difficulty. Trade also has suffered materially, as all business was interrupted; the Exchequer has had no money for the last ten days, as no remittances arrived from the districts—and all payments had to be suspended in consequence! All this had a serious effect on every one; discontent and ill-humour prevail everywhere!...

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"The slowness of the present thaw will, it is to be hoped, prevent larger inundations; the streets in town, however, are in an incredible state; locomotion is only possible in sleighs—which are in imminent danger of being capsized. This happened to us last week, but we escaped unhurt. Elisabeth was delighted at the adventure, but I am ashamed at having been upset in my capital! Our hound, Mentor, was so terrified by this accident that he refused to get into the sleigh again, and went home on foot....

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"Russia and Germany have declared themselves willing to negotiate commercial and consular conventions with us. England regrets that she has not been able to frustrate the *fait accompli*, but, nevertheless, makes a *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*. Yet she could not help inciting the Sublime Porte, by her very anti-Roumanian representative in Constantinople, to issue the ridiculous protest about the Spanish notification. This was an ill turn to Turkey, as an innocent affair was expanded into a *cause célèbre*.... The expenditure of 5,000,000 francs (for warlike purposes) produces not a little disquiet, and has set England against us; and yet England is one of the keenest competitors for the contract! Very significant!"

On March 28, 1875, the Chambers legislative period of four years came to an end. Not only was it the first time that one and the same Chamber had sat for the full term, but it was also the first time that the same Ministry had both opened and closed the Chamber, an achievement which speaks volumes for the progress and development of the Principalities during this period.

Prince Charles accepted the presidency of the Bucharest Jockey Club, founded by Mr. Vivian, the English Consul-General, in April 1875. At a banquet on April 18 the Prince expressed the hope that the foundation of the Club would be beneficial to horse-breeding in Roumania, and restore the industry to the position it held in the time of Frederick the Great, who procured part of his remounts from Moldavia.

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From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY.

"My life is so quiet and lonely that my connection with the outer world is actually based on confidential letters and the newspapers alone.

"Nevertheless, I am very well posted, and am daily better able to appreciate that one sees, hears, and judges all the more clearly for being more concentrated and quiet. Unfortunately I cannot say that the policy of the young German Empire satisfies me at present.

"The demand on the Italian Government about the Papal Guarantee law appears to me to be out of place. Difficulties increase every day in the religious-political field, and it does not seem clear how we are to get out of it without entrenching on matters of Catholic belief. I certainly am no Ultramontane; but my objective sense of justice revolts against our tactics, groping wholly in the dark against a power which possesses an unparalleled spiritual influence. Our alliances at present are more of a personal nature than based upon mutual interests. Fortunately the universal desire for peace has now gained the upper hand everywhere.

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"Everything seems to be going well and quietly with you; it is to be hoped that the elections will not cause too great excitement in the country. However, you are already more or less accustomed to these agitations: and with *sangfroid* one may regulate much which at first appears to be overwhelming."

As a matter of fact, with the exception of a couple of student demonstrations in Bucharest, the elections took place in perfect peace and order, and resulted again in a large majority for the Conservative Government. The Opposition, it is true, attempted to prove that the Ministry had

influenced the elections, and twelve Liberal judges of the first instance resigned as a protest.

One of the first duties of the new Chamber was the election of a successor to the venerable Nippon, the Metropolitan of Bucharest, who died suddenly on May 17, 1875, at the age of eighty-four. The body, in accordance with a strange old custom, was seated on the archiepiscopal throne in the Metropolie, dressed in full canonicals—a picture of peaceful and spiritual dignity. Countless numbers of orthodox believers thronged the church to kiss the Metropolitan's hand for the last time. All through the night priests chanted before the altar, whilst high and low, rich and poor, passed in one long line before the dead Prince of the Church.

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Owing to the great heat it was found impossible to comply with the custom of carrying the seated corpse to the monastery of Cernica. Four priests therefore held the chair on a hearse open on all four sides, and thus bore the venerated priest to the burial-place of his predecessors. Many of the spectators threw themselves to the ground as the procession passed them.

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, June 21st, 1875.

"I write to you to-day with painful emotion, after an escape from a great danger.... The railway journey to Giurgiu, when I was accompanied by a number of senators and deputies, as well as the return journey as far as Filaret, passed uneventfully; at the last-named station the train crossed over to the loop line. The engine had the tender in front.

"I looked out of the window and noticed that the train was moving on to a line at Dealu-Spirei, where a ballast train was already standing. I sat down quickly and said to those who were with me in the saloon-carriage: 'Sit down, there is going to be a collision!' At the moment a violent shock took place, throwing my companions on to the floor; I was thrown in my armchair against the table opposite. A second shock threw me backwards, breaking the chair; my sword was bent round my knee and probably caused the contusion, but unquestionably saved my leg. Every one hastened to help me, but I got up unaided and said a few reassuring words. We had all blows about the head; Davila was bleeding....

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"The tender and the engine were both derailed and ran into the sand. Three carriages of the ballast train were destroyed and a couple of our carriages were much damaged.... We were about one mile from Cotroceni, and walked there in spite of the heat.... Fortunately Elisabeth first heard what had happened from my own lips!"

From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY.

"God has clearly protected you! You can imagine the tremendous play that imagination possesses when so great a distance divides us....

"I know from experience how tedious injuries to the shin bone are; on reckoning up my own threefold experiences of that kind I find that I spent a good six months' time on the *chaise longue!*...

"I prefer to be silent about our policy—it is most unpleasant for us that the Czar of Russia should be hailed on all sides as the apostle of peace. Radowitz is said to have conducted himself passionately and without tact: his immediate transfer to Athens is discussed. I congratulate you on your successful elections; it is quite clear that the longing for material development has gained the upper hand over the empty aims of the dreamers!"

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From THE SAME.

"The excitement over the Church struggle is beginning to abate.

"The blunders of the Government and the Ultramontane party mutually set each other off. It is a pity that they are not confined to one side, for then the crisis would be hastened to the general benefit.

"I had an opportunity of going thoroughly into these questions with the Emperor during his visit here. He is inclined to a conciliatory attitude, but is not sufficiently informed. I have made him understand much, for which he was grateful, and which he is the readier to believe since I adhere to the basis of the May laws, but condemn the petty method of carrying them out. The Emperor was full of touching sympathy with us, asked minutely after you, and was very well pleased with the course of your policy."

CHAPTER VIII

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THREATENING CLOUDS

During the month of August 1875, the situation in Eastern Europe suddenly assumed a threatening aspect, through the outbreak of an armed insurrection against the Turkish rule in Herzegovina, actively supported by Servia, Montenegro, and Bosnia, and countenanced (at any rate in secret) by Russia. The Servians were foremost in clamouring for war, hoping by the prowess of their own army in the field of battle and the assistance of Austria and Russia to shake

off finally the hated rule of the Sultan.

The oppressed and persecuted Christians of the north-western portion of the Balkan peninsula had watched the steady progress and constant development of their brethren in Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro with curious eyes, whilst they themselves were still groaning under the heavy Ottoman yoke. Nor, indeed, was this feeling of despair and exasperation confined to the Christian inhabitants alone, for the Bosnian Mohammedans, who had hitherto fought for the Sultan and whose ancestors, in order to retain their possessions, had embraced Islam, now joined the Christian insurgents in aiming at the separation of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire. The secret debates in the Servian Skuptschina resulted in the presentation of two addresses to Prince Milan, one advocating the proclamation of peace to be published, the other offering him 3,000,000 ducats and an army of 40,000 men to support the rebellion—to be kept secret. Montenegro was only waiting for a signal from Serbia before commencing open hostilities.

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The manifesto of the insurgents demanded the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina under a Christian ruler; in return for this they pledged themselves to recognise the suzerainty of the Porte and to pay tribute in the same way as the other vassal States of the Ottoman Empire. An attempt by the Great Powers to maintain peace through the mediation of their consuls failed owing to the insurgents refusing to place any confidence in the execution of the reforms promised by the Porte.

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, October 3rd, 1875.

"The disturbances in the Balkan peninsula, though apparently quieted for the moment, are still far from settlement. The insurrection is making great secret progress and gathering force like an avalanche. As the original motive was neither a political nor a national one, but merely a rebellion against oppressive taxation from which the Christian peasant hoped to free himself by force of arms, peace will not be restored until radical reforms put an end to the misrule of the Pachas. Oriental Christians are thoroughly tired of Turkish misgovernment, and but for the *entente* of the Northern Powers serious complications would long ago have arisen. As it is, they are only delayed; they certainly are not entirely done away with. Diplomacy is incapable of solving the Eastern Question; the East alone can solve it on the field of battle by a combination of the nations directly interested! Our present policy is to await the advantage of events; the financial ruin of Turkey will then aid us further.

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"In Servia everything is topsy-turvy, and the end will be either a war or a revolution. In any case serious times are coming for us, and no one knows when a clear insight into this muddle will be obtained. For my own part, I want to gain time in order to regulate various questions of economy, such as the re-purchase of the railways; I should also like to increase the military strength of my country. Our new arms will not be delivered before spring."

From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE.

"Matters are progressing slowly but surely in the Empire. The German nation adheres to the Emperor and the Empire, whilst many Cabinets only yield to force of circumstances. In South Germany the Württemberg Army Corps has been able to assimilate our principles so thoroughly that it is almost on the level of a Prussian Corps. The Bavarians, too, are very industrious, and take great pains to bring their army organisation up to our standard, in spite of certain hostile elements whose aim it is to frustrate this object, and who have succeeded in preventing Prussian instructors from being sent there, and Bavarian soldiers from coming to us to learn their work, which Württemberg has done for the last eight years.

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"I found your dear father as full of mental vigour as ever, but, unfortunately, quite unable to walk; on the other hand, he possesses remarkable skill in managing his invalid chair, in which he moves about the room without any assistance! Your mother, brother, and sister seemed happy and in good health, and the family circle was uncommonly merry. A water-colour in your mother's room greatly interested me; it represents you handing the insignia of his office to a Metropolitan, and you look like a Father of the Church yourself. It seems to me that in your part of the world a ruler has more influence in the appointment of the high dignitaries of the Church than here—a truly enviable state of affairs....

"I am enjoying these warm autumn days in peace and quiet, after having drained the cup of inspections to the dregs. I am always willing to fulfil my duties, but there are limits, especially when one is no longer as young as one was. I had to attend manœuvres in Württemberg, Bavaria, Silesia, and Mecklenburg, and as these countries do not exactly lie close together, I dashed from one to the other by rail, like a state messenger. Victoria and I spent six enjoyable weeks in the spring in gorgeous Italy, just in time to reassure the apprehensive political amateurs who were excited by absurd rumours of war.

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"William^[18] is in the first form at the Cassel Gymnasium. We think that the next two years, while he is growing up, will be beneficial to his development; he likes being there. Henry really seems to be taken with the idea of a sailor's life; we shall therefore soon have to prepare him for this career."

from invasion unless the aggressive policy of the Ristitch Ministry was abandoned led to the fall of the Ministry towards the end of September. This event was regretted by none except the adherents of the *Red Party*, who, however, retained the reins of power. A saying current at the time made the following striking comparison: "Servia is peopled with Ministers, like Roumania!"

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To the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE, October 22nd, 1875.

"Your kind letter was a source of real joy to me. God's best gift to humanity is loyalty; and I think He must have given you a double measure. That we, who are separated from all our loved ones for life, are doubly rejoiced to find ourselves remembered, I need not tell you, nor that your sympathy with our eternal regret has comforted us. At this moment we are suffering an unexpected and uncommon trial; Elisabeth felt an ever increasing difficulty in walking this summer, which we attributed to malaria, dampness, and a tendency to rheumatism. For the last few days she has remained in bed, lame in both feet. I need not tell you how great is our terror after the experiences of both our families! The affair, however, has now taken a turn for the better....

"I was greatly interested by what you wrote about your children: so intelligent and simple an education must certainly make them thorough in every way. I find it hard to think of you surrounded by such big sons....

"Great excitement prevails just now in Servia; I think the young Prince is either steering towards a war or a revolution! It is true at present he is enjoying his honeymoon with his pretty wife, who is closely related to all the great families of Moldavia. The Servians would certainly have preferred to see their ambition satisfied by the choice of a 'real Princess' as a consort for the Prince...."

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To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, November 27th, 1875.

"... So long as the suzerainty was merely an empty form, restricted to the payment of tribute or to impediments in affairs of treaties, mints, and orders, Europe was justified in declining to hear our complaints; but from the moment that our dependence on the Porte hinders our economical development, hampers our financial reforms, and damages our credit, we can reasonably demand that a sharp political line of demarcation be drawn between an Empire which is incapable of any reform and a flourishing young State which has given Europe material guarantees during the last few years! I recently had a conversation on the subject with the Austrian representative, who admitted that this was the correct view of the situation, but that a precipitate step might compromise the excellent position which Roumania occupies to-day. I replied that, before all else, I desired the preservation of peace, in order to gain time for the execution of all necessary reforms, the re-acquisition of the railways, and the construction of connecting lines, and that it was the business of the Great Powers to secure us a position which corresponded to the interest and dignity of the country.

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"Unfortunately the result of this Eastern tangle cannot be foreseen. Do the three great Northern Powers really desire peace? And will they ever succeed in restoring peace? There are too many factors to be taken into consideration; Turkey seems to have been given up at last (in the public opinion of Europe); even the English are being forced to accustom themselves slowly to this idea, which will certainly cost them much. When once considerations for the Porte are abandoned, the solution of the Eastern Question, which frightens the diplomats of Europe, will be materially simplified. Roumania is destined to become the Belgium of the Lower Danube; why do the Cabinet hesitate to declare this? We can wait; but, as far as Europe is concerned, it would be a guarantee of peace in the East.

"I opened the Chambers to-day with a short and powerful speech from the throne, which I am sure will make no unfavourable impression in Europe. The disturbances in Herzegovina could not be passed over in silence, but were mentioned with such caution that public opinion cannot be disquieted. Our relations with the Turks are strained: they will not grant us even the smallest concession; they actually refuse to concede us the name Roumania; all this is to their own disadvantage.... Greece has begun to stir; deputations from Thessaly, Epirus, and Crete have appeared in Athens, and their proposals have been very favourably received. The aggrandisement of Greece is the only salvation for that unfortunate country."

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From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, December 1875.

"The Eastern Question will shortly be solved; what could only have been expected to happen in the course of years will have already come to pass. The chief point is that France and England have at length begun to realise that the 'sick man' can no longer be helped. Turkey perishes through the financial ruin she has brought upon herself! For the distant observer it is interesting to note that the eyes of all are turned towards Roumania, whose moderation is highly appreciated everywhere. This moderation is the only means by which Europe can be prepared for the approaching independence of your country—an independence which must be founded on the belief of its necessity, and when it comes, must come as a surprise to nobody. I congratulate you on your political reserve and on the art of waiting, the exercise of which you seem to have mastered in opposition to the character of the Roumanian nation. Precipitate action would be a great mistake, and could not be excused, even were the peace of the country at stake; the whole of Europe would discountenance Roumania if she were to arouse a Continental war....

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"I would willingly send the Crown Prince an extract from your letter, but I must tell you that he has at present no influence either on home or on foreign policy, the direction of which lies exclusively in the hands of the Chancellor.

"In this Eastern Question Germany only occupies the third place after Russia and Austria; but, when the decisive moment for weighing the respective interests of those two States arrives, you will find that Germany has reserved for herself the option of placing her weight on that side of the balance which seems most advantageous to the development of the German Empire...."

The projected reforms, which were to place Christians and Mohammedans on an equal footing—on paper—were published by the Sublime Porte in December, but failed to awaken much appreciation either abroad or at home, where the financial crisis assumed threatening proportions. The Sultan's mind was at this time apparently occupied chiefly by the idea that he had been bewitched, and by constant demands for money, regardless of the fact that his troops were dying by thousands from cold and hunger in Herzegovina, and that the salaries of all officials remained months in arrear.

In spite of the so-called *entente* of the Powers, a strong rivalry was noticeable between Russia and Austria, especially with regard to the eventual attitude of Roumania. [228]

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, February 8th, 1876.

"The Austrian representative inquires what we shall do in the event of Russian troops occupying the country; the Russian sounds us to find out whether we repose any confidence in Austria-Hungary; but both adjure us not to act hastily. They desire peace, because they grudge each other the solution of the Eastern Question, and because neither is prepared for war. It cannot be denied that we are suffering from this indecision, and are exposed to every possible danger. So much is certain, that Russia is concentrating troops on the Moldavian frontier, and that General Ignatieff declared to the Turkish Ministers in the presence of my representative, Prince Jean Ghika, that his Government would seize the Danube Principalities as a pledge as soon as the Turks occupied Serbia and Montenegro! It is, of course notorious that you cannot weigh every word of the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople in a goldsmith's scales; yet we must not ignore these heedless comments.... We are resolved to repel with armed force any occupation, no matter from which side it comes. We naturally cannot hold out against a Great Power, yet we shall be able to preserve our standing point without, as formerly, meeting the army of occupation as our saviours.... [229]

"Matters are not progressing favourably in Serbia. The population of that portion of the East has fixed its eyes on Montenegro, which enjoys great authority amongst the Slavs, and great respect from the Turks. Prince Nicholas, with whom I am on the best terms, is treated with especial consideration and leniency by Russia and Austria, a thing which unfortunately cannot be said of the young Milan."

On April 6, 1876, Prince Milan sent his uncle, M. Catargiu, to inform Prince Charles that he had decided on war with Turkey, and hoped that Roumania would not remain content with the *rôle* of a passive spectator, as it was to the interest of both countries to free themselves from the Turkish suzerainty. Prince Charles, however, did not abandon the strict reserve with which he had hitherto received similar communications.

The startling news of a deficit of 30,000,000 francs, at a time when the political situation rendered an increased expenditure on the army essential, led on April 11, 1876, to the fall of the Catargiu Ministry, which for five eventful and, on the whole, prosperous years had assisted Prince Charles in the consolidation of the Principalities. General Floresku was entrusted with the formation of the new Cabinet, which, as it included two other generals, was promptly dubbed the "Cabinet of Generals" by the Opposition Press. Strange to say, the life of this *quasi*-military government depended on the votes of the eight bishops, as the supporters of the Government disposed of thirty-seven, and the Opposition thirty-four votes in the Senate. [230]

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, April 26th, 1876.

"The greatest excitement prevails here, and there are rumours of conspiracies and revolutions, which do not, however, daunt me. I go straight ahead and do my duty. My chief anxieties are the condition of our finances and the serious situation in the East.... Serbia is in a state of great agitation, and is driving with all sails set towards war. I warned Prince Milan not to expose his throne and country to danger by a hasty step; but he declared that he could no longer master the current, and had to choose between a war and a revolution! Quite recently I called upon him to delay taking action, and informed him that he must not reckon on Roumania, which would observe the strictest neutrality. He received this exhortation in a very bad humour."

Yet another step towards the coming war was the outbreak of a revolution in Bulgaria, where a petition had been circulating for several weeks to induce the Sultan to convert that Vilayet into a constitutional kingdom. A *manifesto* was issued by the secret National Government of Bulgaria in Bucharest, calling all Bulgarians to arms, as the hour of their liberation had arrived. This *manifesto* was published broadcast throughout the Bulgarian Vilayet, and met with enthusiastic response everywhere.

In the meantime, the "Cabinet of Generals" was forced to resign owing to its inherent weakness, and a "Ministry of Conciliation," as Prince Charles termed it, was formed by M. Jepureanu on May 8, 1876.

Prince Charles welcomed the two Vice-Presidents of the Senate, Prince Jon Ghika and Demeter Sturdza, whom he had not seen for more than five years, with a few friendly words on the presentation of an address from the Senate on May 14. A few days later the Prince expressed his regret to M. Sturdza that he, whom he had always trusted, should have adopted during the past five years an anti-dynastic policy in personal opposition to the Sovereign. The Roumanian statesman replied that the only excuse he could offer was that he had misunderstood the Prince's motives, and thought that he had allowed himself to be induced by the views of *one* party to measures which would be of no benefit to the country.

From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE, May 22nd, 1876.

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"Ever since your last letter reached my hands the rapt attention of Europe has been fixed on Stamboul and the seething Turkish provinces. This state of affairs reminds me of the time before 1864, when every conversation about the solution of the Schleswig-Holstein Question ended thus: 'Let us wish the Danish King long life, that the conflict may be delayed as long as possible.' But Frederick VII. died suddenly, and misfortune was at the doors. The situation to-day is the more favourable in that none of the Great Powers have any longing to fight, because, God knows, enough blood has been shed these last few years. So far as we Germans are concerned, the Eastern Question possesses no immediate interest for us: our only care is the protection of our countrymen, on whose account our iron-clad squadron is now manœuvring."

A revolution in the palace at Constantinople resulted in the deposition of Abdul Aziz in favour of Murad V. on May 30, 1876; but, though the accession of the new Sovereign brought with it plenty of promises of reform, the situation remained as threatening as before. Almost every day fresh reports of unheard-of cruelties and massacres were received from Bulgaria, where *bashi-bazouks* were suppressing the insurrection with barbarous severity.

The attitude of England now engrossed the attention of Prince Charles, as the following extracts will show:

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From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, June 9th, 1876.

"The most noteworthy incident of the present day is the energetic awakening of England, which has suddenly assumed, so to speak, a position 'on guard,' and, relinquishing its passive attitude, is commencing an aggressive policy against Russia. Should this positive attitude of England secure the peace of the world, she will deserve the highest appreciation; but whether the future position of Roumania will be bettered by it is quite another question! The disclosure of the Russian aims, contained in Ignatieff's proposals (if, indeed, they are the least true), is very curious, and the gain to Roumania by its elevation to a kingdom is very problematical. The connection with the Porte is by no means as heavy a burden as the supremacy of Russia!"

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, June 24th, 1876.

"The situation in Constantinople remains unaltered by the change of rulers or the assassination^[19] of the Ministers. The system of corruption is so deeply rooted in every branch of the Turkish administration that no Government will ever succeed in exterminating it. The proposed reforms are and will remain empty promises, which gain no credit either with Mohammedans or Christians. The insurrections will, therefore, even in the most favourable circumstances, continue to exist until the Ottoman Empire is shaken to its foundations, if it is not overthrown entirely. Smaller States will then arise, which will possess a more or less protracted vitality.

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"England has at last gauged the situation correctly: Lord Derby's declaration in the Upper House, maintaining that the Treaty of Paris only guarantees the integrity of Turkey from attacks from abroad, but that none of the signatory Powers can intervene between the Porte and the Tributary States, is most significant. If all the Great Powers were to adopt this—the only correct point of view—the Oriental conflict would be localised, and we should thus avoid serious complications. The vassal States and the various Provinces must be allowed to break their horns. If they succeed in emerging victorious from the struggle with their suzerain, *tant mieux!* If not, they do not deserve to be independent countries.

"The Servians will not wait for the 'green-table' decisions of diplomacy: they will decide their fate themselves. Bulgaria is in a state of great agitation; revolutionary committees have been

formed everywhere to incite the populace to throw off the Turkish yoke. We are saddled with the thankless task of impeding the communications of the committees here with those in Bulgaria, and with preventing the invasion of Turkey by armed bands. We had repeatedly to act with energy, and arrest the leaders with their troops; they were, of course, liberated in a couple of days, but their weapons were seized.

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"... Serbia is ready for war, and inquiring what will be the attitude of Roumania in the event of Turkish warships steaming up the Danube? The Servians, moreover, are not on the best of terms with Roumania owing to our strictly neutral attitude. Germany, on the other hand, is convinced that the Turks, in spite of the condition of their finances, are still capable of considerable military efforts, and will annihilate the Servians in a war; and she has, through the medium of her agent, congratulated the Roumanian Government on its attitude...."

The insurgents in Herzegowina proclaimed the Prince of Montenegro as their ruler, whilst the Bosnians placed themselves under Prince Milan, who now forwarded a *quasi-ultimatum* to the Porte, demanding the incorporation of Bosnia in the Principality of Serbia under the suzerainty of Turkey. Roumania seized the opportunity of reminding the Sublime Porte of certain disputes which still remained unsettled, in spite of the loyalty shown by the Prince's Government to the conventions. The following seven points were then submitted to the Porte:

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- (1) The recognition of Roumania's individuality as a State.
- (2) The addition of the Roumanian Agent to the Diplomatic Corps in Constantinople.
- (3) The regulation of the position of Roumanians in Turkey, and the recognition of Roumanian consular jurisdiction over them.
- (4) The recognition of the inviolability of Roumanian territory.
- (5) The conclusion of extradition, commercial, and postal conventions between Turkey and Roumania.
- (6) The recognition of Roumanian passports.
- (7) The definition of the Roumanian frontier at the Delta of the Danube.

Servia declared war on June 30, 1876, followed a couple of days later by Montenegro. The Servian forces amounted to 56,000 men, concentrated on the line Alexinatz and Deligrad, whilst Prince Nicholas mustered 24,000 men, in addition to 4000 insurgents from Herzegowina. The Turkish force consisted of 97,000 men, divided into four columns, under Suleiman, Mehemed, Achmed and Osman Pachas, the commander-in-chief being Abdul Kerim. The fortune of war did not favour the Servian insurgents under the Russian General Tschernaiew, who were beaten near Babinaglawa on July 9, and eventually forced to fall back behind the Servian frontier. The Montenegrin troops, however, defeated Selim Pacha on the 16th and 17th July, and compelled Moukhtar Pacha to retire on Trebinje on the 29th. The course of the war showed that the Servians had completely over-estimated both their military spirit and their material resources for war, and they were only saved from annihilation by the intervention of the Powers on their behalf in obtaining an armistice for fourteen days, from September 16 to October 1.

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In Roumania, in the meantime, a most inopportune attack was made on the late Conservative Government by the Radicals, who demanded a full inquiry into the causes of the deficit, and the prosecution of twelve former Ministers for the three following offences:

- (1) Violation of the Constitution and public liberty.
- (2) Extravagance in the expenditure of public money.
- (3) Abuse of power when in office.

The debates in the Chambers proved conclusively that the Ministry was no longer able to stem the tide of party passion; and on M. Jepureanu handing in the resignation of the Cabinet on August 4, 1876, M. Bratianu was entrusted with the formation of the new Liberal Cabinet.

The reports of the *Daily News* about the "Bulgarian Horrors," confirmed by Mr. Baring's report, caused a complete revolution in the Turkophile sympathies of Great Britain. Mr. Baring stated that fifty-four Bulgarian villages had been burnt down, and about 10,000 people massacred; no less than 2500 corpses were counted in Batak alone. The English Secretary, however, pointed out that the Bulgarians had also committed intolerable outrages on the Mohammedan population, and took considerable pains to expose Russian intrigues in the Vilayet.

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Yet another change of rulers took place in Constantinople on August 31, 1876, when Abdul Hamid succeeded his brother, who was no longer responsible for his actions. The new potentate wisely adopted many economies, and endeavoured successfully to gain popularity with the army.

The situation, however, became more and more serious, and a suggestion was received from St. Petersburg that the Roumanian Government should be sounded as to its attitude towards a Russo-Turkish war. An evasive answer was sent, to the effect that, whilst Roumania hoped for the continuance of peace, her sympathies were with the Bulgarians and all Christians who suffered under the Turkish rule; the Principalities would always value the friendship of Russia.

M. Cantacuzino, the Roumanian Agent in Russia, reported that influential circles in Russia were antagonistic to Roumania, because she had not taken up a decided attitude towards the

present struggle. The whole of Russia, with the exception of the Czar himself, was intent on war. Prince Charles decided at once to send Bratianu and Col. Slaniceanu (Minister of War) to Livadia, where the Czar, the Czarewitch, Prince Gortchakoff, and the Minister of War, Miliutin, had assembled. On arrival at Livadia, M. Bratianu was immediately pounced upon by Count Ignatieff to explain to him the absolute necessity of an agreement regulating the passage of the Russian army through Roumania.

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Prince Gortschakow also referred to this question, and suggested a non-political military convention between the two countries. Bratianu replied that no difficulties would ensue if the war met with the approval of the guaranteeing Powers, but that this consent must be clearly and definitely expressed. The Russian Chancellor met this opposition with the threat of treating Moldavia and Wallachia as integral parts of the Ottoman Empire, and therefore liable to invasion without further parley. Bratianu, by no means disconcerted, represented that Russia could hardly commence the liberation of the Turkish Christians by defeating a Christian army, and declared that the Roumanian forces would oppose the passage of the Prut by an invading force.

On parting, Prince Gortchakoff remarked: "We shall soon come to terms if war ensues; and Roumania can only gain by it!" To this Bratianu replied that a complete understanding would be in the interests of *both* States; and that he would willingly enter upon negotiations to that effect.

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The opinions of the Roumanian Ministers were divided on this point; Bratianu considered an understanding with Russia to be the best policy, D. Sturdza advocated the strictest neutrality, whilst Jonesku, the Foreign Minister, urged close adherence to Great Britain.

From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, October 16th, 1876.

"I heard to-day of the mobilisation of the Roumanian army and its concentration in Northern Moldavia! What is to be understood by that? Is the march of the Russians through the country to be opposed; or will Roumania side with Russia? All this is not clear to me! The pusillanimous policy of England has completely entangled the whole Turkish-Christian Question. Austria-Hungary is crippled by its dualism, the German Empire is shrouded in aristocratic silence, and only Russia perseveres with an iron persistence in her far-reaching aims."

In reply to an *ultimatum* presented by General Ignatieff, the Sublime Porte conceded an armistice of two months, commencing on November 1, to apply to the Servian and Montenegrin forces alike. Prince Milan's troops, under the command of Tschernaiew, had suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of the Turkish troops, and were again saved from annihilation only by the direct intervention of Russia.

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From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE, November 18th.

"... I received the following from Prince Bismarck: 'The situation of the Prince is serious, although I am not convinced that Russia will proceed to war, if nobody endeavours to restrain her from doing so.

"In the event of war, I do not think Prince Charles ought to resist the Russian proposals too seriously, nor throw himself into their arms. It would be best if he shielded himself behind his duty towards the Porte, and then yielded to force, which will probably be applied from the North long before Turkey assumes the offensive.

"He must not allow himself to be led away by ambition, but must adhere to the treaties: his resources are not sufficient in the face of two such armies to secure him the respect of the victor, if he employs his forces. So long as he adheres to the treaties, he can always appeal to Europe. That will always be a claim, though not perhaps an indisputable one; still it will carry great weight should the Russian campaign prove unfortunate eventually. I offer my opinion here as if I were a Roumanian, and not a German Minister, solely on account of my personal interest for his Highness!"

Six Russian Army Corps were mobilised and placed under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, as the Army of the South, on November 14, 1876. A circular note to the Powers assigned as the reason for this step the futility of all diplomatic efforts to protect the Christians of Turkey from the attacks of the Mohammedans. The Czar, though desirous of peace, had therefore mobilised a portion of his army, in order to obtain guarantees for the execution of the principles proposed by Europe.

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M. de Nelidow arrived at Bucharest from Constantinople on November 28, to negotiate with the Roumanian Government about the passage of the Russian army, and the possible part which Roumania was to play in the war with Turkey. The presence of the Russian agent was naturally kept absolutely secret. Curiously enough, a Turkish agent, Ali Bey, arrived on the same day to arrange a combination with Roumania against Russia. Prince Charles declined to meet either of these messengers, and instructed his Ministers to adopt a reserved attitude, and to refer both to the Treaty of Paris.

Dem. Bratianu was sent to Constantinople in November to put the Roumanian demands before the Conference which had assembled there, and to endeavour to arrange a peaceful settlement. The Roumanian demands were: the recognition of their neutrality; the regulation of their attitude in the event of a war between Turkey and one of the Guaranteeing Powers; and the cession to Roumania of a part of the Delta of the Danube.

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The efforts of the Conference to avoid the war came to a definite end on January 19, 1877, when the Turkish Government declined every proposal of the Conference as being opposed to the "integrity, independence, and dignity of the Empire."

To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, January 20th, 1877.

"The hour of danger is approaching, and Roumania will shortly be the scene of great political and military events, which Europe will follow not without agitation. In any case our position will be difficult, as we shall be drawn into the complication whether we wish it or no. Politicians here are much more anxious about the result of a Russo-Turkish conflict and the future of Roumania than I am, as I have marked out my path from the beginning:^[20] *to conclude a military convention with Russia, and, if necessary, to fight with Russia against the Turks.* It is true that opinion here is much divided on this subject, and that every effort is being made *to separate us from Russia. There are Powers that demand that we should protest against the entry of the Russians, and that we should retire our army to Little Wallachia!* You can imagine how I received such a suggestion! Andrassy, with whom I am on friendly terms, is acquainted with my views on this subject, and is not much edified by them. The conflict with the Porte which the Constitution has forced upon us was very welcome to me; Midhat is endeavouring to allay it by every means; but since we demand more to-day than he has the courage to give us, it is still an open question. The Turks are concentrating considerable forces in Bulgaria, and are arming the Danubian fortresses, which are in a miserable condition, with feverish haste; the heavy guns are being brought up from the arsenal at Constantinople and mounted in the forts, with much expenditure of trouble, labour and money. All sorts of rumours are spread abroad about the unsatisfactory condition of the Russian army, but my information shows that it is ready for action, and certainly equal to its opponent.... It is much to be regretted that Servia can take no part in the war; it is only with the greatest exertion that a corps of 15,000 men can be assembled, and they would assuredly show no enthusiasm."

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From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, January 22nd, 1877.

"On looking back over recent events the conviction is borne in upon me that the fear which the Russian Colossus inspires in Europe, coupled with the natural differences in the interests of the Powers, have been the causes of the pitiful end of the Congresses which started with such a flourish of trumpets. Had Europe been united and less timorous, it might have intervened and begun those Conferences at the time of the Servian War, instead of a whole year later. Turkey could hardly have resisted if a pressure of all the Powers had been applied at that time even without Russia, and she would have conceded more than she can now afford to do after her unquestionable successes in the Servian War and the complete change in her interior economy. So much is certain after a long and anxious period that the Conferences have resulted in a fiasco, and that this fiasco has materially raised and strengthened the *morale* and authority of the Porte.... Roumania will be most deeply affected by such a war, as the Russian base of operations can only be Roumania; there is no other at her disposal. Resistance to Russia is out of the question; you must therefore endeavour to reap the greatest possible benefits from this impossibility. The material advantages develop spontaneously, for the acquisition of money and the increased value of all country produce will assume enormous dimensions; the political benefits are, however, more difficult to formulate. The permission to march through Roumanian territory, and the establishment there of all that an army on an active footing requires, is already half a declaration of war from Roumania to Turkey. The latter, however, must recognise that Roumania cannot prevent the entry of two or three hundred thousand Russians; the only question that remains is whether Roumania will co-operate with the advance of the Russian army and cross the Danube. I should consider this most unwise, for in doing so Roumania will place herself between two stools. If the Turks preserve their proverbial powers of resistance, and so protract the war to an indefinite and costly length, we have no guarantee that the Russians would not conclude peace with the Turks in one way or another and abandon Roumania, who would then be overwhelmed by Turkish malevolence.

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"It is more than probable that both sides will soon become exhausted in a localised war; the only question is, which of the two will give in first. Russia's eyes will always be fixed on her own interests, never on those of Roumania; and, since there is no such thing as gratitude in politics, I recommend you to exercise the utmost caution.

"Europe will not interest itself in a defeated and fallen Roumania—it will only have regard for a free country which is not tied down by treaties. Prudence and moderation are therefore necessary at so critical a period, which will either prove to be a wholesome era of transition for your country, or will bear the seeds of its annihilation."

The efforts of the Russian diplomats in Constantinople now appeared to be confined to delaying the advance of the Russian army until a more favourable season of the year should have arrived. Prince Charles Anthony thus sketched the possible results of the coming war in a letter to his son dated March 1, 1877:

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"Russia will hardly gain great triumphs—a few military successes may be achieved, but certainly none of any political importance. The army and the Slav element must content themselves with a small modicum of glory, whilst the Czar Alexander may think himself lucky in returning to peaceful and normal circumstances, and in having mastered a movement which is of the greatest danger to Russia. The only tangible result of the whole Russian initiative will, perhaps, be that the suzerainty of the Porte over Roumania is transferred to Russia.

"Roumania would thereby be supported by a stronger and more stable Power, with, perhaps, more freedom at home and abroad, but would certainly not achieve her longed-for recognition as an independent and equal State.

"The forms of the suzerainty would perhaps be more equable and more pleasant, but the dependence, though tolerable, would always be felt.

"This would merely be an exchange of *rôles*. Europe would then admire Russia's moderation, and would doubtless concede every demand made along the lines I have suggested. The sacrifice of Roumania would thus be a message of peace, on which would hinge the return to the universal *entente*."

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A final attempt to settle the Eastern Question by means of the London Protocol met with as little success as the efforts of the Conference; and the Russo-Roumanian Convention was signed on April 16, 1877, by Baron Stuart on behalf of the Czar, and M. Cogalniceanu on behalf of Prince Charles. The following were the chief articles of the Convention:

(1) The Russian army to be granted a free passage through Roumania, the Russian Government paying all expenses connected therewith.

(2) The Government of the Czar pledges itself to maintain and protect the actual integrity and political rights of Roumania.

(3) The special regulations as to the march of the Russian troops to form the subject of a special treaty.

(4) The Roumanian Government to obtain the ratification required by the Constitution, and to proceed at once to the execution of the stipulations of the treaty.

The Turkish reinforcements of the forces at Rustchuk and Schumla caused the greatest excitement in Bucharest, indeed in the whole of Roumania. Public opinion, influenced perhaps by the recent failure of the Servian army in the field, declined to place any confidence in the military efficiency of the Roumanian troops. The incessant and exaggerated rumours of Turkish raids and passages of the Danube created something like a panic in the capital, and several over-anxious inhabitants quitted the country rather than run the risk of experiencing the horrors of a Turkish invasion. Prince Charles, however, had every trust and confidence in the ability of his army to prevent the Turks from crossing the Danube.

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CHAPTER IX

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THE ARMY

By no means the least of the Prince's tasks was the reorganisation and training of the Roumanian army, which at the time of his accession was in the most deplorable condition. Moulded on the pattern of the French army of 1859, and trained by a French *mission militaire*, it reproduced many of the defects of the army, which failed so utterly in 1870, and yet missed those qualities which saved the Imperial army of France from dishonour in the field. The young Prince was fully aware of the potent influence for good that a well-disciplined army exerts upon the welfare of a nation, and determined from the first to employ the highest moral and material resources of his country to establish an army which, if not formidable in numbers, should at least be worthy of respect in point of quality. His nine years' service in the Prussian artillery and cavalry had given him a thorough knowledge of the minutiae of military routine and discipline, whilst his active service on the staff of the Crown Prince in 1864, and his familiar intercourse with the leaders of the Prussian army had helped to train him in the art of command. Prince Charles realised that a weak State like Roumania, surrounded by its powerful neighbours, Russia, Austria, and Turkey, must place its army, on a thoroughly satisfactory footing, unless it were content to play the unsatisfactory part of being forced to side, possibly against its will, with whatever State was first to mobilise its forces, whilst its very weakness might be the cause of a war. The safety and welfare of Roumania, he was firmly convinced, rested on a sound military constitution, by means of which its independence would some day be achieved on the field of battle. No pains, therefore, and no exertions were too great to devote to the training of his troops, who soon learnt to look up to him as their example in all that a soldier should be. His absolute impartiality and justice, his care for their well-being, and his knowledge of every detail of warfare, made him as popular with his officers as with his men.

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From the outset Prince Charles endeavoured to mould the spirit of his officers on that to which he had been accustomed in Prussia. Shortly after his accession, he received a round robin from the officers of the army, desiring that those officers who had taken part in the Revolution of February 23, 1866, should be dismissed from the army. Prince Charles received the deputation in the Palace and addressed them as follows:

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"I have accepted your address, first, because I respect the feeling which has dictated this step;

and secondly, that I might have an occasion of informing you of my views upon military honour and the duties of a soldier.

"An address is apt to assume the appearance of moral pressure, such as no soldier can be permitted to exercise over the supreme head of the army.

"The soldier's oath demands absolute obedience. Neither the acts of the head of the army, nor the motives which lead to them, admit of criticism; politics must have no influence on the soldier, whose sole duty it is to defend with his last breath his Sovereign and his country against every enemy.

"I am fully convinced that you share my views, and recognise that your action is from every military standpoint inadmissible. It is on that account that I desire you to trust to my military judgment, and to leave to me to act in all that concerns the army according to my own conviction and sense of duty.

"At the same time, I repeat, I appreciate the honourable feeling on which this address is based; but I also again urge that I demand at all times devotion and unreserved obedience from each one of you.

"I have been and am still a soldier by inclination; and it is for that reason, as well as on account of the importance to the country of a well-disciplined army, that one of my most cherished aims will be to secure for it the position to which it has every right to aspire. I shall endeavour to become well acquainted with the army and its leaders, that I may be able to decide according to merit and justice, by utterly rejecting all party or personal interest.

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"Reckon confidently on this promise, and remember that I have come to create a future, and not to rely upon the precedents of a past which I ignore, and of which I would even prefer to remain ignorant."

The spirit of insubordination was even more rife amongst the National Guard, as the following incident will show. Prince Charles ordered the National Guard of Bucharest to assemble at the parade-ground of Cotroceni on July 2, 1866. The President of the Ministry reported to the Prince the day before that the National Guard would refuse to muster as ordered, as a rumour had gained currency that they were to be disarmed on account of their party tendencies. They intended, therefore, to parade before the Chamber, and invoke the protection of the Deputies against such a step. The Prince, however, refused to change his order, and insisted upon its execution. On arriving at Cotroceni the following day, he found that only a couple of hundred men had assembled there. An aide-de-camp was at once despatched to Bucharest to enforce the order, whilst Prince Charles set himself at the head of those present and marched with bands playing into the capital. Companies then appeared from all sides, until some three thousand men were collected on the Theatre Square. The Guard then marched past and cheered their Sovereign again and again, though their behaviour had given him every reason to consider them an element of danger rather than of safety to the State.

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The projected army reforms were hampered at every turn by the want of money; on one occasion the Prince was even obliged to advance money out of his private purse for the purchase of two batteries of rifled guns from Krupp's factory.

The strength of the army, which the Sublime Porte had limited to 30,000 men, was to be organised into a standing force of 20,000 with a reserve of 10,000 men; whilst a Militia of 30,000 and a Landsturm of 50,000 were to be instituted. Every Roumanian who was fit for service was liable to serve from the ages of twenty to forty in one or the other category. Though the total number of men available thus amounted to over 100,000, the great bulk remained untrained, and of very little value for service in the field. The frequent reviews and inspections which Prince Charles initiated proved that the troops lacked cohesion, and their officers the ability to lead their men in accordance with the principles of modern warfare.

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The first attempt at practical and systematic manœuvres for the Roumanian troops took place near Cotroceni on October 14 and 15, 1867, when the garrison of Bucharest, consisting of five battalions, three batteries of four guns each, and one regiment of cavalry, practised the three phases of an engagement. The operations were directed by the Prince in person, who also bivouacked with his troops after a march of about twenty-two miles. The march back to Bucharest the following day gave an opportunity for skirmishing and manœuvring. Before entering the town Prince Charles assembled the superior officers, and pointed out the great want of training displayed, and how much remained to be done before the army could be fit to take the field; he did not, however, forget to mention that the officers had hitherto had but little opportunity to practise themselves in leading their men, and none at all in handling a force of the three arms at manœuvres.

On the occasion of these first manœuvres a number of officers received special promotion, but considerable excitement was caused by this step, as two of them were not on the best of terms with the Ministry. The Minister of War also complained that his opinion was not asked before the promotions took place. Prince Charles, however, exercised the right of promotion intentionally in order to make good several cases of injustice which had arisen from party feeling. The effect of this independent action on the army was excellent, as it was clearly seen that from henceforth the army would not be affected by the influence of the political party of the day.

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The rifle selected by Prince Charles for the rearmament of his infantry was the celebrated needle-gun of Prussia, 5000 of which were to be delivered in March 1868, to be followed by another 15,000 during the course of the year. The ready aid offered by King William to Prince Charles was promptly recognised by the Roumanians: "The Prussians have sent us their best, whilst the French send us what they have cast off."

Even in the matter of uniform the Prince insisted rather on utility than show. The heavy gold

lace of the officers was abolished; the infantry received blue tunics (the artillery brown tunics), grey trousers, and greatcoats; the cavalry were clothed as Hussars instead of as Lancers.

The degrading corporal punishment of the bastinado was abolished by a letter from Prince Charles to the Minister of War, dated May 21, 1868, and published in the official *Moniteur*. Prince Charles retorted to the increasing interference of the foreign Powers in Roumanian affairs with a redoubled zeal for the improvement of his army, and hoped to raise the feeling of military honour among his troops by abolishing so barbarous a punishment. [257]

Another organisation for the army was passed by the Chamber on June 13, 1868, according to which the following five classes were to be created for the defence of the country:

- (1) The Standing Army and its Reserve.
- (2) The Active Militia (Dorobanz and Frontier Battalions).
- (3) The Sedentary Militia.
- (4) The Citizen Guard, and
- (5) The Landsturm.

Service in the first category was to consist of three years with the colours and four in the reserve; only a third of the second category was to serve with the colours whilst the remainder were allowed furloughs; the third class only were called upon during a war; the fourth was of no military importance, as it was formed from the census classes, and permitted to elect its own officers; while the fifth comprised the whole male population from the age of seventeen to fifty not included in the former categories. This important increase in the armed strength of the nation was achieved at the trifling cost of £192,000, the total vote for the army amounting to £320,000.

The 8th Infantry Regiment was raised on August 18, 1868, when the existing Line Regiments received their 3rd battalions, and no less than thirty-three Militia battalions were also to be organised. One hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers were promoted to fill the vacancies caused by this increase to the army. [258]

A tradition had arisen in Roumania that the Minister of War was ex-officio Commander-in-Chief of the army, and this led to the political fluctuations and struggles being transplanted to the army itself. Prince Charles, therefore, appointed a civilian, Bratianu, Minister of War, to show that the Command in Chief was vested in the person of the Sovereign, thereby enabling the army to devote itself to its work of preparation for war without becoming involved in the politics of the day.

Lieut.-Colonel von Krenski, of the Prussian army, arrived on October 8, 1868, to assist the Prince in his work of reorganisation; this step caused the greatest excitement in French official circles, where the absurd rumour gained ground that 6000 Prussian soldiers had found their way into Roumania in disguise! The French *mission militaire*, under Colonel Lamy, was thereupon withdrawn, and a formal crusade against Colonel Krenski, the "representative of this foreign policy," was set in motion. On his return to Berlin the gallant Colonel was greeted with the pointed remark from his General that his mission to Bucharest had caused more correspondence than all the North German forces put together!

Prince Charles determined to establish a standing camp of instruction for his troops, and finally settled on Furceni, in Moldavia, on the left bank of the Seret, where plenty of wood for huts was available. The regiments moved into camp in succession, commencing in April 1869. In a letter to his father the Prince alludes to his camp life as follows: "I am fairly well satisfied with my stay in camp. The troops are capitally housed in the barracks they have built themselves. The situation is fairly healthy, as proved by the number of sick—200 out of 12,000 men; whilst at Bucharest the proportion is 230 to 3000. Those troops whose barracks are not completed remain under canvas. On my arrival I found seven Line Regiments, four Rifle and two Engineer battalions, the 2nd Artillery Regiment, one squadron of gendarmes, and two of Dorobanz Cavalry, in addition to the Train, Sanitary, and Supply Departments. I inspected a regiment every day, and lunched with the officers of the various corps.... Both officers and men like the camp, and the prevailing spirit is excellent. I promise myself favourable results from camp life, especially with regard to discipline and *esprit de corps*."... On his return from Livadia the Prince attended the manœuvres before closing the camp, and noticed a very marked progress, especially on the occasion of the passage of the river Seret being forced. [259]

The following year, 1870, Prince Charles demanded an even higher standard of efficiency at his inspections, as the troops had had ample time to become acquainted with their new drill and regulations. Though the spirit of the regulars and militia left little to be desired, the National Guard repeatedly proved their worthlessness and want of reliability, especially during the excitement of elections at Plojeschti, where the local National Guard had to be disbanded. [260]

Some slight changes in organisation took place in April 1871, when the term of service with the colours was increased to four years. The Dorobanz and Frontier units were now formed into a Territorial Army, the infantry of which was now termed "Dorobanzi," and the cavalry "Calaraschi," the cavalry of the Line being named "Roschiori." The Fire Brigades, hitherto organised in companies and battalions, now formed part of the Territorial Army, and were trained as gunners.

Prince Charles made the acquaintance of Colonel Charles Gordon, who was then a member of the European Commission, on April 20, 1872. The conversation turned chiefly on military

matters, particularly the great strategical value of Galatz, which Gordon declared could easily be made into a strong fortress, as its position between the Danube, the Prut, and the Seret would only render necessary works against the approaches from the north. Colonel Gordon created a most favourable impression upon the Prince, who showed the greatest interest in his many war services in the Crimea and in China.

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A Roumanian military decoration for long and loyal service for officers was founded in June 1872, in silver for eighteen, and in gold for twenty-five years' service. The oval medal was to be worn with a blue ribbon, bordered with yellow. A similar medal in silver, to which a pension of 300 francs was added, was struck for the benefit of non-commissioned officers who had served as such with credit for twelve years.

Late in September 1872, 11,000 men were assembled in a bivouac at Baneassa, north of Bucharest, to take part in manœuvres near Tirgoveschte. A series of engagements was practised over a deeply intersected and wooded country, and gave the artillery in particular an opportunity of distinguishing itself. At the close of the exercises Prince Charles presented the first medals for good conduct to a number of deserving non-commissioned officers.

In reply to the Prince's inquiry as to the best method of spending the 8,000,000 francs voted by the Chamber for either barracks or fortifications, Count von Moltke replied, in the spring of 1874, that he could not understand the Roumanian desire for a large standing army, as a peace strength of 10,000 men, to be increased to 25,000 men in war, would be ample, as their only task was to maintain order at home. Roumania was in the happy situation of not requiring an army at all, and could employ the vast sums which military establishments required elsewhere in furthering the progress of the country. "How happy should we be, if we were not forced to keep up so large an army, and could employ the hundreds of millions for other purposes!" He declared, on the other hand, that a Landwehr system would be of excellent service in educating and disciplining the nation.

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A longer report from the General Staff advocated the contrary view: "In the event of a war with Turkey it would appear most suitable for the Roumanian army to concentrate at Bucharest or near the Danube, to oppose invasion at that point, and to stop or delay the hostile advance.

"Turkey will make use of the Varna-Rustchuk railway to effect the concentration of her forces, and will attempt to cross the Danube near Rustchuk, making Bucharest her first objective.... If the Roumanian army is assembled at the commencement of the war in a fortified camp near the Carpathians instead of near the Danube, it might easily happen that the enemy would seize the opportunity of raiding the exposed capital....

"It would be better to avoid delusion and the expenditure of large sums on projects from which the country can expect neither safety nor utility. The army is the support of the State, and in Roumania, where so many possibilities have to be considered, the training and care of the army is of paramount importance."

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The manœuvres of 1874 were attended by Russian, Austrian, Prussian, Servian, Dutch, and English officers. The First Division was to force the passage of the Buseu River and occupy the town of Buseu, which the Second Division was to defend. The leading of the troops on the first day, however, was not very satisfactory, and Prince Charles was forced to speak very plainly at the *critique*. But the operations of the following days gave great satisfaction, and Colonel Asis Bey remarked to Colonel Morris: "This is serious. I had not expected so much!" At the conclusion of the manœuvres Prince Charles presented thirty-two colours and standards to various regiments, and afterwards reviewed the troops. Colonel Morris, in replying to a toast given at a gala-dinner the same evening, remarked: "All that I have seen of this young army has filled me with astonishment, and I shall report to my Government how Roumania has progressed." Prince Charles wrote his father the following account of the incident: "I thanked him for his praises, and said that, coming from the mouth of an Englishman, they possessed especial value, as his countrymen were in absolute ignorance of the state of our affairs.... The Turk remarked to the Englishman that it would be best to give Roumania her independence, and to conclude a treaty of alliance with it. Most significant!"

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The threatening situation in Eastern Europe in October 1876 led to a partial concentration of the Roumanian army in anticipation of the mobilisation order, which it was felt could not be long delayed. Four Divisions were made up to their war strength to take part in manœuvres, and at the same time to be ready to meet any eventuality. A report from the Minister of War showed that only 25,000 Peabody rifles with insufficient ammunition were available. Prince Charles wisely insisted that the First and Second Division should be armed with this rifle, and the Third and Fourth should receive the now practically obsolete needle-gun. The greatest activity prevailed in the War Office, and eight new Dorobanz Regiments of two battalions each were raised at once.

The unceasing care with which Prince Charles had watched the training of his army in peace was to bear its fruit in the great war which now ensued. The Roumanian troops proved that, though they lacked the glorious traditions of the older armies, they were fully their equals in discipline, courage, and endurance; and they more than justified the confidence which their Prince placed in them.

THE WAR WITH TURKEY

The long-expected declaration of war between Russia and Turkey took place on April 23, 1877, accompanied by a proclamation to the Roumanian nation from the Grand Duke Nicholas, announcing his intention of entering their territory in the hope of finding the same welcome as in the former wars. A special sitting of the Chamber assembled on the 26th of the same month to confirm the Convention with Russia; and a council of war held the same evening decided to occupy the line of the Sabar, to reinforce the troops on the Danube, and to garrison Calafat, as the precipitate advance of the Russians, coupled with the assent of the Chamber to the Convention, rendered Roumania liable to a Turkish invasion. The question now to be solved was whether the Roumanian army under Prince Charles was to take an active share in the campaign, and, if so, on what terms. It was, however, eventually decided to remain passive for the present, though the Grand Duke seemed anxious to draw Prince Charles into co-operation with the Russian army. The mobilised Roumanian troops were organised as follows, under the supreme command of Prince Charles, with Colonel Slaniceanu as Chief of his Staff: [266]

FIRST ARMY CORPS: General Lupu.

First Division, Colonel Cerchez: 2 brigades, 1 cavalry brigade, 3 batteries.

Second Division, Colonel Logadi: 2 brigades, 1 cavalry brigade, 3 batteries.

Corps Artillery—6 batteries.

SECOND ARMY CORPS: General Radovici.

Third Division, Colonel Angelesbu: 2 brigades, 1 cavalry brigade, 3 batteries.

Fourth Division, General Manu: 2 brigades, 1 cavalry brigade, 3 batteries.

Corps Artillery—6 batteries.

The total strength of the army amounted to 50,000 men with 180 guns, with a reserve of about 70,000 men of the National Guard and Militia.

An important resolution, adopted by the Chamber on May 11, 1877, declared that a state of war existed with Turkey, and expressed confidence in the justice of the Powers, authorising the Government to use every endeavour to obtain the recognition of Roumanian independence at the close of the war. The desire of the Russian Commander-in-Chief for the assistance of the Roumanian army found frequent expression even in these days. At an interview at Plojeschti the Grand Duke demanded active support from Prince Charles, as he felt convinced that his own force was not sufficient to cope with its task, and added that at the first council of war he had asked for reinforcements amounting to another three or four Army Corps. The least he expected was that Prince Charles would hold the left bank of the Danube until the Russians had finished their strategical deployment. [267]

Prince Charles replied that he intended to keep his troops under his own command, but that the Russians would be benefited by having their right flank secured. The Roumanian garrisons of Oltenitza and Giurgiu would not retire until relieved by Russian troops. At the same time he declared himself anxious to take an active part in the war, but only on condition that his proposals were agreed to.

The Grand Duke returned the Prince's visit on the following day, May 15, accompanied by his son and a numerous suite, which included M. de Nelidow, who had conducted the negotiations with Roumania, and was now in charge of the diplomatic correspondence at headquarters.

In reply to an inquiry in the Chamber on May 21, Cogalniceanu declared that Roumania was practically independent, as Europe would not force her to return to her former bondage. It was then decided by a large majority to create an order, "The Star of Roumania," as the first act of Roumanian independence. This order consists of five classes—viz., Knight, Officer, Commander, Grand Officer, and Grand Cross,—whose members wear a star of eight rays depending from a crown and surcharged with a cross in blue enamel, which displays the eagle of Wallachia. The ribbon is red, bordered with blue, and the motto runs: *In fide salus*. [268]

Prince Charles Anthony entirely agreed with his son's attitude towards Russia, and stigmatised the mooted co-operation, with its inevitable subordination and incorporation in the Russian army, as a "political *felo de se*."

"The *possibility of a Russian defeat*," he wrote, "no matter how improbable, must also be considered: an untouched reserve on this side of the Danube, which could only consist of the Roumanian army intact, would in that case possess an immense importance!"

Prince Charles, accompanied by his Staff, set out on the 27th to inspect his troops at Crajowa and Calafat, and found them in excellent order and discipline. At 7 P.M. the Prince ordered the bombardment of Widin to commence, and a lively cannonade ensued, during which three Turkish shells exploded in the immediate neighbourhood of the Prince. The *sangfroid* of their ruler did not fail to arouse a feeling of appreciation in the Roumanian nation, who on his return greeted him everywhere with indescribable enthusiasm. [269]

The Czar in the meantime declared that, if the Roumanian Government wished to take part in the campaign, it must do so at its own expense and risk, and must, moreover, place the army under the command of the Grand Duke. "Russia has *no need* of the support of the Roumanian army. The force which has been put into the field against Turkey *is more than sufficient* to

achieve the high object which the Czar had in view in commencing the present war."

Prince Charles attended a council of war at the Russian headquarters in Plojeschti on June 1, 1877, and, whilst discussing the advance into Bulgaria, casually pointed out the strategic importance of the junction of the roads at Plevna. The Grand Duke urged the Prince to cross the Danube near Widin as soon as possible, but Prince Charles was unable to comply with this request until the material necessary for bridges had been collected.

The Czar arrived at Plojeschti a few days later with a suite of over 700 persons, amongst them Prince Alexander of Battenberg, then a subaltern in the Hessian Dragoons. In a private interview with Prince Charles the Czar expressed his intention of lending Roumania, which already owed so much to Russia, a helping hand, but declined to enter into the vexed question of Roumanian co-operation in the war. A curious incident occurred during the Czar's return visit to Bucharest, when a large bouquet, thrown from a house, fell close by his carriage. The Czar started back, fearing a bomb, and only the ready tact of Princess Elisabeth covered his confusion. [270]

An important conversation took place between Prince Charles and Gortchakoff, who definitely expressed the opinion that, though the Delta of the Danube was essential for the development of Roumania, Russia wants one of its arms, the Kilia. The Prince declared that his first object was to preserve the integrity of his country, and that any extension of the frontier after the war would be only a secondary consideration. Gortchakoff appeared to be firmly of opinion that the war would be short and glorious. He could not, therefore, agree with the openly expressed wish of the Headquarters Staff for the co-operation of the Roumanian army.^[21] The reports of the first engagements did not, however, fully bear out this belief; for, though successful at other points, the Russians were beaten in Asia at Bajaset, and were forced to withdraw from that town, whilst Mukhtar Pacha compelled General Tergukassoff to retire to Igdir.

"From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, June 11th, 1877.

"At last the situation has somewhat cleared, and the presence of the Czar under existing conditions may possibly be an important starting-point for future developments. The declaration of independence is perfectly justified; it is a *fait accompli*, which must, in any case, be reckoned with hereafter. At the time this declaration took place, four weeks ago, I feared a considerable increase of the complications already existing, and could hardly become reconciled to it. However, I always remembered that your course of action must be based on motives of which we must be ignorant. Your wisdom in seizing the right moment is again confirmed. The foreign Press, although extremely surprised, has become more or less reconciled to the altered situation, and even the English papers have bridled themselves with decency.... [271]

"In my opinion the material military successes of the Russians will be in Asia; the moral successes in Europe; and the conception of a moral victory is so elastic that I see no reason why the war should be prolonged beyond reasonable limits.

"The creation of a united State—Roumania-Bulgaria—of course with the freedom of the Danube to the sea, would be a magnificent creative idea, only the deep-seated difference of the nationalities gives rise to weighty considerations."

On June 28, 1877, the Grand Duke arrived at Simnizza, where the Fourteenth Division had collected a number of boats preparatory to effecting a crossing, aided by a vigorous cannonade the day before along the whole line of the Danube. The Volhynian Regiment embarked at 2 A.M. in absolute silence, and had barely landed when an alarm shot was fired. A short engagement terminated in the retreat of the Turkish force, and, in spite of hostile fire from the artillery, General Dragomirow succeeded in assembling the whole of his Division on the farther bank of the river, with the loss of about 30 officers and 700 men. The construction of a bridge was commenced from both banks simultaneously, though several sections were destroyed by a sudden storm. The bridge at Braila remained intact, and was crossed by Prince Charles on foot the following day. [272]

Notwithstanding the fact that Roumania had so far taken but a small share in the campaign, Prince Charles was able to supply the Russian headquarters with trustworthy information about the enemy's movements, especially with regard to the garrison of Widin, under Osman Pacha, who was now reported to be on the march to Rahova with fifteen battalions and two batteries. Though an advanced party of Cossacks seized Plevna on July 8, they were unable to retain possession of that town, a couple of Turkish battalions from Nikopoli forcing them to retire on the following day.

Prince Charles now quitted Schimnik to rejoin his headquarters at Pojana, near Calafat, where he was better able to superintend the movements of his army. In a letter to the Princess he alludes to the Russian estimate of his army as follows: "The Russians do not want to recognise the services we have rendered them; Grand Duke Nicholas has sent a long report to the Czar, dealing with the course of events from the beginning of the war to the crossing of the Danube, and does not give a single word to the Roumanian army. 'The only thing,' he says about the country, 'is that the Roumanian railways are indifferent.' That may be so; but without our indifferent railways, and without the Roumanian troops, the Russians would not be in Bulgaria by now." [273]

On July 13 General Gourko succeeded in crossing the Hainkioi Pass, after encountering very great difficulties on the narrow mountain paths. The guns barely managed to keep up with the columns. On the other hand, serious news was received from Plevna on July 20, for, though the Russians succeeded in occupying Lowtscha, General von Schilder-Schuldner was forced to beat a speedy retreat halfway to Nikopoli, screened by his cavalry, leaving the Turks in possession of Plevna. The Russian headquarters now requested that the Roumanian army might occupy Nikopoli and take charge of the prisoners of war, but Prince Charles declined to accede to this without some definite agreement about the employment of his troops. The attitude of the Russian diplomats now appeared to suffer considerable change, so far as the employment of the Roumanian army was concerned. Prince Gortchakoff permitted himself to remark to the Princess, with marked sarcasm: "*Toujours pas de blessés Roumains!*" to which she readily replied: "*Non, Dieu merci, nous n'avons que très peu jusqu'à présent!*"

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The Prince wrote as follows to his consort:

"Yesterday, General Sefcari, commissioned by the Grand Duke Nicholas, arrived here to inform me that the defeat of the Russians at Plevna was caused by us: '*Dites au Prince que les Roumains sont cause que nous avons été battus à Plevna!*' The Russian headquarters maintain that a portion of General Krüdener's troops were retained at Nikopoli because we had refused to occupy that fortress and guard and transport the Turkish prisoners. This is true; I always mean to refuse such police duties; my army is too good for that. On the other hand, I have declared my willingness to occupy Nikopoli and advance with the Russians against the 35,000 to 45,000 Turks at Plevna. This offer does not find favour with the Russians, as they do not wish to share a victory with us...."

Roumanian troops, however, proceeded at once to garrison Nikopoli, where the Roumanian flag was hoisted on July 29, and a message was sent to the Grand Duke demanding a separate base of operations in Bulgaria, and the undivided command of the Roumanian army as the only condition which Prince Charles could accept.

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A report was received at 4 P.M. on the 31st that the Russians had suffered a severe defeat at Plevna, and were retiring panic-stricken on Sistow; this was confirmed at 9 P.M. by the following despatch in cipher:

"WEDNESDAY, July 19-31, 1877, 3.35 P.M.
"PRINCE CHARLES OF ROUMANIA.
"Headquarters of the Roumanian Army.

"The Turks having assembled in great force at Plevna are crushing us. Beg you to join, make a demonstration, and, if possible, cross the Danube, as you wish. This demonstration between Jiul and Corabia is indispensable to facilitate my movements.

"NICHOLAS."

Prince Charles replied that the Fourth Division would hold Nikopoli, and that the Third would occupy the position quitted by the Fourth; the want of torpedoes would prevent the passage of the river, as a Turkish monitor was stationed near Rahova. The headquarters of the Prince were now transferred to Corabia, where the bridge was to be constructed, and a fresh *ordre de bataille* drawn up in accordance with the altered conditions:

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The First Corps, consisting of three infantry brigades, one cavalry brigade, and six batteries was to form a general reserve.

The Second Corps suffered no alteration.

The Corps of Observation, under General Lupu, consisting of two Divisions with six batteries and two cavalry regiments, remained at Calafat.

The Russian advance, in the meantime, had come to a complete standstill, whilst some forty battalions and 200 guns under General Sotow awaited the arrival of six further Divisions before attempting to drive Osman Pacha away from his entrenched position at Plevna. A prolonged series of despatches now passed between the Russian and Roumanian Headquarters with reference to the bridge over the Danube. If the latter was constructed at Nikopoli, the army would probably be merged in that of the Grand Duke, whilst at Magura it would secure independent action, at the same time cutting off Osman's communications with Sofia and the East.

The impatience of the Grand Duke at the repeated delays led to the following despatch from Colonel Gherghel, attached to his Staff, on August 16:

"By order of H.I.H. the Grand Duke Nicholas I have the honour to communicate to your Highness that H.I.H. desires the Third Roumanian Division to cross the Danube at once at Nikopoli to unite with the Fourth. H.I.H. will visit the two Divisions as soon as they are concentrated."

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Prince Charles refused to allow the Third Division to cross, as he had no intention of allowing his army to be incorporated with the Russian. This burning question of the command was, however, satisfactorily settled by the 25th, when the passage commenced at Corabia opposite Magura. Prince Charles crossed the Danube on the 20th, and arrived at the Imperial Headquarters at Gornija Studena at half-past seven in the evening, where he was heartily welcomed by the Czar and the Grand Duke Nicholas. The latter at once inquired whether he intended to command his Corps in person, and received a reply in the affirmative. The Grand Duke then objected that this decision would give rise to difficulties, as Prince Charles could not be placed under the command of a Russian General. The Prince retorted that that was certainly out of the question, but ten Russian Generals might easily be placed under *his* command.

Whilst Prince Charles was resting from the fatigues of his journey, the Grand Duke entered his tent, and on behalf of the Czar offered him the command of the Russian troops before Plevna, which the Prince, after some hesitation, accepted. A council of war was held the following day at ten o'clock under the shade of a large tree to discuss the future plans of operation, when it was decided that, after the passage of the Roumanian army, the bridge at Corabia should be broken up and transferred to Nikopoli, where it would be of further use to the Russian army. Prince Charles maintained that Osman was stronger than the Russians supposed, and that for the present it was useless to resume the offensive.

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As Prince Charles returned to Sistow, a terrible picture of the horrors of war presented itself to his eyes. Long columns of "ladder" wagons, laden with wounded soldiers from the desperate struggles for the Shipka Pass, encountered the supply columns bringing up food and ammunition. The most terrible confusion arose, as neither column could pass the other. The groans and shrieks of the wounded under a burning sun increased every minute, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the Prince's escort could force its way through the disorganised mass.

From Corabia Prince Charles bade farewell to his wife in a letter dated September 1st, 1877, which frankly recognised the importance of the task which lay before him:

"The command before Plevna is no easy matter: it will cost many a bloody battle before the Turks are conquered; nay, it may be questioned whether we shall succeed in this struggle! But I could not refuse the Emperor's offer, although I should have preferred my army to fight in its own sphere of operations. Now my troops will form the right wing, the Russian Ninth Corps the centre, and the Fourth the left wing. The Roumanian troops will cross our bridge over the Danube to-day. I shall review them first and then set out for Turnu-Magurele to proceed *viâ* Nikopoli to my headquarters at Poradim (27 miles from Nikopoli)."

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Prince Charles found his new headquarters at Poradim a long straggling Bulgarian village about four and a half miles from the Turkish line of entrenchments round Plevna. Only one house at the entrance to the village seemed fit to live in, but at the best it was but a poor apology for a house. Half ruined, without doors or windows, it offered every opportunity for a study of the discomforts of campaigning. Here, as elsewhere, the noisome odour of corruption, caused by the hundreds of unburied carcasses of horses and other animals, made the air terrible to breathe.

The following morning the Prince found the troops of the Russian Fourth Corps greatly reduced in strength, as their effective strength present for duty only amounted to from 12,000 to 14,000 men for twenty-one battalions. On inspecting the outposts on the heights of Grivitza, Raditschewo, and Tutschenitza, the Prince realised to the full the strategical importance of Plevna, and also the immense difficulties in attacking the Turkish entrenchments. Osman Pacha's communications with Suleiman Pacha were seriously affected by the capture of Lowtcha by Prince Imeritinski and General Skobelev on September 6, and it then became possible to attack Plevna from the south as well.

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A General Order was drafted by the Prince and his Staff with a view to the attack on the position, which was so warmly urged by the Grand Duke and his Staff, but which was to be postponed for the present.

The troops now under the command of Prince Charles amounted to 107 battalions, 74 squadrons, and 442 guns. Total, 75,000 men and 8000 horses.

The Grand Duke Nicholas, whose temperament had suffered much during the last few weeks, declared bluntly: "*Il faut attaquer absolument*," to all the representations of the Prince, who was firmly convinced that Plevna could not be taken before the arrival of the expected Russian reinforcements. The Grand Duke, on the other hand, was afraid that, unless Plevna was taken at once, Suleiman Pacha would effect a junction with Osman, and thus outnumber the Russian force.

The preliminary bombardment of Plevna by 146 guns commenced on September 7, and continued throughout the night. Little or no damage was done by this cannonade, to which the Turkish guns only replied from time to time. Fire was again opened the following morning with 226 guns, chiefly concentrated against the Grivitza redoubt.

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About noon Prince Charles noticed that the guns of his Fourth Division were forced to retire before the fire of a Turkish redan some 900 yards to their front. The 13th Dorobanz Regiment, supported by the 1st Battalion of the 5th Line Regiment and a section of artillery, were ordered to take the redan. The attack was successfully carried out with a loss of two officers and 112 men wounded and 20 killed, about the same time that General Skobelev gained possession of the Green Hill.

A council of war on September 10 decided to undertake a general attack along the whole line at 3 P.M. the following day. The only dissentient vote was that of Prince Charles, who thought that the four days' bombardment had produced too little effect, but he gave way to the opinion of the majority.

At eleven o'clock on the momentous morning of September 11 a hot musketry fire was heard on the left flank, but owing to the thick mist the cause could not be ascertained at once, and it was not until 1 P.M. that Prince Charles received a report that General Skobelev had already been hotly engaged for the last two hours, suffering severe losses. In the meantime the mist had lifted, and at 3 P.M. the attacking columns moved in good order against the entrenchments. After suffering terrible losses, the columns were obliged to fall back, leaving innumerable corpses to mark the line of their advance. Twice the Roumanian infantry reached the ditch of the death-

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dealing Grivitza redoubt; twice, despite the utmost gallantry, they were forced back. Prince Charles could no longer watch this desperate struggle without taking share in it, and galloped down from his post of observation to the spot where the survivors of his gallant troops stood. Animated by the presence and the praises of their leader, the soldiers demanded to be led once more against the hitherto impregnable redoubt.

It is nearly half-past five o'clock; the Prince is going to join the Emperor Alexander, with whom is the Grand Duke Nicholas, in order to report to him on the state of affairs. The latter recognised him from a distance, and met him with the anxious query, "How are things going?" The Prince could only reply that the attack had miscarried, although he had still hope that the first Grivitza redoubt may be taken. Whilst he is still conversing with the Emperor, who is very much affected, an officer of Cossacks rides up at full gallop with the news that Turkish cavalry has broken out of Plevna and is advancing along the Grivitza road! Everybody present implores the Emperor to retire immediately from his point of observation, and to return for safety to his headquarters. The Emperor cedes to the general wish and returns to Raditschewo, accompanied by a large military escort—a sad spectacle for those who were present. The thunder of artillery, the rattling of musketry continue apace although the day is drawing to a close. The Prince is still without any news concerning the result of the attack on the Grivitza redoubt, which he had ordered to be made. A battalion is drawn from the reserve for the protection of the Grand Duke and the Prince. A huge fire is lit, round which their Highnesses sit down with their staff. Everybody is more or less overcome by the excitement of the day, and conversation is at a standstill. Suddenly at nine o'clock a horseman appears on the scene. He brings the unexpected, and yet so anxiously longed-for news, that at half-past seven o'clock the Roumanians, by a last effort, had taken the Grivitza redoubt, and captured a Turkish flag and three cannon. Whilst at the same time four Russian battalions successfully advanced on the works from the south; but a second redoubt, constructed in rear of the first, proved too strong to be assaulted; thus the Russians were held in check.

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The news of this success, which had been delayed owing to the officer having lost his way in the dark, acts like magic upon those present. The Prince immediately sends the joyful tidings to the Emperor.

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General Skobelev, whose independent advance was much criticised at headquarters, succeeded in taking two redoubts on the Green Hill, and demanded immediate support for his decimated force. This, however, could not be granted, owing to the distance (ten miles) from the reserve and the danger of the troops losing their way across country by night. The thunder of the guns and the rattle of musketry continued throughout the night, and only ceased at daybreak. The losses sustained proved to be enormous—16,000 killed and wounded, amongst them 2600 Roumanians.

A council of war, held the second day after the battle, in the absence of Prince Charles, decided to summon General von Todleben, the ever famous defender of Sebastopol, with the whole of the Imperial Guard; to desist from further assaults until their arrival, and to entrench the positions gained. A few votes (amongst others that of the Grand Duke) were even given for the withdrawal of the whole army behind the line of the Osma. The total want of initiative shown by General Krylow, who commanded the centre, led to his removal from the command of the Fourth Russian Corps, which was then given to General Pomeranzew. Prince Charles assembled his generals in the great battery near Raditschewo, and gave them orders to shorten the line enclosing Plevna; the counter-entrenchments which were ordered suffered considerable delay, however, as the Russian troops carried no entrenching tools.

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The second Grivitza redoubt was attacked by the Roumanians on the 18th, but Prince Charles, who personally superintended the attack, was compelled to recall his brave troops, as the Turkish fire inflicted annihilating losses on the assaulting columns, who, nevertheless, succeeded in reaching the ditch of the redoubt. The losses amounted to 20 officers and 583 men killed and wounded within two hours.

General von Todleben arrived before Plevna on September 30, and at a council of war at once expressed the opinion that the Turkish army could only be forced to surrender by means of a blockade. Plevna must be completely surrounded before a blockade could be enforced, and at least two more Corps were needed for this purpose. A Cavalry Corps under General Gourko was formed to operate on the far bank of the Wid, and to prevent Turkish supply columns from entering Plevna on that side.

The Prince thus described the state of affairs in a letter to Princess Elisabeth, dated October 5th, 1877:

"The Imperial Headquarters Staff have at last realised the situation, and a large army is now to be concentrated here: several divisions of infantry, in addition to the Imperial Guard!

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"All these troops will be placed under my command, a distinction which cannot be over-estimated from a military and political point of view. General Todleben is appointed as my second-in-command, with Prince Imeritinski as Chief of my Staff: they are both pleased at being under my command, the latter, indeed, had before applied for the post, whilst the former told me that he was happy to serve under a German Prince, and especially under a Hohenzollern. I replied that I felt complimented at having the celebrated defender of Sebastopol at my side, and that I regarded him as my military preceptor from whom I had much to learn. We are already excellent friends, and understand each other perfectly. I told him candidly what I thought about the attack of September 11th and the course to be pursued now, and had the satisfaction of hearing from him that my proposals were absolutely correct then, and are so still."

A curious incident is related in his next letter:

"Yesterday evening at nine o'clock (October 8), as I was at work with General Todleben and Prince Imeritinski, the aide-de-camp on duty rushed into the room to report that an alarm had been given along the whole line: large watch-fires were seen and guns were heard in the distance! The two squadrons of my escort saddled at once, and aides-de-camp and orderlies galloped up from all sides. I did not allow myself to be disquieted, and declared at once that it was a false alarm, for the night was so dark, the weather so terrible, and the roads so impassable from the downpour of rain, that it was impossible for the enemy to adopt the offensive. Several officers, who had been sent out, soon returned with the news that the Rifle Brigade of the Guard had lost their way, and had called for guides. Count Woronzow, the Chief of Staff of the Guard, at once rode to meet the troops; but small detachments of the Brigade wandered about the whole night, and did not assemble until this morning, stiff with cold and wet. The fires, which had appeared so large in the mist, were only those of our own bivouacs.... I am now rather more comfortably furnished; since the last few days I have managed to obtain windows and doors, straw mats on the floor, and had the roof repaired, so that the rain no longer falls into my bedroom....

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"The weather has been terrible for the last eight days, and the troops have suffered much in consequence: their boots simply rot on their feet in the melting snow: many have lost limbs through frost-bite, and the hospital tents are not sufficient to receive all the sick—more than 2000 men in the Army of the West!

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"... I visited the Roumanian troops in the trenches, where they are standing knee-deep in mud and water! The breastworks have fallen in in many places, so that they are exposed to the musketry of the Turks, and many men have been wounded during the last few days."

The sufferings of the troops were still further increased by the destruction of the bridges over the Danube, and to the discomforts of cold and wet was added the terror of starvation. A number of disputes occurred between the Russian and Roumanian foraging-parties, which culminated one day in a party of Russians being marched past the Prince's quarters as prisoners!

The second Grivitza redoubt was taken, after a first unsuccessful attempt, by the Roumanians on October 19, but the Turkish reserves eventually forced them to retire, with a loss of 300 killed and 707 wounded. The Russians, however, succeeded in gaining possession of the great redoubt at Gornji-Dubnik under cover of night on the 24th, and thereby completed the investment of Plevna, from which Osman could now only escape by forcing his way through the lines of the Allies.

The course of the investment proved uneventful until November 10, when General Skobelev took the Green Hill by a night attack, with the comparatively trifling loss of 200 men. This important point commands the town of Plevna, and its capture could not fail to hasten the end of the siege. Every attempt, especially by means of night attacks, was made by the Turks to drive the Russians out of this position, but each attempt was defeated by the stern valour of Skobelev's veterans. In reply to the Grand Duke's summons to surrender, Osman Pacha sent the proud and soldierly answer that he had not yet exhausted all his means, and therefore could not capitulate: that his honour as a soldier required him to hold out to the last.

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The whole Russo-Roumanian line investing Plevna was now divided into six sections under separate commanders. The first and largest, consisting of some thirty field works connected by shelter-trenches, extended for nine and a half miles from the right bank of the Wid to the Griwitza redoubt, the second ran from thence to the Plevna-Rustchuk road, the third to the Tutschenitza Ravine, and the fourth to Krtuschab, the fifth to the line of the Wid, and the sixth completed the circle to the west of that river.

The difficulties of his position were thus described by Prince Charles, November 17, 1877:

"The command here is no easy task, for the General Staff often alter the dispositions, and the Imperial headquarters interfere directly on every occasion, thereby causing confusion. This has, however, been amended after some representations, and we are now left alone. The expression, 'under my immediate command,' in my last General Order, marks the altered conditions, and prevents any direct interference. It sometimes looks to me as though the Russians found me in the way!...

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"A few days ago I visited the Roumanian right wing opposite Oponetz, and ordered a heavy bombardment to be commenced against the redoubts. The Turks did not reply, which proves that their ammunition is running short; our outposts then advanced and occupied the nearest heights without resistance. We only lost two men. Plevna can only hold out for another fortnight at the most; we expect Osman to attempt to break through any day, which will be the sign that his supply of food has come to an end. The position held by Skobelev is continually attacked by the Turks, especially at night; they hope to find there a means of escape. Skobelev has been slightly wounded twice; it is a miracle that he has not met his death, for he is always in the thick of the bullets...."

A Roumanian detachment, under Colonel Slaniceanu, after a hot engagement took the Turkish works at Rahova, with a loss of over 300 men, on November 20, and two Turkish guns and 140 ammunition carts fell into the hands of the victor. This success was followed up by the occupation of Tzibar Palanka and Rasgrad-Mahala, whence an attempt was to be made on Lom-Palanka.

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Another period of stormy weather followed December 5 and increased the already enormous difficulties of supply by carrying away nineteen pontoons of the bridge at Nikopoli. The roads became quite impassable; hundreds of horses succumbed to privation and overwork, and lay rotting by the roadside.

The long expected attempt of Osman Pacha to break through the lines of investment took place on December 10. A report was received the night before that the Turks were bridging the Wid, followed at half-past eight the next morning by the news that the besieged were commencing a sally. On hearing that the Roumanians had occupied the second Grivitza redoubt, Prince Charles

at once repaired to that vantage-point, and eventually to the heights commanding Bukowa. At half-past eleven Prince Charles reported to the Czar by telegraph: "The battle on the other side of the Wid has come to a standstill. I can clearly distinguish the three lines, the Turks being caught between two fires. The first prisoners are now on their way to me."

The reports which subsequently reached Prince Charles showed that the course of the action was as follows:

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The Turks commenced a hot fire from the guns posted near the Wid at half-past seven, just as the thick morning mist lifted; several columns then crossed the river by the stone bridge and that constructed near Opanetz, and attacked the redoubt near Gornji-Netropol with such vigour that the 9th Russian Grenadiers were forced to retire, leaving eight guns in the redoubt. The next redoubt was also taken at the first rush, as the reserves had no time to reinforce the first line. The two Russian Grenadier Divisions, however, prevented any further progress of the attacking columns, though they were unable to regain possession of the lost redoubts. At ten o'clock the advance of the Roumanians against the enemy's right flank caused the Turks to form front to that direction as well. The struggle continued till noon, by which time the Turkish troops were completely surrounded, and their commander, wounded in the left leg by a splinter of a shell, then decided to surrender, as his force could neither advance on Sofia nor retire to Plevna.

A white flag was hoisted on a cottage not far from the bridge over the Wid about 1 P.M., and a staff officer was despatched to find the commander of the nearest body of troops. A Roumanian officer, Colonel Cerchez, was the fortunate man to receive the message that Osman Pacha wished to see him. The Turkish Commander-in-Chief was having his wound dressed when Colonel Cerchez reached the cottage. He declined, however, to receive Osman's sword, as he had no authority to do so, and sent for General Ganetzki. On the arrival of the Russian General, Osman was forced to surrender unconditionally, as his situation was absolutely hopeless. No less than 40,000 men and seventy-seven guns thus fell into the hands of the victors.

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An indescribable scene of confusion presented itself to the eyes of Prince Charles, who, on hearing of the surrender of the Turkish commander, proceeded to the bridge over the Wid, where the decisive struggle had taken place. Russian and Roumanian Corps alternated with long columns of prisoners and fugitives from Plevna; thousands of carts, waggons, and horses, laden with the wretched goods and chattels of the Mohammedan population, blocks the Sofia road. A carriage, surrounded by Roumanian troopers, was suddenly encountered, and proved to contain no less a person than Osman Pacha, accompanied by Tahir Pacha, the Chief of Staff, and Tewfik Pacha, the Chief Engineer. "The Turkish Commander is a man of middle height and thick-set figure; his large melancholy eyes lend his face a most attractive expression, and his whole manner is quiet, dignified, and sympathetic." Prince Charles shook hands with him, and expressed his admiration at the heroic defence of Plevna. The Grand Duke Nicholas, who arrived at this moment, also expressed his admiration of this feat of arms, and ordered the distinguished prisoner to be treated with the utmost attention. Prince Charles subsequently returned through Plevna to Poradim to report the course of events to the Czar. The following day the Czar, after attending a *Te Deum* in the open air in celebration of the victory, sent for Osman Pacha, who had not yet quitted the vicinity of Plevna. The Turkish General was received by his Imperial Majesty in the presence of the Grand Duke Nicholas and Prince Charles. After paying tribute to the heroic courage with which Plevna had been defended, the Czar returned Osman's sword as a mark of esteem, a compliment which the latter briefly acknowledged with true Oriental courtesy.

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It was decided by a council of war to reinforce General Gourko, so that the projected advance on Sofia might proceed at once, and Prince Charles's offer to observe Widin with two Divisions, whilst a third escorted the prisoners of war to the Russian frontier, was gratefully accepted, since demands for reinforcements were received daily from all parts of the theatre of war.

Prince Charles took leave of the army investing Plevna with the following order:

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"OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS!

"Your endurance and your heroic struggle have been crowned with success. Plevna, which the enemy believed to be impregnable and capable of preventing the victorious advance of his Majesty the Czar; Plevna, which has cost the Christian forces so much noble blood; Plevna has fallen!

"The aim of the investing army, the command of which his Imperial Majesty was pleased to entrust to me, has now been fulfilled, and this order conveys to the Imperial Russian troops, which I had the honour to command, my farewell greeting, and at the same time my gratitude for the self-sacrificing devotion which has been accorded to me by the whole army from general to private.

"You have fought under the eyes of your august Czar and your chivalrous Commander-in-Chief, H.I.H. the Grand Duke Nicholas. They have both been witnesses of your heroic courage, and there is no need for me to add my praise to theirs.

"You have set a shining example of valour and the highest military virtues to my young Roumanian army. The glorious Imperial army has become united with my troops by an irrefragable bond of friendship, and I hope that you will preserve the same friendly remembrance of your Roumanian brothers-in-arms as they will of you.

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"I lay down my command with regret, and it is my most fervent wish on taking leave of you that in your future struggles for our holy cause you may achieve as glorious successes as in the past.

"Therefore let us join once more before we part in that joyous exclamation which springs from your hearts: Long life to his Majesty the Czar!"

The Emperor Alexander sent the following official letter to Prince Charles, dated 1/13 December, 1877:

"After a resistance of five months, the combined efforts of our allied troops have been crowned

with complete success. The army of Osman Pacha has laid down its arms and Plevna has fallen. Desirous of consecrating the memory of this great success, and the personal part your Highness has had in it, I take pleasure in conferring on your Highness on this occasion my Order of St. Andreas with swords. I beg your Highness to accept the insignia as a mark of my sincere affection, the expression of which I renew.

"ALEXANDER."

On December 5, the Grand Duke Nicholas issued an Order of the Day in which occurs the following passage:

"... In prescribing the dissolution of the corps in question I consider I ought to express my sincere gratitude to its chief, his Highness Prince Charles of Roumania, who, since August 17, has commanded the allied troops forming in the first instance the Army of the West, and later on the Corps of Investment. Thanks to his exceptional activity his Highness was able to establish the most complete cohesion between the Russian and Roumanian troops, to form them into one homogeneous body, and to direct their efforts in conformity with my prescriptions towards the final aim which has so brilliantly crowned the common task (*l'œuvre commune*)...."

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His Imperial Highness forwarded this document to Prince Charles, together with a letter which contained a warm tribute to Prince Charles and the Roumanian army:

"The brilliant results which have just been obtained before Plevna are in a great measure due to the co-operation of the brave Roumanian army, as well as to the impulse which the allied troops received from their immediate commander, whose activity, courage, and devotion to his soldierly duties they admired and strove to imitate."

Amongst the many compliments which were showered on the Commander of the Army of Investment, none was more deeply appreciated than the following despatch from the German Emperor:

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"PRINCE CHARLES OF ROUMANIA, PORADIM,

"I have followed your operations and noted the valour of your troops with the greatest interest. I cannot express too warmly my pleasure at this success; and I permit myself to confer on you herewith my military Order—*Pour le Mérite*. As you are aware of the value placed on this Order by my army, you will no doubt appreciate its bestowal. How many dangers, exertions, and privations you must have shared with your troops before you could at last celebrate a glorious triumph by the fall of Plevna! God be with you in the future.

"WILLIAM."

After an absence of four eventful months Prince Charles set out on December 22, a bitterly cold day, for Nikopoli *en route* for Bucharest. The roadsides offered a terrible picture of the horrors of war. Almost every step was marked by the corpse of some Turkish prisoner or Russian invalid who had succumbed to the bitter cold. One incident became engraved indelibly upon the Prince's mind. A little group of Turks appeared to be talking round the fragment of a wheel at some slight distance from the road, but on closer inspection they were found to be all frozen to death over their last fire. Even the streets of Nikopoli were not free from these ghastly milestones, and the Prince's thoughts involuntarily turned to the story of Napoleon's retreat from Russia. The unfortunate Turkish prisoners, to the number of 11,000, were herded together in the ditch of the fort exposed to the bitter cold (22° R.) without even a vestige of warm clothing. Small wonder that the Prince, who could do nothing to alleviate their sufferings, hastened to cross the Danube, beyond the reach of their groans and supplications.

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As only a few of the pontoons had managed to resist the pressure of the ice, Prince Charles was forced to cross the Danube by means of a small steamboat, which took an hour to reach the Roumanian bank. His first action on reaching Turnu-Magurele was directed to alleviating the miseries of the wounded and the unfortunate prisoners, to which merciful work he devoted Christmas Day of 1877.

A welcome letter from his father was received here:

"Roumania must now maintain its vitality by the development of its independence, and prove practically to the Powers that it has become an essential member of the European States.

"I have followed the successes of your brave troops with undiminished attention. Their organisation has justified itself, the spirit of the officers is the result of your training. Their achievements have everywhere been such as one could hardly expect from veteran troops. This attainment of an object persistently pursued must be the highest reward for your self-sacrificing efforts, and is at the same time a triumph over the public opinion of Europe, which has never had much sympathy with the Roumanian State and its army.

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"At the present it is impossible to foresee what will happen after the fall of Plevna. I do not believe in the prophecies of the Press regarding an expected peace, for Russia cannot possibly content herself with the result of Plevna. She must set right the mistaken beginning of the whole campaign against Turkey, which rested upon false calculations and disparagement of the enemy. These events, however, have been fortunate for Roumania, for the insufficiency of the Russian means of war was the very reason why the support of the Roumanian army became a necessity. It seems almost the work of Providence that such tasks and efforts in the theatre of war should have fallen to the lot of the Roumanians as to place them on a footing of equality in the eyes of Russia and Europe....

"As soon as the military difficulties have been conquered, political troubles will accumulate to a still greater degree. The Triple Alliance must now prove its strength, for, if it is firmly united, the decision of European affairs will lie in its hands alone...."

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Princess Elisabeth awaited her husband, from whom she had been separated for four long and anxious months, at Titu, from whence they reached Bucharest at one o'clock. The whole population of the capital turned out to do honour to their ruler, who had shared their dangers and their troubles, and who had achieved the independence of his adopted country sword in hand.

The day closed with a magnificent torchlight procession under the windows of the palace, after which Prince Charles and his wife drove through the brilliantly illuminated streets.

Whilst Prince Charles had been manfully engaged in the field, the Princess had made it her special care to look after "her" wounded, as she termed them, and it was therefore with a special pleasure that the Prince learnt that the merciful efforts of his wife had been recognised and appreciated by the Czarina, who sent a special messenger to Princess Elisabeth with the Order of St. Catherine in brilliants, on the occasion of her birthday (December 29).

A telegram from the Turkish Minister of War, Reuf Pacha, addressed to the Grand Duke Nicholas at *Bucharest*, informed the Russian Commander that the Porte had empowered Mehemed Ali to negotiate an armistice. Although Prince Charles thought that the Russians would hardly desist from their victorious advance, he nevertheless telegraphed to the Grand Duke, requesting that Roumania should participate in the negotiations with which her interests were so closely connected. Colonel Arion was sent to the Russian headquarters to act on behalf of the Prince in the approaching negotiations for an armistice. His instructions were, briefly, to obtain—

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(1) The occupation of the Danubian fortresses by Roumanian troops until the conclusion of peace.

(2) The recognition of Roumania's independence.

(3) The dismantling of the Turkish fortresses on the Danube from Adakaleh in the west to the mouth of the river.

(4) The transfer to Roumania of all the mouths of the Danube.

(5) A war indemnity of 100,000,000 francs and the occupation of Nikopoli, Rahova, Lom-Palanka, and Widin until payment in full.

In the event of the Roumanian plenipotentiary not taking part in the negotiations, Colonel Arion was instructed to protest against every clause affecting Roumania which was agreed to in his absence, and to declare the same null and void. A large indemnity was demanded, because it was intended to cover the heavy expenses and losses incurred through the war.

The difficulties which Roumania seemed likely to encounter at the conclusion of peace are thus alluded to by Prince Charles in a letter to the German Crown Prince, January 14, 1878:

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"The newspapers are full of rumours that the Russians intend to resume possession of the Bessarabian districts, incorporated in Roumania by the Treaty of Paris. I cannot believe this, seeing that we have rendered them great service at a most critical moment. Moreover, such a rectification of the frontier would most decidedly be against the interests of Germany and Austria, who must prevent the mouths of the Danube from falling into the hands of a great Power.

"The Second Article of the treaty regulating the passage of the Russian army through Roumania lays it down that the Government of his Majesty the Czar pledges itself to maintain and defend the former integrity of Roumania. Though it cannot be believed that this formal engagement is to be violated, still great anxiety prevails here, especially as the Russian Press constantly refers to this topic."

Minister Cogalniceanu also forwarded a Note to the Russian Agent in Bucharest, laying stress on the fact that Roumania had proclaimed its independence by declaring war with the Porte direct, and that the army had crossed the Danube at the invitation of the Russian Government as well as of the Headquarters Staff. The independent character which Roumania assumed during the war could not, therefore, be cast aside when, at the conclusion of hostilities, the work of diplomacy commenced. The Roumanian Government accordingly claimed the right and the duty of taking part in the negotiations, just as the army had shared the heat and the burden of the fighting. On January 29, however, Prince Ghika reported by telegraph from St. Petersburg that the Czar and his Chancellor had formally notified him of the intention of the Russian Government to regain possession of the Roumanian portion of Bessarabia, whilst Roumania was to be indemnified by the Delta of the Danube and the Dobrutscha as far as Kustendje. The motive assigned was that the territory in question was not ceded to Roumania but to Moldavia, and had been separated from Russia by a treaty of which scarcely a single provision remained in force. Moreover, the national dignity and honour of Russia demanded the re-acquisition of this district. General Ignatieff, it was said, would be sent to Bucharest to negotiate direct with Prince Charles and his Government. In reply to all Ghika's remonstrances, Gortchakoff retorted: "Whatever arguments you employ, they cannot modify our decision, which is unalterable. You are opposed by a political necessity."

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General Ignatieff arrived at Bucharest on January 31, 1878, and presented the following almost threatening letter from Prince Gortchakoff to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

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"His Majesty the Czar considers that the time has arrived to elucidate certain questions which I have already discussed in general terms with your Excellency regarding the future peace. It is essential that there should be no misunderstanding on this point.

"It is with a view to avoiding such misunderstandings that my august master is sending his aide-de-camp, General Count Ignatieff, to Bucharest. He will explain to you the views of the Imperial

Cabinet, with the general tendency of which your Excellency is already acquainted. You know that we desire to do everything for Roumania that is possible in the field of diplomacy. But your Excellency knows also that we have interests and rights to guard which we cannot forego. What we expect from the Roumanian Government is a just and rational appreciation of its situation and ours. This is the way in which the traditions which unite Roumania to Russia may be perpetuated and consolidated. Your country owes its past to us, and I believe that it will also find in us its most solid support in the future. I reckon on the keen intelligence of your Excellency and of the President of the Council to see to it that high and statesmanlike views shall prevail over party passions at a moment which may be decisive for the relations between our countries."

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Count Ignatieff did not mention the proposed cession of Bessarabia to Prince Charles until the latter questioned him on this point. The Prince then declared his inability to accede to this exchange, which he felt convinced did not emanate from the Czar, but from his Majesty's political *entourage*. The Russian envoy subsequently touched upon the possibility of Prince Charles being elected to the throne of Bulgaria, and even asked what would be his attitude should such an offer be made. The Prince, needless to say, answered evasively, and at once turned the conversation.

The Roumanian Agent in Paris reported on the 25th that neither M. Waddington, Lord Lyons, nor Prince Hohenlohe were informed of the Russian demands on Bessarabia, and that he had come to the conviction that the question of the proposed cession excited very little interest amongst the Powers, whilst not even Germany was expected to protest against the action of Russia.

The papers relating to the recent diplomatic correspondence were laid before a secret sitting of the Chamber and the Senate on February 4. Amidst the greatest excitement, the representatives of the nation declared that Roumania would preserve the integrity of its territory to the last, with armed force if necessary. A resolution embodying the claims of Roumania to the consideration of Russia, and referring to the guarantee of the Powers, as well as to the promise contained in the Convention of March 4, 1877, was adopted unanimously by the Chamber and by a large majority in the Senate.

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A critical period now arrived with the news that the English Lower House had voted £6,000,000 sterling for military preparations, whilst the advance of the British fleet to the entrance of the Dardanelles led to the Russian occupation of several entrenchments within the neutral zone before Constantinople. Owing to the threatening attitude of England, delays took place in the treaty of peace, and Russia threatened to occupy Constantinople. The English Ambassador at Vienna remarked to the Roumanian Agent that his Government had no information about the Russian claims to Bessarabia, and pointed out that this question was of a very delicate nature, because Russia appeared to lay special stress on the retrocession of the districts, and also because of the unwillingness of other States to interfere between allies.

Cogalniceanu laid two important Notes before the Prince on February 14, 1878, referring to the independence of Roumania, and addressed to the Powers and the Sublime Porte. The first Note referred to a former one of June 3, proclaiming independence, and at the same time requesting the Powers to abstain from recognising it until the decisive moment arrived. This had now occurred, and Roumania hoped that the Powers would now welcome her as worthy of admission to the great European family, seeing that she had sealed her independence with the sword. The Note concluded with the request that a Roumanian delegate might attend the approaching conference. The second Note, addressed to Constantinople, expressed a desire to resume friendly relations with the Porte, and referred briefly to the reasons which led Roumania to take part in the war. The voluntary recognition of the accomplished independence would create a firmer and more valuable bond of union between Turkey and Roumania than that which now belonged to the past.

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The preliminaries of the peace were signed at Adrianople on January 31, 1878, when the following conditions were agreed to:

(1) Bulgaria to be formed into an autonomous tributary principality under a Christian Government.

(2) The independence of Montenegro to be recognised.

(3) Roumania and Servia to be independent and to receive an increase of territory.

(4) Bosnia and Herzegovina to be granted an autonomous administration.

(5) Russia to be indemnified for the expense and losses caused by the war.

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Prince Bismarck, speaking of the Eastern Question in the Reichstag, said the preliminaries of peace in no way affected the interests of Germany, and that there was no cause to exchange the part of a spectator for that of an actor. The question of the Dardanelles alone was of great importance, for "the water ways, the straits, as well as the Danube from the Black Sea northwards, must remain open to German commerce." Germany, declared the Chancellor, would not adopt the attitude of an arbitrator, but that of an "honest broker," who had every intention of doing business (*i.e.*, in effecting a lasting peace). The German Empire would never sacrifice the friendship with Russia, which had been proved through past generations, in order to obtain the vain credit of playing the judge in Europe!

The attitude to be adopted by Prince Charles was thus sketched out by his father:

"The offered portion of the unproductive Dobrutscha is, indeed, no compensation for the cession of Bessarabia, but will, nevertheless, be acceptable if Küstendje forms part of the bargain. Indeed, the acquisition of this Black Sea port may perhaps be of the greatest importance to the future of the

flourishing commerce of Roumania. The *conditio sine quâ non* for the incorporation of the district on the right bank must be the dismantling of the Danubian fortresses, for an autonomous Bulgaria has no need for fortified protection on its northern frontier, whilst they might, even under changed circumstances, prove a danger to Roumania, as they would become so many sally-ports in time of war."

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The virgin fortress of Widin, which had been invested by three Roumanian Divisions, was handed over by Isset Pacha on February 24, when the Turkish garrison marched out with all the honours of war. An enormous quantity of munitions of war was found in the magazines, but the supplies of food appeared to be almost exhausted. A day later the rock fortress of Belgradjik was also handed over to the Roumanians with the same ceremonies.

The following laconic telegram from the Grand Duke Nicholas was handed to Prince Charles on March 3, 1878:

"It is with great pleasure that I inform you that the peace has just been signed."

CHAPTER XI

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THE BERLIN CONGRESS AND AFTER

The feelings of consternation and bitter resentment evoked by the publication of the Treaty of San Stefano soon found expression in the Roumanian Chamber, where the action of the Russian Government was criticised in scathing terms, and in the Press, whose comments on the situation were little calculated to restrain the popular indignation. The Minister of the Exterior telegraphed to the various Roumanian diplomatic agents abroad that the Government felt itself compelled to protest against a treaty, every article of which was either directly or indirectly opposed to the interests of Roumania. Prince Charles, on the other hand, was convinced of the futility of all protests, and the impossibility of retaining Bessarabia, and was therefore chiefly concerned in checking the growing hostility of the Roumanian nation towards their all-powerful neighbour. At the same time no effort was spared to secure the representation of Roumania at the impending European Congress, and M. Bratianu, the President of the Ministry, was despatched for this purpose to Vienna and Berlin with letters from the Prince himself.

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Though the general disposition towards Roumania on the part of the Great Powers was that of lukewarm platonic sympathy, a ray of hope was at one time afforded by the warlike attitude of England, who would only agree to a Congress empowered to consider the whole of the Treaty of San Stefano. General Ignatieff traversed Europe in order to effect an understanding between the several Cabinets. Prince Charles Anthony, however, warned his son that "the loss of the Bessarabian region must now be regarded as inevitable, and the only consolation is that the sympathy of public opinion generally is accorded to you and to your country."

During the absence of Bratianu, Prince Gortchakoff transmitted to the Roumanian Agent in St. Petersburg a threat which had fallen from the mouth of the Czar himself: that if Roumania protested against Article VIII. of the Treaty (which defined the route of the Russian troops through Roumania), he, the Czar, would disarm the Roumanian army. Prince Charles at once caused the following reply to be forwarded: "The Roumanian army, which fought so gallantly before Plevna under the eyes of the Czar, may be annihilated, but will never be disarmed!"

The situation was critical, since the Russian army practically occupied the Principality, and the flimsiest pretexts were employed to increase the number of troops in and round Bucharest. The threats of Prince Gortchakoff were discussed throughout Europe, even in the English Parliament. At length Prince Charles was forced to prepare for the worst, and to make arrangements to remove his troops and Government to Little Wallachia. The tension between Russia and Roumania was still further increased at this period by a remarkable incident. On the conclusion of the peace, Prince Charles had forwarded a congratulatory letter to the Czar through the Consul-General at Bucharest, and was therefore greatly surprised to learn from Prince Alexander of Battenberg that the Czar was complaining at not having received his congratulations. It was then discovered that the Imperial aide-de-camp, to whom the letter had been entrusted, had been seriously ill at Vienna, and the unfortunate delay of six weeks was thus accounted for. The Czar telegraphed as follows immediately the letter reached his hands (April 8, 1878):

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"Your kind letter of the 21st February did not reach me until to-day. I thank you sincerely for it, and offer the same prayers as yourself that the peace may become firm and lasting. My feelings and my friendship for you and Princess Elisabeth will remain unaltered; but I cannot but regret the attitude of those who are at the head of your Government, and who have brought about a situation which is entirely antagonistic to the real interests of Roumania."

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A letter expressed the Czar's views still more forcibly:

"... The painful relations created by the measures of your Ministers cannot alter my affectionate interest and friendship for you. I regret having been obliged to indicate the measures which their course of action may eventually force me to adopt. You cannot doubt how pleased I should be to be able to avoid this, for it is not in such a light that I should care to see our traditionally amicable relations placed, cemented as they are by our brotherhood in arms; and I am certain that you yourself share my sentiments. I understand the desire of your Government to regulate by a special arrangement the relations which an extension of the stay of my army on the Danube will

necessitate. But the peace is not yet finally concluded, and our conventions have therefore not ceased to hold good. You certainly understand, moreover, that it is impossible for me to allow the least uncertainty to hover over the communications and supplies of my troops. A friendly arrangement between our two Governments might easily regulate matters in view of the new situation, which would follow a definite peace. I am quite willing to lend myself to this measure, and I have therefore ordered a special official to proceed to Bucharest, who will be instructed to discuss the same with your Ministers. I shall be delighted to see an *entente* established, and I believe that this will be more in the interests of Roumania than the existing tension of our relations. I hope that you will bring your support to bear upon the issue, and you may rest assured of mine....

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"ALEXANDER."

Prince Charles thus describes the situation in a letter to his father:

"The East is confronted by a new crisis from which, thanks to its energetic attitude, my country will not emerge the loser. The Treaty of San Stefano is the work of Ignatieff.... I rejoice at the resolute attitude of England.... I asked several Russian Generals, who paid their respects to me today, what was the meaning of the movements of the troops in the country, and they told me that several Divisions were preparing to return to Russia: the army was longing for peace, and was thoroughly tired of the war."...

Nevertheless, the disquiet caused by the movements of the Russian troops did not disappear, although they were declared to be only directed against Austria.

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As Prince Charles had foreseen, Roumania had little active support to expect from the Great Powers. Prince Bismarck informed M. Bratianu, who had been received with assurances of friendship both at Vienna and Berlin, that Bessarabia was the *sine qua non* for Russia, and he therefore advised Roumania to come to an understanding with that Power before the assembly of the Congress, by voluntarily surrendering the three Pruth districts. Roumania might then obtain much, very much indeed, as compensation from the great Empire. Prince Charles considered this course practicable, but Bratianu was in favour of holding out until the last moment. Lord Salisbury, on the other hand, assured the Roumanian Agent in Paris that Prince Charles might count upon England's effectual support in peace and in war, though this promise lost much of its value by the addition that more important questions than the fate of Bessarabia existed for England, and, provided these were settled amicably, war would not be declared for the sake of Roumania.

The British armaments, which included the movement of Indian troops to the Mediterranean garrisons, continued to increase until May, when Count Schuwaloff's mission at last secured the assembly of the Congress. In the meantime, Prince Charles inspected his forces in Little Wallachia. The Russians and Roumanians at no great distance from the capital were dangerously near to one another, and the Roumanian Chamber voted increased supplies for war material on its own initiative. The whole of Roumania was anxious to make every possible sacrifice in defence of the national honour.

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Two dastardly attempts on the life of the venerable German Emperor evoked feelings of the deepest indignation throughout the world. Prince Charles telegraphed as follows on behalf of both himself and his consort:

"We cannot find words in which to express our consternation and grief at the execrable deed which has again endangered your Majesty's life. We thank God that the wound is not serious, and hope that the certain knowledge that you are surrounded by the deep love of many millions will help your Majesty out of the bitterness of these hours."

The Congress was at length opened by Prince Bismarck at Berlin on June 13, 1878, after Count Schuwaloff had succeeded in making terms with England, whereby Russia was allowed to annex Bessarabia and Batoum in return for the division of Bulgaria. In appointing Bratianu and Cogalniceanu as Roumanian delegates, Prince Charles again reminded them that, since Bessarabia must be considered as lost to Roumania, they must endeavour to obtain the greatest possible territorial compensation on the right bank of the Danube, possibly even as far as the line Rustchuk-Varna. The Roumanian delegates were, however, not permitted to attend the sittings of the Congress until after the representatives of the Powers had decided to sanction the annexation of Bessarabia by Russia. Yet another severe blow was destined to fall on Roumania, and by the hand, too, of a formerly friendly power, France. Before the independence of Roumania was recognised, all restrictions upon the political and civil rights of all creeds, imposed by the Constitution, were to be removed; in other words, the Roumanian Jews were to be admitted to the franchise. All the entreaties and representations of the Roumanian delegates were in vain; even Lord Beaconsfield, in a private audience, contented himself with the remark that "in politics ingratitude is often the reward of the greatest services."

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As a matter of fact, the resolutions of the Congress left Roumania in a worse plight than before the war. Even the most advanced Liberals, who had formerly championed the Jewish cause, were exasperated at having this measure thrust upon them by the Foreign Powers as a condition, before their independence, honourably achieved with blood and steel upon the field of glory, could be recognised. Moreover, the compensation offered, the Delta of the Danube and the Dobrudscha as far as the line Silistria-Mangalia, so far from being appreciated, was actually opposed with vigour by a large section of the nation.

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The Prince's position was doubly difficult: himself the most tolerant of mortals, he viewed all attempts at persecution with the sternest disfavour; as a ruler, he could not close his eyes to the inevitable result of the emancipation of the Moldavian Jews, who would then have gained

possession of the greater part of the heavily mortgaged estates in that district. Whatever happened, it seemed as though the enormous sacrifices which Roumania had borne had failed to secure any adequate recompense; whilst, on the other hand, England had received Cyprus, and Austria was to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bratianu, therefore, was only too correct when he reported from Berlin: "Prince Bismarck alone was straightforward with us from the commencement when he told us Bessarabia was lost. He was sincere, for it would have been to his interest if we had come to an understanding with Russia direct! All the other Great Powers were interested in supporting our resistance, for they were then able, by sacrificing us in the end, to obtain more concessions for themselves from Russia."

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Prince Charles wrote to his father on August 4, 1878:

"The struggles which Roumania has had to endure during the last few months, and has yet to endure, are, beyond all comparison, more serious than those at Plevna and Widin. To issue victorious from them will be far more honourable to my country than the laurels gathered on the battlefields of Bulgaria! It is pitiful that Europe should force a young and energetic State, which has shown its power and vitality in a bloody war, to cede a province. The Berlin Congress might return to Russia what the Treaty of Paris took away, but it wounds us deeply that our independence, achieved on the battlefield, should be made contingent upon the cession of Bessarabia, and much patience and moderation are necessary to allow such a course to be adopted. We shall, however, show the Powers that we know how to extricate ourselves with honour from the worst situations.

"As soon as the Articles referring to Roumania became known, the greatest consternation arose, and even the most peaceful of the people declared they would rather not acquire independence at such a price. I convened a Council of Ministers and conferred with a few political leaders, advising the greatest care, since a hasty step might bring the country into extreme danger. Europe has need of peace and insists on it; it will not, therefore, be content with half measures, but will execute the resolutions of the Congress by force. After their first anger had been subdued, people here became more reasonable, and recognised that it was impossible to resist the whole of Europe.

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"We closed the Chambers, and decided to allow the Russian occupation of Bessarabia to approach. We shall then avoid any record in writing, withdraw our officials, and admit a *fait accompli*. When this painful affair has once come to an end, we must find a *modus vivendi* with Russia, in order to be able to regulate a multitude of details without hindrance. All this will, however, be effected by the Administration; Crown and Chamber are not to take any part therein.

"The territory on the right bank of the Danube is not given to us in exchange for Bessarabia; we take it simply as a war indemnity, and because Europe gives it to us. We have thus gained very much both morally and materially, and no one can refuse us their respect. The districts promised us by the Congress have a great future, and in a few years I hope to raise them to a flourishing condition. Their inhabitants think themselves fortunate in being connected with Roumania, and have already sent me many addresses, to which, up to the present, I have not replied.

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"Küstendje is a beautiful port, and, like the railway to Tschernavoda, was constructed by an English company. A few good hotels and installations have been made there for sea bathing. The situation is healthy."

About this period the Prince received the following letter from Prince Charles Anthony of Hohenzollern:

"The whole strength of the nation must now be concentrated on the acquisition of the Dobrudscha and the economic and political tasks which have arisen there.... A reconciliation with Russia may perhaps prove the most urgent duty of self-preservation."

On the anniversary of Grivitza Prince Charles addressed a cordial telegram to the Czar, receiving in turn a very hearty reply.

After the army had been placed on a peace footing, and the Russian troops had quitted the country, Prince Charles devoted himself to the task of carrying out the conditions imposed by the Berlin Congress. Since Article VII. of the Roumanian Constitution stipulates that only Christians can become citizens, a *Constituante* had to be convened at Bucharest, in the hope that the alteration of the Constitution would secure the necessary two-thirds majority.

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The Ministry decided about this time to request Prince Charles to assume the title of Royal Highness, as being more suitable to the ruler of a country which surpassed many a European kingdom in point of area and population. The Powers immediately recognised the new title, whilst Prince Charles Anthony was of opinion that it would have been better to follow the example of Belgium, and assume the royal dignity forthwith.

Towards the end of September the Chambers assembled to recognise the Treaty of Berlin, which, after many violent speeches, they managed to do just one day before the cession of Bessarabia, the resolution being worded as follows:

"The Chamber of Deputies has taken cognisance of the dispositions made by the Treaty of Berlin regarding Roumania. Compelled by the decision of the Powers, and in order not to be an obstacle to the consolidation of peace, the Chamber empowers the Government to comply with the universal wish of Europe by recalling the civil and military authorities from Bessarabia, and taking possession of the Dobrudscha, the Danube Delta, and the Serpents' Island. The other questions will be settled by constitutional methods."

The Russian occupation of Bessarabia passed off uneventfully; the Roumanian officials retired without a word, and Prince Charles was spared the pain of signing his name to any document in connection with the cession. A marked contrast to this was afforded by the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which encountered violent resistance, and was accompanied by much bloodshed.

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A couple of days after the withdrawal from Bessarabia, the triumphal entry of the Roumanian army into Bucharest took place, and the striking unanimity with which the dignified bearing of the Prince and his subjects was recognised both at home and abroad afforded Prince Charles much consolation during this critical period.

From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE, October 19th, 1878.

"You know that you were much in my thoughts during the Congress and afterwards, in the midst of that truly difficult period of negotiations about the cession of Bessarabia. But I purposely refrained from writing to you, because I did not know how I was to express myself in view of such events.

"I was convinced that you would estimate the circumstances correctly, and be able to take matters as they are. The exchange of territory, however, hit you doubly hard, since only too many were anxious to throw suspicion on you for being an *immigrant* wanting in 'patriotic feeling.' Thank Heaven, the representatives of your country appear to have submitted with the necessary resignation, so that you have been relieved of a real trouble. May Roumania now speedily realise all the advantages which may still be drawn from the Dobrudscha, though it offers but little, and may the construction of bridges, canals, and ports mark a new era in your rule. If such undertakings succeed, a true substitute will have been found for all you have given up, and one day the advantage may perhaps be on your side. This is my heart's desire.

"Russia's conduct, after the manful service you did for that colossal Empire, meets with censure on all sides. I do not understand the importance which they attach to that piece of land. But they have scarcely got their way, when Russia begins to stir up a question about Afghanistan, which again threatens the peace, though for the present only in Asia! As if enough blood had not been shed already. It is to be hoped that the good Ameer will listen to reason, but the general tension is nevertheless very great."

Referring to the events of the last summer, the attempted assassination of the Emperor William I., and his own Regency, the Crown Prince remarks:

"My best thanks, though late, for your welcome and sympathetic letter in June. You felt with us what a heavy blow had fallen on us all, and rejoiced with us over the recovery of the dear Emperor, whom I found wonderfully well at Cassel and Baden. His freshness and mobility, his memory and spirits are completely restored. Yet those who see him daily, say that mental exertion still tires him easily, and that he is therefore very willing to avoid it. His resumption of official duties is thus postponed still further, so that I shall probably not be free from this burden until December on his return from Wiesbaden to Berlin!...

"A few days ago we bade farewell to Henry for two years. Seldom has a separation fallen so heavily on my heart as this. He proceeds round Cape Horn *viâ* Rio, and will then join his station in Japan.

"William has just returned from England and Scotland; he met Charlotte and Bernard in Paris, where they amused themselves immensely in the strictest incognito....

"My wife and I are tolerably well in spite of these troublous times, which in less than half a year have brought me a Peace Congress, marriages, special legislation, dissolution of the Imperial Diet, elections, and the execution of a death sentence. In all these events I see God's will that I should taste of everything that still is set before me. But it is not easy to exercise the rights and bear *all* the burdens of a monarch to the best of one's ability and conscience without taking the sole responsibility.

"To-morrow the Imperial Diet concludes its deliberations; let us hope that the law against social democracy marks the commencement of a radical cure, by means of which this evil may be overcome. It will, however, cost us much pains before we can rid ourselves of this abortion, which has increased with such incredible rapidity since the teaching of this unhealthy society finds a ready market, and the attempted assassinations, which will now multiply still more, show the direction taken by a misunderstood application...."

From PRINCE ALEXANDER OF BATTENBERG, October 20th, '78.

"You can imagine how I have followed the march of political events. The consequence of the unhappy Peace of Berlin will probably be that we, *i.e.*, the Russians, shall soon have to draw sword again. Should we then be comrades in arms once more? Probably not!

"What do you think of Dondukow's doings? Here in Jugenheim I am too far away to be able to form an opinion, and the papers contain nothing but lies; the events in Bulgaria interest me greatly, as *secret inquiries continue to reach me from time to time.*"

The first ambassador to the Roumanian Court, Count Hoyos, was sent by Austria, an example soon followed by Turkey, and later on by Russia, who raised the rank of its representative first from Consul-General to Resident Minister, and then to Ambassador. In return, the Diplomatic Agents of Roumania in Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople were created Ambassadors. A very friendly understanding with Turkey was now initiated, and proved to be of great advantage

to Roumania during the transactions of the Frontier Commission, which was presided over by the former State. In strict accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, the frontier line was fixed close to the gates of Silistria, in spite of the immediate protests of the Russian Commissary, who succeeded in delaying a final settlement for a period of years.

On November 26, 1878, the Roumanians proceeded to take possession of the Dobrudscha, and were received with the greatest enthusiasm, to the surprise of the Austrian Emperor, whose experience in Bosnia had led him to advise Prince Charles not to garrison the Dobrudscha with less than a Division.

The first anniversary of Plevna was marked by the issue of a stirring Army Order by Prince Charles, who also exchanged warm congratulations by telegraph with the Czar and the Archduke Nicholas.

Rumours in the Press pointed to the probable selection of Prince Alexander of Battenberg for the newly created throne of Bulgaria, whilst the selection of Prince Charles also received public support. In reply to his Ministers, who considered that his candidature was desirable, Prince Charles remarked that the moment for such a step had passed. Not *against*, but only *with* the aid of Russia could such a candidature succeed!

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Although the Chamber and Senate at first supported the speedy convocation of a *Constituante*, months elapsed before the three readings took place in the Chamber before proceeding to a dissolution to allow the elections to take place.

The third reading did not take place till April 5, 1879, after Prince Bismarck had in a somewhat threatening manner requested to be informed when the Jewish question was to be settled. This question was transmitted through Austria-Hungary, the Roumanian representative in Berlin being passed over!

In addition to this pressing question of the Jewish franchise, the old trouble about the re-purchase of the Strousberg Railway Line was raised by Germany, which roundly declared that her attitude in future depended on this measure being carried out.

The Prince of Roumania wrote to Prince Charles Anthony:

"Although we wish to acquire the railway lines, we nevertheless feel hurt at this pressure. The Jewish question, and the purchase of the railways are two such important problems that they can hardly be grappled with simultaneously. Bleichröder's influence is evident in both affairs.

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"Our relations with Russia are no better, though Schuwaloff said to my Ambassador: 'I admit that we have committed many blunders with regard to you, but remember that you have done the same with us. We have no reason to quarrel; on the contrary, at such a time we ought to be on the best footing.'

"We have little hope that the question of the Dobrudscha frontier will be decided to our advantage, since Germany is quite on the side of Russia. Bismarck is the man who deters those Powers which are not yet in diplomatic connection with us. The proposal to recognise Servia proceeded from Berlin to the other Powers, with the remark that a distinction must be made between one country that fulfils its obligations and another that seeks to avoid them!"

Prince Charles Anthony had already written as follows to his son in February 1879:

"In spite of the completed cession of Bessarabia, Russia still appears to be hostile to you, and the remainder of Europe, including the German Empire, does not take up a resolute attitude against that Power. Every step taken by Roumania, conscious of her achieved independence, is hindered and opposed! It would be desirable to put an end to your ominous Jewish question, if only to remove every pretext from the Powers."

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Again, a few months later:

"There is nothing left for you but to carry through the Jewish question a *tout prix*, in spite of all the antipathies of the populace, and regardless of the mischievous nature of the whole measure."

The whole country, Moldavia in particular, was in a state of the greatest excitement, and on no occasion were the elections so largely participated in as those which preceded this Revising Chamber. Prince Charles, accompanied by the Crown Prince of Sweden, made a tour through Moldavia before the elections took place. The National festival, the 10th-22nd May, was celebrated with particularity and fervour in 1879. The Roumanian army presented a sword of honour to their sovereign, inscribed with the names of the victorious actions and the following dedication: "To the victorious leader in the War of 1877-78, from his grateful Army," and "Virtus Romana rediviva."

The opening of the Revising Chamber was but the prelude to a summer of violent political struggles, which kept the national feelings at a dangerously high pitch of excitement. The Ministry would not lay definite proposals before the Chambers, but seemed anxious to allow the nation to take the lead in this vital question, whilst a strong current of public feeling advocated opposition to the demands of the Berlin Treaty.

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To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY.

"In the event of an unsatisfactory solution, they are determined in Berlin to intervene by means of a Collective Note which will dictate to us what rights we are to concede to the Jews. Such a step would, of course, arouse national excitement, and only further increase resistance; but this might become a great danger to the country apart from the humiliation which it includes. The

question is whether execution would follow intervention, and what shape the execution would take? Italy contents itself with the removal of Article VII. of the Constitution, and likewise England, with the naturalisation of a few Jews. Waddington, however, demands a radical solution, and Berlin insists on the re-purchase of the railways under the conditions imposed by her bankers. The German Chancellor is opposed to us, and all the goodwill of the Emperor is of no avail."

Prince Bismarck informed the Roumanian Government through Count Andrassy that he placed no confidence in their good faith, and that, in his opinion, Roumania was still a dependent State. In the event of her resisting the resolutions of the Berlin Congress he intended to treat with the Suzerain at Constantinople! Count Andrassy in vain represented the difficulty of the Roumanian situation, for Prince Bismarck was armed with the argument that he considered the honour of the German Empire pledged in this matter, whilst England proposed a Collective Note to be executed by the Austrian Cabinet. Yet, despite the threatening aspect of affairs, the Roumanian Chambers became more and more obstinate, and refused to hasten a solution of the constitutional questions involved.

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The marriage of the Prince's youngest brother, Frederick, with Princess Louise of Thurn and Paris, took place at Regensburg in June 1879, and the German Emperor and Empress celebrated their golden wedding at Berlin. The same month, however, brought the terrible news of the death of the unfortunate Prince Imperial, who had volunteered for service with the British troops acting against the Zulus. In reply to Prince Charles' letter of sympathy the Empress Eugenie wrote:

"CHISLEHURST, August 19th, 1879.

"You recall to me the days of happiness, and by recurring to the present you share my illimitable grief.

"Everything has fallen from me, and only two tombs are left of all I loved. I rest near them, and here my isolation seems less great. I have known both extremes and the want of stability of human fortunes. We are wrong in not always fixing our eyes beyond this life on that one where nothing changes, and where we shall rejoin those whom we love to all eternity.

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"I beg that you will thank the Princess for the sympathy which my recent and overwhelming misfortune has elicited from in her.

"EUGENIE."

The death of the German Crown Prince's third son, Waldemar, at the early age of eleven, gave occasion to the following letter:

"POTSDAM, July 27th, 1879.

"Your kind and sympathetic letter, no less than Elisabeth's deeply touching verses, were very welcome to my poor wife and myself. You both feel with and for us, for God decreed a like trouble for you, and even though your fate was much harder, still we all have to bear the heavy destiny of surviving our children.

"We endeavour to bear God's decree with resignation, but we cannot even now become reconciled to the loss of another son from the happy circle of our family, a son, too, who justified our highest hopes, and already displayed character at an early age. It is so difficult to accustom ourselves to everyday life without our most dearly loved child, for every step reminds us that he will never appear again, and that we must learn to live without our companion.

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"... Our life, which, moreover, has never been a tranquil one, had already become gloomy by the moving incidents of last year; with this sorrow it has lost what remaining joy it still had to offer us, and we can only gather satisfaction from the execution of our tasks and duties.

"You very rightly lay stress upon the fact that such grief causes us more than ever to sympathise with others in their sorrow and to seek their society. Many other things are first apparent to us in our time of mourning, and it is certainly through the medium of this chastening that we are to be prepared for a higher calling, which appears dark and mysterious to dwellers on earth. It is not for us to inquire 'Why?' and yet we do so; we are but human beings, to whom the work of Divine justice is hidden here, but will be made clear to us *there*."

The chivalrous Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who had been elected Prince of Bulgaria, experienced the greatest difficulties in taking over the reins of government, as the following letter shows:

"I am now passing through the same stage as you did last year: devoted with my whole heart to the Czar Alexander, I am anxious to do nothing that can be called anti-Russian. Unfortunately the Russian officials have acted with the utmost want of tact; confusion prevails in every office, and speculation, thanks to Dondukow's decrees, is all but sanctioned. I am daily confronted with the painful alternative of having to decide either to assent to the Russian demands or to be accused in Russia of ingratitude and of 'injuring the most sacred feelings of the Bulgarians.' My situation is truly terrible; I reject everything opposed to my conscience, and therefore have to write daily to the Czar in order to obtain a hearing before the calumnies of the Russian officials shall have had time to reach him. I will tell you everything shortly on the occasion of my visit."

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From ALEXANDER PRINCE OF BULGARIA, August 22nd, 1879.

"A thousand thanks for your long and kind letter, the conferring of your Grand Cross, and the geniality with which you welcomed my Envoy. I have, it is true, never doubted your friendship,

but to see it once more confirmed in this handsome fashion has nevertheless made me very happy. I shall reply to Elisabeth's kind letter direct.

"Unfortunately I cannot pay you a visit before October, for I have so much to do that I cannot quit the country. All my Ministers are a little anxious, and I myself have more or less to decide everything.

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"The solitude here is very great, but as at present I am busy from morning to night I feel it the less. The idea of marriage is antipathetic to me: I feel that I have no right to bring a wife to this lonely spot; moreover, I do not want to bind myself, in order that, in the event of affairs turning out badly, my convictions may not be influenced by any external consideration. Everything will depend upon the first National Assembly. It is not easy to be Dondukow's heir.

"With my whole heart I sympathise with you regarding the Jewish question. What a fatal thing it is for us all that the Great Powers have declared themselves Masters of the World!

"Although hostile to the Treaty of Berlin, I have nevertheless given it my complete adherence in my new position. I have conceived my mission from the European standpoint as far as possible, and allow the same law to apply to all. Consequently I sought to help the Mohammedans as much as possible, but utilised the moment to introduce universal service; if the Mohammedans want to enjoy the advantages of all subjects, they must also bear the disadvantages. I am in everything the opposite of my predecessors; I shall make fewer speeches, but work more, and the final result will, it is to be hoped, justify me.

"If only the frontiers at least were settled! So long as this is not the case there will be no peace in the country. (I do not thereby mean Arab-Tabia, but the South and West, where disturbances always take place.) Everything beyond this must be delivered verbally.

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"With many hearty greetings,

"Your sincere
"SANDRO."

During the course of the summer the unhappy Jewish question became "in truth a gigantic struggle," as Prince Charles informed his father:

"Whilst the country considers me the defender of the rights of the Jews, the Foreign Powers complain that I do not champion them with sufficient energy. This reproach, however, affects me very little. There is only one path which can lead me to my goal, and that is laid down by the Constitution."

Owing to this struggle a modification of the Ministry became necessary towards the end of July, and M. Sturdza was sent to Berlin to lay the difficulties of the situation before Prince Bismarck, whilst Prince Charles Anthony turned to the aged Emperor William.

From PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, July 24th, 1879.

"Only a few words to-day to tell you that we saw the Emperor (William) in the Mainau the day before yesterday. He asked me to come to his room after dinner, when I at last found an opportunity of discussing Roumanian affairs and of commending you to his care. I can now tell you that I was greatly surprised and pleased with the Emperor's opinions, even though I must regretfully limit this favourable impression by the fact that the Emperor has certainly not been kept *au courant* with the situation. He at first ascribed the whole blame to England, who is urging the Jewish question with the greatest want of consideration, and from whose policy Germany cannot dissociate herself.

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"When I proved that the exact opposite was the case, and compared the constantly progressive moderation of England with the harsh attitude of Germany, which never has regard to circumstances, the Emperor was highly astonished; he would not believe it at all, and said that the Jewish question was entirely antipathetic to him; that he was acquainted with similar circumstances in Poland and Russia; and that, if he had not been suffering from his wounds during the Berlin Congress, he would never have consented to the present extension of this question. In brief, I am convinced that the Imperial Chancellor did not consult the Emperor in this matter at all, or at least did not report it to him fully."

A few days later Prince Charles Anthony forwarded to his son a copy of a letter to the Empress, written by the Emperor at Gastein, July 25, 1879:

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"With regard to Roumania I have, as you know, from the outset most strongly disapproved of the resolution of the Congress concerning the Jewish question, though only after the blow had fallen, since I was not at the head of affairs.

"Since then I have, of course, only had to support the strict execution of the resolutions of the Congress, but I have demanded at every opportunity that no pressure be used in this matter, for I know by experience what the Jews are in those regions—starting with Posen, Poland, Lithuania, and Volhynia—and the Roumanian Jews are said to be even worse! The whole Jewish question there has been championed so violently by England. Lord Odo Russell confessed as much to me in answer to

my representations, indicating at the same time by a gesture his disagreement with them.

"I explained the attitude which I have adopted with regard to the Jewish question (on which the recognition of my cousin as an independent Sovereign depends) to the Prince of Hohenzollern, when he excitedly complained of the extreme severity of our note. I added, however, that I was not acquainted with the note in question. On my making inquiry, the latest document for Bucharest was only yesterday laid before me. It states that the Powers would be satisfied by the annulment of the restrictive article of the Roumanian Constitution being recognised as a principle, leaving the decision as to the method of carrying it into effect to a later date, when the Ministry and Chamber have come to an agreement. When once this method has been accepted, nothing will impede the recognition of the Prince. I commission you to communicate this most exactly in Krauchenwies, and also add that I think that Charles of Roumania and his Ministry, which has just been changed, should accept this method; the Chambers will then have to practise self-restraint.

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"You will remember that I always took the part of the Roumanian Government, whenever difficulties arose between Christians and Jews, whilst England invariably took the opposite side, because she sees a refined Rothschild in *every* Jew."

Whilst the German Emperor thus roundly declared his interest in the Roumanian Sovereign, his Chancellor proved no less sympathetic towards M. Sturdza, at an interview which took place at Kissingen. Prince Bismarck admitted that the Berlin Congress had set Roumania a hard task, but remarked that the resolutions must be executed in their entirety. Germany was only demanding what France and Italy also wished in the matter of the Jews, of whom there were a large number crowded together in certain portions of the country. The Roumanians must open the war upon economic ground: work and save, found banks, &c. The Empire was anxious to maintain friendly relations with Roumania, although the latter had until recently treated Germany somewhat cavalierly. The sympathy of the Roumanian nation with France, though perhaps only natural, had in the end annoyed Germany, and it was never wise to annoy anybody, least of all one who happened to be powerful. In order to ameliorate the existing relations, it was necessary that the railway question should disappear.

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"One must be acquainted with the commencement of this affair in order to realise its importance. No one can be blamed for it, neither we nor Roumania: the affair exists, and we must get rid of it with profit to both parties.

"Our interest is considerable, since about one hundred million marks are invested there. These moneys must be rescued from a precarious situation, in which it has often been the duty of the State to defend them, and on each occasion this has strained the relations between the two States.

"This railway affair commenced with Dr. Strousberg, who dragged the Silesian magnates into it, and with them all their friends and dependents were in turn involved. To-day we find amongst the bondholders of the Roumanian Railway Company, lords and ladies, lackeys of the great houses, and even cabdrivers—in a word, almost the whole of Berlin. Indeed, more than that, the King himself had to intervene to save a few of the Silesian magnates, when Strousberg could carry on no longer! He then applied to Bleichröder, who was, however, rich enough not to need to address himself to so involved a question. Nevertheless, he did so because he was asked, and also on account of the credit which it brought him. He has taken the matter in hand, and we are bound to support him. But the King has done even more than this. He has had to assist the great Silesian nobles out of his privy purse. It is, therefore, easy to understand that every one is anxious to escape from this painful situation. You must, therefore, solve these two questions in order to enter the ranks of the Independent States. An independent Roumania will throw a heavy weight into the balance of Oriental questions.... Roumania has an area of 2500 square miles (German) and 6,000,000 inhabitants. It might have 10,000,000; and how powerful it would be then."

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The Jews were admitted to the franchise on October 18, 1879, by an alteration of Article VII. of the Constitution, and over 900 Jews who had served with the colours in 1877-78 were immediately admitted to the rights of citizenship. Though the situation at one period became so critical that the German Empress sent a "quite confidential" warning that delay was fraught with danger, the demands of Germany in the matter of the railway purchase were satisfied three months later, and the independence of the Roumanian State was in consequence fully recognised by all the European Powers.

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To PRINCE CHARLES ANTHONY, February 11th, 1880.

"Sandro^[22] is in despair about the doings of the Pan Slavists, who are making his task uncommonly difficult; had he only Bulgarians to deal with, he would get on easily enough.... He is determined to speak openly to the Czar Alexander about the Pan Slavonic and Nihilist agitation in Sofia. He returns to his capital at the end of March, when the newly elected National Assembly will be opened; it is not much better than the former. So long as the Czar Alexander lives he will personally exert a favourable influence in Bulgaria, but when he dies everything will be changed. I told Sandro, who has much confidence in me, that if he possesses enough strength to live down this period of suffering, he will be richly rewarded for his patience and endurance. But few, perhaps, have the patience that I had, and still have."

During the stay of the Prince of Bulgaria in St. Petersburg an attempt was made by Nihilists to

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blow up the Winter Palace, but it failed owing to a mere chance. Prince Alexander of Hesse, the father of the Prince of Bulgaria, reached St. Petersburg later than was expected, and so caused the dinner to be postponed to a later hour. The explosion, which destroyed the dining-room, took place, therefore, whilst their Majesties were in an antechamber.

The English elections in March displaced the Conservative Ministry and summoned Gladstone to the head of the Government. About the same time Prince Charles despatched the President of the Ministry to Berlin, to hand the insignia of the Star of Roumania to the Emperor William, the Crown Prince, and Prince Bismarck. The last-named suggested that Roumania had claims to become a kingdom, but the opinion in Vienna was in favour of delaying this step.

From the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE.

"Your relations towards Russia will grow exceptionally difficult; for, no matter how great the confidence one may place in the magnanimity of the Czar, the less can one trust his Government, looking impartially at the actions of their agents, who are actively propagating the views of the Panslavists in all directions, and are finally making it seem impossible for the Government to disavow and abandon their countrymen who have gone to such lengths. One would really think that Russia was large enough already, and that she had enough to do at home, and might leave her neighbours in peace. Bulgaria seems to me like a Russian province, which is only waiting for a hint to allow itself to be incorporated; and Battenberg, even though he possessed ever so much foresight and determination, will hardly be able to steer against the Russian stream.

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"Our *rapprochement* and understanding with Austria last autumn was, no doubt, under the circumstances, a correct step, and has given the Czar's Empire something to think about. If we could only succeed in preventing France from forming the ardently desired alliance with Russia—which has probably been postponed for some time—we might then see favourable guarantees for peace everywhere. No one wants war, because all have much to do at home, and have enough to think over in the consequences of the last bloody war. Above all things, we Germans do not wish for war, since we gained far more by the last than we ever dared to hope for, and we anticipate no advantage from any extension.

"Permit me to inform you and dear Elisabeth that the premature hints of the Press regarding the betrothal of my eldest son, William, to Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, eldest daughter of the late Fritz of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, are quite true. Mutual and deep-seated inclination has brought the two together, and this fulfils the sincere wish of my wife and myself to greet as our daughter-in-law a Princess so distinguished by gifts of spirit, heart, and temperament, as well as by dignified grace. God grant that this union of hearts may one day be a blessing to the Empire."

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From the GERMAN EMPEROR, March 5th, 1880.^[23]

"MY DEAR COUSIN,

"At last we have arrived at the goal of our long-cherished wishes. It has cost many a hard and bitter struggle before we could see you standing independent before the world! May the proverb come true which says, 'Slow but sure.'

"I have never concealed the sympathy which I have always cherished for you alike personally and as a Hohenzollern; but when many are striving to the same goal and each goes his own way, time and sacrifices are required until they are at length all gathered together! So I too have had to temporise in order to recognise you at last before the world.

"May God give His blessing to your now independent Government and bless you, your consort, and your country!

"Your sincere Cousin and Friend,
"WILLIAM."

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From PRINCE BISMARCK, May 20th, 1880.

"I share your Royal Highness's regret that the acquisitions resulting from the peace, apart from the dissolution of the relations to the Porte, were not in proportion with the achievements and valour of your Royal Highness's army; but, having regard to the dignity and weight of the Powers by which Roumania is surrounded, and also to the difficulty of securing a *modus vivendi* amongst them, which would give us peace for the time being, I do not know of any possible means by which greater advantages could have been obtained for Roumania.

"The difficulty of the historical situation is that on the far bank of the Danube there are no national *points d'appui* to strengthen Roumania, and, on the other side, the population belongs to the two great neighbouring Empires. To live in peace with these is necessary for the consolidation of affairs, and to select at least one of them as a certain ally will always be the object of Roumanian policy. In this historical situation the acquisition of the Dobrudscha was a *pis-aller*, whose favourable aspect—the possession of the sea-coast—will increase in value during the further development of your resources."

In reply to his father, who urged him to fulfil his promise to return home after an absence of six years, Prince Charles wrote:

"The still incomplete negotiations about the Arab-Tabia question will unfortunately cause a slight delay in our departure for abroad. The reason why the Powers delay so long in completing a matter which has reached its last stage is unintelligible. In order partly to give way to Russia, they intend to grant Bulgaria a territorial compensation. An exchange of notes has arisen on this point, and we have directed our Ambassadors to express the expectation that the frontier defined by the International Commission will be adhered to. However, in the end it will be Roumania *qui payera les pots cassés—i.e.*, they will give us with one hand what they take away with the other!"

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On July 29, 1880, the frontier was definitely fixed and sanctioned by the Powers, and though Roumania did not acquire all she had fought for, she nevertheless retained Arab-Tabia.

At length, on August 10, the Prince and his consort quitted Roumania to enjoy a well-earned rest in Germany. On passing through Ischl, Prince Charles was appointed Colonel-in-Chief of the 6th Infantry Regiment by the Emperor of Austria. The Prince then rejoined his dearly loved parents at the Weinburg, and Princess Elisabeth proceeded to visit her mother. Visits were then paid to the Courts of Dresden and Berlin, where the Roumanian sovereigns received a hearty welcome. The German Emperor also appointed the Prince to the Colonelcy of one of his regiments—the 1st Hanoverian Dragoons (No. 9).

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The beautiful autumn months at the Weinburg passed only too quickly, for the cares of State demanded the return of the Prince about the middle of October. After attending the Roumanian manœuvres near Bucharest and Jassy, Prince Charles paid a visit to Rustchuk, where he was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm as the liberator of Bulgaria.

The important question of the succession to the Roumanian throne had been fully discussed during Prince Charles's visit to Germany, with the result that the constitutional right of succession of the Prince's brothers and their heirs was officially recognised by the princely House of Hohenzollern. This was effected by the exchange of letters, which were laid before the Chambers as soon as they assembled. A hearty vote of thanks rewarded the royal couple for their disinterested solicitude for the welfare of the State.

The anniversary of Plevna was marked by a pleasant incident—the presentation of a piece of statuary to Princess Elisabeth by the wives of the officers of the Roumanian army. The Princess herself was represented nursing a wounded soldier as an emblem of her noble activity during the terrible period of the war of 1877-78.

Early in 1881 the Roumanian Ambassador in Berlin reported that the representatives of the Powers had all expressed their opinion that the time had come for Roumania to be created a kingdom. The Ministry wished to delay this solemn act till the day of the National Festival, May 22, but the ceremony was precipitated by an unforeseen event. On March 13, Czar Alexander fell a victim to a Nihilist plot, and the Roumanian Opposition seized the occasion to accuse the Liberals of aiming at Republican and Anti-dynastic ideals. To refute this calumny effectually, the Liberal Ministry proposed the elevation of the Roumanian Principality into the "Kingdom of Roumania," amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of Chamber and Senate. After the motion had been unanimously carried, the legislative bodies proceeded to the Palace, where Prince Charles attached his signature to the document in their presence with the following words:

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"This is a grand and solemn moment, in which the representatives of the nation approach me with a unanimous resolution of the legislative bodies. Herewith begins a new page in the volume of Roumanian national life; here, too, ends a period full of struggle and difficulties, but full also of virile effort and heroic deeds. At this moment I repeat what I have so often said before: the wish of the nation is the guide and goal of my life. I have ruled this land for fifteen years; I have been surrounded by the love and confidence of the nation; this love and confidence have made the good days even brighter, and have strengthened and confirmed me during those which were evil. I was therefore proud to be Prince, and that title has been dear to me, round which the past has entwined glory and strength.

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"But Roumania thinks that it would be more in keeping with her position to proclaim herself a kingdom. I therefore accept the kingly title, not for myself personally, but for the aggrandisement of my country, and to fulfil the long-cherished wish of every Roumanian. This title will not in any way alter the close bond which unites me to the nation by all that we have fought for and experienced together.

"May the first King of Roumania enjoy the same love that has supported the last Prince through all his troubles! The affection of this noble and brave nation, to whom I have devoted my whole existence, is more to me than all the greatness and brilliancy of a crown."

This sudden and unexpected fulfilment of a long-cherished hope aroused the greatest enthusiasm in every class of Roumanian society. The recognition of the new kingdom by the Great Powers followed very shortly, the reception of the news by the Emperor William being especially cordial. Prince Charles Anthony wrote:

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"The unanimity with which the kingly crown has been offered you is the surest foundation of your new and hard-won stability."

The coronation of King Charles took place at Bucharest on May 10-22, 1881. In accordance with his wish, the royal crown of Roumania was fashioned of steel from a Turkish gun captured at Plevna, as a remembrance to all time of the achievements on the battlefields of Bulgaria, and of the fact that the new kingdom was not bound or hampered by old traditions, but looked forward to a great future springing from a vigorous beginning.

The golden crown for the Queen was also fashioned in Roumania from a simple design, without jewels or ornaments. These crowns were consecrated by the Metropolitan in the presence of their Majesties, the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern and his two sons, Ferdinand and Charles, and the ceremony was attended by delegates from every district in the kingdom, as well as by all corporations and other bodies.

After this the crowns were carried in an unending coronation procession to the royal palace, where King Charles took the crown into his hands with these words:

"I assume with pride this crown, wrought from a cannon sprinkled with the blood of our heroes, and consecrated by the Church; I accept it as a symbol of the independence and power of Roumania."

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EPILOGUE

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Though the years which followed 1881 have lacked the laurels of the battlefield and the intensity of the struggle for independence which characterised the earlier portion of Roumanian history under King Charles, they are no less remarkable for continuous and patient progress in the development of the resources of the kingdom. Herein, as in sterner matters, the King has borne the heat and burden of the day; no one knew better that independence was but another milestone on the road to the ideal Roumania; that the regeneration of a nation that had passed through such vicissitudes could only follow the unwearying labour of many years; and that to this end the force of example—the art of leading men, not the knack of driving them—is of paramount importance. As sovereign of an independent State, King Charles felt that he had at last secured a firm basis from which the latent force of his country might be fully developed. That these efforts have not been fruitless is proved by the increase of the Roumanian Budget, despite the saying, *mensonge en chiffres*; for in twenty-five years, from 1866 to 1891, the revenue increased more than threefold (from 56,000,000frs. in 1866 to 180,000,000frs. in 1891). It was indeed fortunate for Roumania that King Charles was endowed with qualities which enabled him to appreciate the difficulties of peaceful development in the same way as he had met the dangers of war. It seemed to him now that his work had at last commenced in earnest; his clear eye detected every shortcoming, though at the same time the future promised much to his gifted and industrious people. A great navigable river and the neighbouring sea offered elements for a greatly increased commerce, whilst the inexhaustible treasures of the soil, coal and iron, fulfilled the necessary industrial conditions.

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In Roumanian politics, the Liberals remained in office till 1888 under Jon Bratianu, and aimed at a rigid centralisation of the Administration, whilst endeavouring to draw an increasing circle of the population into the arena of politics. The Conservatives, on the other hand, could only see the danger of extending Parliamentary influence through so politically immature a nation; but up to 1891 they were unable to realise their ideals; indeed, they barely succeeded in obtaining the permanency of the judges. Between these two extremes lay the sphere of duty of the constitutional monarch, the one stable element amid the fluctuations of the contending parties. The unwavering loyalty and devotion of the representatives of the nation to their Sovereign have been inspired by the qualities with which nature has so richly endowed King Charles. Resolution, energy, a knowledge of human character, readiness to acknowledge and appreciate true individuality—a freshness of mind that the driest of routine work is powerless to dull, and a magnanimous indulgence that is able to forgive if not forget—these are the traits of character which never fail to exert their influence over all who come into contact with the King.

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The foreign policy of the kingdom has constantly had one aim and object in view—to find support and aid from the great Teutonic Powers, though at times it seemed as if the religious tradition of the nation or the sympathy for the Latin sister nation were about to force the real interests of Roumania into the background. As a German prince, King Charles had recognised the supremacy of Prussia, and never doubted the power and force of the Teuton genius. The year 1883 marked a decided advance in the friendly relations of Roumania with Austria and Germany, though the former had been estranged by the dispute about the Danube, and an outburst of Roumanian Chauvinism on the unveiling of a monument to the Moldavian Prince Stephen the Great, pointing to Bukowina and Siebenbürgen as Roumanian provinces. On the whole, King Charles's policy has been successful, though loyal friendship has had much to bear from Germany's want of consideration in dealing with the Jews and the railways, as well as from Austria-Hungary, whose harsh measures against the Roumanians of Siebenbürgen have forced many of the "brethren from over the hills" to seek shelter in Roumania.

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A visit to Berlin in 1883 to act as godfather to Prince William's^[24] second son afforded King Charles an opportunity of explaining the position of Roumania in European questions. The King also succeeded in convincing the Emperor of Austria that, though it was impossible to forbid a nation to cherish political aspirations, yet these sentiments had never entered into the schemes of the Roumanian statesmen.

From the geographical situation of the kingdom it was only natural that the army should continue to receive the greatest attention from the King, who has never forgotten its willingness to follow where he led. King Charles does not content himself with merely watching the training of his troops at the annual manœuvres, but keeps constant touch with every detail that may tend to promote the efficiency and standard of his army. Nor have the rival claims of education been

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neglected by either King Charles or his consort, who are indefatigable in their efforts for the welfare of the national schools.

The frequent change of Ministers was, however, prejudicial, since the various measures which they introduced were not long-lived—indeed, in some instances were never put into execution! Nevertheless, the tendency to foster this valuable aid to true culture lost none of its force. King Charles devotes an annual sum to the Academy to assist in the production of an etymological dictionary in order to aid the study of the beautiful Roumanian language.

The last link in the chain which bound the National Church to the Patriarchate of Constantinople was broken as long ago as 1882; the holy oil was consecrated in Roumania, and at last in 1885 the Patriarch of Constantinople recognised the independence of the Roumanian Church.

As early as 1881, twelve years after the first railway had been constructed by foreign hands, Roumanian engineers completed the first section of the State Railway from Buseu to Marascheshti, the want of which had made itself felt so bitterly in 1877. Even in the earliest days of his reign King Charles discussed with Ali Pacha the construction of a bridge over the Danube.

At that date negotiations were entered into for a bridge between Giurgiu and Rustchuk, whilst after the Treaty of Berlin it was proposed to connect the two banks of the Danube below Silistria. Though this project was discussed by the Chambers in 1883, it was not till the autumn of 1890 that matters had progressed sufficiently to allow King Charles to lay the foundation-stone of the railway bridge at Feteshti, which was to unite the Dobrudscha to the mother country, and complete the iron chain between the North and Black Seas.

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King Charles has been a zealous builder; and, thanks to him, Roumania can boast of many a notable pile in Bucharest, Jassy, Crajowa, and elsewhere. Most noteworthy of all is the Royal Castle of Pelesch in the peaceful valley of Prahova. Built in the style of German Renaissance, it reveals the artistic ideal of its royal builder so far as stone and mortar can mirror the individuality of a man. Unlike so many castles, it is perfectly homogeneous; in a word, Castle Pelesch is the product of King Charles's artistic taste and indomitable will.

The death of Prince Charles Anthony on June 2, 1885, was a bitter blow to the King, who lost in him not only a devoted parent and friend, but a counsellor whose sage advice had sustained and strengthened him in many a dark hour. The passing away of the first German Emperor, followed too soon by that of his successor, Frederick III., was a great sorrow to King Charles, who was deeply attached to the devoted friends of his early youth, whose loyal friendship had never wavered for an instant.

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It was, therefore, a great solace to the royal pair to welcome Prince Ferdinand, the second son of the King's eldest brother, to Roumania as heir-apparent in 1889. Prince Ferdinand had already entered the Roumanian army as a subaltern in 1886.

The history of the other States of the Balkan Peninsula during these years is by no means so happy as that of Roumania. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria was forced by shameful intrigues to quit his adopted country within a year of a successful campaign with Servia, whose ruler also abdicated in favour of his son after endless and painful quarrels.

The present German Emperor has ably summed up the great work to which the scion of the Hohenzollern House has devoted his life, in a letter to King Charles, in May 1891.

"Five and twenty years have elapsed since your Majesty was first summoned to undertake the government of the Roumanian State, and a decade will have passed on the 22nd of this month since that memorable day on which your Majesty was able, after a regency victorious in war and proved in peace, to receive a royal crown for Roumania and your illustrious house from God's altar by the unanimous desire of the Roumanian nation. Thanks to your Majesty's wise and vigorous rule over a richly endowed and sober nation, Roumania has become an equal and respected member of the Council of the Nations, and under your Majesty's sceptre every Roumanian can rejoice in the proud consciousness of belonging to a State which, as warden of an old-world civilisation, enjoys the sympathetic goodwill of all civilised nations.

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"Since our Houses are so closely connected, it is my heart's desire to express my warm congratulations to your Majesty on this joyful occasion, and also the hope that, as the bonds of our personal friendship, so also the firm political relations of Roumania to the German Empire, may be preserved in time to come such as they have been for past years under the enlightened government of your Majesty.

"Your Majesty will place me under an obligation by laying my sincere congratulations before her Majesty the Queen, who has earned undying honour by your side in cultivating Art and the Ideal as well as in the formation of the Roumanian nation."

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FOOTNOTES:

- [1] "Aus dem Leben König Karls von Rumänien. Aufzeichnungen eines Augenzeugen." Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung.
 - [2] This Prince always wrote his name Karl Anton, as a double name: hence the retention here.
 - [3] Lord Macaulay cites the Earl of Chatham in the following words as the exception to this invariable rule, thus: "He was an almost solitary instance of a man of real genius, and of brave, lofty, and commanding spirit, without simplicity of character."—(William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.) Macaulay's "Critical and Historical Essays."
 - [4] The Roumanians alone lost 2659 killed and wounded on that day.
 - [5] An oligarchy of Greek families in Turkey, from which a large proportion of high stations in the Turkish administration were filled.
 - [6] Hospodar: Old Slavonic term for Lord or Master applied to the reigning Princes in Wallachia and Moldavia.
 - [7] The so-called *Lieutenance Princière* was a kind of governorship or regency which was formed after Prince Kusa's fall, and consisted of the chiefs of all the recognised political parties.
 - [8] Translation: "I swear to protect the laws of Roumania, to maintain her rights and the integrity of her soil."
 - [9] All titles and privileges of the Roumanian nobility were abolished by law with the exception of the title of Bey-Sadé (Prince or "Fürst") granted to the sons of former Hospodars.
 - [10] The present German Chancellor [1899].
 - [11] A Prussian officer, sent in October 1868 by the King of Prussia as military instructor to Roumania.
 - [12] The present invalid King of Bavaria.
 - [13] The Spanish Ambassador.
 - [14] The necessary expenditure was met in October 1867 by the issue of 10 and 12 per cent. Treasury bonds.
 - [15] Shortly after this was written, a Jewish Congress assembled at Brussels with the avowed intention of obtaining political rights for the Jews of Roumania by pressure from abroad.
 - [16] The present German Emperor.
 - [17] The Queen of Saxony [his cousin] was staying at Marienbad.
 - [18] The present German Emperor.
 - [19] A fanatic forced his way into the Turkish Council Chamber on June 15 and killed two Ministers—Hussein Avni and Reschid, besides wounding the Minister of Marine.
 - [20] All words in italics are written in ciphered French in the original.
 - [21] The Grand Duke, on hearing of this conversation, declared that diplomatists were much too eager to interfere in affairs which did not concern them.
 - [22] Prince Alexander of Bulgaria.
 - [23] Accompanying the Order of the Black Eagle.
 - [24] The present German Emperor.
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Minor typographical and punctuation errors have been corrected without note. Irregularities and inconsistencies in the text have been retained as printed.

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