QUESTIONS AND ANALYSIS IN HISTORY

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THE FORMATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

BACKGROUND NARRATIVE

The German Empire (sometimes referred to as the Kaiserreich) was formally proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles on 18 January 1871. This somewhat strange venue was a result of the way in which the new state was put together.

Before 1866 'Germany' had been a loose term. Its political form was the German Confederation, set up at the Congress in Vienna (1815) to replace the Holy Roman Empire — the so-called 'thousand-year Reich' which had been founded in the ninth century by Charlemagne and ended in 1806 by Napoleon. The German Confederation had comprised most of Prussia, the Austrian and Bohemian provinces of the Austrian Empire and thirty-nine smaller states which had their own rulers. The Confederation had a central Diet, or executive council, but no overall executive apart from the nominal presidency of Austria.

Before the late 1850s moves towards closer unity had been sporadic and unpredictable. One underlying impetus had been cultural, with the emphasis on a shared heritage and common linguistic identity greatly accentuated by the Romantic movement. Another trend had been an early alliance between liberalism and nationalism. In 1848 liberals allied to popular uprisings, overthrew the governments in Berlin, Munich and Vienna, and forced the.

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of the smaller German states with Prussia but had excluded the growth of the Zollverein, or customs union, which had linked most therefore collapsed. A third force had been economic, with the of counter-revolution, led by Austria, too strong: the scheme had Germany based on a progressive constitution, only to find the forces whole of Austria. election of the Frankfurt Assembly. This sought to establish a united

examined in Analysis 1. among historians as to how much of this was intentional. This is inexorably to German unity, although there has been some dispute of Austria, the German Confederation was dissolved and Prussia expanded to form a new and more fully integrated Germany. which the smaller German states were removed from the presidency next nine years Bismarck involved Prussia in three wars, during men. The resulting constitutional conflict was won by Otto von In retrospect the events from 1863 to 1871 seem to have led Bismarck, appointed Minister President of Prussia in 1862. Over the the Prussian Landtag (or parliament) for an increase of 400,000 involved doubling the Prussian army, and securing the approval of in terms of Prussian dominance over Germany in 1861. This was accelerated rapidly by Wilhelm I of Prussia who began to think cultural and economic flows into a more viable political channel. emergence of a German state. But unification meant directing the From the late 1850s the influence of Prussia increased. The impetus There had, therefore, been long-term influences behind the

a one-sided conflict was the Treaty of Vienna (1864), whereby fray and sent troops to prevent the annexation. The outcome of dominantly German speaking, it received the support of a number the former was to administer Holstein and the latter Schleswig. Convention of Gastein (1865) between Austria and Prussia, the King of Denmark renounced all claim to the duchies. By the of smaller German states. Prussia and Austria quickly entered the but separate from the state of Denmark. Since Holstein was preduchies of Schleswig and Holstein into his kingdom of Denmark. when Christian IX attempted to incorporate the neighbouring These had previously been under the rule of the Danish monarch The outline chronology is as follows: the conflicts started in 1864

This arrangement soon produced a conflict between Prussia and

controlled by Prussia. central Germany into a new North German Confederation closely six weeks. By the Treaty of Prague the German Confederation was while the Austrians were defeated at Sadowa, or Königgratz, within Hanover, and to convert the rest of the smaller states of north and Prussia proceeded to annex both Schleswig and Holstein, as well as dissolved and Austria gave up all claim to control within Germany. Prussian armies quickly defeated Saxony, Hesse and Hanover, 1866, most of the smaller German states siding with the Austrians. the future of the two duchies, Prussia declared war on Austria in Holstein were seeking to undermine Schleswig. In a dispute over Austria over Holstein; the result was an accusation that dissidents in

see the French armies defeated at Metz and Sedan. He was forced surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. to abdicate, and, by the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871), France Napoleon III, confident of victory, declared war on Prussia, only to being occupied by a junior member of the house of Hohenzollern; in his dealings with it about the possibility of the throne of Spain sent to him by Wilhelm I of Prussia. In its edited version this gave against Prussia. In 1870 Bismarck rewrote and published a telegram the south Germans who had initially looked to France for support into committing a series of diplomatic blunders, thereby alienating is that Bismarck provoked the French Emperor, Napoleon III, catalyst for this was a third war, this time between Prussia - or the berg were not included until 1871, when the North German this would have provided a link, however tenuous, with Prussia the impression that Wilhelm had insulted the French government Confederation was transformed into the German Empire. The North German Confederation — and France. The traditional view The three south German states of Bavaria, Baden and Württem-

of autonomous, mostly monarchical states. In practice, it was the Reich are examined in Analysis 2. extent of the liberal and authoritarian influence on the institutions of Chancellor: until 1890 both positions were held by Bismarck. The Kaiser. The Minister President of Prussia was usually the Imperial dominated by Prussia, the king of which was also the Emperor, or The newly proclaimed German Empire was in theory a federation

ANALYSIS (1): HOW WAS GERMANY UNITED?

The narrative answer to this question has already been provided. There are, however, two issues connected to these events which need to be analysed. First, was a united Germany actually planned by those who brought it about? And second, was Prussia necessarily the natural core for this unity?

argument that unification was pre-planned may be summarised as example, maintained that it was a 'marvellous march of events, in states, Belgium and Luxembourg. At the same time, he developed a encouraged Napoleon III to make claims against the southern German on the separate administration of Schleswig and Holstein which unification. He involved Prussia in the war against Denmark. He insisted which each stage seems to slip into its pre-appointed place'. (1) The command respect, then I shall take the first opportunity to declare war intentions: 'When the army has been brought to such a state as to started the myth. In 1862 he provided Disraeli with an outline of his series of agreements to isolate Napoleon III, including a generous he later exploited to provoke a war with Austria in 1866. He ther follows: Bismarck helped precipitate the events which brought about German unification as planned and systematic. Grant Robertson, for Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia.' (2) with Austria, burst asunder the German Confederation, and give Ill into a declaration of war on Prussia. To an extent Bismarck himself full well that his version of the Ems telegram would provoke Napoleon He then manipulated the crisis over the Spanish candidature, knowing Polish refugees fleeing into Prussia, and an alliance with Italy (1866). Treaty of Prague with Austria, a diplomatic accord with Russia over There was for a long time a tendency to see the whole process of

In the fullness of time this approach came to be strongly challenged as revisionist historians stressed that the whole process of unification was entirely fortuitous and not deliberately engineered by Bismarck. A.J.P. Taylor believed that German unity occurred despite Bismarck, who wanted no further war after that with Austria in 1866: 'In truth, the French blundered into a war which was not unwelcome to them: and Bismarck, though taken by surprise, turned their blunder to his advantage.' (3) Taylor denied that Bismarck had any blueprint or plan for German unity. It could certainly be argued that any of Bismarck's statements about his proposals for the future were sufficiently vague to lack the element of planning which a blueprint involves. That they were eventually fulfilled can therefore be seen as pure coincidence.

comes from the diplomatic situation in Europe at the time. Unification montese and French troops in 1860. Already undermined in Italy, Austria being driven from northern Italy by a combination of Piedwith an increase of Italian nationalism which resulted in a weakened isolation and the connection with Austria was cut. This coincided and Italy had rested on close collaboration with Russia which, indeed, the mid-nineteenth century. From 1815 her position in Germany France. Austria had been severely weakened by the upheavals of had been the position of Austria and the attitudes of Russia and from the outset. The main external impediments to German unification was to manipulate events as they occurred rather than shape them favourable external factors as to the insight of Bismarck. What he did was therefore due quite as much to the conjunction of uniquely scenario Palmerston had already helped to prevent while he had been French expansion at the expense of Belgium and Luxembourg, a statesmen like Palmerston, who were concerned at the prospect of defeat meant the withdrawal of Russia into a period of diplomatic 1848-49. But the Crimean War (1854-56) and consequent Russian had helped put down the revolution of Hungary against Austria in in Europe than he had over weakening the position of Austria in Bismarck had to work no harder at discrediting and isolating France Foreign Secretary during the 1830s. In the circumstances, therefore, likely aggressor in Europe. This was certainly the view of British Germany. Meanwhile, France was being seen increasingly as the most Austria was not ideally placed to resist the march of Prussia in Germany. They were simply happening. Additional evidence against the original 'intentionalist' argument

These represent the poles of interpretation. But there is a viable alternative. It is possible to combine the exigencies of the situation in Europe with the actions taken by Bismarck to develop a scenario in which unity was intended, but the measures taken were purely in response to the situations as they arose. The emphasis is therefore restored to Bismarck as interventionist – but primarily as a pragmatist and opportunist. Indeed, it seems that this is how he saw himself. He regarded events as part of an irresistible 'time stream of history'. He believed that 'One cannot make history.' It was, nevertheless, possible to be part of that time stream by understanding and manipulating events. 'Man cannot create the current of events. He can only float with it and steer.' (4) It was, however, essential to be able to pursue several strategies simultaneously. As one after the other was closed off by events the one that remained would appear to have been planned from the outset. Bismarck therefore tended to delay vital decisions until the

channels he had anticipated. him the opportunity to bring to a head a crisis with France: one of the benefit from war with France. The Hohenzollern candidature offered area. He was not, however, convinced until 1870 that Prussia would for the Saarland and for Bavarian and Hessian territory in the Rhine and the south German states: he publicised Napoleon's demands diplomatic blunders of Napoleon III to drive a wedge between France friendly with France for Bismarck's liking. He therefore used the it became clear that Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria were too be accomplished through peaceful means, possibly through the estabhurry to complete unification with the south, hoping that this might in the area of the southern Rhineland. At the same time, he was in no France. He kept Napoleon III friendly by vague hints of territorial gain Similarly, Bismarck followed several courses in his diplomacy with situation in Schleswig and Holstein could be used at some time in the lion's share of control in northern Germany. If it did not, then the promoted an alliance in 1864; he followed this by the Convention of and France. In the case of Austria he followed several lines. He of alternatives' is one way of understanding his dealings with Austria of the channels which had always existed as a possibility. This 'strategy situation was entirely clear - this enabled him to move history into one lishment of a common Federal Customs Council. Eventually, however the future to precipitate a conflict between Austria and Prussia. Gastein which, he hoped, would induce Austria to yield to Prussia

It is arguable, therefore, that German unification was intended but not planned. In which case was the Prussian base its most logical form?

In some ways it was not. Almost all the smaller German states supported Austria in the Confederation Diet over the constitutional crisis concerning Schleswig and Holstein in 1866. Many mobilised against Prussia and ended up united by conquest; some states, like Hanover, lost their separate identities altogether and ended up being absorbed into Prussia itself. In a sense, therefore, unification was imposed upon the smaller German states against their preference for a looser and more traditional association with both Prussia and Austria. The parliamentary approach to the problems of the 1860s favoured Austria. The military approach was Prussia's and the smaller states had to be brought into submission to Prussia, and Austria herself defeated.

Even then the process was incomplete and Bismarck faced the suspicion, even hostility, of the southern states; hence his delay in trying to incorporate them and the need to use Napoleon III's blunders.

It is sometimes argued that the southern states' continued preference for Austria was primarily for religious reasons. This may well have been the case with Bavaria, the population of which was predominantly Catholic. But Baden and Württemberg had strong Protestant traditions going back to the sixteenth-century Reformation. We should therefore be suspicious of this line of reasoning. It seems that it was a case of the south Germans being more wary of Prussia than feeling an attachment to Austria.

All this might appear to point to the Prussian initiative for unification being one which was entirely artificial and brutally imposed. In a sense this is what Bismarck said when he warned the Prussian Landtag in the Army Bill debate of 1862 that Prussian predominance in Germany must be based on military security. 'Germany looks not to Prussia's Liberalism but to her power...The questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and majority decisions... but by blood and iron.' (5) We could see this as a continuation of a traditional approach based on Prussian expansion within Germany rather than Prussian leadership over Germany. This had certainly been the aim of Frederick the Great (1740–86), who extended Prussia by absorbing Silesia and part of Saxony. Bismarck has often been seen as his natural successor; not being a 'German' nationalist, his premise was that 'Prussians we are and Prussians we shall remain.'

Yet it is possible to move so far in this direction that we can end up with the view that unification was entirely arbitrary, based simply on the whims of a Prussian expansionist. It makes more sense to see the connection between Germany and Prussia as being part of the broader flow of influences and events. Bismarck was certainly conscious of this link, although he felt that it had become unnecessarily complicated. Hence, in his own words: 'The Gordian Knot of German circumstances was not to be untied by the gentle methods of dual policy [but] could only be cut by the sword.' (6)

There is certainly plenty of evidence of long-term connections between Prussia and the idea of a more integrated Germany. It was to Prussia that the nationalists came increasingly to look, and in 1849 the Frankfurt Parliament decided to offer the crown of a united Germany to the King of Prussia. Nor did the collapse of the Frankfurt Parliament mean the end of this connection. Bismarck may have denied that Germany looked to Prussia for her liberalism, but German liberals continued to look to Prussia in the 1850s and 1860s as the more likely source of constitutional reform and genuine integration. As will be shown in Analysis 2, Prussia had a tradition of progressive change as well as one of military power.

THE FORMATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

pointing to the inexorable influence of economic growth, dominated by of a long-term economic process. The first to stress the economic base Prussia. Two factors were particularly influential. Recent historians like Böhme have adopted a similar argument, Empire was created more by coal and iron than by blood and iron.' (7) Germany. Some have gone so far as to argue that unification was part for German unity was J.M. Keynes, who wrote in 1919, 'The German Also of importance was the economic link between Prussia and

Central European region.' (8) defence against the economic order conceived by Austria for the great customs union, but this was strongly resisted by Prussia. Indeed ably, Austria wanted to replace the Zollverein by a broader Danubian period Austria's fell from 184 million thaler to 150 million. Understand production rapidly expanded with the use of the newly developed iron production more than doubled during this decade, while steel dynamic ministers as Manteuffel, von der Heydt and Delbrück. Coal and most of the new opportunities with the policies in the 1850s of such iron-ore deposits in Europe. The Prussian government made the Vienna in 1815: in these areas were some of the largest coal and tion of the Rhineland and Westphalia into Prussia by the Treaty of continental Europe. The opportunity was provided by the incorporaof Prussia, which had experienced the first industrial revolution in severed from that of Austria. The other factor was the economic growth smaller German states had been linked with that of Prussia and already in existence so that, by as early as 1834, the economies of the states through the Zollverein. This united the various customs unions that the kleindeutsch national state arose chiefly from the Prussian process: 'The quarrel over the Zollverein became of central importance Böhme sees in this the catalyst for the acceleration of the unification thaler in 1853 to 455 million by 1856. During the same three-year Bessemer process. The Zollverein's exports increased from 357 million for the development of the German question, and it can be asserted One was the gradual integration of the economies of the German

it would be too much to claim that it was planned, step by step, by a united Germany was not some aberration: it was intended, although artificial one. The influence of Prussia had been both progressive and supreme architect. Second, the links the German states had with Prussia contained forces which both repelled and attracted them. The reactionary, a combination which was to persist throughout the history final bond was created by force but this does not mean that it was an In overall conclusion two points need to be emphasised. First, a

Questions

- Was the unification of Germany intended?
- Was a united Germany simply an enlarged Prussia?

ANALYSIS (2): HOW AUTHORITARIAN WAS THE REICH?

question concerns the balance in which these existed. who had once hoped for unification by parliamentary means. The new Reich therefore had both liberal and authoritarian principles. The key consent. Nevertheless, it did involve enthusiastic support from those achieved from above, and by force, rather than from below, and by unification by the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848-49 in that it was The formation of the German Empire differed from the proposed

unity. They had achieved partial success in the constitution of the North parliament, elected by male suffrage and therefore directly in line with German Confederation. This had provided a Reichstag, or central Bismarck after the failure of the earlier attempts at constitutional liberals. Indeed, many of Prussia's liberals had thrown in their lot with duced a liberalising programme known as the 'New Era'. Prussia had liberal changes. Prussia had also seen a wave of reform in the late Europe at the time and more than capable of being adapted to future was introduced in Prussia in 1850 was one of the most progressive in smaller German states had taken the initiative in the 1848 revoluthe proposals made at Frankfurt in 1849. therefore continued to appeal much more than Austria to German 1850s as Wilhelm, acting as regent for Friedrich Wilhelm IV, introby the Frankfurt Parliament. Nevertheless, the constitution which lawyers. Admittedly, Prussia had failed to take the lead expected of it tions by introducing progressive constitutions drafted by middle-class Confederation in the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of the Liberal influences had been widespread throughout the German

scholars like Rothfels, Bussman, and Wehler. Wolfang J. Mommsen the historiography of Bismarck here, especially among German opposed to any form of revolution. There has been a long continuity in upon a dynasty'. (9) He was also socially conservative and strongly and effective, it needs as a rule to hang on the peg of dependence constraint. Hence, 'in order that German patriotism should be active as a virtue. His view was that political change must be kept under government and was something which Bismarck continued to regard tradition. This had always been apparent in the Prussian system of The obverse side of German unity was a strong authoritarian

strata.' (10) It is hardly surprising that such influences were at their eminence of the traditional elites despite the changes which were strongest in Prussia, just as it was Prussia which had so often taken the were a defensive social strategy conducted on behalf of the ruling taking pace in German society. Bismarck's policies, in other words, summarises the general aim of Bismarck as being to 'preserve the prelead in introducing progressive reform.

unification. The alternative, suggested earlier in the twentieth century by over this. Some have argued that the constitution of the Empire was a of Prussia. It comprised elements of liberalism and authoritarianism. predominance of a reactionary Prussia over the other German states proper consensus and that it therefore made a reality out of German them come more subtle combinations of liberal and authoritarian These two views provide the two ends of the spectrum. But between Weber, was that the constitution was no more than a disguise for the How did these relate to each other in practice? Historians have differed The new Reich, therefore, had a split identity which mirrored that

elite within Prussia, especially the large landowners, or Junkers, actually especially to the southern states of Baden, Bavaria and Württemberg were losing to Prussia during the process of unification: this applied proposed by the Bundesrat. On the positive side this went some way enteen, which conferred the right of veto on any constitutional change represented according to its size in the central Diet or Bundesrat without being diluted by them. For example, the King of Prussia was also that the Prussian government had indirect control over the other states appointed by the state rulers, not elected. In practice federalism meant Prussian control. Besides which, the members of the Bundesrat were identity of Prussia, while the composition of the Bundesrat ensured preferred the federal system since it guaranteed the continued separate On the other hand, federalism was always a double-edged weapon. The towards guaranteeing the autonomy which the smaller states felt they The smallest states had one seat each; Prussia, as the largest, had sevtwenty-five states retained its own ruler and government, while being Reich – as opposed to individual state – administration. Chancellor, and the Prussian civil service set the pattern for the the Kaiser, the Minister President of Prussia was usually also the Reich The Second Reich was established as a federation. Each of its

dismissal of the Chancellor. None of the Chancellor's cabinet was by the Kaiser who alone was responsible for the appointment and the largest of which was Prussia. The Reich government was headed The Reich executive comprised the individual state governments,

> government had the ultimate sanction of the use of the army - a executive was also firmly in control of foreign policy, the army and navy, was no arrangement for the accountability of the Chancellor to the chosen from deputies serving in the Reichstag. This structure meant liberals in the 1860s to demilitarise the political power structure of traditional authoritarian device which nullified the intentions of the the Kaiser acting as Commander-in-Chief. In this way the Kaiser's based on maintenance of an unfettered executive triumphed. The responsibility to Parliament. On this issue, the authoritarian approach Reichstag - no equivalent therefore to the British Prime Minister's that some of the aims of the liberals in the 1860s were not met. There

was no tradition of party government in the Reich. successors on a number of occasions. On the other hand, the Reichstag to prove capable of mounting some opposition to Bismarck and his seen in the Reich's legislature. As in the period of the North German had no formal influence over the composition of the executive and there tional reforms, even during the administration of Bismarck, and was Reichstag was responsible for enacting a range of social and constitu-Any legislation needed its assent, as did the military budget. The Confederation, the Reichstag was elected by universal male suffrage. A more promising appearance of progressive liberalism can be

party-political features'. (11) government would evolve. Mommsen correctly describes the overall political system as 'a semi-constitutional system with supplementary which, in turn, made it less likely that any genuinely party-based one in turn. Deprived of any prospect of a share in government, each population. And yet these parties were to be continually frustrated in representation of the interests of the different sections of the working class. Nowhere else in Europe was there such a complete parties, formed from the late 1860s to the early 1870s. These ranged tended to pursue narrow aims based on the interests of its constituents the relations with the executive, as Bismarck used and abused each Democrats on the left, who represented part of the newly enfranchised Progressives - and the predominantly Catholic Centre, to the Social through the two liberal parties - the National Liberals and the from the Conservatives, and their offshoots the Free Conservatives, This was anomalous, since Germany had a wealth of political

and social strains which in turn accentuated the conflict between middle class and an ever-expanding proletariat: both were out of liberal and authoritarian principles. Industrialisation created a wealthier The whole structure of the Reich came under a series of economic

sympathy with the traditional social elite, the Junker class, which was based on land ownership. There were also sectional differences based on religion or on ethnic minorities. The attempted resolution of the problems thrown up during the whole period of the Reich showed authoritarianism operating in a way which had to take account of liberal constraints. This happened in two stages. In the first Bismarck sought to maintain his authoritarian ascendancy by making various coalitions in the Reichstag in support of government policy. This is one of the themes of Chapter 2. After 1890 the regime of Wilhelm II sought to create mass support for the Reich through the pursuit of expansionist policies abroad. Both approaches – the manipulation of parties and the deliberate spread of nationalism to the lower classes – showed that while the governments of the Second Reich retained the initiative they were constrained in what they could do by pressures that they had to acknowledge and with which they had to deal.

The constrained authoritarianism which characterises the Reich was, according to Mommsen, the result of a series of 'skirted decisions'. Boldt, too, maintains that 'matters of sovereignty and government were deliberately left obscure'. (12) The underlying political culture was authoritarian but the existence of liberal influences meant that authoritarianism was never autocratic – either as in France under Bonapartism between 1852 and 1870 or as in Russia under the tsars up to 1917.

Questions

- Did authoritarianism stifle liberal influences in the 1871 constitution?
- 'A strong parliamentary system depends on effective political parties.' Did Germany have these?

SOURCES

1. PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA AND GERMANY

Source A: from a letter by Bismarck to Otto Manteuffel, April 1856.

Because of the policy of Vienna, Germany is clearly too small for us both; as long as an honourable arrangement concerning the influence of each cannot be concluded and carried out, we will both plough the same disputed acre, and Austria will remain the only state to whom we can permanently lose or from whom we can permanently gain. For a thousand years intermittently... the

German dualism has regularly adjusted the reciprocal relations of the powers by a thorough internal war; and in this century also no other means than this can set the clock of evolution at the right hour...In the not too distant future we shall have to fight for our existence against Austria and...it is not within our power to avoid that, since the course of events in Germany has no other solution.

Source B: from the speech by Bismarck to the Prussian Landtage 29 September 1862.

Prussla's boundaries according to the Vienna treaties are not favourable to a healthy political life; not by means of speeches and majority verdicts will the great decisions of the time be made – that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849 – but by iron and blood.

Source C: from Bismarck's Memoirs, published in the 1890s.

On 23 July [1866], under the presidency of the King, a council of war was held, in which the question to be decided was whether we should make peace under the conditions offered or continue the war... On this occasion... I declared it to be my conviction that peace must be concluded on the Austrian terms, but remained alone in my opinion; the King supported the military majority... I set out the following day to explain [that] we had to avoid wounding Austria too severely; we had to avoid leaving in her any unnecessary bitterness of feeling or desire for revenge; we ought rather to reserve the possibility of becoming friends again with our adversary of the moment, and in any case to regard the Austrian State as a piece on the European chessboard and the renewal of friendly relations with her as a move open to us. If Austria were severely injured, she would become the ally of France and of every opponent of ours; she would even sacrifice her anti-Russian interests for the sake of revenge on Prussia.

Source D: from a letter from Sir Robert Morier, a British diplomat in Vienna, to Lady Salisbury, 24 June 1866.

The one thing for which ... above all other things, I conceive Bismarck ought to be execrated, is his having by the impress of his own detestable individuality on the political canvas now unrolling before Europe so utterly disfigured the true outlines of the picture, that not only public opinion, but the judgement of wise and thoughtful men is almost sure to go wrong ... If Bismarck succeeds the world will clap its hands and say he was the only man who knew how to bring about what the world, which always worships success, will say was a consummation it always desired. Whereas that which will be really proved is that

12

Prussia was so strong and so really the heart and head and lungs of Germany, that she could, by her mere natural development WITH, instead of AGAINST, the liberal and national forces of Germany, have effected what required to be done by peaceful means and without bloodshed.

Source E: an assessment of Bismarck by the German historian Heinrich von Sybel in *The Founding of the German Empire*, published between 1890 and 1898.

He was not striving for world-dominion nor for boundless power, but for the means to secure and strengthen his Prussian Fatherland. So much acquisition of power and territory as was necessary for this he laid hold of with iron grasp – so much and no more. The intoxication of victory never disordered his judgement, nor got the mastery over his fixed principles of moderation.

Questions

- 1. (i) What is meant by '... plough the same disputed acre ...' (Source A)? (2 marks)
- (ii) To which victory, over Austria in 1866, might Document E be referring? (1 mark)
- (iii) By which treaty was the 1866 war between Prussia and Austria concluded? (1 mark)How effectively did Bismarck use language in Sources A and
- How effectively did Bismarck use language in Sources A and B to put across his ideas? (4 marks)
- 3. In what ways did Bismarck's perception of Austria in Source C differ from that in Source A? (4 marks)
- 4. How reliable would you consider Sources C and D as an assessment of Bismarck's aims and methods? (5 marks)
- How far do Sources A to D, and your own knowledge, lead you to agree with the opinions cited in Source E? (8 marks)

Worked answer

- *1. [Some questions on sources, usually the first, ask for an explanation of a specific reference. Where one mark is available, a word or phrase is expected; anything more than this would earn nothing extra. For two marks a slightly longer answer is required, usually containing two distinct points.]
- The 'acre' represents Germany before unification, which both Austria and Prussia attempted to 'plough', or control. The result was 'dispute'.

- (ii) The Battle of Sadowa
- ii) The Treaty of Prague.

2. THE NATURE OF THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION SET UP IN 1871

Source F: from a speech by Benjamin Disraeli, leader of the Conservative Party, in the House of Commons, 9 February 1871.

This war represents the German revolution, a greater political event than the French revolution of the last century.

Source G: A criticism of the 1871 constitution by a political publicist, writing in 1875.

It is clear that a country containing as many different elements as Germany does, a country entwined with its neighbours on all sides and bordering on six different nationalities, a country, moreover, that has experienced a history comparable to no other in respect both of the variety of political forms created and the intrinsic importance of its events – that such a country must necessarily have achieved a constitution peculiar to itself. If this constitution was to be amended or improved, how could the appropriate forms be found except by deriving them from existing conditions? Instead an attempt was made to borrow these forms from various foreign constitutions and by means of such a compounded copy to produce a German national constitution, while at the same time proclaiming the principle of nationality which ought rather to have excluded anything foreign. What a strange contradiction!

Source H: from the writings and letters of the Prussian historian Heinrich von Treitschke.

(30 July 1866) There was a time when the ideas of French democracy dominated Germany and when those sudden and successful street battles in the capital city of a centralized state which decided the fate of a country served as models of glorious revolutions. The last decade has taught us that the great political upheavals of civilized peoples as a rule take place by other means, through the agency of orderly military forces...The German revolution, too...received its first impetus from above, from the Crown.

Source I: from a report by Bismarck to Wilhelm I, 29 March 1871.

The constitutional position of the Federal Council [Bundesrat] in the North German Confederation as well as in the German Empire derives its peculiar

character from the fact that its members are bound by the instructions issued to them by their governments and therefore do not, like the deputies to the Reichstag, represent the whole but only the state which nominated them.

Source J: a letter from Bismarck to Bray (Prime Minister of Bavaria), 4 November 1870.

As to the basis of these negotiations, I should prefer the establishment of a close Confederation to any other. The basis is, in my view, the only one which meets the wishes of the German nation. It is the only one, therefore, suitable for the foundation of permanent institutions, while it is at the same time sufficient to assure such a position to Bavaria in the Germanic Confederation, to which on account of her importance, she has a claim.

Questions

- 1. (i) Explain the reference to 'This war' (Source F). (2 marks)
- (ii) Explain the meaning and purpose of the 'Reichstag' (Source I). (2 marks)
- *2. In what ways do the arguments of Sources F, G and H differ? (4 marks)
- 3. What questions should a modern historian ask about the usefulness and reliability of Sources G and H? (5 marks)
- What do Sources I and J show of Bismarck's concept of German unity? (4 marks)
- 5. Do Sources A to J, and your own knowledge, show that there had been a German revolution by the end of 1871? (8 marks)

Worked answer

*2. [This type of question is more complex than the first. It needs a combination of argument and pin-point references to the specified sources. The word 'differ' needs to be covered in a way which includes all three sources. Quotations should be brief and integrated into your own sentences.]

In Source F the term 'revolution' is used by Disraeli in a diplomatic sense, as affecting the balance of power in Europe. By contrast, the focus of Sources G and H are on internal change. There is, however, a fundamental difference between G and H. The political publicist (Source G) argues that Germany's political change was contradictory, since borrowing from 'various foreign constitutions' had conflicted with the 'principle of nationality' which should have 'excluded anything

foreign'. Source H, by contrast, maintains that borrowing 'ideas of French democracy' had manifestly failed and that 'orderly military forces' were necessary for unification. Since the 'impetus' came 'from above', the inference is that this now excluded external influence from below.

6