

英文世界名人傳記

俾 斯 麥

OTTO VON BISMARCK

FAMOUS FOLK SERIES



# OTTO VON BISMARCK

## CHAPTER I

### EARLY LIFE

#### FAMILY

Otto von Bismarck was the first Chancellor<sup>1</sup> of the German Empire and is one of the greatest statesmen of the world. He was born on the first of April, 1815, at the manor-house of Schonhausen,<sup>2</sup> when Emperor Napoleon had just come back from Elba, when the Congress of Vienna had broken up, and when Prussia had entered into its new alliance with Europe.

The family had, since the 14th century, belonged to landed gentry, and many members had held high office in the kingdom of Prussia. Otto's father was a quiet, gentle, modest man. He held the rank of captain of the cavalry. At the age of three-and-twenty, he retired from active service after his first campaign because he had to have his two boys educated. The king was angry at that act and consequently deprived him of his rank, which was not restored to him until a long time afterwards. He was an apostle of the French enlightenment and had been brought up as a nobleman, though

<sup>1</sup> Chancellor (chăn'sêl-êr), the chief minister of state in the German Empire.

<sup>2</sup> Schonhausen (shûn/hou'zên).

as one who was to be free from prejudices of caste. He lived a carefree life on his estate and spent most of his time in hunting, or drinking—for all the Bismarcks had been hard drinkers for centuries.

His mother, a daughter of the Mencken, cabinet secretary to the king, was a woman of strong character and ability. Dispassionate reason and ardent ambition were two of the most notable elements in her composition. In her everything was rational. She loved town life, display, and the court. She was in all respects the exact opposite of her husband. He wanted to live and be let alone while she wanted to make a great show in the society.

The father was pleased with his sons while the mother was never satisfied. The father: "I am always proud of your reports. Yesterday the Bulows<sup>1</sup> were here; I showed them your reports, and was delighted to hear how well they spoke of you." The mother: "Look around you, listen to the world's judgment concerning solid culture, and you will realise how much you will have to do before you can claim the title of a cultured man."

From his mother, Otto got his reasoning powers, his piercing and dispassionate intelligence;<sup>2</sup> from her, likewise, came his restless longing for power, which no Bismarck before him had had; but in temperament and character generally, he was his father's son.

Otto had a brother and a sister whom he loved very much. However, since he could not live side by side

<sup>1</sup> Bulows (bū'lōz).

<sup>2</sup> Intelligence (in-tīlī-jěns), the intellect.

with any one possessing equal rights with himself, he did not work together with his brother for long. Soon they divided the heritage.<sup>1</sup> He wrote: "I am about to go halves with my brother, with the aid of a purchaser who has made a very high offer, I have brought him to the point." Thereafter, each of them did his own work.

Otto's wife was Johanna von Puttkamer, to whom he was married in 1847. She was clever, able, amiable and very fond of music. She was less proud than he. She was gentle at home. Above all, she had the spirit of self-sacrifice. It was because of those excellence that he married her.

## YOUTH

Very early in life the little boy saw no one with whom he would have cared to be intimate, and had no associate whom he could love, save only his father. He spent quite a long time with his father, reading and smoking, eating lampreys,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes "playing a comedy with."

He felt his mother on the contrary, to be an adversary.<sup>3</sup> He was estranged<sup>4</sup> from her in childhood already. Notwithstanding<sup>5</sup> his strong family feeling, he admitted as much to strangers in later years. In hundreds of conversations, he never had a good word to say for his

<sup>1</sup> Heritage (hě'r'i-tâj), that which is inherited.

<sup>2</sup> Lampreys (lâm'-priz), cel-like water animals, having large, suctorial, and jawless mouth.

<sup>3</sup> Adversary (ăd'ver-sâ-rî), one who is turned against another with opposing or hostile intent.

<sup>4</sup> Estranged (ăs-trân'jd/), to alienate the affections of.

<sup>5</sup> Notwithstanding (nōt'with-stân'ding), in spite of.

mother. He always used "extremely bitter" language about her, saying that she had "very little of what the Berliners term 'kindly feeling.'" He would add: "Often it seemed to me that she was hard and cold towards me." Since he regarded his mother as the ruling influence in the house, he held her responsible for all the severities he suffered at the boarding school. He never ceased to complain of the stale bread he ate there; of the Spartan<sup>1</sup> character of the education; of the inadequate clothing in winter; of the "unnaturally harsh discipline." Everything that came from his mother, all she wanted and all she taught, seemed evil to the boy.

When he was seventeen or eighteen, he already established a nihilism<sup>2</sup> in belief and thought firmly. He was convinced "that a republic is the most reasonable form of State." He regarded Harmodius<sup>3</sup> and Brutus<sup>4</sup> as criminals and rebels. Every German prince who resisted the emperor incurred his anger.

His attitude towards religious belief was also hostile. At the time of his confirmation, when he was about sixteen, he asserted: "Not out of indifference, but as the outcome of mature conviction, I abandoned the practice to which I had been accustomed since early childhood, and gave up saying my prayers, for prayer seemed to me to conflict with my view as to the nature of God. I said to myself that either God ordained everything

<sup>1</sup> Spartan (spär'tän), of or pert. to Sparta, esp. ancient Sparta, in Laconia, ruled by a Dorian people noted for their military organization and religious discipline and valor.

<sup>2</sup> Nihilism (ni'-hī-liz'm), a doctrine that denies any objective or real ground of truth.

<sup>3</sup> Harmodius (här-mō'dī-ūs), an Athenian conspirator.

<sup>4</sup> Brutus (brōō'tūs), Marcus Junius, Roman politician.

in virtue of his omnipresence,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, independently of my thought and will; . . . or else, that is my will be independent of God, it would be arrogant . . . to believe that God could be influenced by human petitions." His train of reasoning like that showed that at this early age he was already a proud realist, who would only concede to a superior power just so much as circumstances made necessary.

It was due to his hatred for any sort of compulsion that he was very reluctant to enter military service. He used to ride, either alone or accompanied by his steward. In these rides he became acquainted with the lower classes, with peasants and dealers, and came to know the realities of the land.

## EDUCATION

The education of Bismarck at school was no better than ordinary. As a very small boy, he studied at a private school in Berlin. From the age of twelve to seventeen he was at the gymnasium<sup>2</sup> of the Graue Kloster. At that time on seeing the hatred against the nobility steadily growing in the establishment to which cultured bourgeois<sup>3</sup> were wont to send their sons, his pride of birth increased. He had not yet become remarkable in history but was already noted in Germany. He had no thought of proper respect for his teachers. He always

<sup>1</sup> Omnipresence, (öm'nī-prēz'-ens), presence everywhere.

<sup>2</sup> Gymnasium (jīm-nā'zī-ŭm), in Continental Europe, esp. Germany, a school preparing for the university, the classical languages being an essential part of the curriculum.

<sup>3</sup> Bourgeois (bōōr'zhwā/z), men of middle class.

wanted to sleep in the morning, and did not grow cheerful until late in the day. This peculiarity persisted throughout life.

In his school days, he was already opposed to the old style of parliamentary speeches, saying that he felt "repelled by the reading of the clownish and abusive orations. . . with which the Homeric<sup>1</sup> heroes were accustomed to regale themselves before a fight."

At the age of seventeen Bismarck went to the University of Gottingen,<sup>2</sup> where he spent a little over a year. Whilst in the University he was quite conspicuous in contrast with ordinary students: his dressing, his courage and arrogance,<sup>3</sup> his debauchery<sup>4</sup> and elegance,<sup>5</sup> the mingling of violence and kindness. This peculiarity was well described in the novel of John Lothrop Motley, his fellow student. In the novel Bismarck appeared as "Otto von Rabenmark." Motley said: "He was very young . . . not quite seventeen; but in precocity<sup>6</sup> of character . . . he went immeasurably<sup>7</sup> beyond any person I have ever known. . . . I have seldom seen a more unprepossessing<sup>8</sup> person . . . though on better acquaintance. . . . I began to think him rather well looking. He had coarse scrubby hair, of a mixed colour, something between red and a whity-brown. His face was peppered all over with freckles, and his eyes were colourless in the

<sup>1</sup> Homeric (hō-mēr'ik), pert. to Homer, the Greek poet.

<sup>2</sup> Gottingen (gūt'ing-ën), Hanover, Prussia.

<sup>3</sup> Arrogance (ār'ō-gāns), haughtiness.

<sup>4</sup> Debauchery (dē-bōch'ēr-i), corruption of fidelity.

<sup>5</sup> Elegance (ël'ë-gāns), the beauty of propriety.

<sup>6</sup> Precocity (prē-kōs'i-ti), state of being premature.

<sup>7</sup> Immeasurably (i-mēzh'ūr-ā-b'li), illimitably.

<sup>8</sup> Unprepossessing (ün-prē-pō-zēs'ing), unattractive.



centre, and looked as if edged with red tape. An enormous scar, the relic of a recent duel . . . extended from the tip of his nose to the edge of his right ear, and had been sewed up with fourteen stitches. . . . He had recently shaved off one of his eyebrows, his face certainly might lay claim to a bizarre<sup>1</sup> and very unique character. His figure was slender, and not yet mature, but already of a tolerable height. . . . He wore a chaotic coat, without collar or buttons, and as destitute of colour as of shape; enormous wide trousers, and boots with iron heels and portentous spurs. His shirt collar, unconscious of cravat, was doubled over his shoulders, and boots with iron heels and portentous spurs. His shirt collar, unconscious of cravat, was doubled over his shoulders, and his hair hung down about his ears and neck. A faint attempt at moustachios, of an indefinite colour, completed the equipment of his face, and a huge sabre, strapped round his waist, that of his habiliments."<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, the young Bismarck had no love for the Bunschenschafts,<sup>3</sup> the students associations, because, he thought, their members were ill-bred. But he like very much to associate with foreigners. He made two friends, who were Motley, the American, a cheerful man of refined temperament, free from prejudices; and Count Keyserling, the Courlander, a man of mature mind and ascetic disposition.<sup>4</sup> On into old age they remained Bismarck's only intimate friends. They were older than Bismarck,

<sup>1</sup> Bizarre (bī-zār'), grotesque.

<sup>2</sup> Habilliments (hā-bīl'i-mēnts), dresses.

<sup>3</sup> Bunschenschafts (bōōn'shēn-shāfts).

<sup>4</sup> Disposition (dis'pō-zīsh'ūn), quality.

more self-controlled, more concentrated in aim. Neither of them played an active part in the students' corps.<sup>1</sup>

In college Bismarck was supposed to be studying law, with an eye to a diplomatic career. He had no wish to become an army officer. In spite of his mother's ambitious longing which was that her father's power and position should be reborn in her son, his inclinations could not be repressed.

Moreover, Bismarck had no interest in the national problem. He never went to hear the most celebrated professor lecture on this topic. It was more to his taste to join his American friends on Independence Day. But when one of them spoke of German disunion, Bismarck bet twenty-five bottles of champagne<sup>2</sup> that Germany would be united within twenty-five years.

Bismarck had once spent a few months studying agriculture at the University of Greifswald,<sup>3</sup> and chemistry at the academy of Eldena, and had works on botany sent to him by Keyserling. He had little enough respect for philosophy. In the middle twenties he read a great deal and played a great deal. Byron<sup>4</sup> and Bulwer<sup>5</sup> now became his favorite authors. History, sociology and works of Shakespeare were all ploddingly digged. He told us: "Such general knowledge as I possess, dates from the period when I had nothing to do; when on my estate in the country, I had a library covering all fields

<sup>1</sup> Corps (körps), body of men.

<sup>2</sup> Champagne (shäm-pän'), a lightwine, first made in Champagne, in France,

<sup>3</sup> Greifswald (grifs'vält).

<sup>4</sup> Byron (bi'rün) English poet (1788-1824).

<sup>5</sup> Bulwer (bööl'wēr), English author and diplomat (1801-1872).

of thought and action, and when I literary devoured my books." As to play, swimming, duck-shooting in a hunt and shooting at a target were his every-day games. He also found delight in his rural occupation, "because of its independence."

## CHAPTER II

### THE MAD JUNKER

In his young days Bismarck was not only very hot-headed but also very odd in clothing as well as in manner. As a man of knightly birth, he had little in contact with the common people even with the nobles. Sometimes he disrespectfully criticized the government. Sometimes he made fun of ladies and squires when he met them in the country side. He was often peculiarly dressed and brought wine and porter with him wherever he went. After drinking, he rambled by muddy roads to a squire's farm where he greatly surprised a well dressed company by his disgraceful appearance. In this way he got the nickname of the Mad Junker, although he was not really mad.

The Junker was very superstitious. In all the phases of his life, he used to calculate the age at which he must die. "If I do not die after X years, I must do this or that after Y years." Once he wrote to his betrothed: "You will hardly believe how superstitious I am. Just when I had opened your letter, the great clock suddenly stopped at three minutes past six—an old English pendulum<sup>1</sup> clock which my grandfather had had from youth upwards, and which has been standing on the same spot

<sup>1</sup> Pendulum (pĕn'dū-lŭm), a body so suspended from a fixed point that it can swing freely to and fro under the combined action of **grainty** and **monentum**.

for seventy years. . . . Please write to me quickly to tell me that you are perfectly well and cheerful." Even when he was old, he did the same.

The Junker was secretly engaged three times. It was in the year of 1836 that he first engaged with Miss Russell Laura, an English woman of ducal<sup>1</sup> family. Next summer he was attracted by another Englishwoman, a clergyman's daughter, Isabelle Loraine,<sup>2</sup> who was more beautiful than Laura. Since he had already had a lover, he found the situation "extremely piquant."<sup>3</sup> He wrote to his friend: "I should tell you in passing that I am engaged, and that I have it in mind, like you, to enter the holy state of matrimony.<sup>4</sup> My intended is a young Englishwoman, a blonde, extraordinarily beautiful, and, as yet, she does not know a word of German. I am going to accompany her family to Switzerland, and shall say good-by to them in Milan, . . . for I must hasten to see my parents from whom I have been separated for nearly two years. . . . You must come with me to England, to my wedding, which will take place next spring."

In 1842 Bismarck entered into his third engagement with a girl of the neighbourhood, Ottilie von Puttkamer. In view of his bad reputation, her mother was at first opposed to the match. Four years later, however, she changed her attitude and consented to the marriage. Unfortunately too late! Bismarck had already made a general statement to the effect that he "cannot love." To a friend he said: "The feeling on which I have brood-

<sup>1</sup> Ducal (dū'kāl), of or pert. to a duke.

<sup>2</sup> Isabelle Loraine (iz'a-bél'a) (lō-rān').

<sup>3</sup> Piquant (pē'kānt), pungent.

<sup>4</sup> Matrimony (măt'ri-mō-ni), marriage.

ed for years, the feeling that my innermost and truest sentiments were frivolously<sup>1</sup> maltreated, the betrayal of my confidence, the mortification of my pride—these have left a residue of bitterness which I cannot adequately suppress. . . . With the best will in the world, I find it difficult to forget, even partly, any affront that has made a deep impression.”

Besides, at the age of thirty Bismarck had also made love to Marie von Thadden, a passionate girl of good family. But, he was not married because he never wanted to marry for money.

<sup>1</sup> Frivolously (friv'ō-lūs-ly), in a trifling manner.

## CHAPTER III

### BISMARCK ENTERS UPON A PUBLIC CAREER

Bismarck entered upon a public career as a wanderer.

At the age of twenty, he succeeded in passing his examination for the bar, and had experience of the practice of law for a little while at the Municipal Court in Berlin. As time went on, his distaste for such imbecilities<sup>1</sup> grew stronger. He only kept on at this job in order to avoid having to become a soldier, for, he said: "I have victoriously resisted the rather urgent wishes of my parents in that direction." At the Court ball, the prince of Prussia spoke to him and asked: "Why are not you a soldier?"

"I had no prospect of advancement in the army, Your Royal Highness."

"I doubt if you have any better prospects at the Bar."

Such dialogue between William of Prussia and Bismarck clearly shows the difference between the two natures.

In 1836 Bismarck was sent to Aix-la-Chapelle<sup>2</sup> to do administration work, which he despised greatly. He preferred to go riding with young English ladies rather than to do the routine work. After two months he quit his job.

<sup>1</sup> Imbecilities (im-bā-sil'i-tiz), absurdity, foolishness.

<sup>2</sup> Aix-la-Chapelle (āks'lā-shā'pěl'), city, Rhine Prov. Prussia.

Then he was admitted to the post of postdam<sup>1</sup>—upon the written understanding that he was to work regularly and diligently. However, he did not get on much better there than he did at Aix. After three months he departed without leave.

At the age of twenty eight the aimless youth made the first political utterance, the extract of which is worthwhile to be reproduced here:

“I can understand perfectly well that when men in red coats, on horseback, with hounds, are chasing a hare, and, thus engaged, look extremely pleased with themselves and their occupation—the spectacle must be very distasteful, not only to the hare, but also to any one who satisfied neither with himself nor with the world, is clad in black, has no horses, no hounds, no chance of hunting, and indeed no taste for the sport.” He admitted that he was “born in the caste of the *ci-devant*<sup>2</sup> nobles, . . . whose overwhelming privilege it is to prefix a ‘von’ to their names, like a mist-wreath that has outlived gloomier days, and is able to veil from mourning Germany the sunrise of bourgeois and social equality.” At the close, he demanded that “to Farther Pomerania<sup>3</sup> shall be left its dues and its personal liberties, to the extent, that it shall be entitled to spend its own money upon its own amusements in whatever fashion it may prefer.”

In this utterance Bismarck touched upon social and political questions, though it concerned only hares and

<sup>1</sup> Postdam (pöts'däm), city, Brandenburg province.

<sup>2</sup> *Ci-devant* (sē'dē-vän'), former.

<sup>3</sup> Farther Pomerania (fär'-thēr, Pöm'ë-rā'nī-ä).



stubblefields. Moreover, he defended his own class, the upper class end made mock of underlings who were not able to hunt. His first political words were those of a Protagonist<sup>1</sup> of the class war. It was due to his idea of class differences that he was not influenced by pietism,<sup>2</sup> for pietism did not exercise the least influence upon his politics.

Two years later he made a venture into State service again. That attempt lasted only for a couple of weeks because of clashes with his chief. Even when he had to act for his brother as Landrat, he soon felt sick of the occupation and speedily gave up the work, too.

"Thus do I drift on the stream of life with nothing to steer by except the inclination of the moment, and I am fairly indifferent as to where the waters may cast me up on the share."

In 1875 his father died. Our self-opinionated youth began to feel that the time of his adventurous youth was over and he must exercise a wider influence. Such impulse, which dominated him for half a century to come, directed itself towards public life.

Thus in 1846 he accepted the appointment of the dike-board in which he was responsible for the care of the dykes. By the dykes the country in the neighbourhood of Elbe<sup>3</sup> was preserved from inundation. The reason why he accepted this position was not due to his interest

<sup>1</sup> Protagonist (prō-täg'ō-nist), one who takes the leading part in a drama.

<sup>2</sup> Pietism (pi'ē-tiz'm), the principle of practice of the pietists, a German 17th-century sect which strove for a revival of sincere and emotional religious feeling.

<sup>3</sup> Elbe (ēl'bē), river, Germany.

but due to his calculations of the chance of entering the Landtag.<sup>1</sup> So he wrote to his brother: "No doubt I could get promotion in the East Prussian service; but it is my misfortune that every post I might obtain seems desirable to me until I occupy it, and that then I find it burdensome and a bore. That is what would happen were I to accept this offer. If I go to East Prussia, I shall have to refuse the office of dike-reeve here, which the government has already promised me. . . . But the dike service, in conjunction with work in the Landtag, to which I can almost certainly secure election, will give me plenty to do without cutting me off from the administration of my estates. . . . My fixed idea is to pay off some of the debts first of all."

Now, as his ultimate object was to become Landtag and deputy, Bismarck did not work very long.

<sup>1</sup> Landtag (länt'täk'), the Prussian legislature.

## CHAPTER IV

### BISMARCK AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN

Bismarck once declared that it was his "most heart-felt wish to become a member of the Landtag." That declaration was fulfilled in May 1847 when he was chosen as substitute for the representative of the lower nobility of his district in the estates-general, which were in that year summoned to Berlin. From that time to the age of thirty-six he was wholly devoted to the profession of a parliamentarian<sup>1</sup> and regarded as a ten-percent parliamentarian.

In the united Landtag, out of five-hundred members, only seventy were conservatives, who favoured a united Prussia while the majority were liberal in sentiment and longing for German unity. The new deputy took his seat with the extreme right and were antagonistic to the liberals. So he was somewhat isolated. Moreover, his speech in the Assembly which was a maiden one was an attack, attack in two directions. He defended the government against the conservatives, and the conservatives against the liberals. He wrote to his betrothed: "It is strange how much confidence orators show, as compared with their capacity; and to note with what shameless self-satisfaction they venture to make their futile speeches in so great an assembly. . . The business

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentarian (pär'li-mën-tā'ri-än), a member of a legislative body.

moves me far more than I had expected." Again he said of "this political excitement which grips me much more strongly than I had anticipated."

Notwithstanding, Bismarck soon distinguished himself by the vigour and originality with which he defended the rights of the king. He made two speeches in the Assembly on which the princes congratulated him greatly. The king's advisers, Leopold<sup>1</sup> and Ludwig von Gerlach<sup>2</sup> were Bismarck's advisers also and likewise pleased him exceedingly. He thought if he wished to be useful, both to the king, and to himself, he must be loyal to the king; if he wished to increase his own influence, he must follow the king's steps; if he wished to improve his own prospects, he must support the king's views; if he wished to lay the foundations for his own future power, he must strengthen the king's power for the time being. With such an idea in mind, he undoubtedly went to court frequently. The more the contacts, the deeper the relationship between the throne and the new deputy. The deeper the relationship, the more loyal and reverent was the new deputy to the throne. Writing confidentially to his wife, he assumed a tone unusual to him: "Do not speak lightly of the king. We are both inclined to err in this respect. We should not talk of him irreverently any more than we should talk irreverently of our parents. Even when he makes mistakes, we must remember that we have sworn to show fealty and to pay homage to his flesh and blood." Throughout life he clung to this dogma of his.

<sup>1</sup> Leopold (lě'ô-pöld).

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig von Gerlach (lōöd'vīg, fôn, gēa'lāk).

Now there came a dilemma. It was the Jewish question coming up for discussion. At first Bismarck would like to absent himself, for in this matter he was not at one with the government. Ultimately, however, he appeared in the Assembly. Since he was one of the leaders of the extreme right, he took up parable against the "tedious humanitarian twaddle" of the left. He explicitly avowed his intention with the following fashion:

"I am no enemy of the Jews, and if they are hostile to me I forgive them. I love them under every circumstance. For my part, I would grant them all rights, save only the right of holding the chief offices in a Christian State. . . . To me, the words about God's grace are not empty ones. . . . But I can only regard as God's will that which is revealed in the Gospels. . . . If we withdraw the religious foundation of the State, then the State remains nothing more than a chance aggregate of rights, a sort of bulwark against the war of all against all. . . . It is not clear to me how, in such a State, the ideas of the communists, for instance, concerning the immorality of property could be disputed. . . . For this reason we ought not to encroach upon the people's Christianity."

Besides, there was another question which was to abolish the exemption of the landed gentry's estates from taxation. Bismarck, in a threatening way, wrote a private letter to the king: "This confiscation . . . is an arbitrary attack on landed property such as only conquerors and rulers by force have ever before attempted. It is an illegal act of force . . . directed against a defenceless class of subjects who have been loyal to the throne for centuries. . . . We, in conjunction with the

great majority of the Prussian people, will hold Your Majesty responsible before God and posterity, if we have to see the name of the king whose father was known as the Just, written beneath laws which will indicate an abandonment of the road along which the kings of Prussia acquired a perennial reputation for immaculate justice, and made the mill of Sans-Sorci an historical monument."

In that way he defended his order with any and every means.

When the revolution broke out in the following year (1848) Bismarck fought for the king very bravely: he offered to bring the peasants of Schonhausen to Berlin in order to defend the king against the revolutionary party. He did not sit in any of the assemblies summoned during the revolutionary year, but took a very active part in the formation of a union of the Conservative party. He was one of the founders of the *Kreuzzeitung*,<sup>1</sup> which had since then been the organ of the Monarchical party in Prussia.

At the beginning of 1849 occurred a general election to the Prussian National Assembly, in which Bismarck did his utmost to secure a seat. Consequently he succeeded. He now sat for Brandenburg,<sup>2</sup> and was one of the most frequent and most incisive speakers of what was called the Junker party. He took a prominent part in the discussions on the new Prussian constitution, always defending the power of the king. Even in the time of war, a few-days-war which was waged for unifying Germany under Prussian leadership against Austria, his speech

<sup>1</sup> *Kreuzzeitung* (kroits'tsi-tuy).

<sup>2</sup> Brandenburg (brän'den-boork), province, Prussia.

before the Landtag was also to defend the government. The resume of his speech was:

"Why do great States make war nowadays? The only sound reason why a great State goes to war, being thereby distinguished from a small States, is egoism<sup>1</sup> and not romanticism. . . . It is wasty for a statesman to blow the war trumpet, warming himself at his own fireside the while! It is easy for a statesman to beat the big drum at this tribune, while leaving to the musketeer who is bleeding in the snow to decide whether victory shall be won and fame acquired. . . . Woe unto the statesman who makes war without a reason which will still be valid when the war is over! After the war, you will all look differently at these questions, will you then have the courage to turn to the peasant who is contemplating the ashes of his farm, to the man who has been crippled by a wound, to the father who has lost his children, and say to them: 'You have suffered greatly, but rejoice with us, for the Union constitution has been saved!'"

"But," continued the bold speaker, "you will not be able to transform the Prussian army, which on March 19th. . . accepted the role of the conquered, into a parliamentary army. It will always remain the king's army, and find its honour in obedience. . . ." With reference to Austria, he was of opinion that Austria is "a German power fortunate enough to rule foreign nationalities which in old days were subjugated by German armies. . . . I regard Austria as the representative and heir of an Old German power, which has often and gloriously will wielded the German sword."

<sup>1</sup> Egoism (ě'gō-iz'm), subjective idealism.

His speech of this period showed great debating skill, combined with strong originality and imagination. He took also a considerable part in the debates on the foreign policy of the Prussian government. He defended the government for not accepting the Frankfort<sup>1</sup> constitution, and opposed the policy of Radowitz,<sup>2</sup> on the ground that the Prussian king would be subjected to the control of a non-Prussian parliament.

In 1850 Bismarck was elected a member of the parliament of Erfurt.<sup>3</sup> He only went there to protect the Prussian interests on the one hand and on the other to oppose the constitution which the parliament had framed. He had demanded from the Government that the constitution agreed on in Erfurt should again be submitted to the Prussian Chamber. However, his request was refused.

He did not take much part in the debates at Erfurt. As he was one of the youngest of the members, he held the position of Secretary. The President of the Assembly was Simpson, a converted Jew. "What would my father has said," observed Bismarck, "if he had lived to see me become clerk to a Jewish scholar?"

<sup>1</sup> Frankfort (fränk'für't).

<sup>2</sup> Radowitz (rä'dō-vīts).

<sup>3</sup> Erfurt (ēr'föört).



## CHAPTER V

### BISMARCK AS A DIPLOMATIST

The effect of the speech of Bismarck before the Landtag in 1850 was to open for him a diplomatic career. Four weeks after his speech he was offered the post of Minister in Anhalt.<sup>1</sup> The position was attractive. He liked it very much. He wrote to his wife: "I have not hitherto made any push in the matter, but have left it to God. The position is attractive. The duke is an imbecile, and the minister is duke. It would be pleasant enough to rule there as independent duke, . . . and, right in the Harz, to govern the whole valley of the Selke."

In the spring of 1851 Bismarck was appointed by the king Prussian representative at the restored diet of Frankfort. The appointment was a bold one, as he was entirely without diplomatic experience, but he justified the confidence placed in him. He said to the king: "The courage is on Your Majesty's side, for entrusting such a post to me. Your Majesty is under no obligation to maintain me in the position, if I do not show myself worthy of it. I myself cannot be certain whether the task may not prove beyond my capacities; I cannot be certain until I have tried. I have courage enough to obey, if Your Majesty has courage enough to command."

In the same time he wrote to his wife: "I did not seek this position. It is the Lord's will, and I must comply.

<sup>1</sup> Anhalt (än'hält).

I cannot do nothing else. . . . It would be cowardly to refuse. . . . I pray devoutly that merciful God is ordering all things without risk to our temporal welfare, and without harm to my soul.”

When Bismarck went to Frankfort he was still under the influence of the extreme Prussian Conservatives, men like the Gerlachs, who regarded the maintenance of the Principle of the Christian monarchy against the revolution as the chief duty of the Prussian government. After the eight years the young diplomatist had spent at Frankfort, he had an unrivalled knowledge of German politics. He was often employed for important missions, as in 1852, when he was sent to Vienna. He was entrusted with the negotiations by which the duke of Augustenburg was persuaded to assent to the arrangements by which he resigned his claims to Schleswig and Holstein.

In 1859 Bismarck was appointed minister to Russia, where he stayed for three years. During this period he acquired some knowledge of Russia, and gained the warm regard of the tsar,<sup>1</sup> as well as of the dowager-empress, herself a Prussian princess. Bismarck's mission to Russia was of prime importance in the diplomatic history of Europe. He keenly realized the value of Russian friendship to Prussia and later to Germany, as an offset to France; an alliance, or, at least, a friendly understanding with Russia became the corner-stone of his foreign policies.

<sup>1</sup> Tsar (tsär), the popular title of the emperor of Russia.

When an acute crisis arose out of the refusal of parliament, in 1862, to vote the money required for the reorganization of the army, which the king and Roon, the then Premier, had carried through, Bismarck was summoned to Berlin for consultation.

In June of the same year Bismarck became envoy at Paris as a temporary expedient. Formerly he had liked Paris well enough, but now nothing there could please him. During this time in Paris he saw much of Napoleon. "A great unrecognized incapacity" was his judgement of the French Emperor. He also made a trip to London. There he met Disraeli<sup>1</sup> who, after interviewing with him, remarked: "Take care of that man, he means what he says!"

In September the parliament, by a large majority, threw out the budget, and the king, at Roon's advice, summoned Bismarck to Berlin again and appointed him premier and minister for foreign affairs.

### FOREIGN RELATIONSHIP

Unlike Metternich,<sup>2</sup> Bismarck created a new form of diplomatic practice, which is so well known as the "iron and blood" policy. According to him except through this policy, there was no way of bringing the jealous German states together. Speeches were futile; resolutions of majorities were simply the black words on the white paper. For this reason, his relationships with several foreign countries were bad.

<sup>1</sup> Disraeli (dīz-rā'li), Benjamin, British Prime Minister (1804-1881).

<sup>2</sup> Metternich (mēt'ēr-nik), Aust. Statesman (1773-1859).

## A. WITH DENMARK

Before he was able to complete his preparations for the struggle for supremacy in Germany, one unforeseen occurrence completely altered the European situation. It was the Danish-Prussian war of 1864.

The majority of the population of Schleswig-Holstein<sup>1</sup> wished to form a new state under the prince of Augustenburg.<sup>2</sup> King William, and even more his son, the crown prince Frederick William, who was a close personal friend to the prince of Augustenburg, also favoured this solution. But Bismarck held an opposite opinion. He intended to liberate this territory from Danish rule on the one hand and to unite it on the other, because its geographical situation between the North Sea and the Baltic gave it great importance with Prussia.

When did he do then? He could not ally with Russia and England because they, in view of their interests in the Baltic and the North Sea, were particularly anxious to prevent union between Schleswig-Holstein and Germany. He could not ask Napoleon for support either, because king William was quite suspicious of his treachery although he was prepared to allow Prussia to acquire Schleswig and Southern Holstein. If he had attacked Denmark, he would have had Austria in the rear and Europe in front.

The only course he chose to take now was to compel Austria to his side by means of threat. With this State he concluded a treaty to solve the Schleswig-Holstein

<sup>1</sup> Schleswig-Holstein (shlās'vīl-hōl'stīn), province, Prussia.

<sup>2</sup> Augustenburg (ou-gōōs'tēn-bōōg).

question by joint action. Having so strong an ally, he ignored the German Federation and left Europe Neutral. Then Prussia and Austria jointly declared war against the Danes (1864). This is what Bismarck was able to write before the war had actually begun:

“It is not the most complete victory possible that Austria, two months after attempting to refashion the Germanic Federation, should be delighted when nothing more is said about the matter, and that she should write to her former friends notes identical with ours? This summer we have achieved that which we have been vainly striving to do for twelve years. Austria has adopted our programme, which she publicly made mock of last October. She has preferred the Prussian alliance to the Wurzburg<sup>1</sup> alliance. She accepts assistance from us; and if to-day we turn our backs on Austria, the Austrian ministry will fall. Never before has Viennese policy been thus directed from Berlin, both wholesale and retail. We are courted by France. Our voice has an authority in London and St. Petersburg which it has not had for twenty years past. Our strength must be based, not upon the chambers and the press, but upon power politics, upon the strong hand. Not that I have over-much trust in Austria; but I think that just now it is as well to have her on our side. Whether the time will come to break away from her, and what the reason will be, must be left to the future.”

Bismarck succeeded in keeping Austria Prussia's ally until the campaign. As soon as Denmark's defeat was

<sup>1</sup> Wurzburg (vürts'böörg).

assured, a European conference met in London to discuss the termination of the conflict. Under certain circumstances, the conference broke down and the second campaign proceeded. This time the war brought a definite victory to the allies again. Receiving no foreign assistance, Denmark was finally obliged to cede Schleswig-Holstein unconditionally<sup>1</sup> to Austria and Prussia.

### B. WITH AUSTRIA

Austria was the chief adversary. Bismarck hated Austria and Austria was already the main objective of all his campaigning. Within six weeks of his arrival in Frankfort he expressed himself as follows: "The Austrians are, and will remain, people who cheat at cards. In view of their overwhelming<sup>2</sup> ambition, and of their home and foreign policy, which is not guided by any ideas of right, I think it impossible that they will ever enter into an honest alliance with us."

The alliance between the two powers was evidently a trick. For the next eighteen months after the peace of Vienna Bismarck was again occupied in preparing for war with Austria. The actual cause of this war was the disposition of the conquered duchies, for Austria wished to put Augustenburg in as duke, a plan to which he would not assent. In 1855 a provisional arrangement was made by the treaty of Gastein, for he was not yet ready. Now in order to acquire success, he had to ally with Italy and France. Next year he visited Napoleon at Biarritz and Paris. Now formal treaty was made, but

<sup>1</sup> Unconditionally (ũnkõn-dish'un-ãli), absolutely.

<sup>2</sup> Overwhelming (õ'vêr-whêlm'ing), irresistible.

Napoleon promised to regard favourably an extension of Prussian Power in Germany. As to Italy, a treaty of alliance was arranged in the spring of 1866.

Having accomplished his aim externally, Bismarck, then, turned to use every endeavor to overcome the reluctance<sup>1</sup> of the king to embark<sup>2</sup> in a war with his old ally. In response to the enquiry of the king, he made the following statement:

“Your Majesty will rest assured that it is opposed to my sentiments, I can even say to my faith, to attempt, in any urgent way, to influence your exalted and sovereign decisions in matters of war and peace. I am content to leave it to Almighty God to guide Your Majesty’s heart for the welfare of the fatherland, and I am more inclined to pray than to advise. But I cannot hide my conviction that if we keep the peace now, the danger of war will recur, perhaps in a few months, and under less favourable conditions. Peace can only be lasting when both parties want it. . . . One who, like Your Majesty’s most faithful servant, has for sixteen years been intimately acquainted with Austrian policy, cannot doubt that in Vienna hostility to Prussia has become the chief, I might almost say the only, motive of State policy. This motive will become actively operative as soon as the cabinet of Vienna finds that the circumstances are more favourable than at the present moment. Austria’s first endeavour will be to mould circumstances in Italy and France, so that they may become more favourable.”

<sup>1</sup> Reluctance (rê-lük'täns), opposition.

<sup>2</sup> Embark (ëm-bärk'), to engage in any affair.

In spite of the attack against Bismarck on the part of all kinds of people, the king, by persuasion, mobilized his troops. Now the bloodshed commenced. It was in 1866. Two weeks later since fighting, when the news of victories came in, a change of mood began. Six weeks later, thousands of people assembled before Bismarck's house and shouted, "Hail to the general who does his valiant deeds in the danger of his life. At last the battle was in favour of Prussia. On July 27, 1866, there was the conference of peace. Through the mediation of Napoleon, it settled the controversy<sup>1</sup> and left Prussia the dominant power in Germany. It determined that the unity of Germany should be brought by the sword of Prussia. This was the great work of Bismarck's life. Having secured the dominance of the crown in Prussia and of Prussia in Germany, he could afford to make a reconciliation<sup>2</sup> with the parties which had been his chief opponents, and turn to them for help in building up a new Germany, and persuade the king to emphasize the constitution from now.

### C. WITH FRANCE

The relations with France form one of the most interesting but obscurest episodes<sup>3</sup> in Bismarck's career. We have seen that in the beginning he seemed to be on good terms with France. He had made alliance with her against Austria and held intimate conversations with her ruler. Nevertheless, it was a cheat, a cheat on

<sup>1</sup> Controversy (kǒn/trô-vú'si), dispute.

<sup>2</sup> Reconciliation (rê-kǒn-sil'ia'shün), act of restoring to harmony.

<sup>3</sup> Episodes (ép'i-sôdz), parts.



Napoleon under the mask of friendship because the very soul of Bismarck's diplomacy was lying and deception. France remains to be the enemy of Germany. That is historical. Nothing more.

Now came the friction between the two powers. France became jealousy of the growing importance of Prussia. Immediately after the armistice of the austro-Prussian War, Benedetti,<sup>1</sup> at the orders of the French government, demanded, as a reward, a large tract of German territory on the left bank of the Rhine. This Bismarck flatly refused, declaring that he would rather have war. Benedetti then made another proposal, submitting a draft treaty by which France was to support Prussia in aiding the South German states to the new confederation, and Germany was to support France in the annexation<sup>2</sup> of Luxemburg<sup>3</sup> and Belgium. Bismarck discussed, but did not conclude the treaty. He kept, however, a copy of the draft in Benedetti's handwriting and published it in the Times in the summer of 1870 so as to injure the credit of Napoleon in England. Such a doing made a contest with France inevitable.

After the dispute regarding the right to garrison Luxemburg in 1867, the hostile feeling between these two nations grew higher and higher. Napoleon quickly came to an understanding with Italy and Austria. Bismarck, on his side, also made preparations. Thus everything was ready for bloodshed. Nothing was lacking but a pretext. This came soon.

<sup>1</sup> Benedetti (bā-nā-dēt'tē).

<sup>2</sup> Annexation (än'ek-sā'shun), union.

<sup>3</sup> Luxemburg (lŭk'sēm-bŭrg),

The Spaniards had driven out of their queen and asked Germany for a new ruler, Bismarck accepted it, because he considered it would be more advantageous to have a Hohenzollern<sup>1</sup> on the throne in Madrid than to have Paris appeased, and that a diplomatic victory would be better than a Hohenzollern monarchy in Spain. He knew that this step might bring on war. He was prepared to take the risk without caring about Europe's sympathies with France, for every one in Europe was afraid of Prussia; and without asking his master for his master was adverse to his wishes. Thus war was recommended against Napoleon in 1870.

In the campaign Bismarck accompanied the headquarters<sup>2</sup> of the army. He was present at the battle of Gravelotte<sup>3</sup> and at the surrender of Sedan. It was on the morning of the second of September that he had his famous meeting with Napoleon in a poor cottage by the roadside after the surrender of the emperor. He also accompanied the king to Paris and spent many months at Versailles.<sup>4</sup> Here he was occupied chiefly with the arrangements for admitting the southern states to the confederation and the establishment of the empire. He had to carry on the negotiations of Peace concluded May 10, 1871. When peace was made, France had to cede Alsace Lorraine to Germany.

<sup>1</sup> Hohenzollern (hō'ën-tsoł'ërn), one of a princely family, founded about the 11th century, whence have come the Prussian kings since 1701 and German emperors since 1871.

<sup>2</sup> Headquarters (hëd-kwor'tërz), place from which orders are issued.

<sup>3</sup> Gravelotte (grär'lôt').

<sup>4</sup> Versailles (vër'sá'y').

## D. WITH RUSSIA

The foundation of Bismarck's policy was the maintenance of friendship with Russia. To her he never applied his "iron and blood" practice even after the Congress of Berlin, 1876, when her feeling to him turned to be very bad. This old established alliance depended, however, on the personal good-will of the tsar, and not on the wishes of the Russian nation or any identity of interests between the two Empires. So wrote Bismarck in September, 1879:

"The dependence of our safety upon Russia would be an incalculable factor. Austria, on the other hand, is not incalculable to the same extent. Austria, owing to her position and owing to the nature of her constituent parts, needs a buttress in Europe just as much as Germany does. Russia can, in the last resort, get along without any such buttress, for its absence does not imply the danger that her empire will break up. In Austria-Hungary, the Peoples and their representatives have a word to say in the matter, and these peoples are, above all, eager for peace. . . . But in Russia a policy of open hostility to Germany, of war against Germany, is no menace to the internal position of the empire, and such a policy may therefore be adopted at any moment . . . . Austria has need of us; Russia has not. Perhaps, of all the powers, Austria is the one whose internal condition is the healthiest, and the rule of the imperial house is firmly established among the component nationalities. But in the case of Russia no one knows what eruption of revolutionary elements may not suddenly occur in the interior of that great empire."

For that reason, in the gigantic empire had everything remained quiet. A few facts will make the point clear.

When he was dispatched to St. Petersburg by the throne as an official representative, he was welcomed by Tsar Alexander II as a sort of family envoy. Whilst in audience,<sup>1</sup> he was singled out for distinction by going on smoking. This was regarded as a special honour. Besides, the furnishing of his residence was particularly elaborate, so elaborate that it cost him more thought than his official service. He stayed in Russia about three years and was greatly impressed of the grand scale of things there.

When he became the de-facto<sup>2</sup> ruler, he did his best to help Russia. In the beginning of the year 1863, there broke out the new rising of Poland against the Tsar. It was successful. Now in spite of great opposition of liberal trends in his own land as well as in other foreign lands, Bismarck at once gave the tsar a hand. In so doing, as he considered, it would be difficult for the tsar to take the side of Austria in the imminent settlement of accounts between Prussia and that country. No bloodshed but only a signature promptly pacified the contention.

Again, in the summer of 1875, the mutual jealousies of Austria and Russia were rendered acute by fresh risings in the Balkans against the Turks. Now a terrible war seemed imminent. As the issues hung upon Bis-

<sup>1</sup> Audience (ó'dí-ěns), a formal hearing or interview.

<sup>2</sup> De-facto (dě'făk'tō), in reality.

marck's decision, he, in response to the requisition of the tsar, mediated between the conflicting claims.

Should space permit, more instances could be cited. However, the above-mentioned quite suffice to prove that Bismarck was all way through a good friend to Russia.

### E. WITH ENGLAND

Bismarck seemed to have no warm interest in England because his militarism and secret diplomacy could not work in the democratic government.<sup>1</sup> England, on her side, did not like to be friend or to be bitter enemy with Germany.

For this reason, Bismarck failed several times in entering into any alliance either with Gladstone<sup>2</sup> or with Lord Salisbury.<sup>3</sup> In 1882 when he wrote to Prince Frederick, he stated: "It is impossible to carry on confidential conversation with the English, because at any time the British ministers of State may blab to parliament. Furthermore, there are no guarantees for the steadfastness of such an alliance, seeing that in England it is not the throne which is responsible for these matters, but merely an ever-changing cabinet. It is very difficult to come to a trustworthy understanding with England, and to establish such an understanding on a firm footing, except in full publicity before the face of all Europe."

<sup>1</sup> Democratic government (dēm'ô-krăt'ik; guv'ěr-n-měnt), government by the people.

<sup>2</sup> Gladstone, William Ewart, English statesman (1809-1898).

<sup>3</sup> Lord Salisbury, English statesman and prince minister (1830-1903);

Again when England considered the desirability of forming a powerful league against united Germany, our Bismarck did not do anything remarkable except finding a way to cheat Napoleon.

Still again in the Autumn of 1879, while his struggle with the emperor about the Austrian alliance was still going on, he made some advances in London. But, he soon dropped the matter, as if his enquiries had ceased to interest him. So throughout his life, he had no intimate relationship with England.

## CHAPTER VI

### BISMARCK AS A STATESMAN

In 1862 when the conflict between the king and the parliament concerning the reorganization of the army was brought to a head, the "man of the hour" arrived on the scene in the person of Otto von Bismarck, who was appointed premier of Prussia. His appointment, however, aroused the greatest indignation all over the country on the ground that it was an open challenge to Liberal opinion, as he was early imbued with the aristocratic feelings of his class. As a consequence, all resistance to him was vain. Henceforth, for a generation, the history of Germany and of Europe was largely the biography of this extraordinary man.

The first action the premier took was to advise the king to govern in defiance of parliament. His determination was to make the appropriations for the army without the consent of the people's representatives. Parliament was not to be suppressed but defied; the constitution was not to be abrogated but flouted. "As to what is the law, when no budget is voted," he declared, "many theories are advanced, the justification of which I will not consider here. The necessity for the State to exist is enough for me; necessity alone is authoritative." "If you do not vote the money," he added, "We shall take it when we can get it."

Thereupon, taxes were levied and spent by the government without presenting a budget. A system of terrorism was instituted against the Liberals. Their meetings were forbidden.

Even at court, Bismarck had to face the opposition of the Queen, the Crown Prince and the English wife of the latter. All of them felt that he endangered the throne by inviting a revolution. Sometimes the king reeled; but Bismarck hardened him with the words: "Death on its scaffold<sup>1</sup> under certain circumstances is as honourable as death on the field of battle."

In such a way Bismarck's very boldness worked up. In such a way, too, the height of his power was reached.

In 1871 when German unity was secured, Bismarck became the imperial. The height of his power went together with his autocracy. Now his royalism became extinct. Since he trusted no one, he suspected every able man who came near him as a potential rival. He treated his equals worse than he treated his councillors. Some ministers described his "unapproachable loftiness," and said that he treated them as if they were subordinates. Von Stosch, the minister for the navy, wrote: "He told me to sit down, and went through my work with me in the manner in which a school-master deals with a stupid and refractory schoolboy. . . . He snapped at me whenever I tried to put in a word, and I could do nothing but hold my tongue and give way." Thus, Bismarck was inaccessible to ministers. In hardly any case did he keep a minister longer than a term of two years.

<sup>1</sup> Scaffold (skäf'ôld), a platform, usually elevated, for executing a criminal.



Bismarck's autocracy was exercised even more forcibly over the Reichstag.<sup>1</sup> In 1879, when he raised an attack on Lasker, the president rang his bell. Bismarck stopped his address and said: "What's that bell ringing for? Everything is quiet in the hall!" Afterwards, he says to Lucius: "I am here as the highest official in the empire, and am not subject to the president's discipline. He has no right to interrupt me or even to warn me with the bell. If he does anything of that sort, we are one step nearer towards the dissolution of the house!" When Rickert made an attack on the government, Bismarck immediately drew his sword, defending: "Yes, gentlemen, you attack our legislation, our doing, the policy of the government. Whom do you really aim at in these attacks? Whom other than myself? . . . . I am not going to let you hurl such insults at me under the pretence that you are attacking the State, without claiming the right to hit back!"

In his official work Bismarck showed himself simultaneously autocratic. He always demanded the exceptional from his subordinates. When they spoke they must be brief, and when they wrote they must be simple. "The simpler the phrase, the more powerful the impression," was Bismarck's golden rule. Besides, the subordinates had to work by day and night for the press, preparing, suggesting, summarising, contradicting. They must be able in ten minutes to give a report on a draft law containing more than a hundred paragraphs. Again, a great draft must be finished within an hour, and during

<sup>1</sup> Reichstag (riks'-täk'), the House of Representatives of the German Empire.

this hour the clerk would perhaps be disturbed as often as ten times. "The servants at the chancellery were kept on the trot. Everything had to be done in double-quick time. . . . Even the strongest nerves were apt to break under the strain," privy Councillor Von Tiedemann<sup>1</sup> told us this. He also remarked: "Since he would not tolerate any interruption (which made him lose the thread of his discourse), it was very difficult to follow him. Towards the close of the year 1877, he dictated to me a report to the emperor, a political picture of the development of all our party relationships since the establishment of the constitution. The dictation went on without a pause for five hours. He was speaking more rapidly than usual, and I had the greatest difficulty in getting down the leading points of what he said. The room was overheated, and I was afraid of getting cramps. Quickly making up my mind, I took off my coat and went on writing in my shirt sleeves. Prince Bismarck glanced at me in astonishment, but a moment afterwards he nodded understandingly, and went on without stopping. When I came to write out a fair copy of my notes (one hundred and fifty foolscap pages), . . . I was amazed to find how admirably the whole was developed. . . . It was a perfectly straight-forward account, without any repetitions or digressions."

For these reasons, the people of Germany spoke of him as the Iron Chancellor.

<sup>1</sup> Tiedemann (tē'dē-män)

## BISMARCK AND GERMAN UNITY

Bismarck played the most important role in the history of German unification. With Bismarck German unification was possible. With German unification Bismarck achieved his object. The relation of the two is rather intricate but very interesting. Below is a brief survey of it:

At first Bismarck was opposed to the German unification. When he first entered the Landtag, he found a strong sentiment for unity already existing there. The leading intelligence in the hall of assembly was not the thought of Prussia but of Germany. All men of spirit, all who looked towards the future, were in those days liberal in sentiment, and full of longing for German unity. So did the king. But, Bismarck, having been antagonistic to the liberals, took a quite different view. He was absolutely opposed to Germany. To him German nationalism was as abhorrent as democracy. He poured scorn on the efforts of the Frankfort Assembly to unite Germany. At that time he greatly admired Austria as the foe of revolution. "What the devil do I care about the petty States?" he exclaimed to his friend Keudell. "My only concern is to safeguard and increase the power of Prussia!" When, in the Landtag, some one called him a lost son of the German fatherland, he responded:

"My fatherland is Prussia, a fatherland which I have not yet forsaken, and never shall forsake." Indeed, his Prussianism was even stronger than his monarchical feeling.

As time went on, his experiences in the Landtag together with his deep impressions on the revolution

of 1848 made him understand more thoroughly the problems which confronted Germany. He now became a convert to the course of German nationalism. He now ceased to be merely a Prussian and became a German. He now saw the persistent efforts of Austria to block the union of Germany.

When Bismarck decided to unite Germany, he realized that there were two serious obstacles in the way. One was from the outside, Denmark, Austria and France. In order to achieve unity, three wars with these powerful states were to be fought.<sup>1</sup> So he said in his memoirs:

“. . . German unity might have been achieved in a more consolidated form than was ultimately achieved when I was a participator in the government. . . . unity achieved through street fighting would have been of a different kind and of less significance than the victory ultimately achieved on the battlefield. . . . It is dubious whether unity reached by the shorter and quicker path of the March victory in 1848 would have had the same historical effect upon the Germans as the extant form of unity, which produces the impression that the dynasts, even those who aforetime were exceptionally particularist, are more friendly towards united Germany than are the fractions and the parties.”

After the principal outside obstacles had been removed one by one, it was but a matter of course that the other minor combatants should also be obliged to make peace with Prussia. Representatives from the central states hurried to Berlin. The settlements with Wurttemberg,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For details see Chapter V.

<sup>2</sup> Wurttemberg (vür'tēm-bêrk), a state of S. Germany.

Baden<sup>1</sup> and Bavaria<sup>2</sup> were reached without much difficulty. Even the hindrances raised by Italy were finally disposed of.

Now unity was attained by the "iron and blood" policy. However, there was still wanting, in order to consolidate it, that the inside obstacle should also be eliminated. To Bismarck, this task was easy as the more enlightened among the liberals, Count Schwerin,<sup>3</sup> Twisten, and many others, already recognized the utmost necessity of the national unity. Besides, the ministers of the king were also convinced that the Bismarck's aim was to establish the power of Prussia and the unity of Germany.

Thus, German unity became an accomplished fact, a reality.

### BISMARCK AND CONSTITUTION

As only a lad of twenty, Bismarck already had his thoughts of constitution when he said to Keyserling, his intimate friend: "A constitution is unavoidable: this is the way to outward token of honour; but inwardly one must be pious."

About in 1847 he got excited when he learned that the king of Prussia intended to form a united Landtag out of the eight provincial Landtags, and this united Landtag was to be summoned to Berlin in order, at length, to discuss the terms of the constitution which the present king's father had solemnly promised the people after

<sup>1</sup> Baden (bä'děn), a state of Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Bavaria (bâ-vâ rî-â), a state of S. Germany.

<sup>3</sup> Schwerin (shvâ-rěn).

the War of Liberation. His thoughts seemed about to be fulfilled. He sat at home in Schonhausen all day long, reading how the representatives of Prussia had met for the first time. In heart and brain, he felt the stirring to action, on one side or the other. Such a manner lasted until he became a member of the Landtag.

Notwithstanding, when he became premier, his respect for the constitution grew lower. Sometimes he was even hostile to it. When he desired to do the army a favor, he at once made unreasonable interpretation of it. When he spoke of crown rights which were not stated in the Constitution, he substantially reerected the absolutist State. In the Landtag, too, he made a more frank assertion as a solution of the dilemma: "Since the State machine cannot stand still, legal conflicts readily become conflicts for power; the one that has power in his hands then acts as he thinks best.

Following that came the question of budget. It was this question which led to the conflict between Bismarck and the House. At first Bismarck arranged for the Upper House to pass the unmutilated budget. But the Lower House declared the decision unconstitutional. Then he invited the deputies to come to the palace. There he announced that the king and none the less decided to carry out the reforms, and dissolved the Landtag. On hearing such announcement all the public opinion was against him. The conservatives even demanded the dismissal of the minister.

At the next session, six months later, he took stronger measures when he spoke loftily: "The government will conduct any war it regards as necessary, whether the

House approves or not." Another time: "The kingdom of Prussia, an heir to whose throne was by a remarkable coincidence born four years ago this very day, has not yet fulfilled its mission. It is not prepared to function as a mere ornament of your constitutional building."

Immediately after the Austro-Prussian War, Bismarck, seeing that the way to German unity had been opened, began to frame a new constitution so as to form a real constitutional nation. One afternoon in September, 1866, he dictated it to Lothar Bucher, the friend of Lassalle. Over night, Bucher touched on the style. Next day it was submitted to the Privy Councillor discussion, and, as soon as possible, laid before the plenipotentiaries.<sup>1</sup> "The copies were only just off the press, some of them being brought in still damp, during the sitting," This constitution of the North German Confederation, which was little altered by the first Reichstag or subsequently in the year 1871, remained for fifty-years, down to 1918, the constitution of the German realm. It was a constitution for the strengthening of the monarchy, not of the people. It was a constitution which made Germany great and the maker had dictated it in five hours. In it were mirrored his thoughts of statecraft. It was Bismarck's constitution.

A full analysis of this constitution is beyond the scope of this book. However, to leave it entirely out would make us not to see Bismarck's insight.

The most important provisions of the constitution were those by which the military supremacy of Prussia was

<sup>1</sup> Plenipotentiaries (plén'i-pō-těn/shī-à-riz), those invested with full power to transact any, or a certain business.

secured. Henceforth, the armies of all the various States became one under the command of the king of Prussia. In every State the Prussian military system was to be introduced.

Next to the organization of the army came the arrangement of the administration and legislation. There were two organs of government, the Federal Council and the Parliament. The Parliament was somewhat like an advisory body. It had only a limited opportunity for criticism. It had the power to amend or veto Bills and to refuse its assent to new taxes.

The Council, on the other hand, was a very powerful body. It was an assembly of the ablest statesmen in Germany. It had both the executive and legislative power. The whole administration was subjected to it. All laws were introduced by it.

The Chairman of the Council was the Chancellor. He was the working head of the Government. All of the President's acts required the signature of the Chancellor. More than this, he was at the head of the whole internal administration. The heads of each department were not responsible to the Emperor, Council or Reichstag but to him. He, whenever he wished, could undertake the immediate control of each department.

### BISMARCK AND ECONOMIC REFORM

The dislike of direct taxation<sup>1</sup> is an essential part of Bismarck's economic reform. So he observed from time of time that all direct taxes were paid with great

<sup>1</sup>A direct taxation is that which is taken directly from income or capital.



reluctance, and with peculiar hardship. He especially disapproved of the Prussian system, the barbarous system, as he called it, according to which every man had to pay a small portion in direct taxes.

"I ascribe," he said, "the large part of our emigration to the fact that the emigrant wishes to escape the direct pressure of the taxes and execution, and to go to a land where the *klassensteuer*<sup>1</sup> does not exist, and where he will also have the pleasure of knowing that the produce of his labours will be protected against foreign interference."

His statement is not far from true as in reality there were every year over a million executions involving the seizure and sale of household goods on account of arrears of taxation.

So much for that. Now let us consider Bismarck's proposals for reform. In the first place, Bismarck maintained that the income derived from customs and indirect taxation<sup>2</sup> should be increased so as by degrees to do away with direct taxation. If this could be done, then, instead, of the states paying an annual contribution to the Emperor, they would receive from the central Government pecuniary assistance.

In the second place, Bismarck wished to introduce a State monopoly<sup>3</sup> for the sale of tobacco, brandy and beer so as to repeal direct taxation on the one hand and raise more money on the other. It was a method of

<sup>1</sup> *Klassensteuer* (kläs'-sën-stërä).

<sup>2</sup> An indirect taxation is that which comprises taxes on commodities, levied from producers or dellers.

<sup>3</sup> Monopoly (mō-nōp'ō-lī), the exclusive right to deal in some commodity; or trade in some marked.

legislation copied from that which prevails in France and Italy.

In the third place, Bismarck would have liked to abolish the monopoly of all private railway companies on the ground that they regarded only the dividends of the shareholders rather than the interests of the public, and that they charged lower rates on imported than on exported goods this naturally had a very bad effect on home manufactures. In this reform, however, he was prevented by the opposition of the other States. In Prussia he was able to carry out this policy of purchase of all private land by the State, which enabled the Government greatly to improve the communication and to lower fares. All this of course greatly added to the commercial enterprises and therefore the wealth of the country.

### BISMARCK AND STATE SOCIALISM

Bismarck was the first State Socialist in Prussia. However, his aim of socialism<sup>1</sup> differed from that of Lassalle on the ground that Lassalle's aim was to found a socialist state in accordance with the new Marxist doctrine<sup>2</sup> while Bismarck's aim was to strengthen the monarchical State by the extension of its powers. With such a different aim, no wonder, Bismarck, when he was premier, had suppressed the political activity of the Socialists. He very characteristically gave his attention to checking the

<sup>1</sup> Socialism (sō/shāl-iz'm), a political and economic theory of social reorganization, the essential feature of which is governmental control of economic activities to the end that Competition shall give way to cooperation and the opportunities of life and the rewards of labor shall be equitably apportioned.

<sup>2</sup> Marxist doctrine, the socialist doctrine held by Karl Marx (1818-83).

movement by making many features of the Socialist programme his own, and initiated a policy of paternalism.<sup>1</sup> He had appointed a committee to study the problem of old-age pensions, and of improvement of the conditions of the working-classes; and recommended "a discussion of the question whether the State, in its position as employer, could not set an example to other employers in the regulation of working conditions." He went on to speak of the need for long notice before discharge, the regulation of wages, profit sharing, working-class dwellings, arbitration in labour disputes, working-class societies for coöperative distribution and the mutual provision of credit, State-supported sick clubs and life insurance societies for the working class.

Furthermore, he had once induced the king to pay privately a sum of seven thousand talers for the experimental foundation of a productive coöperative in accordance with Lassalle's plans. This coöperative was to be registered. It was to have the power of unhampered activity "which is necessary for the sale of the goods, and which will enable the weavers to secure the profits of the sale in addition to their wages."

After Lassalle's death, Bismarck had kept in touch with his successor, and had never completely forgotten Lassalle's State-Socialist ideas. He made the most notable laws, such as the sickness, accident and old-age insurance acts of 1883-1889, for placating the working classes.

<sup>1</sup> Paternalism (pá-tér'nál-iz'm), a relation, principle or practice of care or control, as of the governed by a government suggestive of that exercised by a father.

Such was his social programme which was unexampled anywhere else in the Europe of the sixties.

### BISMARCK AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Bismarck was a zealous protestant. So, he opposed the Catholic Church quite vehemently. After he had risen to power, he fell in conflict first with it. The reason why he fought can be deduced from his own statement. It reads:

“We are not concerned with the fight . . . of a protestant against the Catholic Church; we are not concerned with a struggle between belief and unbelief. What is here at stake is a struggle for power, a struggle as old as the human race, the struggle for power between monarchy and priesthood. That is a struggle for power which began long, long before our saviour appeared in this world; the struggle for power . . . the struggle for power which has filled the whole of German history. . . .”

Thus did Bismarck five times thundered the phrase “struggle for power,” Because he was up building the empire, he stigmatised<sup>1</sup> the ecclesiastical<sup>2</sup> dispute as an attack upon the empire and insisted that Rome was the rallying-ground of all the foes of the empire and the pope was a danger to all countries. When the archbishop<sup>3</sup> of Cologne forbade the students at Bonn to attend the lectures of liberal theologians,<sup>4</sup> he declared the

<sup>1</sup> Stigmatised (stig'mâ-tized), describe approbriously.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiastical (ë-klë'zî-as'ti-käl), not secular.

<sup>3</sup> Archbishop (ärch'bish'üp), a chief bishop.

<sup>4</sup> Theologians (thë'ö-lö'jî-änz), a person well versed in theology, esp. Christian theology.

pronouncement invalid. He issued the "pulpit paragraphs" and the "May Laws" to defend against the aggressions of the Catholic Church. He abolished the Catholic department of the ministry of public worship and instruction, and expunged from the constitution the paragraphs protecting the Church. He interfered in the administration of the bishoprics and with religious instruction in the schools; banished the Jesuits and kindred orders from the empire; made civil marriage compulsory; threatened religious zealots with exile, fine, imprisonment, or detention in a fortress; confiscated their incomes; deprived many parishes of priests; sowed discord between bishops and priests, priests and laymen; set the members of families at odds; thrust problems of conscience upon clergymen, laymen, students, and women.

### BISMARCK AND COLONY

Bismarck's foreign policy was guided by one fundamental idea: not, "More land," but "More safety." Moreover, he considered that the British excelled the Germans as colonisers and that the geographical position of England was far more favourable to a colonial power. For this reason, he never dreamed of letting his country try to rival England as a world colonial power. Above all, he had no inclination to annex white races of non-German stock. He was equally careful to refrain from the annexation of coloured races, thinking that this would bring more risk than profit to Germany.

Discussing the Emin Pasha question with an Afri-cander, he said: "The risk is too great for me. Your map of Africa is a very fine one, but my map of Africa

lies in Europe. There is Russia, on the other side is France, we are in the middle; that is my map of Africa."

When Britain raised her first objection to the acquisition of southwest-Africa by the Germans, he addressed the following proud words to his English colleague;

"If we really intended to found colonies, how could Lord Granville possibly dispute our right to do so at the very moment when the British Government is assigning the same right to the colonial government in Cape Colony? Such naive selfishness is an affront to our national sentiment, . . . We shall be glad to know why we are to be denied the right of colonization which England exercise to the widest possible extent. . . . Our confidence is shaken by the arrogant way in which theories and claims are put forward which are incompatible with the principle of the equality of independent powers."

### BISMARCK AND TARIFF QUESTION

As a matter of fact Bismarck favoured protective tariff, which he introduced in the year of 1879. To him protection was only a means for increasing the power of the State. His reasons for the new tariff policy were characteristic:

"Free trade is an ideal worthy of well-meaning German enthusiasts; it may be attainable in some future day. As regards all such questions, I am guided by science to the same extent as in other matters where the behaviour of living organisms is involved. Medical science has not solved these riddles. . . . The same remark

applies to the problems of the State. The abstract teachings of science leave me cold. I judge by the experience of daily life. . . . According to my way of feeling, now that we have made our tariff too low, . . . . we are losing blood. . . . we must transfuse fresh blood into the German body."

### BISMARCK AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

King, chancellor, and army: these were the trio<sup>1</sup> whose power Bismarck wished to enhance; but constitutional, State, and popular rights: these were the trio which Bismarck wished to push into the back-ground. So he wrote about universal suffrage:<sup>2</sup> "In a country with monarchical traditions and loyal sentiments, it would make an end of the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, and would lead to the election of monarchical representatives. In Prussia, nine tenths of the people are loyal to the King, and nothing but the artificial mechanism of the elections prevents the expression of their true opinion." Bismarck thought it was too soon for the introduction of universal suffrage into Prussia. When Lassalle tried to persuade him to introduce it, not only into Germany, but into Prussia, immediately, by an ordinance, he doubted whether the time was ripe. Five days after Lassalle wrote to him, the attack in Denmark began. Now he was occupied in preparing for the war, suffrage was entirely put aside.

Bismarck also objected to the election of the Reichstag by universal and equal suffrage which took place after

<sup>1</sup> Trio (trē'ō), a set of three.

<sup>2</sup> Suffrage (sūf'-rāj), the franchise.

the Austro-Prussian war. He said: "If universal suffrage does not make good, then we must do away with it." The democrats saw it but could do nothing.

## TWO ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE BISMARCK

Bismarck had never sought popular favour. Not only so but also he was honoured by having a great many enemies as he told the Reichstag one day. So it was natural that he twice met the attempted assassination.

The first was on May 7, 1866 when he went to see the king. As he was walking back along the central alley of Under den Linden,<sup>1</sup> he heard two or three shots close by. Turning back swiftly, he saw a young man who was about to fire again. Then Bismarck leaped at him and with the aid of two soldiers seized the man. As soon as he returned to home on foot, he related the story as if it had been an adventure of hunting: "Being an old hunter, I said to myself: 'The last two shots must have hit, I am a dead man.' Still, I was able to walk home all right. I have looked into the matters since getting home. There are holes in my overcoat, my coat, my waistcoat, and my shirt, but the bullet slipped along outside my silk undervest without hurting the skin. One of my ribs ached a little as if it had been struck, but that soon passed off. It happens sometimes with wild beasts that a rib can bend elastically when a bullet strikes. One can see afterwards where the hit has been, for a few hairs are rubbed off. I suppose this rib of mine bent in the same way. Maybe, too, that the shots

<sup>1</sup> Unter den Linden (ōn'tēr, dēn, līn'dēn).



did not develop their full force because the muzzle of the revolver was pressed against my coat."

Next day the assassin committed suicide in prison. His name was Cohen-Blind, a student from Tubingen, half English by descent.

Another attempt to assassinate Bismarck took place at Kissingen<sup>1</sup> in 1874, when he was out driving. This time his finger was wounded. The would-be assassin was a member of the Center Party. First of all the chancellor arrested several priests for they were believed to have assisted in the attempt by holding up the carriage. As the affair came to a head in the Reichstag, he then necessarily made the following speech.

"The man, with whom I have myself spoken, is in full possession of his faculties. Indeed, we have medical testimony to this effect. I can understand that the honourable member is most unwilling that we should believe him to have anything in common with such a person. . . . Of course he never, even in his inmost soul, entertained the first beginnings of a wish, 'If only this chancellor could have an accident of some kind!' I am certain that no such thought can have crossed his mind. Still, repudiate this assassin as you please, he still holds on to your coat-tails, says he belongs to your political party! (Sensation.) What I tell you is nothing more than historical fact. . . . This Kullmann answered one of my questions as follows: 'I wanted to kill you because of the ecclesiastical laws. . . . You have injured my political party!' (Laughter.) To my next question, before witnesses, he said: 'I mean the Centre Party in the Reichstag!'"

<sup>1</sup> Kissingen (kîs'sîng-ën).

## CHAPTER VII

### BISMARCK AS A ROYALIST

#### BISMARCK SHOWED ROYALISM TO WILLIAM I ONLY

The relationship of the former to the latter was more than that of a minister to a king. The former regarded the latter as a sort of father.

They met very early. At the age of twenty when Bismarck practised law at the Municipal Court in Berlin, he had the first dialogue with William. In the dialogue showed the sharp difference between the two matured—William was all soldier, Otto anything but a soldier.

In 1848—Just one year after Bismarck entered the Landtag—the revolution broke out and the king was taken prisoner by the people. On receipt of this news, Bismarck hastened back to Schonhausen. There he, taking his wife with him, made a round of calls to the neighbouring villages, and raised a company of peasants on his estate with the object of marching on Berlin to rescue the king from the mob. When one of his neighbours, a liberal, threatened to agitate on the other side, Bismarck's answer was:

“If you do, I shall shoot you.”

“You would not do that!”

“I give you my word of honour that I would, and you know that I am a man of my word. So you had better not!”

In those days of revolt, the fate of the royal family seemed to be in Bismarck's hands. Many a people, even the conservatives, was in favour of Frederick William's abdication; but Bismarck refused it. That very day he asked Prince Frederick Charles to give orders that the troops should be led to Berlin. Since Frederick Charles refused to give the order, Bismarck drove off to Berlin to see if he could make better headway with Frederick William. On arrival in the capital, he was not admitted to the palace. Then he wrote a letter to the king on a scrap of paper, informing that nowhere in the country districts of Prussia had the revolution found support. Frederick William would be master as soon as he left the capital.

This was in vain. Then he went to Saxony. In Magdeburg<sup>1</sup> he was driven out. Now he had to cool off at Schonhausen, Thus did Bismarck's counter-revolution and in disappointment. Two months later Prince William returned from England. When he was on his way back, Bismarck was waiting for him at a wayside station. The prince went through the crowd to him, shook hands, and said: "I know that you worked actively in my behalf and I shall never forget the fact!"

Having been invited to Babelsberg, Bismarck told the prince about the anger of the troops and read aloud to William a poem written in those days, which ends as follows:

Then to their loyal ears there came the trait'rous call;  
"No longer Prussians be, henceforward Germans all!"  
Black-red-and-gold, the new-made banner waves;

<sup>1</sup> Magdeburg (mäg'dē-bōörk), city of Saxony prov., Prussia.

Dishonoured the Black Eagle's humbly furled,  
 And Zollern's glories sink into their graves.  
 A king dethroned—not battling 'gainst the world!  
 We do not care to trace the path of fallen stars!  
 Prince, you will rue<sup>1</sup> the day, the deed, done here;  
 None will you find so leal<sup>2</sup> as Prussians were.  
 Hereafter William knew Bismarck more deeply and  
 accepted Bismarck's criticisms with a sort of paternal  
 benevolence.<sup>3</sup>

Later Bismarck and William met twice as adversaries. The first time was in 1850 when William had wanted war against Austria, whereas Bismarck had wanted to go to Olmutz; and William had considered the appointment of his opponent as envoy to Frankfort a further mark of subjugation to Austria. The second one was the case of the Crimean War in 1854. At that time all Prussians with liberal sentiments wanted to fight against Russia. So did the Prince. But Bismarck held an opposite opinion. He said to the prince: "I can't do that, we have no ground for war, nothing to fight for, and should only arouse bitterness and a thirst for revenge in a conquered neighbour. Out of dread of France, or in order to serve England, we should be assuming the role of an Indian vassal prince who has to carry on war for the benefit of his English patrons."

But such mutual dislike had never kept them apart, for political interests made it necessary for them to be on speaking terms.

<sup>1</sup> Rue (rōō), to repent of.

<sup>2</sup> Leal (lēl), rotal, true.

<sup>3</sup> Benevolence (bē-něv'ō-lěns), kindness, or good will.

When Bismarck had been premier for a week, he made known his "iron and blood" policy. It was this policy which drove himself and the king into a fighting mood. In order to cajole the angered king into approving his policy, he asserted: "Yes, then we shall be dead! We must die sooner or later, and could there be a more respectable way of dying? I should die fighting for the cause of my king and master. Your Majesty would die sealing with your own blood your royal rights granted by God's grace. Whether upon the scaffold or upon the battle-field makes no difference to the glorious staking of body and life on behalf of rights granted by God's grace! Your Majesty must not think of Louis XVI. He lived and died a weakling, and does not make a fine figure in history. Think, rather, of Charles I! Will he not always remain a distinguished personality, the man who, after fighting for his rights and losing the battle, went unmoved and with kingly mien to his death? Your Majesty has no option but to fight. You cannot capitulate. Even at risk to your person, you must resist the attempt to force your hand!"

Another friction occurred in 1871. This year the German empire was founded. As a realist Bismarck had at first been opposed to the idea of "emperordom." But by degrees he had warmed to the imperial idea, recognizing that the imperial title would promote unity and centralization. Then he used his good offices to obtain an international recognition. Everthing seemed to be well prepared.

One thing, however, needed settlement. That was the title of emperor. According to Bismarck, "German

emperor" and "emperor of Germany" made no difference, whereas William did not want to become emperor at all; or if emperor, to be not German emperor but emperor of Germany. Such a dispute ran high. William angered. He even ignored Bismarck when he left the platform after the proclamation ceremony. Nevertheless, Bismarck took no heed of the affront because, he thought, it did not affect political relationships. A few days later both William and Bismarck found themselves upon the old footing once more.

In May, 1878, Bismarck was greatly excited by the news of attempted assassination of the eighty-year old monarch by a student expelled from the Social Democratic Party. He thumped the table, exclaiming: "Now we've got them!"

"The socialists, Your Excellency?"

"No, the liberals!"

Three weeks later a second shot was fired against the aged emperor, when he was out driving in his carriage. This time he was seriously wounded. Learning the matter well, Bismarck, drawing a deep breath, said: "In that case we will dissolve the Reichstag!" Nine days later the dissolution took place.

At Christmas in the year 1887, the old throne made Herbert Bismarck to ambassadorial rank. In the beginning of March he realized that the end was at hand. Then he summoned the chancellor to his bed side and begged for a pledge of help to his grandson. Next morning, he died.

At noon Bismarck made an official announcement of the death to the Reichstag. During his brief address,

his utterance was repeatedly choked by tears:—"I had requested His Majesty to content himself with signing his initials, but His Majesty replied that he was still strong enough to sign his name in full. That is why this historical document bears the last signature. . . . It would not become me, here and now, to give expression to my personal feelings. . . . There is no need for anything of the kind, for the feelings which animate me live in the heart of every German. It would be superfluous to utter them. . . . I am sure that his heroic bravery, his strict sense of honour, and, above all, his faithful and laborious fulfilment of his duties to the fatherland. . . . Will be an indestructible heritage of our nation."

## CHAPTER VIII

### BISMARCK AS AN OUTCAST<sup>1</sup>

#### BEFORE RESIGNATION

It was due to the high trust of William I that Bismarck did not succeed in tendering his resignations for five times. After the death of William I in 1888, William II became the successor. He was young and liberal. He wanted to take the reins of government into his own hands. He did not satisfy Bismarck. He did not allow him complete freedom of action and absolute power which he had obtained from the old Emperor. So evidently there was the open estrangement between the two, which finally led to the resignation of the iron chancellor on March 20, 1890.

The estrangement began in 1889. This year there was a miners' strike. The emperor wanted to treat it idealistically. Turning up at the meeting of the cabinet, he declared that the mineowners were to blame and should pay better wages. The chancellor, on the contrary, wanted to cope with the matter with blood and iron.

At that time all the parties and newspapers were against the chancellor. The socialists, as before, had then knives pointed to him. Nevertheless, he was not prepared for resignation. "In view of my record and my position,"

<sup>1</sup> Outcast (out'kast), one who is cast out.



confidently said he to Botticher, the then minister, "there is no risk that the emperor will dismiss me."

At the very beginning of the next year the Crown Council was held to discuss the social problem. The chancellor: "I want to repeal the present Anti-socialist Law, for I need stronger measures." According to him the workers should not be encouraged. Otherwise, the capitalist class would be troubled. But, the emperor desired that the Anti-socialist Law should be rendered milder and that labor-protection laws should be passed. Thereupon, the chancellor growled: "I cannot prove that Your Majesty's yielding policy will have disastrous consequences, but the experience of many years leads me to feel sure that it will. If we give ground now, we shall not subsequently be able to dissolve the Reichstag, and shall have to await more serious happenings. If the law remains unsettle, there will be a vacuum, and than collisions may ensue"

The emperor, "Unless extreme necessity arises, I shall avert such catastrophes, instead of staining the first year of my reign with the blood of my subjects!"

The Chancellor: "That would be the fault of the revolutionists; matters will not be settled without bloodshed. That would be a capitulation! It is my duty, in virtue of my experience of these matters, to advise against the course you propose. Since the days of my entry into the government, the royal power has been steadily increasing. . . . This voluntary retreat would be the first step in the direction of parliamentary government, which might be convenient for the moment but would prove dangerous in the end. If Your Majesty is unable

to accept my advice, I do not know whether I can remain in office."

The emperor, "That would put me in a quandary."

In the end, however, the decrees were issued. The chancellor was no longer powerful.

By the middle of March, another difference concerning the constitutional principle happened. Bismarck found that the Emperor had on many occasions discussed questions of administration with some of his colleagues without informing him. Moreover, important projects of law had been devised without his knowledge. He, therefore, claimed that by the German constitution and the cabinet order of 1852 he could require to be consulted on every matter of any importance. The Emperor responded by a command that he should draw up a new order reversing this decree.

Now both the emperor and the chancellor comprehended the embarrassing<sup>1</sup> situation. But each wished the other responsible for the breach. The emperor did not venture to dismiss the chancellor while the chancellor would not go until he was dismissed.

Time elapsed. Controversies multiplied. Now came a very big question which determined Bismarck's ultimate destiny. That was the question of the renewal of the treaty which was to expire in June, 1890. In general, William was anti-Russian and liked the treaty to be expired whereas Bismarck was pro-Russian and insisted on the renewal. The dispute ran higher than ever. Bismarck then described to the cabinet:

<sup>1</sup> Embarrassing (ēm-bār'ās-ing), perplexed or difficult.

“Notwithstanding the confidence I reposed in the Triple Alliance, I had never ceased to recognise the Possibility that this might fail us some day, because in Italy the monarchy is not strong enough, and because the relationships between Italy and Austria are threatened by the irredentists . . . It has, therefore, always been my endeavour to avoid breaking down the bridge between ourselves and Russia. . . . Since I have confidence in the tsar’s friendly intentions, I cannot carry out His Majesty’s commands in these respects. . . . As far as labour-protection laws are concerned, these are not for me a cabinet question. If I am no longer to have the leadership of foreign affairs, I must take my departure, and I know that this will accord with the emperor’s wishes.”

After this speech Bismarck took his leave and returned home to draw up the formal document in which he tendered his resignation. The document concluded with the following periods:

“In view of my devotion to the service of the royal house and to Your Majesty, and in view of my many years’ habituation to circumstances which I have hitherto regarded as permanent, it is extremely painful to me to quit the customary relationships to Your Majesty and to the general political life of the empire and of Prussia. However, after conscientious deliberation concerning Your Majesty’s intentions, which I must be prepared to carry out if I am to remain in the service, I cannot do otherwise than humbly request Your Majesty to be gracious enough to dismiss me from the office of imperial chancellor, from that of minister president of Prussia, and from that of

Prussian minister for foreign affairs, with the legally ordained pension. In view of the impressions of the last few weeks, . . . I am entitled respectfully to assume that this tender of resignation accords with Your Majesty's wishes, and that I can therefore confidently reckon upon Your Majesty's gracious approval. I should long since have tendered my resignation to Your Majesty had I not believed that Your Majesty wished to utilize the experience and capacity of a faithful servant of Your Majesty's forefathers. Now that I am sure that Your majesty has no more use for these. I can retire from political life without fearing that my determination to do so will be condemned by public opinion as untimely. Von Bismarck."

The emperor accepted the resignation gladly and unhesitatingly.

#### AFTER RESIGNATION

Now Bismarck after forty years of state service retired to Friedrichsruh,<sup>1</sup> near Hamburg. There he was watched by the emperor's spies. He was uneasy to express his view in any of the German papers. During the first months the only journalists he received came from abroad. Moreover, he was boycotted by his people as he said to a foreign guest, an American railway magnate: "You are the only visitor this week. I am boycotted. No one will have anything to do with me. They are all afraid that their names might appear in the papers as guests of mine, and that this would displease our young master on the throne. Every day, people travel through

<sup>1</sup> Friedrichsruh (fri'dük-srâ).

Friedrichsruh without coming to see me—people who a month ago would never have dared to pass me in the streets of Berlin without a greeting. Dogs follow those who feed them.”

This was not very much undignified, however. The most undignified manifestation of the boycott took place on a journey which Bismarck made to Vienna in June, 1892, to attend his son's wedding. The German ambassador in Vienna was ordered to see that the aged statesman was completely ignored in official circles.

Such hostility continued long. Only when Bismarck was severely ill in 1893, the emperor took the opportunity to reopen the way to a reconciliation and sent him a battle of famous Wine. But, Bismarck did not return thanks in person.

Two years later, on Bismarck's eightieth birthday, the emperor made a brilliant speech to praise him and presented him with a golden sword of honour. But no response came out of the ex-chancellor.

About in 1897, when the emperor sent Tripitz to Bismarck to ask him about the German navy, he answered coldly: “Tell the emperor that I want nothing more than to be left alone, and to die in peace.”

Thus we see that Bismarck, even in private life, remained a fighter. He was just as critical as before. “Why should I be harmonious?” still engraved on his heart until he perished from the earth.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE LAST DAYS OF BISMARCK

We have hitherto seen Bismarck in the character of proud youth, party leader, parliamentary debater, keen diplomatist and accomplished statesman. As a figure in history he has a two-fold significance; by the accomplishment by German unification and the foundation of a German empire under Prussian hegemony, and the alternation of the fundamental frame work of the state-system, as well as the map of Europe. In 1871 the political capital of Continental Europe, hitherto either Paris or Vienna, was established at Berlin, and the European state-system was remodelled by the creation of a Central German Empire. Each of these two results was a revolution. In combination they made a new Europe and a new world of political relations, thought and action.

Now for the first time the aged statesman shook hands with the common people and dined with the peasants. He could no longer, as in former days ride. He loved trees more than he loved Germany. Having no field for action, he compiled his sketches of the past, "Memoires and Thoughts." It is perfect in its way. As a historical document it is as serviceable as Napoleon's memoirs, no more; less serviceable than Caesar's memoirs.

In the Autumn of 1894 his wife died at the age of seventy. Now he became more lonely. In his loneliness his thoughts turned back to his earliest days. He wanted to hear a friendly voice. He wrote to his brother-in-law:

“Dear Oscar, we have both grown so old that we shall not live much longer. Can we not meet and have talk once more before the end comes? It is sixty-six or sixty-seven years since, at the gymnasium, we first drank beer together, out of the bottle. It was on the steps close to the upper third. Let us have a last drink together before it is too late. . . . I want to hear your voice once more before I—You have to get into the train when you leave Berlin; why not into the Hamburg train instead of the Stettin<sup>1</sup> train?”

On July 28, 1898 the aged statesman died in Friedrichsruh, at the age of eighty-three. On his tomb engraved the following inscription:<sup>2</sup>

“A true German servant of the Emperor William I.”

<sup>1</sup> Stettin (shtë-tën'), city of Pomerania province, Prussia.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription (in-skrip'shún), something written or engraved for Preservation.