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LEONARD KRIEGER

Editor's Introduction

IN 1914, when the first volume of the English edition of Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte* was published, William Harbutt Dawson wrote an introduction in which he spoke with high praise of its author. It was Treitschke's supreme merit, he wrote, that "he voiced the new life and self-consciousness of modern Germany in a way that no other man—no statesman, no writer of any kind, and certainly no historian—had done before. At last there stood forth a man, like to that earlier patriot-historian of Bonn, Ernst Moritz Arndt . . . , who was able and determined to do justice, not only to the past of the German nation, but to its present and future, to assert its claims and rights, to formulate its aims and ambitions, and to interpret to the world its individuality and outlook." Dawson added that "moderation was not [Treitschke's] special grace" but admitted that, if the personal element in his writings was a weakness, it was "a weakness counterbalanced by so many excellences that it is easier to condone than condemn it."¹

When the seventh volume appeared in 1919, Dawson's tone had changed decidedly. "Perhaps more than any other man," he wrote, "Treitschke is responsible for the excessive egoism, the self-glorification, boastfulness and inflated estimate of itself which have been the bane of the German nation since 1871." His influence, Dawson continued, had been nothing short of disastrous, for it had "perverted the national mind in the service of a

1. Heinrich von Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul, 7 vols. (London, 1914-19) I, viii, ix, xii (hereafter cited as *History*).

narrow, false, ungenerous patriotism" and had taught it to pursue "aims and ambitions which were destined to lead it out of the right course and in the end to overwhelm it in disaster."²

The First World War had, of course, intervened between the writing of these opinions, which accounts for Dawson's radical change of front. Even so, both of his judgments are largely true, and this explains why the serious student of German history can neglect Treitschke's writings only at the risk of losing an understanding of the psychological factors that contributed to the fateful course of German politics before 1914. Treitschke set out deliberately to make himself the preceptor of the German people, to impart to them the pride and self-assurance that they would need in order to fulfill their historic tasks. Like many another teacher, he became the victim of his pedagogical techniques and, having begun by exaggerating the magnitude of the German achievement in 1871, he was carried on to wilder exaggerations and, in the end, to strident claims of national superiority, partly because of the success of his rhetoric, more perhaps because of his nagging fear that the traditional divisiveness of the Germans might reassert itself. In the end he became a tub-thumper of disastrous resonance, but not, it may be suspected, one who was entirely happy in his role. As Raymond Sontag has written, he became a mirror of "the arrogant pride and the confused doubt of post-Bismarckian Germany."³

Aside from the *History*, the most accessible of Treitschke's works for western readers are the lectures on politics that he delivered to large and enthusiastic audiences at the University of Berlin during the last twenty years of his life. In printed form,⁴ they suffer from the serious disadvantage that they are not the product of Treitschke's pen but a compilation made from the notes of his students. In general, their substance is accurate, although not invariably so, and there are many inconsistencies. Moreover, only faint echoes of Treitschke's vigorous and poetic

2. Ibid., VII, x, xi.

3. Raymond James Sontag, *Germany and England: The Background of Conflict, 1848-1894* (New York, 1938), p. 339.

4. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politics*, trans. Blanche Dugdale and Torben de Bille, 2 vols. (New York, 1916).

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style have survived the process. Anyone who wishes to understand the most popular university lecture historian of his times should turn to the *History*.

I

As he does so, he should be aware of a book. One of the problems that the new Reich was founded upon was the identification with the new culture the difficulty of finding appropriate symbols. The Germans had learned hard to find anything of common commemoration in symbolic upon to design a national monument hands in despair and decide another statue of Bismarck.⁵ In stone, Treitschke achieved in *History*, which appeared in 1879, a historical tradition for the new of Prussia with that of Germany forward the men and the ins of destiny, which . . . created

Like everything that he wrote with passion and of love. Treitschke was a *Kampfnatur*, a man of constant process of historical research and undertaking, as the young Friedrich the old historian grimaced at the documents in the *Preussische* the task of writing, in Wilhelm

5. Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalismus und Historische Zeitschrift, 206 (1968), *deutsche Kaiserreich von 1871 als Nation*

6. Dedicatory Preface, *History*, I, *Weg zur Grossmacht: Studien zu während der Reichsgründungszeit*

7. Friedrich Meinecke, *Erlebtes*

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style have survived the process of collation and transcription. Anyone who wishes to understand why Treitschke was the most popular university lecturer and the most widely read historian of his times should, therefore, avoid the *Politics* and turn to the *History*.

I

As he does so, he should be aware that it was more than a mere book. One of the problems that faced Germans after 1871, when the new Reich was founded, was that of self-recognition and identification with the new creation, and a symptom of this was the difficulty of finding agreement on the question of national symbols. The Germans had been divided for so long that it was hard to find anything of common sentimental value that could be commemorated in symbolic form. A sculptor who was called upon to design a national monument was apt to throw up his hands in despair and decide that the safest solution would be another statue of Bismarck.⁵ But what could not be wrought in stone, Treitschke achieved in prose. With the first volume of the *History*, which appeared in 1879, he literally created a national historical tradition for the new empire, by identifying the history of Prussia with that of Germany and bringing "vigorously forward the men and the institutions, the ideas and the changes of destiny, which ... created [the] new nationality."⁶

Like everything that he wrote, the *History* was a labor of passion and of love. Treitschke was what the Germans call a *Kampfnatur*, a man of combative temperament. The mere process of historical research was for him a highly emotional undertaking, as the young Friedrich Meinecke noted, watching the old historian grimace and snort as he strove with the documents in the *Preussisches Staatsarchiv*;⁷ and he approached the task of writing, in Wilhelm Dilthey's phrase, like a Hussite

5. Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 206 (1968), 542 ff. See also Theodor Schieder, *Der deutsche Kaiserreich von 1871 als Nationalstaat* (Cologne, 1961).

6. Dedicatory Preface, *History*, I, xiv. See also Helmut Böhme, *Deutschlands Weg zur Grossmacht: Studien zum Verhältnis von Wirtschaft und Staat während der Reichsgründungszeit 1848 bis 1881* (Cologne, 1966), p. 552.

7. Friedrich Meinecke, *Erlebtes 1862-1919* (Stuttgart, 1941), pp. 130-34.

past five hundred years of European history and to chart the future by revealing the forces of movement and progress that the Germans must make their own if they were to realize themselves as a nation. The immediate result of this effort was that Gervinus was haled before the Badenese High Court on charges of treason and, for the second time in his life, lost his academic position—the first time having been in 1837, when, with Dahlmann, he had been one of seven Göttingen professors who were expelled by the king of Hannover for refusing to repudiate their oath to a constitution granted by his predecessor.

Gervinus's trial for high treason was the *cause célèbre* of 1853,¹⁹ when Treitschke went to Leipzig to study with Roscher, and he sought out the *Introduction* and read it carefully. He refused to accept its political conclusions, which were the reason for the trial—the argument, for example, that the monarchical form of government was bankrupt and that democratic republicanism was the model to which the progressive elements of all nations aspired—but he was deeply impressed by Gervinus's moral earnestness and by the force of his generalizations, particularly by his view that the course of German history was destined to be characterized by three stages: religious independence (the Reformation), independence of the spirit (the classical age of literature), and independence as a state; and that the first two prepared the way for the third but must be left behind in order that all the nation's energies could be concentrated on the effort to attain political independence.²⁰ As Treitschke summed it up, "a people never makes progress in two areas of its activity at the same time."²¹

It is likely that, in the years that followed, as he completed his formal training and tried to make his mind up about what his career should be, he read Gervinus's earlier works and that they influenced his course. He had for a time thought of devoting

19. The trial records are available in *Der Hochverratsprozess gegen Gervinus*, ed. Walter Boehlich (Frankfurt am Main, 1967).

20. Georg Gottfried Gervinus, *Einleitung in die Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Walter Boehlich (Frankfurt am Main, 1967), pp. 176–77.

21. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Briefe*, ed. Max Cornicelius, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1913–20), I, 197.

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himself to the world of letters, and volumes of verse and began a play at But as early as 1854, when he wrote Roscher, the political note was down and in the end the career he chose was case, combined membership in the political activity. His interest in literature when, in 1857, he began an association *Jahrbücher* that was to last for more essays for this mouthpiece of national literary figures. It is worth noting, however, that thrust was political, and that they thoughts in Gervinus's *German Poetry* in style.

These studies of Lessing, Kleist, U writers, and of Milton and Byron, concerning the degeneration of German Goethe and Schiller and his commitment by German intellectuals—which, in its introduction alone, mastery of the essay form—is an attack on Germans in comparison with the English that Byron's countrymen are mature very seriously, whereas the Germans are imitating all his faults. In a passage through several points in the *History*, Treitschke

Most fateful for our literature was B his wit. To understand a joke was rare the German peoples. . . . In Germany model, the witty feuilleton-style became of the time, and this people, which seek its State and which had had a serious treatment of political matters accepted wit as sound currency and articles of Heine and Börne as political

22. Treitschke, *Aufsätze, Reden, Briefe*, I, 1.

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Like Gervinus, therefore, Treitschke strove from the beginning of his career as a publicist to combat the traditional *Innerlichkeit* of the Germans, their tendency to seek refuge from external reality by withdrawing into themselves, and to arouse his countrymen, with their intellectuals in the van, to fight for their political independence in the world of states. In defining what form that independence should take, however, he early parted company from his old mentor, and by 1863, when the Uhländ essay was written, the two men were moving on sharply divergent paths. When King Frederick William IV had refused the offer of the imperial crown in 1849, Gervinus had said, "Whatever Prussia's bayonets may achieve, its cause is wholly lost in Germany," and he had thenceforth worked for the establishment of a national German republic.²⁵ Treitschke was too good a student of Dahlmann to consider such an eventuality. To be sure, he wanted the Germans to be free—and the sincerity of that desire was attested to in an eloquent essay, "Die Freiheit," written in 1861—but he insisted that true freedom was possible only when it was guaranteed by a powerful and independent State.²⁶ Had not Dahlmann said, "The road of power is the only one that will satisfy and appease our yearning for freedom . . . Germany as such must finally step forward into the ranks of the great political powers of the world?"²⁷ And when one spoke of power, did he not mean Prussia?

Throughout the 1860s, when Treitschke's was the most powerful voice raised in behalf of a united Germany under Prussian leadership, he remained oddly ambivalent to the northern power and its leaders. He was never a sycophant or tuft-hunter and had no special admiration for the Hohenzollerns, and he detested the narrow provincialism of the Junker class. Although he believed that Germany needed a leader with the political talent and the Machiavellian ruthlessness of Cavour, he could not for a long

25. Hans Rosenberg, "Gervinus und die deutsche Republik: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der deutschen Demokratie." *Die Gesellschaft*. VI (1929), 124 ff., 127-28.

26. Treitschke, *Aufsätze, Reden, Briefe*, II, 41.

27. Speech of 22 May 1849. See Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsraison*, 3d ed. (Munich, 1963), p. 464.

time overcome an innate suspicion of the greater Cavour who directed affairs in Berlin. He must have been aware of, and troubled by, his friend Gustav Freytag's shrewd appreciation of Bismarck's style. "Between the romantics and the aesthetes of the aristocracy, the Humboldts, Bunsen, and Usedom, on the one hand, and the constitutional present on the other," Freytag had written, "lies a thin cultural layer of undomesticated [*touristischen*] dilettantes. Young Germany and the Junker class in its elegant types—Freiligrath, Lenau, Fürst Pückler, Lichnowsky—insolent, taking pleasure in risks, without firm principles, without a school, chiefly dependent upon French education. The greatest late fruit of this growing period, which in literature stretches from 1830 to 1840, is, or so it seems to me, Bismarck. The salient feature is lack of reverence, a tendency to regard everything capriciously and from a personal point of view, and at the same time . . . a vital energy that is fresh and impudent."²⁸ Treitschke distrusted Bismarck's aristocratic background, his sublime indifference to principle, and his arrogant violation of constitutional liberties. As late as 1866, when the Prussian Minister President, recognizing the power of his pen, offered him a position in the Prussian propaganda service, an opportunity that would almost certainly have led to a professorship in Berlin after the war was over, Treitschke declined on the grounds that a government that denied parliament its budget rights could not claim his allegiance.

And yet, if unity was to be achieved, was there any alternative to Bismarck? "If you watch our middle class at close range," Treitschke confessed to his fiancée in 1866, "[if you see] how honorable these people are when they write books, wrap up parcels, or add up bills, and how cowardly and short-sighted in politics, you can't help seeing that, as a rule, only aristocrats (of birth or mind) make good statesmen."²⁹ And, similarly, was there any alternative to the Prussian army, which had as scant a regard for constitutional principle as Bismarck himself? Faced with these questions, Treitschke stifled his doubts, taking comfort in Dahlmann's law that circumstances alter cases and in the Hegelian

28. To Stosch, 24 September 1868, in *Gustav Freytags Briefe an Albrecht von Stosch*, ed. Hans F. Helmolt (Leipzig, 1913).

29. Döppel. Treitschke, p. 114.

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view that reason has its own that a Prussian military corned by a definitive break v ment of "the most democrat it was still his conviction th must be a unitary rather i Prussianism, with all its com might be destroyed."³¹ But it was writing that "the ag proceeding step by step, sca seems to me a lesser evil—in with Germany's condition unified Germany in its own tional safeguards that Treit ready convert to the new di after the victory over Fra wonderful events of the la that compels us Germans t saw it now, was to help pr weapon was the *History*, a unification.

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30. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen* (1897), IV, 91.

31. "Bundesstaat und Einheitss III, 104-146.

32. A. Rapp, *Grossdeutsch-Kl ser.*, vol. I, (Munich, 1922), pp. :

33. Bussmann, Treitschke, p. *Deutsche Kämpfe* (Leipzig, 1874)

34. Gooch, *History and Histori*

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the greater Cavour who have been aware of, and whose shrewd appreciation of us and the aesthetes of the land Usedom, on the one and the other," Freytag had domiciled [*touristischen*] Junker class in its elegant r, Lichnowsky—insolent, in principles, without a education. The greatest in literature stretches ne, Bismarck. The salient ey to regard everything of view, and at the same impudent."²⁸ Treitschke round, his sublime indif-oliation of constitutional ssian Minister President, ed him a position in the unity that would almost Berlin after the war was that a government that not claim his allegiance. as there any alternative e class at close range." 866, "[if you see] how write books, wrap up dly and short-sighted in rule, only aristocrats (of nd, similarly, was there ch had as scant a regard mself? Faced with these ts, taking comfort in ases and in the Hegelian eytags Briefe an Albrecht von

view that reason has its own cunning. In 1861 he was still arguing that a Prussian military conquest of Germany must be accompanied by a definitive break with the Junkers and by the establishment of "the most democratic state possible" in Prussia.³⁰ In 1864 it was still his conviction that the solution to the German question must be a unitary rather than a federal state, so that specific Prussianism, with all its connotations of feudalism and absolutism, might be destroyed.³¹ But in 1865 he was already weakening and was writing that "the aggrandizement of Prussia, which is proceeding step by step, scarcely corresponds to our ideals, but it seems to me a lesser evil—indeed, a stroke of fortune—compared with Germany's condition today;"³² and, after 1866, as Prussia unified Germany in its own way and with none of the constitutional safeguards that Treitschke had once insisted on, he was a ready convert to the new dispensation. "Who is so blind," he said after the victory over France, "as to fail to perceive in the wonderful events of the last days the divine reason [*Vernunft*] that compels us Germans to become people?"³³ His task, as he saw it now, was to help protect what had been gained, and his weapon was the *History*, which was conceived in the year of unification.

II

It was the opinion of the severest of the early critics of the *History*, the Strassburg historian Hermann Baumgarten, that in effect Treitschke's effort was self-defeating, since his Prussian bias was so blatant and his understanding of the rest of Germany so inadequate that his work was more likely to inflame particularism than to promote national consolidation.³⁴ On the basis of the first volume of the *History*, it would be difficult to deny the merit of

30. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze* (Leipzig, 1897), IV, 91.

31. "Bundesstaat und Einheitsstaat," in Treitschke, *Aufsätze, Reden, Briefe*, III, 104-146.

32. A. Rapp, *Grossdeutsch-Kleindeutsch. Der deutsche Staatsgedanke*, 2d ser., vol. I, (Munich, 1922), pp. 239-40.

33. Bussmann, *Treitschke*, p. 334; Heinrich von Treitschke, *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Kämpfe* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 260.

34. Gooch, *History and Historians*, p. 152.

AH & they will all join me if I win.

were directed less against the liberal movement of the 1830s, with which the volume dealt, than against the left wing of the liberal movement of his own day, the Progressives, who, he felt, were aiding and abetting enemies of the state.³⁷

Treitschke's literary judgments reflected the growing conservatism of his politics. Worried about the rampant materialism of his own day—he was one of the first to warn against the *Amerikanisierung* of Germany³⁸—he was quick to find its roots in the literature of the 1830s and 1840s. His concern for the moral fabric of the new Reich increased his tendency toward moral outrage to ludicrous proportions. He had always been a bit prudish in his literary tastes; in an otherwise generous and perceptive essay on Heinrich von Kleist in 1858, he had expressed distaste for some of the poet's stories and had revealed that he was appalled by the conclusion of "Die Marquise von O."³⁹ Now he did not hesitate to speak of "the cynical impudence of Georg Büchner's drama *Danton's Death*" and to condemn it as a work that "can only arouse our loathing."⁴⁰

Even more noticeable and more offensive to some of his admirers was the increased violence of his attacks on the Jews. His defenders have argued that he was never an antisemite in a racist sense and that he was capable of warm appreciation of Jews like Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy whom he considered to be "good Germans." There is something in this. Treitschke's personal attitude toward Jews was marked by the kind of ambivalence felt by his contemporary, the novelist Theodor Fontane, who once wrote in a private letter, "Fine Jews I like, but the ordinary ones are frightful." Nevertheless, one cannot conceive of Fontane writing, let alone publishing, the article that appeared under Treitschke's name in the November 1879 issue of the

37. A useful discussion of Treitschke's politics is to be found in Andreas Dorpalen, "Heinrich von Treitschke," *Journal of Contemporary History*, VII, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1972), 21-35.

38. Erich Mareks, *Heinrich von Treitschke, ein Gedenkblatt* (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 45 ff.

39. Treitschke, *Aufsätze, Reden, Briefe*, I, 25-26.

40. *History*, V, 530. See this ed., p. 228.

41. *Fontanes Briefe in zwei Bänden*, ed. Gotthard Erler, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1968), II, 139.

* contemplates the problem, remembers the Jewish family and their culture.

Introduction

Preussische Jahrbücher, announce are our national misfortune".⁴²

The argument of this notorious had been made many times in Adolf Stoecker.⁴³ In brief, it held in German life because they commands of their own religion Mammon, and that they would legitimate distrust unless they gave and bent their efforts to become conservative, loyal to the throne. In sending the piece off to the press associate, rather inelegantly, "So that it isn't we, but they themselves." *furia tedesca* that is now breaking the increasingly rabid antisemitism the crash of 1873, which was portrayed by Jewish speculators;⁴⁴ but he showed, that an article of this kind that went with a professorship would only encourage antisemitism by an open reply to Treitschke, TI and he thereupon broke off relations heard that Treitschke was being the *Historische Zeitschrift* in su Mommsen vowed that he would again; and in the 1890s he tried block Treitschke's election to the

42. Treitschke's article is reprinted, v. *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*, ed. 1865).

43. Stoecker's first antisemitic speech

44. Boehlich, *Antisemitismusstreit*, p.

45. In June 1875, the *Kreuzzeitung*, conservatism, had published an attack named Perrot. See Ivor N. Lamb, *From 1868-1879* (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 84-8 the 1870s, see the statement made by Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: Imperial Germany* (New York, 1949), I

46. Boehlich, *Antisemitismusstreit*, p.

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Preussische Jahrbücher, announcing to the world that "the Jews are our national misfortune".⁴²

The argument of this notorious production was not original; it had been made many times in the speeches of Court Preacher Adolf Stoecker.⁴³ In brief, it held that Jews were a divisive force in German life because they either persisted in obeying the commands of their own religion or had no religion except that of Mammon, and that they would continue to be the object of legitimate distrust unless they gave up the attempt to be unique and bent their efforts to becoming, in thought and deed, conservative, loyal to the throne, and uncritical of the *status quo*. In sending the piece off to the printer, Treitschke explained to an associate, rather inelegantly, "Somebody has got to tell those guys that it isn't we, but they themselves, who are responsible for the *furia tedesca* that is now breaking loose."⁴⁴ He was referring to the increasingly rabid antisemitism that had been promoted by the crash of 1873, which was popularly attributed to stock-rigging by Jewish speculators;⁴⁵ but he should have been aware, as others were, that an article of this kind, backed by all of the authority that went with a professorship at the University of Berlin, could only encourage antisemitism by vesting it with respectability. In an open reply to Treitschke, Theodor Mommsen said just that, and he thereupon broke off relations with his colleague. When he heard that Treitschke was being considered for the editorship of the *Historische Zeitschrift* in succession to Heinrich von Sybel, Mommsen vowed that he would never write for that journal again; and in the 1890s he tried, although without success, to block Treitschke's election to the Prussian Academy.⁴⁶

42. Treitschke's article is reprinted, with most of the rejoinders it elicited, in *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*, ed. Walter Boehlich (Frankfurt am Main, 1965).

43. Stoecker's first antisemitic speeches were given in Berlin in September 1879.

44. Boehlich, *Antisemitismusstreit*, p. 239.

45. In June 1875, the *Kreuzzeitung*, the mouthpiece of unreconstructed conservatism, had published an attack upon Jews in high places by a writer named Perrot. See Ivor N. Lambi, *Free Trade and Protection in Germany, 1868-1879* (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 84-85. On other causes of the antisemitism of the 1870s, see the statement made by Franz Mehring in 1882, in Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1949), pp. 313-14.

46. Boehlich, *Antisemitismusstreit*, p. 247.

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If professional antisemites were encouraged by the article in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, they had every reason to be delighted by Treitschke's references to Jews in the later volumes of the *History*. In these, even when he seemed to be striving for the objective view, the balance generally tilted against the objects of his discussion. Thus, in his famous chapter on the *Burschenschaft*, while praising the work of Moses Mendelssohn and other Jewish leaders who sought to make German culture their own, and while admitting that the antisemitic outrages in Frankfurt in 1816 were "detestable" and that "the Jews were treated with manifest injustice," he left the impression that popular anti-Jewish feeling was entirely understandable, since the majority of Jews "remained devoted to huckstering and usury, immersed in the gloomy fanaticism of the Talmudical faith, a prey to all the defects of those who have suffered bondage for many generations." Moreover, he added, a great many Jews had dodged military service during the War of Liberation, because of "a profoundly implanted dread of arms," although some of their intellectuals, after the fighting was over, had attributed the victory to the Jewish contribution.⁴⁷ In a later passage on the radicalism of the late 1820s and 1830s, he blamed the corrosive influence of cosmopolitanism and Gallomania upon the Jews and wrote that it was "the strange Jewish perversity of self-mockery" that had corrupted the minds of German youth and taught them to regard "impudent abuse of the fatherland as the true index of intellectual ability."⁴⁸

Treitschke was at his most apoplectic when dealing with Jewish influence upon German literature, and his chapter on the Young German movement had an almost fanatical quality. "Cosmopolitanism and hatred of Christianity, bitter mockery and corruption of speech, utter indifference to the greatness of national history—everything in the movement was Jewish." The masterminds of what could almost be described as a conspiracy were, he was sure, Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne, Eduard Gans and Rahel Varnhagen, and the Mannheim publisher

47. *History*, III, 44 ff. See this ed. pp. 105-8.

48. *Ibid.*, IV, 556-57. See this ed. pp. 254-55.

* "They will always be looking for revenge"

Introduction

Zacharias Loewenthal. "It is true, choir-masters were few in number, faculty for multiplying himself is Jewish radicalism had no great assistance in undermining the four society, thus contributing to the

Whenever he wrote about I aroused that he lost all restraint, almost zany quality. "Of all our derously, "he was the only one who to him heaven seemed full of all street wenches, for the oriental way the German manner."⁵⁰ Treitschke always accurate,⁵¹ and while I drinking song, he did write a rather. In any case, this was a rather curious great poet, and it indicates that, considered, Treitschke was interested excellence. His summary judgment *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* "The poem," he wrote, "one of the poetic products of Heine's pen, is severed them from this Jew. Thersites and their Loki, but uncovers his father's nakedness saga."⁵²

In view of what was to happen years of the writing of these opinions without feeling what the Social insistence that the Jews must be

49. *Ibid.*, V, 530. See this ed. pp. 1

50. *Ibid.*, V, 517. See this ed. pp. 1

51. Nor, for that matter, his citations misquotes *Paradise Lost* and *Regained*, to attribute to Jesus words of *Reden, Briefe*, I, 178, 179, 191.

52. Heinrich Heine, *Werke*, ed. M.

185. ("Im Hafen," *Die Nordsee*, Zwe

53. *History*, VII, 134-35.

helped to condition the minds of his fellow countrymen to feel that Jews could *not* become good Germans and, indeed, were secret enemies of everything that good Germans stood for. Before 1914 there were relatively few manifestations of this neurosis, but after the collapse of 1918 and the economic privations that followed it, it became obsessive, which accounts for the fact that so many good Germans tolerated the horrors inflicted upon their Jewish fellow-citizens by the Nazi regime.

Treitschke must, moreover, bear some responsibility for making the debacle of 1918 possible. Through his writings and lectures, he had taught thousands of young men who occupied important positions in state and society in the years before 1914 to place too high a valuation upon the uses of power and to believe that their country was being denied the world position that it deserved by jealous and resentful neighbors. In doing so, he had, as Friedrich Meinecke has said, persuaded all those "who in the world's struggle long for simple lapidary principles" to overlook the basic problems of state life. At a time when the new Reich needed an inner transformation and evolution to cope with new economic and social conditions, he had discouraged change by his insistence upon the complete adequacy of the military-absolutist regime that Bismarck had founded.⁵⁴ At moments when this seemed less than completely obvious, he had blamed the discrepancy upon internal and external enemies and the degeneracy of the times and had called for an effort of will to put things right, when an exercise of sustained reflection might have been more profitable.

Yet he was not unaware of the contradictions of his thought or impervious to the claims made on him by the liberalism of his youth. If he believed with Hegel that the essence of the state was power, he had never convinced himself that power was also its purpose and justification. If the state was a necessity in the phenomenal world, it was not a moral value in itself but rather a means to promote and preserve moral values and to create an area of civic freedom in which they could develop. Treitschke never stopped believing this, but his tragedy was that in his hot

54. Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsraison*, pp. 467 ff

Introduction

love for his people, in his desire in his constant fear that the cause was their lack of confidence in him. He had taught many others to follow while putting weapons in their hands, struggled vainly to complete the task he sensed this and was troubled

III

The fifth volume of the *Hist* Treitschke plunged immediately which was to deal with the task permitted to complete it, for eighteen years before a great Europe and destroy the enemy firm as a *rocher de bronze*.

Stanford University

55. Sontag, *Germany and England*

I

The Founders of the Prussian State

In his opening chapter, Treitschke describes the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, the ravages caused in its structure by the Thirty Years' War, and the resultant confusion that "seemed to foreshadow the destruction of the German name." The Electorate of Brandenburg appeared to be as bereft of energy and direction as its neighbors. Content with their own petty concerns, its rulers "looked sleepily over the world out of heavy eyes." But all of that changed in 1640.

THE GREAT ELECTOR, 1640-1688 (I, 33-38)

Then came the Elector Frederick William, a landless prince, the greatest German of his day, thrusting himself with a vigorous impetus into the desert of German life, to inspire the slumbering forces of his state with the might of his will. Never since that time has the strength of the purposive monarchical will of the developing German power known any decline. We can conceive English history without William III, we can conceive French history without Richelieu; the Prussian state is the work of its princes. There are few other countries in which monarchy has so continually preserved the two virtues upon which its greatness depends: a bold and far-seeing idealism which sacrifices the convenience of to-day to the greatness of to-morrow; and that strong sense of justice which ever constrains self-interest in the service of the whole. It was only the wide vision of the monarchy that could recognise in these poverty-stricken territorial fragments the foundation-stones of a new great power. It was only in the sense of duty to the crown, in the idea of the monarchical state, that the

Alt

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Tears came to his eyes at the
thought of how self-sacrificing
he was.

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Great Elector the peculiarities
ainly manifest. The nephew
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territories of Germany there
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expelling its best Germans,
en the frontiers of Branden-

How many thousand times
of gratitude of the Bohemian

quite surrounded,
ure, on freedom grounded!"

dict of Nantes, the Lord of
Protestant world, set himself
f Potsdam offered protection
artyr-Church. Wherever the
we were still raging among the
henzollerns was one of guar-

dianship and reconciliation. They summoned to the Spree the
Jewry of Vienna; *via facti*, and without asking the leave of the
empire, they secured the Protestants of Heidelberg in the pos-
session of their churches; for the Protestants of Salzburg they
provided a new home in East Prussia. Thus into the unpeopled
eastern Mark there streamed year after year an abundance of young
life; the German blood which the Hapsburgs rejected fertilised
the land of their rival. At the death of Frederick II about one-
third of the population of the state was made up of the offspring
of immigrants who had found their way into the country since the
days of the Great Elector.

It was this Church policy of the Hohenzollerns which closed the
epoch of the religious wars, ultimately compelling the best of the
temporal princes to follow in Brandenburg's footsteps, and at the
same time depriving the spiritual estates of the last justification
for existence—for why should there be any more spiritual princes
of the empire now that freedom was assured to the Catholic Church
beneath the wings of the Prussian eagle? By the Peace of
Westphalia Frederick William acquired the great foundations of
Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Kammin. No other state in
Germany was so greatly enriched by the goods of the Roman Church;
yet the seizure was justified, for therewith were also taken over the
great tasks of civilisation which the Church of the Middle Ages
had of old performed for the immature state—the duty of providing
for the poor and the work of popular education. The same need
for self-preservation which compelled the Hohenzollerns to main-
tain peace between Catholics and Protestants, forced them also
to mediate between the antagonisms within the Protestant
Church. From the time when John Sigismund first forbade the
Lutheran zealots to fulminate against the Calvinists, the idea of
Protestant union became characteristic of the Prussian state;
and what had been begun simply from necessity became ulti-
mately a political tradition, became a matter of principle with the
princely house.

Just as the Prussian state secured for the Germans peace
between the Churches and enabled Germany to take part once
more in the activities of the civilised nations, so also did Prussia
restore what had been lacking since the opening of the days of
religious discord—a coherent will against the foreign world.

*He thinks of the effect
of fruitful immigration. Gets
a big idea - superiority of
the German.*

inarchical officialdom, and began national economy in accordance with a system. But in the storms it was impossible to effect a thorough shapeless bundle of territories by the personal repute of the antiquated authority of the privy of the Great Elector that the finished.

An internal order of the Prussian King Frederick William I at Charlottenburg and the reforms of his develop and not to destroy it was the creator of the new kingdom and our military caste; his activity was not less fruitful for his arms of his grandfather, for it created a new form of government, the modern monarchy. He gave the line of Prussia, united his people of political duty, and stamped upon this state the notion of duty. His rapid growth, with the hard national character, will understand his breathless and worn and the terror of his conquering and quarrelsome, ever at his labour, a sterling old German, his frankness, his goodness of heart, but less so in his terrible fits of unconquered solidity. In this the North German people for centuries, as expressed in Laurence, became incorporated in flesh and blood and child showed him also German domestic tyranny—an element of public life, the energies within the narrow limits of the restricted, did life become

under the close-fisted rule of this rigid disciplinarian. The hard one-sidedness of his spirit could value those simple moral and economic forces alone, which served as internal bonds of national union; with the whole energy of his masterful will he threw himself into the province of administration, displaying here the primitive force of a creative spirit. Firmly and consistently, as of old William the Conqueror in overthrown England, did Frederick William I piece together the structure of a unified state out of the dispersed fragments of his territories. But not to him, as to William the Norman, did the unified state appear as a mere appanage of his own house. Rather, in the mind of the unlettered prince, was there conceived, clearly and vividly, a notion of the state that was accordant with the new doctrine of natural law: the notion that the state exists for the good of all, and that the king is placed at its head to administer with unbiassed justice over all the estates of the realm, to pursue the public weal regardless of all private privileges and preferences. To the development of this idea he devoted his unceasing activities; and if, when he placed his heavy foot on the loose immorality of the paternal court he also stamped upon the germs of a more abundant culture which had begun to develop under Frederick I, he yet did but what he had to do. The firm and manly discipline of a fighting and industrious people was of greater importance for Prussia's high destiny than were the premature blossoms of art and science.

A gentler hand than his could never have succeeded in bringing the ancient feudal licence under the control of the majesty of the common law; milder natures than Frederick William and Leopold von Dessau would never have been able to stand against the storm-wind which then blew from the Gallic quarter over the German courts. Among all the statesmen of modern history, two only can be compared as organisers of administration with this soldier-king: Bonaparte and von Stein. He united to the daring of the innovator, the painfully exact sense of order of the economical householder, who measured the black and white threads with which the official documents were tied and counted the buttons on the gaiters of his grenadiers; he conceived audacious plans whose realisation has become possible only in the nineteenth century, and yet retained in all his negotiations a secure grasp of the limits of the possible. His prosaic sense, directed towards that which

immediately grasped, adopted
 stic of his heroic grandfather,
 hat which was very small and
 ous of the lofty destiny of his
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 this dualism. In the general
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 egated and manifold charac-
 ced the king to establish an
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 n on behalf of the state as a
 a centralised administration
 elsewhere on the Continent.
 feudal authorities, was either
 ontrol of the officials of the
 reform swept through the
 the towns, did away with
 rribly imposed a new and
 three towns of Königsberg
 pality the two communes of
 the Havel, and placed the

entire system of municipal administration under the keen super-
 vision of royal war councillors.

Everywhere the particularism of the estates, of the territorial
 areas, and of the communes, presented a hostile front to the new
 and generally applicable order. The nobles murmured against
 the authority of the bourgeois officials. The proud East Prussians
 complained of the infringement of ancient charters, now that
 Pomeranians and Rhinelanders could take office in the Duchy.
 The law-courts, too, were still living in the circle of ideas of the
 old feudal state, and, just like the French parliaments, almost
 invariably took the side of the decaying rights of the parts against
 the vigorously living right of the whole. It was in the victorious
 struggle to secure national unity and equality before the law, that
 Prussia's new ruling class of officials under the crown obtained
 its schooling. From that homeless race of servants, which
 during the seventeenth century had flitted from court to court,
 there was gradually constructed a class of Prussians whose members
 devoted their lives to the service of the monarch, who found their
 honour in his, who were vigorous, active, and conscientious like
 their king. They did not, as had done the feudal lords of the old
 time, allow their energies to atrophy within the limited fields of
 territorial interest and nepotism; they belonged to the nation,
 they learned to feel no less at home in Cleves than in Königsberg;
 and in the class struggles of society maintained against high and
 against low the law of the land. By an established order of
 precedence, and by an assured position, the king secured for
 his officials a respected status in bourgeois life; he demanded,
 from every candidate for office, proof of scientific knowledge,
 and thus founded an aristocracy of culture side by side
 with the old aristocracy of birth. The result showed how justly
 he had esteemed the living energies of German society; the best
 intelligences of the nobility and of the bourgeoisie streamed to join
 the new ruling class. Prussian officialdom was for long years the
 firm support of the German national idea, just as in former days
 the jurists of Philip the Fair had been the pioneers of French
 national unity.

The Great Elector had imposed upon his subjects the general
 liability to taxation; to this Frederick William I added the

* As AH seen Spear

obligations of universal military service and compulsory education, thus establishing the threefold group of general civic duties by which the people of Prussia have been trained in an active love for the fatherland. In his mind, powerful for all its limitations, the road was unconsciously prepared for a strong national sentiment akin to the citizen-sense of antiquity. In the eastern march of Germany, ever accustomed to battle, the ancient German idea of military service for all physically fit men had never completely disappeared, even during the epoch of mercenary armies. In East Prussia there lasted on into the eighteenth century the vestiges of the old Polish Landwehr, and Frederick I undertook to constitute a territorial militia for the unified state. In the soldier eye of his son such attempts at an unregulated arming of the people found no favour. King Frederick William understood the superiority of well-disciplined standing armies; he saw that his state could survive only through the tense employment of all its energies, and yet was unable to effect a permanent provision for the cost of his levies. Since with him every other consideration was subordinated to the demands of political duty, he came to the bold resolve that all Prussians should pass through the school of the standing army. In recent centuries there had been but two political thinkers, Machiavelli and Spinoza, who had ventured to defend the simple and great idea of universal military service; both these thinkers revived this idea from the history of classical antiquity, and both failed to find understanding among their contemporaries. The needs of domestic economy and an instinctive recognition of the nature of his state now led the rough, practical man who occupied the throne of Prussia to adopt the same view, little as he recked of the moral force of a national army. First among the statesmen of the new Europe did he give expression to the principle: "Every subject is born to bear arms." To construct an army of the children of his country was his life-long ideal. The cantonal regulation of 1733 announced the duty of universal military service.

It was but the establishment of a principle. The notion was still unripe, for it was flatly contradicted by the long term of military service then customary. The poverty of the country and the force of adverse prejudice, compelled the king to make numerous exceptions, so that the burden of compulsory service was imposed, in actual fact, upon the shoulders of the country-folk alone; and, even

King Frederick William I

thus limited, the duty of bearing arms remained the novelty, the detestation of the of duty. It was seldom possible for the army with homebred made up by voluntary enlistment soldiers of fortune who had h and the Netherlands, in France the flag of the North German empire were the most ferocious regiments. By such a wonder risen to power and unity. people whose state authorities of the empire paid the blood of the thousands of its lost armies of Prussia; the people who regarded Prussia as the increase the fighting strength of the Prussian army came into existence a general recruiting ground it came to pass that Germany other nations.

In the army the king territorial nobility with the war-lord had risen greatly since but it was his grandson who immediate control the nobility constituting the first truly His sense of organisation, political reform to the given at once that the hardy sons of families of the east were liable for military service. The aristocracy, at the head of the of cadets a training school wore epaulettes the way to strict watch over the honour in every possible way to whilst preferring to direct them into the civil service of the state

* studies

vice and compulsory education, of general civic duties by men trained in an active love for order for all its limitations, the power of a strong national sentiment or a strong national sentiment of duty. In the eastern march of the, the ancient German idea of fit men had never completely of mercenary armies. In East eighteenth century the vestiges Frederick I undertook to con-unified state. In the soldier unregulated arming of the people William understood the super-armies; he saw that his state employment of all its energies, permanent provision for the cost of other consideration was sub-cal duty, he came to the bold pass through the school of the there had been but two political who had ventured to defend sal military service; both these e history of classical antiquity, ng among their contemporaries. ad an instinctive recognition of rough, practical man who occu-pt the same view, little as he tional army. First among the give expression to the principle: ns." To construct an army of life-long ideal. The cantonal e duty of universal military

of a principle. The notion was ted by the long term of military ty of the country and the force king to make numerous excep-ulsory service was imposed, in e country-folk alone; and, even

thus limited, the duty of bearing arms could not be fully enforced. Unconquerable remained the tacit resistance to the unheard-of novelty, the detestation of the people for the long and severe term of duty. It was seldom possible to make up more than half of the army with homebred cantonists, and the deficiency was made up by voluntary enlistment. Many of the masterless German soldiers of fortune who had hitherto marketed their skins in Venice and the Netherlands, in France and Sweden, now found a home under the flag of the North German power; the south and the west of the empire were the most fertile recruiting grounds of the Prussian regiments. By such a wonderful and devious route has our nation risen to power and unity. That unarmed third of the German people whose state authorities hardly raised a finger for the defence of the empire paid the blood-tax to the fatherland in the persons of the thousands of its lost sons who fought as mercenaries in the armies of Prussia; the petty princes of Swabia and the Rhine, who regarded Prussia as their most dreaded opponent, helped to increase the fighting strength of their enemy. As soon as the Prussian army came into existence the empire gradually ceased to be a general recruiting ground; and, as that army gathered strength, it came to pass that Germany was no longer the battle-field of all other nations.

In the army the king found the means to reconcile the territorial nobility with the monarchical order. The repute of the war-lord had risen greatly since the rude days of the Great Elector, but it was his grandson who succeeded in bringing under his immediate control the nomination of all the officers, and in thus constituting the first truly monarchical corps of modern history. His sense of organisation, always understanding how to adapt political reform to the given social conditions, led him to perceive at once that the hardy sons of the numerous impoverished noble families of the east were the natural leaders of the peasant lads liable for military service. He placed the officers' corps, as a closed aristocracy, at the head of the rank and file; created in the house of cadets a training school for the officers; threw open to all who wore epaulettes the way to the highest offices in the army; kept a strict watch over the honour of the military order; and endeavoured in every possible way to win the nobles for this knightly caste, whilst preferring to direct the cultured members of the bourgeoisie into the civil service of the administration. How often, with prayers

* studies this

and threats, did he warn the arrogant nobility of East Prussia to provide for their rude sons the discipline of the house of cadets, and, practising his own precept, he made all his own boys serve in the army. Moser refers with admiration to this "hereditary maxim of the Prussian house to accustom the nobles to the military and financial system of the crown." By these means he succeeded in creating out of the semi-savage junkers a brave and loyal monarchical nobility, ready to conquer and to die for the fatherland, and as firmly associated with the life of the state as the parliamentary nobility of England. Everywhere else throughout the high aristocratic world of the Baltic regions feudal anarchy continued to flourish—in Sweden, Swedish Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Polish Prussia, and Livonia; it was only in Prussia that the nobles were won for the duties of the modern state. The army seemed as if it were a state within the state, with its own courts, churches, and schools; the burgher regarded with disgust the iron strictness of the inhuman military discipline by which the rough masses of the rank and file were forcibly held together; he bore unwillingly the blustering arrogance of the lieutenants and their centaurian hatred for the quill-driver's pretensions to learning—a hatred which had been manifest in the officers' circles since the days of the fiery Prince Karl Emil and in the berserker roughness of the Old Dessauer. And yet this army was not merely the best-trained and best-equipped military force of the time, but was also, of all the great armies of the modern nations, the most highly endowed with the civic spirit, the only one which never broke faith with its war-lords and never endeavoured (after the Pretorian model) to set the laws of the land at defiance.

No less uncongenial than the army organisation, appeared, to the Germans, the Prussian system of compulsory education; the ignorance of the masses was still regarded by the ruling classes as the great safeguard of public order. King Frederick William, however, like his grandfather, admired the Protestant Netherlands as the chosen land of civic welfare; he had there learned to appreciate the moral and economic blessings of a comprehensive system of school education, and he felt obscurely that the vital energy of Protestant civilisation sprang from the elementary school. Convinced that the oppressed and brutalised masses of the north-east could have their native roughnesses removed only by the com-

very concerned by the negative aspects of this

King Frederick William I

pulsion of the state, he decided the legislation of all the other national law of 1717 he directly the duty of sending their child the foundation of this law, the established. The difficulties at in part due to the poverty and in part also the king's own fault upon the prosperity of independence and for these ideal activities historically barbarian contempt.

Thus through the community the unity of the officialdom and of Magdeburg and Pomerania, were welded together into a single Frederick II extended to all his he did no more than give a lesson. However roughly and masterfully manifest its sovereignty against unification yet proceeded far adjoining country, the forcible state could not give the lie to permeated throughout by a people. Just as it had endeavoured to restore so was it compelled in political action in order to counteract the. Towards the ancient traditions respect was everywhere exhibited of Austria may be seen displayed every Silesian town, and the far out from the citadel of Glatz over. The arrogant lords who wished his father with Calvinistic rites reduced to the common position ancient rights of government in financial and military affairs semblance of life as soon as effected.

Until the extinction of the

attempts to

giant nobility of East Prussia to discipline of the house of cadets, he made all his own boys serve admiration to this "hereditary custom the nobles to the military"

By these means he succeeded in making the junkers a brave and loyal monarch and to die for the fatherland, life of the state as the parliament. Everywhere else throughout the Baltic regions feudal anarchy prevailed. Pomerania, Mecklenburg, was only in Prussia that the spirit of the modern state. The army in the state, with its own courts, was regarded with disgust the military discipline by which the nobles were forcibly held together; he arrogated of the lieutenants and drill-driver's pretensions to learn to manifest in the officers' circles since Emil and in the berserker roughness of this army was not merely the military force of the time, but was the modern nations, the most highly the only one which never broke down. He endeavoured (after the Pretorian) at defiance.

His army organisation, appeared, to be a system of compulsory education; the nobles regarded by the ruling classes as a disorder. King Frederick William, who had conquered the Protestant Netherlands; he had there learned to appreciate the importance of a comprehensive system of education, and he endeavoured to secure the vital energy of the nation in the elementary school. Concentrated masses of the north-east were removed only by the com-

the negative

pulsion of the state, he decisively anticipated, in this respect also, the legislation of all the other great powers; and by the educational law of 1717 he directly imposed upon all heads of families the duty of sending their children to school. Very slowly, upon the foundation of this law, the Prussian school system became established. The difficulties attendant upon its development were in part due to the poverty and inertness of the people; but were in part also the king's own fault, for all popular culture must rest upon the prosperity of independent research and of creative art, and for these ideal activities Frederick William felt a characteristically barbarian contempt.

H

Thus through the community of arduous civic duties, through the unity of the officialdom and of the military system, the men of Magdeburg and Pomerania, of the Mark and of Westphalia, were welded together into a single Prussian people; and when Frederick II extended to all his subjects the Prussian nationality he did no more than give a legal sanction to his father's work. However roughly and masterfully the Prussian kingship might manifest its sovereignty against all disloyal opposition, the work of unification yet proceeded far more considerably than did, in the adjoining country, the forcible "levelling of the French soil." The state could not give the lie to its own Teutonic nature; it was permeated throughout by a powerful element of historical piety. Just as it had endeavoured to reconcile the ecclesiastical differences, so was it compelled in political life to adopt an intermediate position in order to counteract the excess of centrifugal tendencies. Towards the ancient traditions of the territorial areas a tolerant respect was everywhere exhibited; even to-day the double eagle of Austria may be seen displayed in the market place of almost every Silesian town, and the patron saint of Bohemia still looks out from the citadel of Glatz over the beautiful surrounding country. The arrogant lords who wished to forbid the Great Elector to bury his father with Calvinistic rites were finally, after a severe struggle, reduced to the common position of subjects. The diets lost their ancient rights of government and were deprived of all influence in financial and military affairs; but were permitted to retain a semblance of life as soon as these necessary changes had been effected.

Until the extinction of the Holy Empire there were only three

attempts to balance this

themselves by saying, "After all, the Prussians are very slow to shoot!"

The joke missed fire when Prussia found a ruler who combined with the sense of the practicable and with the fortunate sobriety characteristic of the Hohenzollerns, the boldness and the insight of genius. The clear sunshine of youth was diffused over the beginnings of the Frederician epoch, when at length, after so prolonged an arrest, the inert mass of the German world was once more set in motion, and when the powerful opposing forces which Germany contained within its bosom broke into inevitable conflict. Since the days of the Lion of the North, Germany had not again seen a heroic figure upon which the whole nation could gaze with wondering admiration. But the figure which in proud freedom, like that of Gustavus Adolphus of old, strode among the great powers and forced the Germans to believe once again in the wonders of the heroic age, was now that of a German.

The central characteristic of this powerful nature was his pitiless and cruel German realism. Frederick presents himself as he is, and sees things as they are. Just as in the long series of his letters and writings we find not a single line wherein he endeavours to glorify his own actions or to adorn his own image for the benefit of posterity, so also do we find in his statesmanship, even though he did not despise the petty arts and cunning of the age as means to his ends, the stamp of his royal frankness. Whenever he takes the sword in hand he explains with unmistakable definiteness what he demands from the opponent, and does not lay down his weapon until he has attained his end. As soon as he awakens to self-consciousness he is filled with pride and rejoicing to be the son of a free century, which is using the torch of reason to illumine the dusty corners of a world of ancient prejudices and exanimate traditions; on the ceiling of his bright hall at Rheinsberg was painted a picture of the sun-god, rising victoriously through the clouds of dawn. It is with the self-confident assurance of the disciple of enlightenment that he approaches the phenomena of history, examining them each by each with the judgment of his keen understanding. In the struggles for power among the states he concerns himself only about what is really alive, cares only for the power that can speedily and wisely find expression in effective action. "Nego-

King Frederick II (the Great)

tations without weapons are says frankly. When he is informed he says to his councillors if one has an advantage in one or not? "Never did anyone boastful powerlessness that pr moral privilege which bases its right, that dread of action wh an empty respect for forms; and exercise so cleansing, so destructive as in that great world of fable was more remorseless than Frederick the Emperor Francis, tied to king of Jerusalem, occupied in for the armies of the Queen of cruel than his mockery of the his scorn of the obscure nonentity commercial spirit "of these as of the vain pride of the landless burg, of "this whole race of people that bends the knee before the does not know them."

With an assured sense of the pictures of the imperial law the a fierce love of mischief speak home to "the pedants of Rastatt Frederick effected in action the of the previous century, Hippocrates in words alone; he held up a corpse-like countenance of Germany the hopeless corruption of the temporaries blamed him because anciently venerable community restored truth to a place of honor had done Martin Luther in the belief.

Frederick adopted early in German history and imperial philosophy and Thomasius, had done

the Prussians are very slow to

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powerful opposing forces which
broke into inevitable conflict.
North, Germany had not again
the whole nation could gaze with
figure which in proud freedom,
of old, strode among the great
believe once again in the wonders
of a German.

this powerful nature was his
Frederick presents himself as
Just as in the long series of his
single line wherein he endeavours
to form his own image for the benefit
of his statesmanship, even though he
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unmistakable definiteness what he
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as soon as he awakens to self-
and rejoicing to be the son of a
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the states he concerns himself
only for the power that can
act in effective action. "Negotia-

tations without weapons are like music without instruments," he
says frankly. When he is informed of the death of the last Haps-
burg he says to his councillors, "I give you a problem to solve;
if one has an advantage in one's hand, should one make use of it
or not?" Never did anyone exhibit a prouder contempt for that
boastful powerlessness that pretends to possess power, that im-
moral privilege which bases itself upon the sacredness of historic
right, that dread of action which conceals its helplessness behind
an empty respect for forms; and never did this implacable realism
exercise so cleansing, so destructive, so revolutionary an influence
as in that great world of fable which was the Holy Empire. Nothing
was more remorseless than Frederick's scorn for the sacred majesty
of the Emperor Francis, tied to his wife's apron-strings, a worthy
king of Jerusalem, occupied in lucrative commissariat-negotiations
for the armies of the Queen of Hungary; nothing could be more
cruel than his mockery of the "phantom" of the imperial army,
his scorn of the obscure nonentity of the petty courts, of the formal
commercial spirit "of these accursed periwig-pates of Hanover,"
of the vain pride of the landless junkers of Saxony and Mecklen-
burg, of "this whole race of princes and people of Austria." He
that bends the knee before the great ones of this world "is one who
does not know them."

With an assured sense of superiority he opposes to the shadow-
pictures of the imperial law the healthy reality of his modern state;
a fierce love of mischief speaks out of his letters when he brings
home to "the pedants of Ratisbon" the iron necessity of war.
Frederick effected in action that which the disputatious publicists
of the previous century, Hippolytus and Severinus, had attempted
in words alone; he held up a mirror before the "disagreeable and
corpse-like countenance of Germany," proving to all the world
the hopeless corruption of the Holy Empire. Well-meaning con-
temporaries blamed him because he thus exposed to laughter the
anciently venerable community, but posterity thanks him, in that he
restored truth to a place of honour in German statecraft, as of old
had done Martin Luther in the spheres of German thought and
belief.

Frederick adopted early in life that strict Protestant view of
German history and imperial policy which, since the days of Puffen-
dorf and Thomasius, had dominated the freer spirits of Prussia;

amid the embittering experiences of his joyless youth he had remoulded this view with a keen independence. In the Schmalkald rising, in the Thirty Years' War, in all the confused happenings of the last two centuries, he sees nothing but the unceasing struggle of German freedom against the despotism of the House of Austria, that house which "with a rod of iron" ruled the weak princes of the empire like slaves, and allowed only the strong ones to do as they liked. Not without personal satisfaction does he interpret the facts of history in accordance with such a one-sided view, for to direct this one-sidedness towards the light and towards life seems to him the privilege of the creative hero, and he regards it as the task of the Prussian state to lead this ancient struggle to victory. In his earlier years he remained faithful to Protestantism; he esteemed it the glorious duty of the House of Brandenburg "to work on behalf of the Protestant religion throughout the German empire and Europe," and he contemplated Heidelberg with uneasiness, seeing that here in the old leading centre of our Church the monks and the priests of Rome were once more vigorously at work. Even at a later date, when he had become estranged from religious belief, and when from the altitude of his independent philosophical enlightenment he passed a hostile judgment upon the mediocre parson-natures of Luther and Calvin, he remained actively conscious that his state must continue ever rooted in the Protestant world. He knew how all the accomplices of the Holy See were secretly working for the destruction of the new Protestant great power; he knew that his human ideal of freedom of belief, of the right of all to seek salvation after their own fashion, was attainable only on the soil of Protestantism; he understood that in new and secular forms he was himself carrying on the struggles of the sixteenth century; and to his latest work, the plan for the League of German Princes, he attached the significant superscription, "Drawn up after the example of the League of Schmalkald."

The earliest of Frederick's political writings which has come down to us shows the glance of the youth of eighteen already directed towards that region of national life upon which he was to exercise the greatest and most individual forces of his genius—the great questions of statecraft. The crown prince contemplates the position of his nation in the world, finds the situation of its dispersed areas an extremely dangerous one, and draws up, still half in jest, daring plans for the rounding off of the remoter pro-

King Frederick II (the Great)

vinces, so that they may no longer before these immature young found and powerful ideas; the throne the great path of his prophetic clearness. "It seems predestined the king to make foresight undertakes before the whether it may not be reserved the opportunities thus provided of war in the realisation of the vision intended them!" He in an untenable position between powers, and is resolved to put *cet être*. To enlarge the nation has become a necessity if Prussia credit to the name of her king.

From generation to generation service to the House of Austria turning to their own advantage but rewarded always with in Frederick himself, in the distrust had found it hard to endure "overbearing insolence, of the cankered with hatred "for the tricks and its lies had alienated pride was in revolt when at last the correct tone of cold refusal he wrote angrily that a King of palm-tree, of which the poet says its proud head the higher." varying fortunes of the European the conclusion that the old power altogether outworn. After the succession the time was over with Austria and England; the new German state "by the time such a height of power as was freedom of will against all its house.

Thus in the mouth of Frederick

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vinces, so that they may no longer remain in isolation. It is not
 long before these immature youthful proposals reappear as pro-
 found and powerful ideas; three years before his ascent to the
 throne the great path of his life is perceived with a wonderful
 prophetic clearness. "It seems," he writes, "that heaven has
 predestined the king to make all those preparations which a wise
foresight undertakes before the beginning of a war. Who can tell
 whether it may not be reserved for me to make a glorious use of
 the opportunities thus provided, and to employ these materials
 of war in the realisation of the designs for which my father's pre-
 vision intended them!" He observes how his state vacillates in
 an untenable position between the petty territories and the great
 powers, and is resolved to put an end to this vacillation (*décider*
cel être). To enlarge the national area, *corriger la figure de la Prusse*,
 has become a necessity if Prussia is to stand on her own feet and to
 do credit to the name of her king.

From generation to generation his ancestors had paid faithful
 service to the House of Austria, conscientiously refraining from
 turning to their own advantage the difficulties of their neighbour,
 but rewarded always with ingratitude, treachery, and contempt.
 Frederick himself, in the distressing period of his misused youth,
 had found it hard to endure "the arrogance, the presumption, the
 overbearing insolence, of the court of Vienna"; his heart was
 cankered with hatred "for the imperial band" which with its
 tricks and its lies had alienated his father's heart. His untamable
 pride was in revolt when at his father's court there was lacking
 the correct tone of cold refusal for the exacting demands of Austria;
 he wrote angrily that a King of Prussia should resemble the noble
 palm-tree, of which the poet says, "If you wish to fell it, it rears
 its proud head the higher." With watchful eye he followed the
 varying fortunes of the European system of states, and came to
 the conclusion that the old policy of the balance of power was
 altogether outworn. After the victories of the war of the Spanish
 succession the time was over for fighting the Bourbon in alliance
 with Austria and England; now the moment had come for the
 new German state "by the terror of its arms" to raise itself to
 such a height of power as would enable it to maintain its own
 freedom of will against all its neighbours and against the imperial
 house.

Thus in the mouth of Frederick, the old and greatly misused

expression "German freedom," acquired a new and nobler meaning. It was no longer to signify that dishonourable policy of the petty princes which called in the foreigner to help them against the emperor, and which betrayed the marches of the realm into foreign hands; it was to signify the formation of a great German power which should defend the fatherland with the strong hand in the east and in the west; and which should do this of its own will, independently of the imperial authority. For hundreds of years it had been the rule that whoever was not a good Austrian must be a good Swede (like Hippolytus a Lapide), or a good Frenchman (like the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine), or a good Englishman (like the scions of the Guelphs). Even the Great Elector, in the press between neighbours of predominant power, was able only at intervals to maintain an independent position. It was the work of Frederick, avoiding on either hand the destructive tendencies to the acceptance of concealed or manifest foreign dominion, to institute a third tendency, a policy that was Prussian, and Prussian only. To this policy belonged Germany's future.

It was not the way of this hater of phrases to talk much of the fatherland; and yet his soul was animated by a vigorous national pride inseparably associated with his keen sense of personal independence and with his princely sentiment. It seemed to him to touch his honour that foreign nations should play the masters upon German soil; that this should be, was a discredit to his illustrious blood, for which the philosophic king, with the naive inconsistency of genius, had a very high respect. When the inextricable confusion of German affairs forced him at times to form an alliance with the foreigner, he never alienated an acre of German soil, and never allowed his state to be misused for foreign purposes. All his life through he was exposed to the accusation of faithless cunning, for no treaty and no alliance could ever make him renounce the right of free self-determination. All the courts of Europe spoke angrily of *travailler pour le roi de Prusse*: accustomed from of old to dominate German life they found it hardly possible to grasp the new situation and understand that now at length the resolute egoism of an independent German state was able to set itself in successful opposition to their will. Voltaire's royal disciple began for the German states the same work of liberation that Voltaire's opponent, Lessing, effected for our poetry. Even in his

* a new idealism to which all
German must be loyal. Only the Jew
wouldn't be loyal. They know
eternal loyalty to ~~the state~~ ^{the fatherland}

King Frederick II (the G

youthful writings, Frederick the Holy Empire, which mopylæ, Alsace; he surrendered of Lorraine to of Hungary for having a savage mob of "those G and the Tolpatsches, ar the barbarians of Muscov Germany. During the hatred often found ver Russians, who have plun the greeting: "Oh! tha in the Black Sea, so tl pass away for ever." composed (in French, it the strains of the War o

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"Prudence teaches but through intrepidity possessions"—such are Rheinsberg days, ahead to rash resolution, to the first duty of the state conceivable resolutions to do nothing. Yet it that from the first he ki by cool and sober co the heroic force of an A ends within the narrow In war, sometimes, his prudence; he demands through a proud under he always preserves a l leads him to reject at

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ered a new and nobler meaning. honourable policy of the petty ter to help them against the rches of the realm into foreign ion of a great German power with the strong hand in the should do this of its own will, rity. For hundreds of years as not a good Austrian must (Lapide), or a good Frenchman of the Rhine), or a good Eng- (chs). Even the Great Elector, predominant power, was able dependent position. It was the hand the destructive tendencies manifest foreign dominion, to at was Prussian, and Prussian any's future.

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youthful writings, Frederick strongly condemns the weakness of the Holy Empire, which had thrown open to the foreigner its Thermopylae, Alsace ; he rages against the court of Vienna for its surrender of Lorraine to France ; he can never forgive the Queen of Hungary for having turned loose upon the German empire the savage mob of "those Graces of the east," the Jazyges, the Croats, and the Tolpatsches, and for having for the first time induced the barbarians of Muscovy to take part in the internal affairs of Germany. During the Seven Years' War his German pride and hatred often found vent in grim and scornful words. To the Russians, who have plundered his peasants of Neumark, he sends the greeting : " Oh ! that with one leap they could sink themselves in the Black Sea, so that they and all memory of them might pass away for ever." When the French overran Rhineland he composed (in French, it is true) an ode which recalls to our minds the strains of the War of Liberation :

"To its uttermost sources
Spumes the ancient Rhine with hate,
Cursing the shame, that its waters
Must bear a foreign yoke ! "

"Prudence teaches us how to guard what we already possess ; but through intrepidity alone do we learn how to increase our possessions"—such are the words with which Frederick, in his Rheinsberg days, already betrays how his inmost nature urges him to rash resolution, to tempestuous daring. It appears to him the first duty of the statesman to avoid half measures ; and of all conceivable resolutions the worst of all seems to him to resolve to do nothing. Yet in this also he displays his German blood, that from the first he knows how to control his ardent love of action by cool and sober consideration. One who felt within himself the heroic force of an Alexander determined to work for permanent ends within the narrow circle in which destiny had placed him. In war, sometimes, his fiery spirit leads him beyond the bounds of prudence ; he demands the impossible from his troops, and fails through a proud under-estimation of his enemy ; but as a statesman he always preserves a perfect moderation, a wise limitation, which leads him to reject at once any too adventurous design. He is

which all the
Only the Jew
They swear
the fatherland

sleeping one foot in the other camp.

Church, in addition to the small number of God's houses which still remained to it, the possession of a few sanctuary churches. The Catholic Poles of Upper Silesia and the Czech colonists whom the imperial court had summoned into the land to carry on the struggle against the German heretics, were the props of the imperial dominion. With the entry of the Prussian army the German elements once more gladly raised their heads; joyfully there resounded through the sanctuary churches praise to the Lord, Who after showing severity to His people had now at length displayed a banner for them to follow. Under the protection of Prussian toleration, Protestantism soon regained its consciousness of spiritual superiority, the Polish elements visibly lost ground, and after a few decades the Prussian Silesians, in ideas and customs, resembled their North German neighbours more closely than they resembled the Silesians across the border. The Protestant conqueror, however, left the Roman Church in undisturbed possession of almost all the Church property of the Protestants, and whilst England was constraining its Irish Catholics to pay taxes in support of the Anglican State Church, in Silesia, the Protestant must continue now as formerly to pay taxes on behalf of the Catholic Church. It was only the treasonable practices of the Roman clergy during the Seven Years' War that forced the king to abandon this excess of toleration, which had involved injustice towards the Protestants; and even then the situation of the Catholic Church in Prussian Silesia remained a more favourable one than in any other Protestant state.

The flourishing development of Silesia under Prussian rule sufficed to show that the new province had found its natural master, and that the change in the destiny of the German east was unalterably established. The Viennese court, however, continued to cherish the hope of securing revenge for the past shame, and of reducing the conqueror of Silesia once again to the mediocre situation of the ordinary German prince, just as had been possible in the case of those presumptuous ones who had formerly ventured to raise their hands against the imperial authority. King Frederick knew, moreover, that the final and decisive appeal to arms still lay before him. He attempted on one occasion during the brief years of peace to exclude the son of Maria Theresa from the imperial dignity, so that for the future at least the empire should be separated

*It is the principle to follow the
worshipped like Jehovah, to give
and take away, to be a war & give*

King Frederick II (the Great)

from the House of Austria, but the se hostility of the Catholic courts. Th between the two leading powers of C lengthy period the course of European Holy Empire of its last vestiges of vital e tion the nation seemed to foresee the Years' War. That which had been slo labours of toilsome decades appeared to as a wonderful chance, as the fortuna spirit. Quite isolated in the diploma epoch is the far-seeing utterance of in the year 1759 wrote sadly to Ch endeavouring to-day in the hope of prev Germany of a warlike monarchy whos the petty princes—it is all lost labour! in the east and in the west vented th one who, out of the turmoil of the war had alone drawn the prize of victor personal hatred of powerful women th the great conspiracy which now threa It was the general feeling of Europe tha structure of the comity of states was victorious great power became establ Continent. The Roman See was deeply home of heresy should be once again to its own independent will; it was co-operation of Rome that it became enemies, the two great Catholic powers to unite against Prussia. The aim was Germany eternal.

By a daring onslaught the king sa destruction, and when, after seven ter his German state on the Rhine and on in the Riesengebirge, against foreign a in concluding peace had maintained tl the last village, Prussia seemed to st position as at the outset of the murder breadth more German soil had been at country lay desolate, the abundant w

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from the House of Austria, but the scheme was wrecked by the hostility of the Catholic courts. The irreconcilable opposition between the two leading powers of Germany determined for a lengthy period the course of European politics and deprived the Holy Empire of its last vestiges of vital energy. In painful anticipation the nation seemed to foresee the approach of a new Thirty Years' War. That which had been slowly prepared by the quiet labours of toilsome decades appeared to the next generation merely as a wonderful chance, as the fortunate adventure of a talented spirit. Quite isolated in the diplomatic correspondence of the epoch is the far-seeing utterance of the Dane, Bernstorff, who in the year 1759 wrote sadly to Choiseul: "All that you are endeavouring to-day in the hope of preventing the uprising in central Germany of a warlike monarchy whose iron arm will soon crush the petty princes—it is all lost labour!" The neighbouring powers in the east and in the west vented their anger against the lucky one who, out of the turmoil of the war of the Austrian succession, had alone drawn the prize of victory; nor was it simply the personal hatred of powerful women that was weaving the web of the great conspiracy which now threatened to enmesh Frederick. It was the general feeling of Europe that the ancient and traditional structure of the comity of states was imperilled as soon as any victorious great power became established in the centre of the Continent. The Roman See was deeply concerned that the detested home of heresy should be once again enabled to give expression to its own independent will; it was only in consequence of the co-operation of Rome that it became possible for the two ancient enemies, the two great Catholic powers of Austria and of France, to unite against Prussia. The aim was to render the impotence of Germany eternal.

By a daring onslaught the king saved his crown from certain destruction, and when, after seven terrible years, he had defended his German state on the Rhine and on the Pregel, on the Peene and in the Riesengebirge, against foreign and semi-foreign armies, and in concluding peace had maintained the extent of his power over the last village, Prussia seemed to stand once more in the same position as at the outset of the murderous campaign. Not a hand's breadth more German soil had been added to its domain, half the country lay desolate, the abundant work of peace of three genera-

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Scharnhorst in this work a number of younger men of talent, who followed with a lively understanding, as did Scharnhorst himself, all the intellectual work of the time, men of statesmanlike intelligence who regarded the army as a popular school, and the art of war as a branch of politics. Their quiet activity served, not merely to sharpen the weapons for the War of Liberation, but also to bring the Prussian army once more into harmony with the new culture, and to endow the German military system for all future time with the characteristics of serious culture and intellectual freshness and alertness.

These officers were united from the outset with the leading statesman by a remarkable and instinctive agreement of moral and political conviction. It sounded like one of Stein's own utterances when Gneisenau, apropos of the French Rights of Man, exclaimed, "First make the human race enthusiasts for duty, and only after that for rights!" Just as the disciple of Adam Smith was unwilling to apply the principle of the division of labour unconditionally to the national administration, esteeming the skilled business ability of the professional official less highly than that popular maturity which is acquired in self-government, so also did these military experts cherish the belief that it is moral force which ultimately proves decisive in war. However highly they esteemed the essentials of technical training, they regarded as still more important, to use Scharnhorst's own words, "the intimate union of the army with the nation." Scharnhorst wrote soon after the peace: "The sense of independence must be instilled into the nation, which must be given an opportunity of becoming acquainted with itself, of standing on its own feet; then only will it respect itself, and learn how to gain respect from others. All that we can do is to work towards this end. We must loosen the bonds of prejudice, guide the rebirth of the nation; care for its growth, and not hinder its free development; more than this it is not in our power to do."

Scharnhorst had long been recognised as the first military writer of his country, as the most brilliant authority among the German officers, but after an extremely varied life he also had at his disposal an exceptional wealth of practical experience. He had seen service in every arm, in the general staff, and in the military colleges. During his training at the military college of Wil-

precursor to the SS

cadets instituted by Frederick William I had but half succeeded in effecting this change. The old generation, which had despised the quill-drivers, died out, and their youthful successors recognised and revered the power of knowledge.

At The fundamental idea of all these reforms was that henceforward the army was to consist of the people in arms, it was to be a national army, to which everyone capable of bearing arms must belong. Recruiting was abolished, the enlisting of foreigners was forbidden; only a few volunteers of German blood were still admitted. The new articles of war and the ordinance concerning military punishments started with the premise that in future all subjects, even young persons of good education, should serve as common soldiers, and this established the need for a gentler treatment of the rank and file. All thinking officers were at one as to the need for abolishing the old exemptions from military service. The idea of the general liability to service had even before the war been defended by Scharnhorst himself, by Boyen, by Loussau, and by other officers, and it was fully considered by the king. During the unfortunate campaign, this idea had quietly been gaining ground, and it was now clear to every intelligent soldier that the unequal war could only be resumed through the utilisation of the entire energy of the nation. Immediately after the peace, Blücher begged his dear Scharnhorst, "to provide for a national army; no one must be exempt on any account, it must be a disgrace to anyone not to have served." Prince Augustus, while still a prisoner of war, transmitted a plan for the reconstitution of the army, in which universal military service was the leading idea. Scharnhorst knew, however, what most of his contemporaries had completely forgotten, that this was merely the revival of an ancient Prussian principle. He reminded the king that his ancestor Frederick William I had, first of all the princes of Europe, introduced general conscription; it was this principle whose application had once made Prussia great, and here Austria and France were merely imitators. It now appeared to be necessary to return to the old Prussian system, and straightway to abolish the misuse of exemptions. Thus only could be constituted a true standing army, an army which would be of equal strength at all times. Almost with the very words of the old soldier-king did Scharnhorst begin his proposal for the formation of a reserve army. The first section

The Prussian Reformers

opened with the words: birth defenders of the state. From the first, the universal military service bourgeoisie under the French proud-spirited to imitate it been bearable that the king duty certain classes of people or else for economic reasons should be able to service, that one subject utterly un-Prussian, and in army. The French system by a few civil officials, but ideas were more democratic in plain terms it was military service, and this continued to the ends of the War of 1806 for the education of the people military superficialities, Scharnhorst he was well aware to how able to replace the staying trained soldier. With attained to the conviction times, the more necessary so that the civilised world times, so that the vigorous lost by culture. Gneisenau historic life; it was his duty even at the elementary Spartans no longer attained soul, Boyen wrote for all;

"Valiant men throughout:
Let all classes, as is fitting

Thus there was no doubt the enormous difficulties come? To this age, will

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these reforms was that hence- the people in arms, it was to be he capable of bearing arms must , the enlisting of foreigners was rs of German blood were still ar and the ordinance concerning the premise that in future all good education, should serve as hed the need for a gentler treat- nking officers were at one as to xemptions from military service. service had even before the war self, by Boven, by Loussau, was considered by the king. During dea had quietly been gaining very intelligent soldier that the d through the utilisation of the ediate after the peace, Blucher provide for a national army; no , it must be a disgrace to anyone ustus, while still a prisoner of onstitution of the army, in which he leading idea. Scharnhorst contemporaries had completely e revival of an ancient Prussian g that his ancestor Frederick es of Europe, introduced general e whose application had once stria and France were merely necessary to return to the old to abolish the misuse of exemp- uted a true standing army, an ngth at all times. Almost with king did Scharnhorst begin his reserve army. The first section

opened with the words: "All the inhabitants of the state are by birth defenders of the state."

From the first, the Prussian officers conceived the ideas of universal military service in a freer and juster sense than did the bourgeoisie under the French Directory. The conquered were too proud-spirited to imitate the institutions of the conqueror. It had been bearable that the king's command should except from cantonal duty certain classes of people, either on account of class-privilege or else for economic reasons. But the proposal that a man of means should be able to buy himself exemption from military service, that one subject should sell his skin to another, was utterly un-Prussian, and in conflict with all the traditions of the army. The French system of substitution was indeed recommended by a few civil officials, but not by any single officer of note. Here ideas were more democratic than among the heirs of the revolution; in plain terms it was demanded that all should be liable to military service, and this demand was made, not simply as a means to the ends of the War of Liberation, but as a permanent institution for the education of the people. Notwithstanding his contempt for military superficialities, Scharnhorst was ever a trained expert; he was well aware to how small an extent unaided enthusiasm was able to replace the staying power, the skill, and the discipline, of the trained soldier. With his rich historical knowledge he had attained to the conviction that the gentler the manners of the times, the more necessary for the nation was a military education, so that the civilised world might retain the virile virtues of simpler times, so that the vigorous energy of body and soul should not be lost by culture. Gneisenau joyfully acclaimed this manly view of historic life; it was his desire that military training should begin even at the elementary school, for was the heroic glory of the Spartans no longer attainable to modern humanity? From his soul, Boyen wrote for all friends of Scharnhorst the verses:

"Valiant men throughout the country wield ye every one the sword;
Let all classes, as is fitting, fight for hearth and sov'reign lord!"

Thus there was no dispute about the principle. But how were the enormous difficulties in the way of its execution to be overcome? To this age, which had so recently emerged from the

barbarism of the ancient military discipline, it seemed an intolerable severity that the sons of the cultured classes should be enrolled straightway in the standing army; moreover, in September, 1808, Napoleon forced the acceptance of the Treaty of Paris, in accordance with which the ill-used state was forced to pledge itself not to keep an armed force larger than forty-two thousand men.

Thus the only thing that remained, was to overreach the conqueror by cunning, to find a way round the treaty, and to create, beside the standing army, a reserve army, a Landwehr, for use in case of war. And yet even for this end the direct road was closed. Scharnhorst at once recognised that the simplest plan would be to provide the Landwehr through the school of the standing army, to constitute the reserve army out of the trained soldiers who had served their time. Yet for the moment this was impossible. The calling up of so great a number of recruits would at once have aroused the suspicions of Napoleon; and moreover, a Landwehr constituted in this way would obviously not attain a notable strength until many years had passed, whilst month by month a fresh outbreak of the war was anticipated. For this reason, the Prussians must content themselves with a militia without any apparent connection with the standing army, ostensibly intended only for the maintenance of internal peace, but trained for military purposes by repeated drills, and with a sufficient supply of arms to be able to take the field as a reserve army immediately after the outbreak of war. Four times during the years 1807 and 1810 did Scharnhorst resume these Landwehr plans, and confer upon them with the monarch. His first proposal came into effect on July 31, 1807, quite independently, and long before the Austrian Landwehr came into existence.

The earlier plans pursued as their main purpose the preparation for military service of the sons of the well-to-do classes, who would be able to provide their own arms and uniform; this force was to be drilled in time of peace under the harmless name of a "burgher guard" or of the "national watch." In the summer of 1809, the restless military reformer gave a wider scope to these proposals, in which could already be recognised the elements of the organisation of 1813. He set a high value upon the heroic energy of a wrathful people, but he also had a sober vision of the length of time that would be requisite before he could transform

an armed mob into troops ready at the standing army should begin the army was to be constituted out of term, out of the supernumeraries, men liable to cantonal service; 1 volunteer yagers. This Landwehr in the fortresses, and was to be garrisoned by the enemy; as soon it was to follow the army, and its militia, or Landsturm, which had was to comprise all those still fit to how disagreeable to Napoleon were of La Vendée, and how greatly he was Scharnhorst's hope to open the army which should base its action entrenched camps, and with such extremely careful study made of the North German plain. When Gne Portuguese victories, he even hoped upon this plain, out of the little town

All these hopes came to nought; informed of the Prussian plans for uttered masterful threats. His desire a single step outside the provisions he reserved to himself the right to foot. At length it became clear the wehr remained impossible so long position to declare war against France be attained without arousing the state to undertake a more rapid training of The legally established age for the service duty was twenty years, and this was of them were called up as possible, a few months when they had received strength of the army allowed by the undue strictness. For years, the best the force went out into the field for men in barracks, so that Napoleon's strength of the battalions. It was in

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an armed mob into troops ready and fit for war. His plan was that
the standing army should begin the attack; meanwhile the reserve
army was to be constituted out of the soldiers that had served their
term, out of the supernumeraries, and also out of all the younger
men liable to cantonal service; the well-to-do were to join as
volunteer yagers. This Landwehr was to take over service
in the fortresses, and was to effect the investment of places
garrisoned by the enemy; as soon as it was sufficiently developed,
it was to follow the army, and its place was to be taken by the
militia, or Landsturm, which had meanwhile been assembled and
was to comprise all those still fit to bear arms. Scharnhorst knew
how disagreeable to Napoleon were his memories of the campaign
of La Vendée, and how greatly he dreaded a popular uprising. It
was Scharnhorst's hope to open the War of Liberation with a small
army which should base its actions upon a few fortresses or
entrenched camps, and with such an end in view, he had an
extremely careful study made of the unfavourable ground of the
North German plain. When Gneisenau learned of Wellington's
Portuguese victories, he even hoped to reconstitute a Torres Vedras
upon this plain, out of the little town of Spandau.

All these hopes came to nought. As soon as Napoleon was
informed of the Prussian plans for a new Landwehr, he at once
uttered masterful threats. His detested opponent was not to go
a single step outside the provisions of the Treaty of Paris—while
he reserved to himself the right to trample these provisions under
foot. At length it became clear that the constitution of a Land-
wehr remained impossible so long as Prussia was not yet in a
position to declare war against France. Until then, all that could
be attained without arousing the suspicion of the Emperor, was
to undertake a more rapid training of the men of the standing army.
The legally established age for the service of those liable to military
duty was twenty years, and this was left unchanged; but as many
of them were called up as possible, and were sent home again in
a few months when they had received a tolerable training. The
strength of the army allowed by the treaty was not observed with
undue strictness. For years, the bodyguard in Berlin, whenever
the force went out into the field for manoeuvres, left a portion of the
men in barracks, so that Napoleon's spies could not ascertain the
strength of the battalions. It was impossible to avoid that many of

Spencer

Humboldt!" When Niebuhr came to Rome as Prussian ambassador, no one in the world-city ventured to contest with him the glory of being the first among all men of learning.

Foreigners spoke little of our state, of its warlike deeds. To all the foreign powers the sudden revival in strength of the centre of Europe was disagreeable, and they all rivalled one another in the endeavour to consign to oblivion Prussia's share in the liberation of Europe. Not one of the foreign military historians who in these years of historical production described the most recent campaigns, did anything like adequate justice to the services of Blücher's headquarters staff. The old prestige of the Prussian army, which in the days of Frederick had been dreaded by all as the greatest army in the world, had by no means been re-established by the victories of Dennewitz and Belle Alliance. Since it is always difficult to gain a comprehensive view of the true course of a coalition war, the public opinion of Europe gladly contented itself with contemplating the simple conclusion that since the Prussians had been beaten when they fought alone at Jena they had been saved only by foreign help. For this reason, too, no one in foreign lands had any interest in the political institutions to which Prussia owed her freedom. Now, as before, Prussia remained the least known and the most completely misunderstood state of Europe. Moreover, the new Reichstag of Ratisbon, which now assembled in Frankfort, aroused the scorn of Europe by its fruitless disputes. Soon after the wonderful uprising of our nation, the old and convenient opinion became generally current that by a wise provision of nature the German nation was foreordained to eternal weakness and dissension. All the more willingly did people recognise the intellectual greatness of this powerless nation; it was solely to their artists and to their men of learning that the Germans owed the fact that by all the civilised peoples of the west they were once more regarded as one among the great nations. In foreign lands, they were now spoken of as the nation of poets and thinkers; in the partition of the earth they should be content with the lot of the poet which Schiller ascribed to them, and, intoxicated with the divine light, should be satisfied to lose the light of earth. *

For the first time since the days of Martin Luther, the ideas of Germany once more made the round of the world, and now

*This must be reversed!
* At least the light of earth*

found a more willing Reformation. German the view of the 19th century. The sensus long replaced by a profound religious in national peculiar living growth of the bubbling up as by the preponderance of æsthetic culture. But classical and of the slowly attained to now it had hitherto secured now at length made

With wonderful labours after the 18th Madame de Staël's censors had suppressed now in everyone's German ideas, which romanticism. The collapsed before the circle of men of letters, Thierrys, opened a new world of history, revolutionary thinkers as the epoch of its prestige, and to liberate France that Victor Hugo and people that romanticism in politics. Yet more of ideas between repaid to the British peare and Sterne. poet of the age, we from the profound; mans had unlocked

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een the average of students,
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of the pupil; the danger of
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possible to escape. Similar
nthusiasm had once before
es, in the days of the literary
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e corrupt club-life of the
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still existed far too much of
nes, although the humanism of
ded its refining influence even

over university customs. Intemperance and debauchery often displayed themselves with a lack of restraint which to us of to-day seems incredible; gambling was practised everywhere, even in the open street; and the ineradicable German love of brawling so far exceeded all reasonable measure that in the summer of 1815 among the Jena students, three hundred and fifty in number, there were one hundred and forty-seven duels in a single week. The homely popular drinking songs and travellers' songs of the tuneful days of old had almost disappeared, and the students sang chiefly lewd ribaldry or the lachrymose effusions of a dull sentimentalism which belonged to a far earlier literary epoch. With the disappearance of the Rosicrucians and other secret societies of the old century, there disappeared also their spiritual kin, the students' orders. The associations of students from the same province (*Landsmannschaften*), which had since then been revived, jealously supervised their closed recruiting grounds, being characterised by a paltry particularist sentiment which arrogantly rejected everything that lacked the true parochial flavour, destroying all vigorous self-respect by the brutal fagging system (*Penalismus*). The freshman must not complain if an impoverished senior student should offer him blood-brotherhood and an exchange of goods; the freshman must then give all that he had upon his person, his clothes, watch, and money, in exchange for the beggarly effects of his patron. One who graduated in such a school acquired the art of servility towards those above and arrogance towards those below.

How often had Fichte, at first in Jena and subsequently in Berlin, uttered vigorous protests against these disorderly practices. Among his faithful followers there was conceived as early as the year 1811 the design of constituting a Burschenschaft or association of German students. The philosopher approved the undertaking; but, knowing his men, added the thoughtful warning that the Burschen must avoid confusing what was mediæval with what was German, and must be careful not to value the means, namely the association, more highly than the end, namely the revival of German sentiment. The students of Jena now associated themselves with these proposals of Berlin. They knew the seriousness of the profession of arms, and desired to control the rude lust for quarrels by the institution of courts of

At 13
reaction
Schlegel

trace of morbid over-excitement. Pretentious, indeed, was the aspect of the students in their extraordinary Christo-Germanic rig-out, biretta, sombre coat, and feminine collar; nor was their appearance rendered more agreeable by the adoption of the new customs of the gymnasts which soon made their way to Jena. But beneath the rough husk was a sound kernel. Greatly astonished were the authorities when the continuous warfare against university discipline, a warfare which had ever been the pride of the Landsmannschaften, now ceased of a sudden; and how much more refined became the whole tone of academic life when the songs of Arndt and Schenkendorf were heard at the drinking parties, and when a number of youthful poets, and especially Binzer of Holstein, were continually writing new and vigorous students' songs. Almost all the serious songs which German students sing to-day date from this period; even the students' inaugural song, the *Landesvater*, now first acquired its fine patriotic sense through some happy modifications. Christian piety, though in many instances too ostentatiously displayed, was for the majority a matter of genuine internal conviction; many of the young dreamers seemed as it were transfigured by their pious delight in all the wonders which God had worked on behalf of this nation.

A notable feature of the new Teutonism was an ineradicable hatred for the Jews. Since the powerful excitement of the War of Liberation brought to light all the secrets of the German character, amid the general ferment the old and profound hostility to everything Judaic once more made itself manifest. Almost all the great thinkers of Germany, from Luther down to Goethe, Herder, Kant, and Fichte, were united in this sentiment; Lessing stood quite alone in his fondness for the Jews. Immediately after the peace there began a violent paper-warfare about the position of the Jews, which for five years filled the German book-market with pamphlets on this subject, and in which the younger generation, in especial, participated with passionate eagerness. Since the days of Moses Mendelssohn's valuable endeavours, a portion of the German Jewry had laboured with considerable success to bridge the wide chasm separating their tribe from German customs and German culture.

Many of the leading Jewish families now became thoroughly Germanized from the beginning of the nine sermons were delivered in German and other towns soon followed suit. The founder of the great schools at Jena, in form of religious service, and David Friedländer, in his *Addresses of Edifying*, heartedly assimilated German civil demand for complete emancipation of the German Jews, above all in accepted these ideas of reform. The Jews remained devoted to huckstering gloomy fanaticism of the Talmudic defects of those who have suffered from these ideas. When the French entered Germany in many Jewish circles a readiness to accept the nation which had been the first to the Jews, and Napoleon under the Jewish spirit of cosmopolitanism the French police in Berlin was I of the well-known *Telegraphen*.

It was only a part of the Jewish patriotic zeal in the War of Liberation that cultured families in which Germanism was thoroughly developed, faithfully followed, but many others were held aloof from the movement and by a profoundly implanted repulsion. From the Jews of Westphalia, who quite unreasonably as yet to express their urgent petition the king granted the right to purchase immunity, and so extensive a scale that a great number of the West Prussian Landwehrmen paid by the Jews for exemption from military service, which included

Pretentious, indeed, was the extraordinary Christo-Germanic minine collar; nor was their by the adoption of the new on made their way to Jena. s a sound kernel. Greatly then the continuous warfare are which had ever been the w ceased of a sudden; and whole tone of academic life nkendorf were heard at the ber of youthful poets, and continually writing new and all the serious songs which from this period; even the *svater*, now first acquired its ppy modifications. Christian too ostentatiously displayed, genuine internal conviction; d as it were transfigured by es which God had worked on

eutonism was an ineradicable verful excitement of the War the secrets of the German t the old and profound hos- more made itself manifest. Germany, from Luther down te, were united in this senti- n his fondness for the Jews. began a violent paper-warfare hich for five years filled the ets on this subject, and in especial, participated with ays of Moses Mendelssohn's of the German Jewry had s to bridge the wide chasm customs and German culture.

Many of the leading Jewish families in the great towns had by now become thoroughly Germanised. In the Berlin synagogue, from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, the sermons were delivered in German, and in this matter Leipzig and other towns soon followed suit. Then Israel Jacobson, the founder of the great schools at Seesen, arranged for a worthier form of religious service, and David Friedländer warned his co-religionists, in his *Addresses of Edification*, that only if they wholeheartedly assimilated German civilisation could they expect their demand for complete emancipation to be gratified. The mass of the German Jews, above all in the Polish frontier provinces, accepted these ideas of reform with extreme slowness; they remained devoted to huckstering and usury, immersed in the gloomy fanaticism of the Talmudical faith, a prey to all the defects of those who have suffered bondage for many generations. When the French entered the country there was evident in many Jewish circles a readily comprehensible sympathy for the nation which had been the first to grant complete equality to the Jews, and Napoleon understood very well how to flatter the Jewish spirit of cosmopolitanism; the most zealous tool of the French police in Berlin was Davidsohn-Lange, the publisher of the well-known *Telegraphen*.

It was only a part of the Jews, moreover, which manifested patriotic zeal in the War of Liberation. The sons of those cultured families in which German sentiments were already thoroughly developed, faithfully performed their military duties; but many others were held aloof from the army by bodily weakness and by a profoundly implanted dread of arms, while many were also repelled by the strictly Christian spirit of the great movement. From the Jews of West Prussia, who were but then laboriously emerging from the Polish mire, it would have been quite unreasonable as yet to expect German sentiments; they displayed such alarm at the idea of military service that upon their urgent petition the king granted them (May 29, 1813) the right to purchase immunity, and this privilege was utilised on so extensive a scale that a great part of the expenses of establishing the West Prussian Landwehr was defrayed out of the fees paid by the Jews for exemption. The only available official list of Jewish soldiers, which includes those enrolled in the great

majority of the Prussian regiments, shows that in the year 1813 there were only 343 Jews in the army; while in the year 1815, when the strength of the army attained its highest figure, there were to be found with the colours, at the most liberal estimate, no more than 731 Jews, an extraordinarily low figure considering the proportion of Jews to the population.¹ After the war, their number sank once more to between two and three hundred. What was there, indeed, to attract them to the colours? By the law of 1812 they were excluded from commissions, and since the king enforced this rule very strictly, during these long years of peace there was but one Jewish officer in the army of the line, M. Burg, for many years teacher at the school of artillery, a thoroughly modest and efficient soldier. Of course the young Teutonisers had no eye for the complicated historical causes which gave all too easy an explanation of the unmilitarist sentiments of the Jews. At this time, too, the money power of certain great Jewish firms in Vienna, Frankfort, and Berlin, began to make itself plainly perceptible, and was often displayed with purse-proud arrogance; moreover, political ill-feeling was aroused by the Rothschilds' confidential intercourse with Metternich and Gentz. Then came the years of famine; horrible tales, true and false, of the cruelty of Jewish usurers ran through the land. The ancient racial hatred revived. Sessa's comedy, *Our Traffic*, a bitter satire of Jewish manners and customs, made triumphal progress through well nigh all the theatres of Germany.

In the literary struggle which now took place there were not infrequently displayed on the Jewish side astounding mendacity and presumption, which served to show more clearly than all the discourses of their opponents what serious considerations could still be marshalled against the complete emancipation of the Jews. Saul Ascher of Berlin mocked at the "Germanomania" of the young generation in a number of malicious writings which exhibited fanatical hatred for all that was German, and for Goethe in particular. He boasted of the unbelieving Jews that it was their destiny in world-history to replace all positive faiths by a freer form of thought, and had the effrontery to ascribe to the

¹ *Militär Wochenblatt*, 1843, p. 348. History of the Organisation of the Landwehr in Prussia (Supplement to the before-mentioned newspaper for the year 1858), p. 120.

The Burschenschaft

members of his race the chief credit for the War of Liberation: "People forget that in France, Germany's army had the worst of it to participate, nor do they remember the armies fought in the years 1813 and 1814: Russia, Poland, Austria, and Prussia were the ranks." Another Jewish author who tooled and Fries unashamedly declared, only a few years later, that at Belle Alliance alone the Prussian army had fallen, whereas the Prussian army in all no more than twenty-four officers. A well-intentioned, published *A Friendly* I gesting good-naturedly that since the obvious fact that the Christians would for the sake of the Sabbath. In Frankfort, he declared that all his Christian opponents or the instruments of vulgar selfishness.¹

In face of such arrogance it was ineffectual that offensive expressions should be used in the matter; nevertheless the great majority of the Jews maintained a dignified attitude. Lessing's idea of a new currency, and no German would any longer use the Jews as Fichte had formerly done. The persons started from the principle that a country did not *per se* suffice to justify a claim to citizenship; they were willing to admit equality in the domain of civil law, but not—or at least not complete equality in all other respects. This view necessarily appeared to cultured Jews as a view that the mass of their race was still in a state which rendered complete emancipation impossible, even found to direct to the German principle that they should effect an improvement of the Jewish system "in order to uplift my nation or

¹ Saul Ascher, *Germanomania*, Berlin, 1815. Writings of Professors Ruhs and Fries concerning the A Friendly Word to Christians by a Jew, place of M. Hess, Frank Examination of Kuhs' Writing, Frankfurt, 1816.

² Patriotic Appeal of a Loyal Israelite to the Prussian Government, 1816.

Eckhart

ents, shows that in the year 1813 the army; while in the year 1815, it attained its highest figure, there were, at the most liberal estimate, an extraordinarily low figure considering population.¹ After the war, their numbers were between two and three hundred. How did they act them to the colours? By the influence of commissions, and since the war, strictly, during these long years of peace, an officer in the army of the line, whether at the school of artillery, a private soldier. Of course the young officers, complicated historical causes which were one of the unmilitarist sentiments of the time, the money power of certain great fort, and Berlin, began to make war was often displayed with purse-political ill-feeling was aroused by intercourse with Metternich and famine; horrible tales, true and untrue, ran through the land. The Sessa's comedy, *Our Traffic*, a comedy of manners, made triumphal progress in the theatres of Germany.

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members of his race the chief credit for the victories of the War of Liberation: "People forget that in the struggle with France, Germany's army had the worst of it until the Jews came to participate, nor do they remember how successfully these armies fought in the years 1813 and 1814 as soon as the Jews from Russia, Poland, Austria, and Prussia were enrolled in their ranks." Another Jewish author who took the field against Rühs and Fries unashamedly declared, only a year after the Belgian campaign, that at Belle Alliance alone fifty-five Jewish officers had fallen, whereas the Prussian army in this battle had lost in all no more than twenty-four officers. A third writer, plainly well-intentioned, published *A Friendly Word to Christians*, suggesting good-naturedly that since the obstinate Jews would certainly not abandon their ancient customs, the best thing would be if the Christians would for the sake of harmony change their Sunday to the Sabbath. In Frankfurt, Hess, a Jewish teacher, declared that all his Christian opponents were either visionaries or the instruments of vulgar selfishness.¹

In face of such arrogance it was inevitable that unjust and offensive expressions should be used in the other camp as well; nevertheless the great majority of the Christian writers maintained a dignified attitude. Lessing's ideas had quietly secured currency, and no German would any longer write so cruelly about the Jews as Fichte had formerly done. Almost all reasonable persons started from the principle that mere residence in the country did not *per se* suffice to justify a claim to the full rights of citizenship; they were willing to admit the Jews to equality in the domain of civil law, but not—or at any rate not yet—to complete equality in all other respects. However harsh this view necessarily appeared to cultured Jews, it was unquestionable that the mass of their race was still in a neglected condition which rendered complete emancipation inadvisable; a Jew was even found to direct to the German princes a pitiful appeal that they should effect an improvement of the Jewish educational system "in order to uplift my nation out of spiritual gloom."²

¹ Saul Ascher, *Germanomania*, Berlin, 1815, p. 67. Observations on the Writings of Professors Rühs and Fries concerning the Jews, Frankfurt, 1816, p. 4. *A Friendly Word to Christians* by a Jew, place of publication not stated, 1816. M. Hess, *Frank Examination of Rühs's Writing*, Frankfurt, 1816.

² Patriotic Appeal of a Loyal Israelite to the Princes of Germany, Büdingen, 1816.

³ History of the Organisation of the before-mentioned newspaper for the year

itself more liberal than public opinion. Hardenberg, in accordance with the old traditions of the Prussian spirit of toleration, from the first instructed the Prussian envoy to insist that the Jews of Frankfort were at least entitled to exercise restricted civic rights; and, to the astonishment of the uninitiated, Austria supported this view, the reason being that the Hofburg could not get along without the Rothschilds' money. When Metternich and Gentz visited Frankfort in the year 1818, they devoted all their influence (as formerly at the congress of Vienna) to the service of their wealthy protégés. The proceedings now went forward with customary slowness, and in the year 1824, through the instrumentality of the Bundestag, the Frankfort Jews reacquired a portion of their rights. They were recognised as "Israelite burghers," but remained excluded from official positions, and acquired equality with Gentile citizens only in matters of civil law. Even in this last point there were certain petty restrictions. For example, the Jews were not allowed to engage in the fruit trade; they might possess no more than one house each; their community was not allowed to celebrate more than fifteen marriages annually. With few exceptions, the newspapers tenaciously espoused the cause of the parochially-minded bourgeoisie of Frankfort, for Dalberg's laws were in ill-repute as the work of the foreign dominion, while there was a general dread lest through the exuberant growth of Hebrew activities the federal town might lose its German character. Luden wrote bluntly, "*vox populi, vox Dei*—the voice of the people is unfavourable to the Jews."

In student circles, this mood of the day was further accentuated by the romanticism of Christian enthusiasm. The students regarded themselves as a neo-Christian knighthood, displaying their hatred of the Jews with a crude intolerance which strongly recalled the days of the crusades. From the first, it was definitely resolved to exclude all non-Christians from the new league of youth. Could this be effected, the Jewish students would in reality be robbed of their academic civic rights, for it was the aim of the Burschenschaft to impose its laws upon the totality of the students, and to abolish all other associations.

As early as the summer of 1814 there was constituted in Jena a society of arms to prepare its members by means of

The Burschenschaft

knightly exercises for the military service the following spring, the members of the weary of the fruitless old activities, hitherto unattached to any organisation. In 1815, the new Burschenschaft was inaugurated with the ancient custom of Jena, by a for the market place. It was led by two Mecklenburg, Horn and Riemann, and by of Fries, Scheidler from Gotha; these were who had fought valiantly during the war. Carl Horn, who at a later date became a teacher of Fritz Reuter, remained until after the death of the enthusiasms of his youth, and died in founding the Burschenschaft he had Lord's work." The new association immediately abolished the evil customs of Pennalism, and it was governed by purely democratic principles. Executive officers appointed in open election reduced the practice of duelling within the association to a strict watch upon the morals of its members.

A year after the foundation of the Burschenschaft in Jena had been dissolved, other students' corps in Jena had been dissolved. The Burschenschaft now seemed to have attained to have become a union of all the Christian students. In these early days there still prevailed the patriotic enthusiasm. What an abyss separated them from the roughness of earlier days now told as their association song Arndt's vigorous

To whom shall first our thanks be
To God, Whose greatness wonder
From night of long disgrace is seen
Forth-flaming in a glorious dawn,
Who humbled hath our haughty
Who our strength for us renews,
And ruling sits beyond the stars
Till time becomes eternity.

For the emblem of their league and of Germany the Burschenschaft emblem was intended to symbolise, the

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accordance with Jahn's proposal, a black-red-and-gold banner. Probably these were the colours of the uniform of Lützow's volunteers, and this force had also carried a black-and-red flag embroidered in gold. Some members of the Burschenschaft were indeed bold enough to maintain that in this banner were renewed the black-and-yellow colours of the old empire, embellished by the red of liberty, or perhaps of war (for red had once been the war colour of the imperial armies). But the more zealous members would hear nothing of such historical memories, and interpreted their colours as meaning the passage from the black night of slavery, through bloody struggles, to the golden dawn of freedom. Thus it was that from out these students' dreams there came into existence that tricolor, which for half a century remained the banner of the national desire, which was to bring to Germany so many hopes and so many tears, so many noble thoughts and so many sins, until at length, like the black-blue-and-red banner of the Italian carbonari, it became disgraced in the fury of party struggles, and, once more like the carbonari banner, was replaced by the colours of the national state.

The intention of the Burschenschaft to unite all the students in a single association originated in an overstrained idealism, for the greatest charm of such societies of young men lies, in truth, in the intimacies of individual friendship. The invincible personal pride of the Germans would not so readily allow all to be treated on equal terms. To aristocratic natures, the general use of the familiar "thou," which the Burschenschaft enjoined, was uncongenial. Not alone the rude debauchees of the old school, but also many harmless pleasure-loving young men, were bored by the precociously wise and earnest tone of the Burschen, among whom prestige could be acquired solely by emotional eloquence, or perhaps, in addition, by good swordsmanship. Men of free and individual intelligence, such as young Carl Immermann of Halle, cared nothing for the opinion of the leaders of the Burschenschaft, holding that distinguished student chiefs are very rarely men of talent. The only resource against such opponents was dictatorial severity, and the narrowness characteristic of every new tendency (among young men at least) soon increased in the Burschenschaft to the pitch of terrorism. In Jena it

The Burschenschaft

proved possible for the opinion, and the conceit of. With important mien, the committee strode every day deliberating in measured and of the universities; this small academic realm fessors exhibited for these veneration, compounded the leaders of the Bursch when their organisation was

Patriotic orations disseminated more and more violent, triumphant assertion: "it itself; it annihilates." The Burschenschaft went down to the death that it was in truth the German empire. Half a century the long struggle for unit German history as a single Burschenschaft and student man of ability acquired a love of the fatherland at a still idealism of those days was directed sentiment. To the Burschenschaft there belonged, in like H. von Gagern, a played ultra-conservative W. Menzel, Jarke, and H. egoism, and the persisters were unfavourable to the whole it may be said proceeded more professors of the corps, the subse were derived more states

For the present, however, in Jena. Its fame was due where it attracted new students speedily became

osal, a black-red-and-gold banner. of the uniform of Lützow's volunteers also carried a black-and-red flag members of the Burschenschaft were in that in this banner were renewed of the old empire, embellished by of war (for red had once been the es). But the more zealous members historical memories, and interpreted passage from the black night of es, to the golden dawn of freedom. These students' dreams there came which for half a century remained sire, which was to bring to Germany tears, so many noble thoughts length, like the black-blue-and-red , it became disgraced in the fury ore like the carbonari banner, was national state.

Burschenschaft to unite all the students ted in an overstrained idealism, ocieties of young men lies, in truth, friendship. The invincible peruld not so readily allow all to be isticratic natures, the general use he Burschenschaft enjoined, was le debauchees of the old school, asure-loving young men, were nd earnest tone of the Burschen, acquired solely by emotional elo-y good swordsmanship. Men of such as young Carl Immermann opinion of the leaders of the Bur- guished student chiefs are very resource against such opponents he narrowness characteristic of g men at least) soon increased pitch of terrorism. In Jena it

proved possible for the time being to silence all differences of opinion, and the conceit of the Burschen now became intolerable. With important mien, the executive and the members of the committee strode every afternoon up and down the market place, deliberating in measured conversation the weal of the fatherland and of the universities; they regarded themselves as lords of this small academic realm, all the more because most of the professors exhibited for these youthful tyrants a quite immoderate veneration, compounded of fear and benevolence; even now, the leaders of the Burschenschaft looked forward to the time when their organisation would rule all Germany.

Patriotic orations displaying passion and enthusiasm became more and more violent, already concluding at times with the triumphant assertion: "Our judgment has the weight of history itself; it annihilates." How many old members of the Burschenschaft went down to their graves inspired by the happy illusion that it was in truth their organisation which had founded the new German empire. Half a century later, Arnold Ruge described the long struggle for unity and freedom characteristic of modern German history as a single great *pro patria* dispute between Burschenschaften and students' corps. Indisputably, many a young man of ability acquired his first understanding of the splendour of the fatherland at a students' drinking party, but the political idealism of those days was too formless to arouse a definitely directed sentiment. To the first generation of the Burschenschaft there belonged, in addition to isolated liberal party-leaders like H. von Gagern, a great many men who subsequently displayed ultra-conservative tendencies, as for instance Leo, Stahl, W. Menzel, Jarke, and Hengstenberg. Voluble enthusiasm, hazy egoism, and the persistent confusion of appearance and reality, were unfavourable to the development of political talent. On the whole it may be said that from the Burschenschaft there proceeded more professors and authors, whilst from the ranks of the corps, the subsequent opponents of the Burschenschaft, were derived more statesmen.

For the present, however, the Burschenschaft was supreme in Jena. Its fame was disseminated through all the universities, where it attracted new students, and at Jena the number of students speedily became doubled. At other universities, too,

was led by Scheidler, carrying the sword of the Burschen, and followed by four vassals; next came Count Keller, surrounded by four standard guards, with the new colours of the Burschen which the girls of Jena had shortly before embroidered for their austere young friends; the Burschen followed two by two, among them a number of heroic German figures, many of them bearded (which to the timid already sufficed to arouse suspicion of treasonable designs). Delight shone from every eye, for all were inspired by the happy self-forgetfulness of youth which is still able to immerse itself in the pleasures of the moment. It seemed to them as if to-day for the first time they had been able truly to appreciate the glories of their fatherland.

In the banqueting-hall of the Wartburg, which the grand duke had hospitably thrown open, *God is to us a tower of strength* was first of all sung amid the rolling of kettle-drums and the blast of trumpets. Then Riemann, of Lützow's yagers, delivered an inaugural address describing in emotional and exaggerated phraseology the deeds of Luther and of Blucher, and going on to exhort the Burschen by the spirits of the mighty dead "to strive for the acquirement of every human and patriotic virtue." The speech was not free from the current catchwords about the frustrated hopes of the German nation and about the one prince who had kept his word. As a whole, it was a youthful and obscure but thoroughly harmless outpouring of sentimentality, just as vague and unmeaning as the new pass-word *Volunto!* of which the Burschen were so fond. Nor did the subsequent speeches of the professors and of the other students exceed this measure, for even Oken spoke with unusual self-restraint, warning the young people against premature political activities.

After the midday meal, the Burschen returned to the town and went to church, the service being also attended by the Eisenach Landsturm; and after church the champions of the Berlin and Jena gymnastic grounds displayed their arts to the astonished Landsturmers. At nightfall there was a renewed procession to the Wartberg, opposite the Warsburg, this time by torchlight, and here were lighted a number of bonfires of victory, greeted with patriotic speeches and songs. Hitherto the festival had been characterised by a pleasing harmony, but now it became manifest that there already existed within the Burschenschaft

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a small party of extremists, Teutons of Jahn's school whom the Turnvater had for a senseless demonstration had suggested that the festival should be crowned by an immolation, and that just as Luther had been excommunicated, so now the good cause should be cast out of the festival committee, a proposal, Jahn had given his determined to carry out the a proceeding which the committee was unwilling positively to do. Had the last serious song been sung, the fires, and the true Luther, Massmann suddenly came to exhort the brethren to follow Luther's example, sentence purgatory upon the evil which arrived the sacred hour when we can see what we desire; can in the future."

Thereupon his associates old printed matter, each in a demned book. Tossed in traitors to their fatherland loud hooting. The parcel society of about two dozen everything which had most and similar journals. The and Scherer, and, to make gibbling, screaming, and gymnastic craft"; copies to the flames, with issues disgrace and dishonour the three writings by the determined an opprobrious pun upon

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the sword of the Burschen, next came Count Keller, surrounded by the new colours of the had shortly before embroidered the Burschen followed two by heroic German figures, many of which had already sufficed to arouse. Delight shone from every eye, happy self-forgetfulness of youth in the pleasures of the moment. For the first time they had been in their fatherland.

The Wartburg, which the grand old God is to us a tower of strength, the ringing of kettle-drums and the blast of Lützow's yagers, delivered an emotional and exaggerated phrase-Blucher, and going on to exhort the mighty dead "to strive for an and patriotic virtue." The current catchwords about the frisson and about the one prince who, it was a youthful and obscure ringing of sentimentality, just as a password *Volunto!* of which he did the subsequent speeches of students exceed this measure, for self-restraint, warning the young of all activities.

Burschen returned to the town being also attended by the Eisenach champions of the Berlin played their arts to the astonished here was a renewed procession Warsburg, this time by torchlight, a number of bonfires of victory, and songs. Hitherto the festival was a pleasing harmony, but now it became distasteful within the Burschenschaft

a small party of extremists, composed of those fanatical primitive Teutons of Jahn's school who passed by the name of "Old Germans." The Turnvater had felt that this valuable opportunity for a senseless demonstration must on no account be lost. He had suggested that the festival in commemoration of Luther should be crowned by an imitation of the boldest of the reformer's actions, and that just as Luther had once burned the papal bull of excommunication, so now the writings of the enemies of the good cause should be cast into the flames. Since the majority of the festival committee, wiser than Jahn, had rejected the proposal, Jahn had given his Berlin companions a list of the books to be burned, and his faithful followers, led by Massmann, now determined to carry out the master's plan on their own initiative, a proceeding which the committee, desiring to keep the peace, was unwilling positively to prohibit. On the Wartburg, hardly had the last serious song been finished by the Burschen surrounding the fires, and the true festival been brought to a close, when Massmann suddenly came to the front, and in a bombastic speech exhorted the brethren to contemplate how, in accordance with Luther's example, sentence was to be executed in the fires of purgatory upon the evil writings of the fatherland. Now had arrived the sacred hour "in which all the world of Germany can see what we desire; can know what is to be expected from us in the future."

Thereupon his associates brought forward several parcels of old printed matter, each inscribed with the titles of the condemned books. Tossed in by a pitchfork, the works of the traitors to their fatherland then fell into the infernal flames amid loud hooting. The parcels contained a wonderfully mixed society of about two dozen books in all, some good and some bad, everything which had most recently aroused the anger of the *Isis* and similar journals. There were burned the works of Wadzeck and Scherer, and, to make a clean sweep, those "of all the other cribbling, screaming, and speechless foes of the praiseworthy gymnastic craft"; copies of the *Alemannia*, too, found their way to the flames, with issues "of all the other newspapers which disgrace and dishonour the fatherland"; then, of course, came three writings by the detested Schmalz (while the chorus intoned an opprobrious pun upon the author's name), and the *General*

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Code of the Gendarmerie by Schmalz's comrade, Kamptz. Beside the *code Napoléon*, Kotzebue's *German History*, and Ascher's *Germanomania* (followed by a shout of "Woe unto the Jews!"), there was burned Haller's *Restoration*, the choice of this victim being explained on the ground "the fellow does not want the German fatherland to have a constitution"—although not one of the Burschen had ever read this ponderous book. But even Benzenberg and Wangenheim, liberals both, had to suffer at the hands of these angry young men because their works had proved incomprehensible to the Jena journalists. Finally, an Uhlan warrior's pair of stays, a pigtail, and a corporal's cane, were burned as "fuglemen of military pedantry, the scandal of the serious and sacred warrior caste"; and with three groans for "the rascally Schmalzian crew" the judges of this modern Fehmich court dispersed.

The farce was indescribably silly, but no worse than many similar expressions of academic coarseness, and it demanded serious consideration only on account of the measureless arrogance and Jacobin intolerance shown in the young people's offensive orations. Stein spoke in very strong terms about "the tomfoolery at the Wartburg"; while Niebuhr, ever inclined to the gloomiest view, wrote with much anxiety, "Liberty is quite impossible if young people lack veneration and modesty." He was disgusted by this "religious comedy," by the ludicrous contrast between the bold reformer who had risen in revolt against the highest and most sacred authority of his time, and on the other hand this safe passing of fiery judgment by a group of boastful young Burschen upon a number of writings of which they hardly knew a line! At the students' assembly, on the following day, the young men made use of calmer language, being at least more reasonable than their teacher Fries, who had left them a written discourse of an incredibly tasteless character, turgid with mystical biblical wisdom and Saxe-Weimar arrogance of liberty. "Return," admonished Fries, "to your own places saying that you have visited the land where the German people is free, where German thought is free . . . Here there is no standing army to burden the nation! A little land shows you the goal! But all the German princes made a similar promise" . . . , and so on. Certainly Stein had good reason for censuring the

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Jena professors as "drivelling met. reason just as good when he invoked political oratory, for what could be when their revered teacher held up t of Weimar as a glorious example for t same repulsive intermingling of relig displayed in Fries's speech, came to li noon, when some of the Burschen li Holy Communion. Superintendent N point, and administered the sacramer and more or less intoxicated young me of that deplorable laxity which in tim guished both the temporal and the : petty states.

Notwithstanding the follies of inc whole was harmless, happy, and innoc the young men had said their farewell most of them there remained a life-like a May-day in youth, as Heinrich had a brotherly meeting with comrade the north; they considered that the fatherland was already within the public opinion had been sensible enc hotheads to themselves and to their ov tions which many an excellent youth excitement might have borne valuable

But amid the profound stillness German north, the impudent speeches far too loudly. It seemed as if frien a conspiracy to increase to the pitch morbid self-conceit, that deadly sin c honourable enthusiasms, as if every assurance of Carové, one of the W extolled the universities as the nat honour. With ludicrous earnestnes delightedly hailed this first awakening nation, "this silvery sheen in our hist epoch"; while, on the other hand, t ticated townsman for the students wh

men clothed itself in a political dress. A whole library of writings and counter-writings illuminated the extraordinary drama from all sides, raising this outburst of students' revelry to the level of a European event. It was natural that the heroes of the occasion should participate with justified pride in this paper-warfare. The most faithful picture of the young people's hazy enthusiasm was given by Massmann in a long report of the festival, in which the stilted oracular phraseology unquestionably served to show how much that was un-German was after all concealed in the Jahnese "strong-manhood." "Although the gloomy winter night of serfdom," he begins, "still lowers over the hills and the streams of the German land, nevertheless the peaks are aflame, and the blood-red gold of dawn gathers strength." The poor young man had now to make severe atonement for the Turnvater's folly. Since he dreaded a prosecution and did not wish to cut too painful a figure before the judges, he had to devote the whole winter term to the belated perusal of all the evil books which he had symbolically burned on the Wartenburg. Another work, presumably by Carové, was dedicated to the writer's Rhenish fellow-countrymen with the wish that the spiritual sun of the Wartburg might illumine them also, might bring them strength and consolation in their misfortune. The majority, however, still remained tolerably quiet. A proposal to publish a political programme was rejected with the definite declaration that the Burschenschaft was not to intervene in politics, whilst a short writing on the Wartburg festival by F. I. Frommann, a member of a respected family of Jena booksellers, was thoroughly modest, being characterised merely by a harmless youthful enthusiasm.

Unfortunately several of the professors who had attended the festival proved far more foolish than their pupils. In a typically coarse newspaper report, Fries did not hesitate to express plain approval of the fire-assize which had dealt with the writings "of some of the Schmalzian crew." To "many who discuss Germany wisely and unwisely," Oken, in the *Isis*, held up the Wartburg gathering as a brilliant example, availing himself of all the pictorial wealth of his goose-heads, donkey-heads, priest-heads, and Jew-heads, in order to pour out fresh scorn upon the authors of the burned writings, whereupon the Jena students,

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in a masked procession dramatic representation who, despite his magnetic other members of the and learning, published spirit of the German uni vaunts, saying that the Germany's peoples will st one of those events whic in history, an event whic germs, influential for cent

For these outbreaks petty sensibilities of the largely responsible. The the virulence of political s had been selected for con ously affronted by the toi alone bore the insult with colleagues at the Bunde as a demagogue, but that the Wartburg they had spirit. Many of the othe lated gloomy reports, as and the federal act had al E pecially infuriated was eagerly grasped the w academic Jacobins once I that the ignorant young m his gendarmerie code, a which the editor had ordinances, among them self, had been publicly bui Weimar, and according to was indisputable that the petrated. In two minator quently in a pamphlet *Co Matters*, Kamptz expound satisfaction, declaring tha that the century had bec

tical dress. A whole library of illuminated the extraordinary drama of students' revelry to the level natural that the heroes of the occasion prided in this paper-warfare. The young people's hazy enthusiasm of the report of the festival, in which unquestionably served to show it was after all concealed in the gloom. Although the gloomy winter night sweeps over the hills and the streams as the peaks are aflame, and the strength." The poor young man lamented for the Turnvater's folly. He did not wish to cut too close, he had to devote the whole of all the evil books which he had written. Another work, dedicated to the writer's Rhenish friends, that the spiritual sun of the age, might bring them strength and fortune. The majority, however, proposed a political declaration that the emperor in politics, whilst a short festival by F. I. Frommann, a Jena bookseller, was thoroughly enjoyed by a harmless youthful

professors who had attended the than their pupils. In a typically did not hesitate to express plain which had dealt with the writings crew." To "many who discuss Oken, in the *Isis*, held up the example, availing himself of all horse-heads, donkey-heads, priests, to pour out fresh scorn upon the whereupon the Jena students,

in a masked procession through the market place, gave a dramatic representation of the *Isis* caricatures. Finally Kieser, who, despite his magnetic secret doctrines, was respected by other members of the medical faculty as a man of intelligence and learning, published a work, "dedicated to the Wartburg spirit of the German universities," positively luxuriating in crazy vaunts, saying that the Wartburg festival was "an event of which Germany's peoples will still be proud when centuries have elapsed, one of those events which, like all that is truly great, never recur in history, an event which in its hidden womb may bear fruitful germs, influential for centuries to come!"

For these outbreaks of academic delusion of grandeur, the petty sensibilities of the members of the opposing party were largely responsible. The age was still but little accustomed to the virulence of political struggles, and almost all the authors who had been selected for condemnation felt that they had been seriously affronted by the tomfoolery of the students. Wangenheim alone bore the insult with good humour, saying that hitherto his colleagues at the Bundestag had regarded him with suspicion as a demagogue, but that since his book had been burned upon the Wartburg they had come to greet him in a more friendly spirit. Many of the others uttered loud complaints, and circulated gloomy reports, as that the charter of the Holy Alliance and the federal act had also been burned by the youthful traitors. Especially infuriated was Privy Councillor Kamptz, and he eagerly grasped the welcome chance of suppressing the academic Jacobins once for all. What a piece of luck it was that the ignorant young men had chosen to commit to the flames his gendarmerie code, a collection of police regulations, to which the editor had added hardly anything! Sovereign ordinances, among them some issued by Charles Augustus himself, had been publicly burned upon the grand-ducal soil of Saxe-Weimar, and according to Quistorp's work upon Criminal Law it was indisputable that the "crime of *lèse-majesté*" had been perpetrated. In two minatory letters to the grand duke, and subsequently in a pamphlet *Concerning the Public Burning of Printed Matters*, Kamptz expounded these ideas, and stormily demanded satisfaction, declaring that German soil had been desecrated, that the century had been defiled by the vandalism of dema-

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ead of their William or of their regarded their Gallophobia and although he carefully refrained from his own views, since to do this would be. In a word, he was a Jacobin, as the year 1818 (as the Burschen) ionable that from 1820 onwards, on- dence with the revolutionary over France, were controlled by leading principle was that no one ose authority he had not himself therefore, in accordance with the ale of the majority was alone f of the state, for the just state er top nor bottom exists because nmit."

al for a centralised German con- n, emended by his brother Carl, entag in the autumn of 1818, onising phrases, nothing beyond tal law of the French republic. lutely equal rights; legislation ufrage of all, the majority to ealm was to be administered in l number of inhabitants, and ; all officials were to be equally popular representatives; there urch, and no other creed was to e solely in the rural districts, ction in agriculture and handi- an elected king with a Reichsrat. ad been penned by Saint-Just. dents than were these radical base ethical system which Carl et's inspiration, a preposterous ameiful than the teachings of at any rate, had allowed that ippreme, but Follen, with facile personal "conviction" which

flourished among the students, developed a system of crude subjectivism which simply denied any objective rule to human life. It was bluntly declared that for the righteous man no law was of account. What the reason recognises as true must be realised by the moral will, at once, unconditionally, uncompromisingly, even to the point of annihilating all those who hold different opinions; there cannot be any talk of a conflict of duties, for the realisation of the reason is a moral necessity. This proposition was known simply as "the principle," and it was on its account that Follen's confidants termed themselves the "Unconditionals." To the members of this sect it seemed that anything was permissible for the sake of popular freedom—lying, murder, or any other crime—for no one had the right to withhold freedom from the people.

Thus did the evangel of the overthrow of all moral and political order make its first appearance in Germany, that terrible theory which, under many different cloaks, was ever and again to disturb the century, and which was finally to receive its extremest development in the doctrine of the Russian nihilists. But Follen draped his nihilism in a Christian mantle: Jesus, the martyr of conviction, was the Unconditionals' hero; their association-song declared "A Christ shalt thou become!" Just as impudently were misused the names of the Prussian heroes, and especially of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, by some from naive ignorance, but by Follen from calculation, for the innocent Burschen were to believe that Germany's warriors had fought for democracy. A widely sung lay by Buri, *Scharnhorst's Prayer*, was adorned by the brothers Follen with revolutionary phrases, and was printed under the false title *Kosciuszko's Prayer*. In this the general was made to swear:

I shrink not back, and if need be through fierce and bloody fights
Will men's great cause defend, the city free of equal rights!

Carl Follen himself also hammered out verses, although his harsh nature utterly lacked poetic gifts; and the incredible bombast, the savage and bloodthirsty rhetoric of his poems, found many admirers among the students. His master-work was *The Great Song*; it was widely circulated by Weidig and Sand, but its

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through the untamable wildness of his hot blood that for a brief period he was impelled to take part in a modern revolutionary movement which was utterly foreign to his temperament.

The tone of these Blacks was indescribably impudent; they were absolutely convinced that it was their mission to initiate and direct the emancipation of the enslaved peoples. A Bavarian wit, masquerading as an enthusiastic disciple of Fries, had recently published an open letter in which he classified the entire human race as Burschen, she-Burschen, teachers-of-Burschen, those-destined-to-become-Burschen, and those-who-had-been-Burschen. The satire was so aptly conceived that many of the Burschen themselves took the letter at its face value, and the same mistake has been made by not a few historians of to-day. For a long time now the Blacks had not been satisfied with such manifestations of foolish impertinence as that of Lornsen, who in the presence of the young duke of Meiningen gave vent to three groans for the thirty or three and thirty. With sinister composure, they daily discussed who should first be "corpsed" in the cause of freedom. Since Metternich was out of reach and not one of the German princes was regarded with especial hatred, the wild talk returned ever to Kotzebue as the first victim. In the autumn of 1818, when it was expected that Czar Alexander was about to pass through Jena, the leaders of the Unconditionals held a secret conclave to consider whether the time had now come to strike a blow against the despot; anyone whose response to this inquiry showed him to be untrustworthy was henceforward tacitly excluded from the counsels of the initiates. The czar meanwhile had passed on his way without visiting the town, and it was subsequently contended that the leaders of the Blacks were aware of the fact. This may be true, but what had happened to our youth when approval of the cowardly practice of political assassination, one so repulsive to the German sense of uprightness, had come to be regarded as the touchstone of sound sentiments?

The young peoples' excitement was increased by the alarm of the official newspapers, and unfortunately also by many indiscreet utterances on the part of their teachers. In his lectures, as previously in his *Politics*, Luden advanced the incontestable proposition that the power and the liberty of the state are priceless moral goods, and that on occasion, therefore, other moral goods

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must be sacrificed to the great enough to impress profound significance of; applied, and many of his the impression, as did Ca Fries, too, was in a state of awakening of demagoguery, confused. Conscientious societies, he endeavoured to phraseology, and the police authority which oaks and pines of the exciting rather than calm people he said: "I regard man law and for a vigorous the unity of Germany, by highly well-born French by well-born Latin apes by standing armies, by haughty idlers who act, the people is master," uninfluenced by the bitterness of his *Spirit of the Age*, inferior to the earlier liberation was no longer; was necessarily strengthened by the Seven Years' War as an our classical poetry as a formless age, lacking love, gestured that secret conspiracy or a malicious tyrant entire generation to the and had no idea that to consider that they tyrants. The French constitution, "while our rule as if we had no more while for the Prussian militia organisation of

of his hot blood that for a brief part in a modern revolutionary ign to his temperament. s indescribably impudent; they it was their mission to initiate e enslaved peoples. A Bavarian tic disciple of Fries, had recently h he classified the entire human 1, teachers-of-Burschen, those- d those-who-had-been-Burschen. ed that many of the Burschen face value, and the same mistake istorians of to-day. For a long en satisfied with such manifesta- s that of Lornsen, who in the iningen gave vent to three groans 7. With sinister composure, they t be "corpsed" in the cause of out of reach and not one of the ith especial hatred, the wild talk he first victim. In the autumn that Czar Alexander was about ers of the Unconditionals held a ther the time had now come to :; anyone whose response to this stworthy was henceforward tacitly he initiates. The czar meanwhile visiting the town, and it was sub- eaders of the Blacks were aware , but what had happened to our wardly practice of political assas- German sense of uprightness, had :hstone of sound sentiments? ment was increased by the alarm id unfortunately also by many of their teachers. In his lectures, Luden advanced the incontestable the liberty of the state are priceless sion, therefore, other moral goods

must be sacrificed to these; but his intellectual force was not great enough to impress clearly upon the students' minds the profound significance of a doctrine which may so readily be misapplied, and many of his greatly moved audience simply acquired the impression, as did Carl Sand, that the end justifies the means. Fries, too, was in a state of hopeless perplexity in face of the awakening of demagogy, and his expressions of opinion were often confused. Conscientiously warning the students against secret societies, he endeavoured to gild the pill by the use of revolutionary phraseology, and inveighed in such rough terms against the police authority which insisted on "binding to hop-poles the oaks and pines of the German forests," that his words proved exciting rather than calmative. In a confession of faith for young people he said: "I regard as sacred the demand for a new German law and for a vigorous republican system that will secure the unity of Germany. I detest the way in which we are ruled by highly well-born French apes, and in which we are instructed by well-born Latin apes. I loathe the oppression of the people by standing armies, by the salaries paid to the stupid and haughty idlers who act as officers. The people is the army, and the people is master." Even the free spirit of Arndt was not uninfluenced by the bitterness of the epoch. The fourth volume of his *Spirit of the Age*, published in the year 1818, was greatly inferior to the earlier volumes; the fine emotion of the wars of liberation was no longer adequate. The pride of the students was necessarily strengthened when Arndt depicted for them the Seven Years' War as an empty tale, and described the works of our classical poetry as petty and spiritless, as the offspring of a formless age, lacking love and lacking glory. He innocently suggested that secret conspiracies were permissible only "if a foreign nation or a malicious tyrant were endeavouring to brutalise the entire generation to the level of dogs, monkeys, and snakes," and had no idea that his young readers had long before come to consider that they themselves were ruled by such malicious tyrants. The French and the Poles, he exclaimed, have a constitution, "while our rulers wish to have us lying at their mercy as if we had no more life in us than a lot of wooden posts"; while for the Prussian army he held up as an example the loose militia organisation of the Swedish army, based on what was

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which in the last war had done thoughtless words of incitement, the good man directed against "the Germans" were completely s, anger concerning the disillusion, gradually increased to an number of 1818, even Schleiermacher approaching—and this at a time when the Prussian government was in no reasonable criticism.

Follen removed to Jena as demonstrator of the Burschenschaft, the sentiment which had prevailed in endeavour to hold his own with the struggles of the Philosophical owed himself far in advance of withdrew more and more from it is true that the number of lined very small, for the young impossible for them entirely to stle of assassination; his prindevoted slave Carl Sand, and urer, who subsequently became uence of his doctrines extended ouder and louder became the heads." During the winter, hing was permissible to the r faithful followers got control shaft; then a secret society ere, like the carbonari, divided vn even to one another. Since it for the conspirators' secret e above the level of a foolish as not devoid of grave signiung men played rudely and ical crime, and were actually struction that whoever wished do the liberating deed witholder Blacks, Wilhelm Snell,

was at this time dismissed his post, his Hessian comrades issued to the Unconditionals an appeal for the support of their friend "so that the brood may learn to tremble before the higher power which will swing the sword of vengeance as strongly as now it swings the shield of defence, as soon as sin awakens the day of wrath."

At a later date, men who had once been members of the Blacks' organisation considered that much mischief might have been avoided if Follen and one or two of his older associates had been expelled from Germany in good time. But the governments had no detailed information regarding these restless activities, and contemplated them with timid concern. The handful of demagogues continued its evil work, until the day was to dawn in which the seed of criminal words which had been so widely scattered was to be harvested, and in which an unhappy wretch, dagger in hand, was to realise the doctrine of political assassination.

Follen's activities had disastrous results. In the summer of 1819, his faithful follower Sand stabbed and killed the dramatist and sometime Russian agent Kotzebue, in the belief that he was striking a blow for liberty. This senseless act gave Metternich a pretext for fastening the Austrian system of thought control on all the states of the German Confederation.

THE CARLSBAD DECREES (III, 180-85, 206-7, 213-14, 227)

No one who knows the contagious energy of political crime will deny that, after all that had happened, the crowns were justified in undertaking, and were even compelled to undertake, a strict investigation into the ultimate causes of the murder of Kotzebue and the attempt on Ibell's life, and to initiate severe proceedings against certain writers who openly defended political assassination. Since both the criminals belonged to the Unconditionals, the suppression of these Burschenschaft was unavoidable for a time at least. Yet nothing but courageous, firm, and calm action on the part of the governments could bring unstable public opinion to its senses once more, and at the German courts there was no trace of such statesmanlike certainty

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of aim. Gloomy epochs appear from time to time in which even noble nations seem to be smitten by epidemic mental disorder. Thus almost all the German governments fell a prey to a wild delusion of persecution. The two enigmatic crimes, the excited language of the newspapers (among which the *Isis* and the *Neue Stuttgarter Zeitung* were especially foolish), the stormy proceedings of the two first Landtags—all these things in conjunction made the minor courts extremely uneasy. There was superadded the obscure feeling that the nation had, in truth, little ground to congratulate itself upon the Vienna treaties.

The South German courts, which were hailed in the press as pillars of the constitutional faith, displayed themselves the most disturbed of all. King William of Würtemberg sent the court of St. Petersburg so dire a description of the revolutionary sentiments of the German youth that Stourdza exulted loudly, and even the ultra-conservative Blittersdorff found this appeal of a German prince to a foreign court a contemptible act. Bahnmaier, the pious theologian of Tübingen, was deprived of a minor post, because in an official report he had truthfully declared that Sand's action was not regarded by the students as a crime, but as a patriotic aberration. The court of Munich immediately applied to Austria and Prussia, urgently demanding that common measures should be taken against the universities; certain teachers who had expressed their satisfaction concerning the death of Kotzebue were immediately suspended from office; and since Sand sent a message to his king from prison, to the effect that the latter had nothing to fear for himself, the timid Max Joseph immediately drew the conclusion that godless designs were manifestly cherished against other German princes.¹ Finally, the government of Baden, in whose territory the crime had been committed, had quite extraordinary ideas regarding the extent of the "demagogic intrigues," as the new official expression phrased it. The investigation had disclosed a half truth. The government believed itself to have ascertained that in the Burschenschaft there existed a secret society "whose principal motto is tyrannicide, and which has its centre in the vicinity of Giessen, in the abode of a certain Follenius." But the Badenese government did not

The Carlsbad Decrees

discover how few and powerless cherishing the illusion that the Gernbine to establish a German parliament and then to declare the indivisible consequently with ardent gratitude gracious communication of the most the emperor," when Metternich was determined to take serious steps the abandoned writers, "who are instilling their revolutionary principle to the point of intoxication." Bei the Badenese federal envoy to foi declared to the cabinet of St. Petersburg to the source of this hellish less than the overthrow of all di we desire to suppress the despot endeavouring to exercise over the p under the ægis of an inexperienced youth."¹

Far more momentous was the court of Berlin. As with all other of this government, the reactionary proceeded from the monarch in per more dissatisfied with his chance "curious" entourage. From the journals, which Wittgenstein sedulous William concluded that a power expressed his gratitude to Eylert, the on the occasion of the Ordensfest, s of the age in a clamorous speech crime now arrived, and when the n defenders, the conscientious monarch sacred sentiments; he regarded it with inconsiderate severity, gave ordinary powers (May 4th), and in terial committee to conduct proceed The Prussian students at the unive

¹ Krusemark's Report, May 21; Zastrow's Reports, April 14 and August 4; Ministerial Despatch to Zastrow, April 23, 1819.

¹ Metternich to Berstett, April 17; Berstett to Metternich, May 29, 1819.

to-day!" Even before the Wartburg festival, he had several times discussed with the South German envoys whether there ought not to be instituted in Vienna a common *foyer* for the observation of the German revolution. Now came one appeal for help after another from the minor courts. They all complained of their own heedlessness, and expressed their admiration for the penetrating insight of the great statesman who alone had foreseen the reckless purposes of the Burschen. How was it possible that this vainest of men should now be free from a self-admiration verging upon lunacy? Since the solitary giant of the eighteenth century had passed away (he doubtless referred to Frederick II), Metternich found that the human race had become contemptibly petty. "My spirit," he declared, "cannot endure anything petty; I command a view which is incomparably wider than that which other statesmen see, or desire to see. I cannot refrain from saying to myself twenty times a day how right I am and how wrong they are. And yet it is so easy, so clear, so simple, to find the only right path!" Thus the idealistic pride of the German youth was countered by the cold arrogance of the man of the world, who was never inspired with enthusiasm for any abstract idea, who had never given a thought to the great interests of human civilisation, but who regarded fear, that meanest of human passions, as his natural ally, and who, amid all the follies of police persecution, continued to imagine himself a wise advocate of statesmanlike moderation, saying: "The sacred mean where truth is to be found, is accessible to but few."

Without even asking for proofs, he regarded it as established that the "Jena Fehm" chose its members by lot, in order to despatch them throughout Germany for the work of assassination; the power of the individual German states was inadequate to deal with so terrible a conspiracy. Consequently when King Max Joseph consulted the court of Vienna, as well as that of Berlin, regarding the suspension of the Bavarian constitution, Metternich returned an evasive answer. The press, the universities, and the chambers must be gagged by the common action of all the federal states, under Austria's leadership. "With God's help, I hope to avert the German revolution just as I have overthrown the conqueror of the world!" He was firmly supported by his monarch. Now, as always, Emperor Francis desired

repose. Never must the qu Landtags, and of those schools universities, be disturbed by He whole-heartedly approve federal prince would commit should he allow freedom to t of a common language, the German-speaking Austria.) that it was necessary to governments, and he empow to threaten that Austria wou!

On July 22nd, Metternich the proud conviction that " or the ultimate destruction Emperor Francis had abandon Venetian kingdom because th seemed a more urgent matt Austrian statesman first co his two friends of the Vienn Hardenberg and Münster. I intervention of parliament u unconditionally rely upon of the tory cabinet, and sub prince regent: "One is alw ness on the road of sound y was worthless in default of the crown of Prussia. In o hastened to Teplitz, and the conversation with King Freder course of German policy fo himself to be extremely disc demagogic plans which, as disclosed by the latest dom and with good reason, on ac and the dilatoriness of his m seven months for an answer "My own people fail me," a to the advice of this Austria given him such admirable co

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 ll the Germanised Slavonic lands,
 number of manorial estates, but
 nded gentry were impoverished,
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 utious Frederick Augustus, now
 ve such bold designs? Who
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 ulfilling all the wishes of his
 customary industry and know-
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 st void of matter.

n, the king reestablished the
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 in had given the inhabitants

819, and subsequent dates.

of that city so much opportunity for the exercise of their
 wit. Just as, a man of habit through and through, he
 continued to display his fine musical talent upon Silbermann's
 old clavicymbal although the pianoforte had long ere this been
 invented, so did he desire that his court should retain all
 the characteristics of 1780, and it was with reluctance that
 he constrained himself to the tacit recognition of some of
 the bold innovations which Prince Repnin, the Russian
 governor, had had the presumption to introduce. Repnin
 had disbanded the expensive yellow-and-blue Swiss guard,
 had thrown the Grosse Garten open to the public, and had
 connected the palace square with the Brühl Terrace by a
 flight of steps. These audacities of the foreign regime could
 not now be done away with. Subsequently some of the
 Dresden art collections were actually opened to the public.
 Hitherto these had been preserved as a court mystery, and,
 almost unknown to natives, had been visited solely by a few
 artists and foreigners, who gained entry, in accordance with
 the traditional Old Saxon manner, by the payment of a
 douceur. In other respects the court remained as unapproach-
 able as ever. Day after day two chamberlains stood behind
 the king when he sat down to meat, solemnly lifting the
 tails of his coat, first the left and then the right, before
 pushing his chair beneath him; every evening he appeared
 with all his court in the theatre, where Morlachi conducted
 the Italian opera. On Sunday in winter, after mass, the
 well-behaved boys of the upper classes waited in the corridors
 of the palace to admire the dignified train of the returning
 "Herrschaften": first of all a great number of runners,
 equerries, chamberlains, and adjutants; then the king in his
 old fashioned dress, powdered and pigtailed, his hands buried
 in a huge muff; then followed the princes, Antony and Max,
 likewise with muffs, carrying their chapeau bras—a marvellous
 spectacle, which nowhere but in Dresden could have been
 contemplated with a straight face. The king never
appeared on foot in the streets; he never saw the fine monu-
 ment to his ancestor Maurice, recently restored, for it was
 in the pleasure grounds a hundred paces from the carriage
 road. If he wished to see a travelling menagerie, the

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elephants and the snakes must pay their respects to him in the palace yard. How astonished were the Dresdeners when Max Joseph, paying a visit to the Saxon court, in accordance with his Munich custom cheerfully perambulated the town, and even exchanged words with bourgeois, for the king of Saxony never conversed with anyone who was not of the highest rank.

No one had occasion to sigh more deeply over the oppression of all this court ceremony than the gifted children of Prince Max. Prince Frederick Augustus, the hope of the country, was an amiable young man fond of brilliant conversation, and even showing some understanding of liberal ideas; he associated freely with Wangenheim, who lived in Dresden after his dismissal, and the ever-sanguine trias politician confidently anticipated that he would one day be appointed chief of the Saxon ministry.¹ Prince John, the younger son, was a Dante enthusiast, and would at times describe Italy's misfortunes in verses which sounded almost sacrilegious in the mouth of this near relative of the arch-ducal house:

A tyrant's minions practice arts of hell
In the proud city once the ocean's queen;
Towards now flee where once the Fabii fell;
Where Dante sang, base flatterers now are seen.²

Their sister, Princess Amelia, wrote minor dramas. She displayed no striking talent, but her work was characterised by cordial natural sensibility, and by remarkable knowledge of petty bourgeois life.

In the presence of the king, before whom everything was hushed in timid veneration, it was impossible for the comparatively free tone of this youthful court to find expression. Heavy was the hand of the president of the privy cabinet, the prime minister Count Einsiedel, a spare, stiff man, chary of words, his master's most humble servant, and, though still young, absolutely petrified in the usages of the Saxon court and nobility. He was at first regarded with suspicion by the fanatics of particularism, for he had estates in

¹ Wangenheim to Hartmann, February 20, 1824; September 23, 1827.

² Wangenheim to Hartmann, January 4, 1824.

The Kingdom of Saxony

Prussian Lusatia, and was "vassals."¹ In reality, how at the green-and-white bountied cared to know anything of ironworks at Lauchhammer the king's return, Count M years' standing, had died. To an Italian of the frivolous generally detested in the court at least, namely, that he had upon his royal friend, and balanced the influence of this was altered now, for Count Lutheran, was extremely friendly Catholic clergy. The minister preacher, who had become at the Bohemian church in frequently shown to be a grounded discontent. So in Stephan's participation in the missionary union, and undertakings, was regarded. For at this time among the rationalism of the old century would hear a word of Evangelisation of a strongly religious the utmost intolerance a Under Ammon's rationalistic dox tracts was absolutely of Count Dohna, grandson of Schubert, the poor and pious to keep just as quiet as founded Pella-Herrnhut in a

The cabinet was assisted powers were purely deliberative of justice and police. In the feudal state persisted financial council administered

¹ Report of Council

feeling displayed towards him by the members of his order, was forced into a radical attitude. At this time his position was still that of South German constitutional liberalism. In a *Memorial concerning the Saxon Constitution* he developed the programme of the party, demanding partition of authority, a bicameral system, and ministerial responsibility. The government refused its imprimatur to this essay in contemptuous terms, but it was printed none the less, and widely read. For a long time, now, these two aristocratic liberals had not stood alone. This was plainly manifest when the diet of 1830 again demanded that a summary statement of expenditure should be issued, and, when approving the taxes, it openly declared: "By far the smallest proportion of that which we approve is our own. The spirit of these days demands far more than the people demanded from its representatives in decades past." Once again the crown rejected all innovations, but its language was less confident than of yore. Everyone felt that the old system was tottering. After fifteen years had been wasted in dreamy inactivity, a peaceful transformation of the mouldy structure seemed extremely improbable.

Electoral Hesse (IV, 332-51)

It was not until after the Seven Years' War that, by a disastrous anachronism, all the evils of princely caprice broke over Hesse, at the very time when the clock of the old French absolutism had run down, when public opinion was already noting the activities of the great with a more critical eye, and when well-nigh all the notable princely houses of Germany were earnestly collecting their energies in the endeavour to follow King Frederick's lead. With Landgrave Frederick II, there began in the house of Philip the Magnanimous, and progressively increased, an enigmatic degeneration; in four generations the glories acquired in five rich centuries were shamefully lost; and at length this venerable race of princes became detested by the loyal people, and passed to its destruction unlamented. The Hessians were familiar with their princes' hereditary sin, ungovernable anger; ill-controlled

Electoral Hesse

eroticism had of old brou Philip the Magnanimous entirely new was the sinister regularity superadding to which the enemies of the ruled.

As long as armies were by voluntary recruiting, attached to war service until the days of King to recognise that armed though, in the Seven English mercenaries, they for their own country cantonal system had been and when the traffic in persons of these compulsion, ever, to the changed service practice seemed extremely Frederick the Great, expressed terms when Landgrave Frederick prince of Hanau, with their 300,000 subjects, were for military service. The war against the Americans as champions of liberty princeling" were pitilessly. The old landgrave had adopted the forms of decency, and a treaty by which the integrity of each other's composed adulatory epistles and noble-minded benefactions and his army at the king outvied one another in finding English paymasters. Willing for every killed or found it more lucrative own hands and to keep

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by the members of his order, itude. At this time his position nan constitutional liberalism. In *Saxon Constitution* he developed demanding partition of authority, sterial responsibility. The govern- to this essay in contemptuous none the less, and widely read. se two aristocratic liberals had as plainly manifest when the ed that a summary statement sued, and, when approving the By far the smallest proportion s our own. The spirit of these the people demanded from its past." Once again the crown its language was less confident that the old system was totter- been wasted in dreamy inactivity, f the mouldy structure seemed

eroticism had of old brought much misery over the land, when Philip the Magnanimous concluded his double marriage; but entirely new was the heartless avarice, which was now with sinister regularity superadded to these two weaknesses, and owing to which the rulers necessarily appeared to be the enemies of the ruled. A-H

As long as armies were still composed of soldiers obtained by voluntary recruiting, and serving for pay, no disgrace attached to war service under a foreign flag. It was not until the days of King Frederick that the Germans began to recognise that armed power belongs to the state. Even though, in the Seven Years' War, the Hessians fought as English mercenaries, they were fighting for hearth and home, for their own country's cause. Meanwhile the Prussian cantonal system had been introduced into Hesse (1762); and when the traffic in men was now carried on with the persons of these compulsory soldiers, and more vigorously than ever, to the changed sentiments of the time the traditional practice seemed extremely repulsive. Mirabeau, Burke, even Frederick the Great, expressed their reprobation in the severest terms when Landgrave Frederick and his son William, hereditary prince of Hanau, sold by degrees to England 19,400 of their 300,000 subjects, well nigh a third of all the men fit for military service. These men were employed in the civil war against the Americans, regarded by their contemporaries as champions of liberty. "The misdeeds of this German princeling" were pitilessly exposed in the English parliament. The old landgrave had at least been ever careful to preserve the forms of decency, and had concluded with Great Britain a treaty by which the two powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of each other's dominions; but the hereditary prince composed adulatory epistles to his "magnanimous protector and noble-minded benefactor" George III, placing himself and his army at the king's disposal. Father and son now outvied one another in fiscal arts calculated to overreach the English paymasters. William insisted on special compensation for every killed or wounded Hessian soldier; Frederick found it more lucrative to receive the soldiers' pay with his own hands and to keep the names of the slain on the active

list for a time. A-I

he Seven Years' War that, by a ne evils of princely caprice broke me when the clock of the old down, when public opinion was of the great with a more critical the notable princely houses of plecting their energies in the nderick's lead. With Landgrave : house of Philip the Magnanimous, an enigmatic degeneration; in quired in five rich centuries were th this venerable race of princes yal people, and passed to its. he Hessians were familiar with ungovernable anger; ill-controlled

list for a time. Of the unhappy mercenaries, more than a third never saw their homes again; and their name became a byword, for the Americans applied to everything base and slavish the contemptuous epithet of "Hessian."

Measureless was the distress of the depopulated land. Day and night, mounted patrols guarded the frontier to prevent the escape of men liable to military service. As a consolation for his people, and since he had no longer to pay for the army himself, the old landgrave remitted a modest proportion of the taxes for the duration of the American war. But to the hereditary prince, even this sacrifice seemed excessive. He was content with remitting taxation in the cases of the parents and wives of those who had gone to the war, and announced to his faithful subjects that it was "a real pleasure" to him "to be able to give such a mark of royal favour." By the son, the blood-money was thriftily stored away in his treasury. By the father, on the other hand, some of it was devoted to the construction of new buildings in Cassel, while much of the remainder was squandered upon unsavoury entertainments for the benefit of the French prostitutes and adventurers who dominated the court and corrupted the morals of the capital for many years to come. Despite this extravagance, Frederick II handed down to his son a princely private estate which had no parallel in Germany. Nevertheless, the former services of the landgrave and his house were still so greatly valued that during his lifetime the loyal estates erected in the Friedrichsplatz a monument to this "father of the fatherland."

When William IX succeeded to the landgraviate, he remained true to the principles of government previously tried in Hanau. He put an end to ostentatious display, and extreme parsimony prevailed in court and state; but the old debauchery persisted unchanged. No one was able to reckon the precise number of the royal bastards. Everyone, however, knew the counts von Hessenstein and the brothers Haynau; and the saying was current that whenever the landgrave could feel assured once again that he was about to experience the joys of extra-conjugal fatherhood, it was his custom to raise the price of the salt in the state magazines another

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the beloved land of Greece, now after the opening of the new reign, read in the Bavarian newspapers, divergent opinions may be in active participation here, we are all issued from one pen alone. In this author was immediately

Metternich learned that Colonel von Kuster had gone to help the money had been sent to Greece. Metternich, in the intoxication of the idea of having the Bavaria, and of having the king's blessing at the head of the growing, could a stranger whimsy have a better professor, for in the whole have been found two races more crafty and temperate Greeks and loving Bavarians. King Louis, enthusiasm, opening in Munich a of the Greek heroes, Bozzaris, educated; and he assailed the great to secure for the house of Wittelsbach the restorer of Hellenic freedom. His aim that Bavaria should take great powers as the mightiest of as the born leader of the minor importance with the ancient tradition been increased by recent wrongs, the court of Vienna for having of Salzburg and the Palatinate. Metternich towards Prussia's warlike remember the protection which his Berlin, and would often say, "Had great, perhaps I should not stand free himself from that old family so many of the transformations of by the blind caprice of chance

: Kuster's Report, May 19, 1826; etc.

that "the historical parvenus" of the north had been raised to an elevation which accrued by right to the more distinguished house of Wittelsbach! He desired to live upon terms of loyal understanding with Prussia, but the "semi-Slav state" must not interfere in purely German matters. For support in his German plans he counted chiefly upon the king of Württemberg, who did actually overcome his personal antagonism, and entered into confidential relationships with his new neighbour.

Bernstorff, who was under no illusions about the character of Louis, regarded this sudden friendship with indifference. He instructed the Prussian envoy to assure the court of Munich that Prussia's sentiments were friendly, but this was not to be done in unduly cordial terms lest the king should presume upon it.¹ Metternich, who was at first extremely suspicious, soon became easy in his mind, and allayed the anxieties of the Badenese government in his usual ponderous and didactic manner. "If we enter more deeply into the matter, if we raise ourselves to a high standpoint, and contemplate the question there from in its essence and in its probable and possible consequences, we soon perceive that the artificial structure undergoes dissolution into a tenuous and airy tissue which utterly lacks internal fixity and any sort of potentiality for vigorous persistence. It can find no fulcrum in the character of either of the two princes, for in so far as they can be said to possess characters at all, these exhibit the most glaring contrasts. There is but one point wherein, perhaps, these two temperaments may be said to present a certain similarity, and this is the fondness of both for strutting upon the stage. The independence of which the king of Bavaria dreams is so extensive in its scope that the independence of his less powerful neighbour will necessarily be driven from the field. Both these princes have likewise an itch for popularity, and two men who court the same bride are not disposed towards harmonious personal relations"—a malicious play upon words involving a reminder of the long-forgotten days when Louis, then crown prince, had aspired to the hand of the princess who subsequently became Queen Catharine of Württemberg. "They are rejoicing in false imaginings," concluded the Austrian, "they are building castles in the air, when they are really unable to give any clear account of what they desire, and when they certainly desire a great

¹ Bernstorff, Instruction to Kuster, November 19, 1825.

* Cover the balance of the skeleton

resources which forced him to adopt harsh measures conflicting with his desires. How much more successfully had King Frederick, after the Seven Years' War, cared for the "conservation" of the landed gentry. But such thoroughgoing help would now have been possible in no other way than by pledging the national credit; but since the national debt account was closed, further increase was inadmissible without the assent of a national assembly. Thus obviously did it once more appear that the monarchy without a national assembly was a mere temporary expedient, sufficing in quiet times, but hopelessly embarrassed whenever extraordinary expenditure became necessary.

The minister for finance had no direct concern with these troubles, but the yield of the taxes made him intimately acquainted with the needs of agriculture, although the king, in furnishing assistance, strictly maintained the principle that even in cases of the utmost need no remission of taxation could be granted. In order to gain a thorough understanding of the difficulties, Motz wished, first of all, to grasp the precise state of the national finances, and he consequently renewed his former demand that the minister for finance should have seal and vote upon the board of general control. The king, following his usual practice, endeavoured to adopt a middle course, for he was unwilling to mortify his tried servant Ladenberg. He commanded that when any difference of opinion occurred the minister of finance should, through the instrumentality of one of his councillors, negotiate verbally with the president of the board of general control.¹ Motz could not be content with any such half measure, for between the two coordinated authorities there had long been in progress a tragicomical contest of official zeal such as is possible nowhere else than in the Prussian bureaucracy. The board of general control endeavoured to prove its vitality by appending to the financial statement innumerable ridiculous comments, ninety-one to the estimates for the domains, a hundred and forty-six to the estimates of the depart-

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¹ Cabinet Order to Lottum and Motz, November 22 1825.

ment of forestry; while of finance naturally so intolerable that Motz unless his reasonable agree," he wrote to L. for many years, to the Herr von Klewitz had the old absolutism, a criminal act of defiance to add the assurance: the king's favour if, a consent to retain office. Since, in the spring Stein had been ungraciously ventured to assume su one occasion only, with approval, uttered a few months were to elapse the new minister for time he had through convinced that the existing he was familiar with at length made up his what was demanded by 1826, he astonished by he proposed to abolish hand over its powers 20th, this command in a doleful frame of presidency of the audit situation, and the other himself justified in excess of the administration, good reason for complaints, for Motz was

¹ Motz's Report to the king and 30, December 5 and 11 April 8; Ladenberg's Petition

the sober minded and practical, accustomed to the cautious, accustomed to make just and the wishes and needs of their school of the customs conferences, generations concerning commercial became familiar with the methods required the art of guiding irritable will feeling and without the display maintain the essence of monarchy

union was not the property of and simultaneously in many minds an needs. But the clothing of was due to Prussia alone, was d Maassen; and last not least no mere respect for monarchical obligation of historical justice, that nothing but a firm confidence able loyalty could have induced voluntarily to the restriction of tentious simplicity of his nature, eonic days had often made this timous, enabled him in a more d of a great future.

PHILOSOPHY (IV, 568-77)

ow of philosophy continued to gles and contrasts. For one and a the twenties to the opening of the exercised in German life an influence e sophists in Athens. Abundantly de years before by Stein when he consequence of the lack of political es would acquire a usurped value. gel's early prestige was the subsequent, quaffing the fiery draughts of this the morrow of sobriety had conceived found loathing for all speculation;

imagining that with the fall of the Hegelian system philosophy itself had been judged and annihilated. The once idolised master was despised, and even to-day of all our great philosophers he is least read and most grossly misunderstood.

Hegel had opened his career with a heroic confidence resembling that which had formerly animated the youthful Kant. The great Swabian felt secure in the possession of all the powers which constitute the speculative equipment of his branch of the German stock, a talent for profound investigation, an ardent imagination, and a many-sided sensitiveness to which nothing human seemed foreign. While still a young man, in 1802, he bluntly declared that the philosophy of reflexion voiced by Kant, Fichte, and Jacobi had risen only to the concept, and had never attained the realm of the ideal. He was emboldened to attempt the conquest of this highest realm, and as his system unfolded itself he did in truth speak what was long to remain the last word. Along the path in which Kant had been the pioneer, German philosophy could not aspire towards a loftier goal. The riddle of existence seemed solved, the unity of being and thinking proved, as soon as Hegel had represented the world as the unending dialectical process of the self-conceiving absolute spirit. In this system were comprised all spirit and all becoming. It was the most consistent monism ever formulated. The idea first traverses the series of necessary forms of thought, then expresses itself in nature, opposes itself to itself as another and objective life, to return finally, after this lapse from the infinite, freely into itself, into the realm of spirit. Thus everything that has been, is, and will be from eternity to eternity, is nothing but the divine reason as manifested in its self-development. Into the mighty framework of this system, Hegel, vaunted by his disciples as a second Aristotle, with colossal energy now fitted the acquirements of all the scientific experience of his day, so that everything in the world of nature and history was assigned its proper place in the unending developmental process of the absolute spirit.

At this epoch a new philosophical doctrine could still take possession of German minds with all the magic of religious revelation. The faithful were undisturbed by crass contrasts between the system and experience, for they knew that it would be impossible for philosophy to wait until that day which will never dawn when

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the structure of the empirical sciences should be completed. The Hegelian system excelled all others in its power to make its disciples happy in the consciousness of infallible certainty, for if the life of the world was a great process of thought there no longer remained anything unfathomable to the thinker. Consequently, as an inspired pupil of Hegel's declared, thought was thinking of thinking. The method and the substance of the system appeared identical. The law of tripartition which governed the philosophy in its dialectical method likewise controlled the development of the divine reason, for this in eternal recapitulation traversed the three stages of being-by-itself, being-in-relation-to-the-not-self, and being-by-and-for-itself. One who lost himself in this wonder-world felt uplifted as by an elemental force above the common human understanding; he felt as if the creation of the universe out of nothing was being renewed in his own spirit, as if his thought, self-moved, was by a creative act producing out of itself an objective world and then returning into itself again.

Armed at all points and immeasurably superior in strength was this proud idealism in its conflict with the crude rationalism and utilitarianism of the enlightenment, but it turned no less decisively to attack the desultory fancies of romanticism. This philosophy, seeing spirit and nothing but spirit everywhere, appeared as if it were a last echo from that epoch of pure literature in which the energies of our nation had been almost completely devoted to intellectual pursuits; yet it was at the same time strictly realist. Only in the real world would it recognise the revelation of God; inexorably did it condemn those facile thinkers who imaginatively create for themselves that which neither does nor can exist, and those who deplore what is and cannot possibly be otherwise. Self-evident and almost tautological was the great proposition enunciated to overwhelm the doubter: the real is rational and the rational is real.

Nevertheless this grandiose system, however brilliant, was nothing more than an arbitrary invention. Just as all our other philosophers, with the solitary exception of Kant, had been distinguished rather by the boldness and profundity than by the acuteness or definiteness of their thought, so also was Hegel obscure, and especially obscure in the exposition of his fundamental concepts. The main principle upon which the entire system was founded was merely an unproved assumption; for the high-sounding assertion

that spirit expresses tells us nothing at a real world proceeded it is an ultimate secret that to deduce nature from the scope of the human mind. Schelling. As soon, the system was recognised, attempt to demonstrate, carried, and if philosophy, to Kant and to the man at all possible.

The system proclaimed to furnish one another a figuration of the world to be deduced with logical principles; it was a subjective imagination. The system marked itself ineffective, while others look upon the universe in the future. Hegel for the manifest reality an insuperable obstacle idea—besides, in this subject. The young men flocking round Alexander von Humboldt of these dreams, boldt had just brought sufficient to outweigh the realm of the philosophy.

No less unfortunate for in this domain Schelling in a congenial medium, Hegel started with the: that philosophy and representing the absolute representing it in the belief was not a primitive his thought and his will

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that spirit expresses itself in nature, opposing itself to itself, really tells us nothing at all. The great enigma, the question how the real world proceeded from the ideal, was and remained a secret, for it is an ultimate secret of the creator. Schelling had already proved that to deduce nature from thought was a task utterly beyond the scope of the human intellect. But at this time no one listened to Schelling. As soon, however, as the fundamental fallacy of Hegel's system was recognised, the imposing edifice collapsed. The bold attempt to demonstrate the unity of being and thinking had miscarried, and if philosophy were to regain solid ground it must return to Kant and to the modest enquiry how the experience of nature is at all possible.

The system proclaimed itself invulnerable, its propositions were to furnish one another adequate mutual support. But the configuration of the world as represented by Hegel could not really be deduced with logical necessity from the philosopher's first principles; it was a fanciful and arbitrary product of the subjective imagination. The result was that in the carrying out of the system marked inequalities were displayed. Parts were utterly ineffective, while other parts contained the germ of a fruitful outlook upon the universe, one destined to exercise great influence in the future. Hegel's philosophy of nature was an utter failure, for the manifest reality of nature imposed, almost as if in mockery, an insuperable obstacle to any attempt to construct nature out of the idea—besides, in this field the philosopher had no knowledge of his subject. The young masters of exact research who in Berlin were flocking round Alexander Humboldt had good reason for making fun of these dreams, for the real knowledge of nature which Humboldt had just brought home from his Siberian journey was alone sufficient to outweigh the entirety of Hegel's constructions in the realm of the philosophy of nature.

No less unfortunate was Hegel in his philosophy of religion, for in this domain Schleiermacher's religious temperament, working in a congenial medium, enabled him to attain infinitely better results. Hegel started with the assumption, flatly contradicted by experience, that philosophy and religion have the same content, philosophy representing the absolute in the form of thought, and religion representing it in the form of perception. Thus to him religious belief was not a primitive mental energy by which the entire man, his thought and his will, are determined, but an immature form of

knowledge. The irrefutable consequence of this, however adroit the attempt to conceal it by dialectic arts, is the necessity of erastianism, for a church which moves only in the realm of imagination must be unconditionally subordinated to the thinking state. If Altenstein, Hegel's docile disciple, continually endeavoured to regulate the inner life of the churches, his master's teaching unquestionably bore part of the responsibility for this disastrous ecclesiastical policy. The idea of redemption, the central feature of Schleiermacher's religious teaching, passed in Hegel's system quite into the background. He was more concerned with the scientific proof of dogmas, not excepting the most difficult of these, the dogmas which will always be too hard for human reason, not excepting the dogma of the trinity; and the artifices he employed to this end were all the more barren because the pantheistic basis of the system was in manifest contradiction with Christian dogma.

More striking by contrast with these failures was the success attained by Hegel's genius in the sphere of aesthetics. His utterances concerning the unity of idea and form in works of art were great, profound, novel, and so vital that to this day all the aesthetic judgments of the Germans repose consciously on Hegel. His criticism of contemporary poets had the assured justice of a great spirit. Not merely did he understand Goethe; but he appreciated also the pathos of Schiller, which was less accordant with his own nature; while, undisturbed by the current opinion of his day, he would not admit that Jean Paul's established reputation was merited.

Yet more fruitful was his philosophy of law. Among all our philosophers, Hegel had the keenest intelligence in political matters. Before him, indeed, Kant had declared that the perfectionment of the bourgeois order was the ultimate aim of civilisation, and Fichte had towards the close of his life extolled the state as the educator of the human race; while Schelling's writings contained many brilliant expressions concerning the harmony of necessity and freedom in the state considered as a work of art. But none of these men had advanced further than the outer court of politics, and Hegel was the first to enter the very sanctuary. He regarded the state as the actualisation of the moral ideal, as the realisation of the ethical will, and at one blow he shattered the doctrine of natural rights, and overthrew that political romanticism which was fain to derive the state from a primitive contract entered into by individual human beings or else to regard it as a work of divine ordinance.

This was resurrected classical antiquity, and it had never possessed the right of the individual which had so long seen idolisation of the state; overvaluation of the sense of the state. But justification for the ab state had long been accountably accounted for the routed the arid legalist historian with an impertinence, an ethico-political. Recent historians and been aware that the through which alone Hegel was the first to great doctrine, and to general. The philosopher even in the details of German writer he recognized that between the individual of economic interests a world he gave the name was it, too, that a Swa aloof from the national expressly indicate to should show them why but also the noblest and its strict order stood or German freedom of old Despite much exaggerat a serious understanding earlier German philosophy. This understanding outcome of Hegel's w to whom all the life of necessarily be affected impulse towards history

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able consequence of this, however adroit it by dialectic arts, is the necessity of which moves only in the realm of imaginably subordinated to the thinking state, docile disciple, continually endeavoured to of the churches, his master's teaching of the responsibility for this disastrous idea of redemption, the central feature of his teaching, passed in Hegel's system and. He was more concerned with the not excepting the most difficult of these, always be too hard for human reason, not the trinity; and the artifices he employed more barren because the pantheistic basis of it contradiction with Christian dogma.

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This was resurrected the somewhat hyperbolic conception held by classical antiquity, and an omnipotence accorded to the state which it had never possessed since the Christian world had recognised the right of the individual conscience. But to this people of ours, which had so long sought its ideal in an anarchic freedom, the idolisation of the state could do little harm. Only through the overvaluation of the state could the Germans attain to a vigorous sense of the state. Before all others, Hegel furnished a theoretical justification for the abundant civilising activity which the Prussian state had long been accustomed to display in practice; he scientifically accounted for the energy of the German idea of the state; he routed the arid legalist doctrine of the state; and he provided the historian with an implement wherewith to effect, without philistine pettiness, an ethico-political valuation of the heroes of history. Recent historians and the pupils of Savigny had, indeed, long been aware that the state is a primal and necessary institution, through which alone national morality can attain perfection; but Hegel was the first to provide the philosophical foundation for this great doctrine, and to make it intelligible to the cultured classes in general. The philosopher's acute political insight was displayed even in the details of his doctrine of the state. Before any other German writer he recognised, although by way of suggestion merely, that between the individual and the state there lies a peculiar world of economic interests and relationships of dependence, and to this world he gave the name of bourgeois society. How great a service was it, too, that a Swabian, a professor, who had practically stood aloof from the national movement of the wars of liberation, should expressly indicate to the Germans what they possessed in Prussia, should show them why this state was not simply the most powerful but also the noblest and most rational of the German states, and that its strict order stood on a morally higher level than the celebrated German freedom of old days which fought for its own hand alone. Despite much exaggeration, all his writings on the subject breathed a serious understanding of the state which had been unknown to earlier German philosophers.

This understanding of the nature of the state was the necessary outcome of Hegel's well-developed historical sense. A thinker to whom all the life of the world was a process of becoming, must necessarily be affected even more powerfully than Schelling by the impulse towards historical comprehension which dominated the

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entire epoch. He saw that mortals can grasp the divine reason only when it is broken up into a thousand rays, and that the idea of humanity finds completion in nothing short of the totality of history. For this reason he did not pass his time in pondering, as had so many philosophers before him, over the obscure riddle of the genesis and the purport of history. He would neither look back longingly towards the lost innocence of a golden age, nor attempt to console the world with thoughts of a happier future, but, standing firmly upon the soil of historic reality, he found here, in the endless multi-formity of civilisation, the unfolding of the divine thought. Hegel's philosophy of history was his greatest scientific achievement, and was hardly less fruitful than had been Kant's doctrine of duty. Like all fertile ideas, it was not absolutely new, for the way had been prepared for its formulation by Kant and Herder. From Kant's essay concerning the beginnings of the human race, Hegel derived the idea of the progress of mankind, but he made it more profound and vital in that he did not conceive of progress as represented by simple ascent in a straight line, but, like Herder, discovered in every nation its own peculiar emanation of the divine thought, and conceded to every epoch its own modicum of morality. In each age of the world he recognised that there had existed one leading nation, which had held the torch of life for a time, and had then yielded it into the hands of another. In this conception, the historic human being appeared at once immeasurably great, as bearer of the idea, and infinitesimally small, in contrast with the creative laws of the divine reason.

It is true that the arbitrariness of the philosopher's constructions is repeatedly manifested in this field also. Although he spoke of the rationality of the real, he had but little respect for facts, and would forcibly amend the historical record, doing this in many cases merely for the sake of the holy triad. A philosophy of history directed only towards the future was of necessity too remote from the human struggle; in such a philosophy the victor was always right; it had no appreciation for the heroism of the vanquished, for the sacred sense of duty which impelled a Hannibal or a Demosthenes to attempt the rescue of a declining nationality; it had no comprehension of the lofty tragedy of historical struggles. Enmeshed in contented optimism, it could find no answer for the heart-searching problem, why, despite the unending progress of the race, the

* D. T. Hegelianism with its modicum was perfect for us.

individual human. Nevertheless, amiable gain. Hegel penetration the lower forms of civilisation being contained within how this new thought outline a sketch of unconscious creation.

For this reason even upon history of history. What lived on in the world among the young of Hegel. The doctrines of Prussia assisted culture and would not accept from its teaching at all.

No less conspicuous of the new doctrine arrogance with Hegelian was compared everything that he settled detail, a treated in some part there was but one one which a person remains for the world in the philosophy of to such excesses by initiates. The means and excursions, restoring to moderation that had become a cause." At times, speech, darkening was simple, and

mortals can grasp the divine reason only a thousand rays, and that the idea of a in nothing short of the totality of he did not pass his time in pondering, as before him, over the obscure riddle of the history. He would neither look back innocence of a golden age, nor attempt to lights of a happier future, but, standing oric reality, he found here, in the endless the unfolding of the divine thought, was his greatest scientific achievement, than had been Kant's doctrine of duty, not absolutely new, for the way had been by Kant and Herder. From Kant's things of the human race, Hegel derived mankind, but he made it more profound t conceive of progress as represented by line, but, like Herder, discovered in every anation of the divine thought, and con- in modicum of morality. In each age of at there had existed one leading nation; f life for a time, and had then yielded it In this conception, the historic human measurably great, as bearer of the idea, n contrast with the creative laws of the

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individual human being remains as weakly and sinful as ever. Nevertheless, amid a plenitude of errors, there was left an imperish- able gain. Hegel was a pioneer in grasping with admirable scientific penetration the idea of historical evolution, of the progress from lower forms of civilisation to higher forms, the germs of the latter being contained within the former; and he showed at the same time how this new thought was to be manipulated, giving in masterly outline a sketch of the hidden connection between the epoch of unconscious creation and the epoch of conscious reflection.

For this reason his ideas exercised a direct or indirect influence even upon historians who detested the philosopher's interpretation of history. What was imperishable in Hegel's philosophy of history lived on in the works of Ranke; Droysen, too, and many others among the younger historians, acquired a wider horizon in the school of Hegel. The dominion of the Hegelians in the educational institu- tions of Prussia and Württemberg lasted for years, favouring many- sided culture and promoting discipline of thought. Even those who would not accept the formulas of the system, learned nevertheless from its teachings that amorphous knowledge is not knowledge at all.

No less conspicuous, however, were the dangerous consequences of the new doctrine, as displayed in the unbounded sophistical arrogance with which it infected its adherents. The orthodox Hegelian was competent to deal with everything that had happened, everything that had been thought or done, by showing it to be a settled detail, a surpassed standpoint, which had already been treated in some paragraph of the all-embracing system. For him there was but one question remaining insoluble, and this was the one which a pert disciple did actually moot, namely: What remains for the world-spirit to do now it has arrived at perfection in the philosophy of the absolute? The philosophers were encouraged to such excesses by the use of a scholastic jargon intelligible only to initiates. The master, when he let his pen run free in annotations and excursuses, displayed the linguistic powers natural to genius, restoring to modern usage a number of excellent words and phrases that had become obsolete, for instance, the expressive "von Haus aus." At times, however, he made use of monstrous artifices of speech, darkening that which was clear and confusing that which was simple, and his disciples did not hesitate in this respect to

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had issued his appeal, talented men of Jewish descent, baptised and unbaptised, men who felt themselves to be Germans and whose work displayed thoroughly German lineaments, had acquired distinguished positions in art and science: in music, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy; in painting, Veit; and in theology, the simple-minded and pious Neander. But in contrast with these, the crude Jewish geniuses whose pens found a market in the columns of the daily press boldly insisted on the display of Jewish peculiarities, while simultaneously demanding respect as spokesmen of German public opinion. These Jews without a country, vaunting themselves as a nation within the nation, exercised upon the still inchoate national self-esteem of the Germans an influence no less disturbing and disintegrating than similar Jews had exercised of old upon the declining nations of the Roman empire.

In so far as the Jewish cosmopolitan was competent to understand western nations, he was chiefly attracted towards the French, not merely from reasonable gratitude, but also from a sense of inner kinship. To a nation which for centuries had ceased to possess a political history, nothing seemed so alien as the historic sense. To the Jews, German veneration for the past appeared ludicrous; but modern France had broken with her history, here they felt more at home, in this raw new state, created, as it were, by pure reason. Thus it came to pass that the Jewish litterateurs encouraged German radicalism in its uncritical preference for France. Moreover, the cries of haro with which, in accordance with their national custom, the Jewish publicists loved to make the welkin ring, did not serve to ennoble our political manners, more especially since the Germans are themselves prone to become tasteless in polemic. When Jewish hatred of Christianity came to fan the flames of controversy, the well-grounded political discontent of the day found degenerate expression in boundless exaggeration.

Above all corrupting in its influence upon German radicalism was the strange Jewish perversity of self-mockery. This people without a state, widely scattered throughout the world, adopting the tongues and the customs of other nations while still clinging to its own isolation, lived in perpetual contradiction, which might appear either tragical or comical according to the observer's standpoint. To the nimble Jewish wit, the ludicrous contrast between oriental nature and occidental form was necessarily apparent. The Jews of Europe had long been accustomed to make

Radicalism and the Jews

mock of themselves with utter ever said about Jews proceeded of the chosen people vis-à-vis rooted that the Jew remained expressions of self-mockery. Its way into German literature by the playful irony of the ro of the liberals. It came to be dispassionately, with shameless the speaker had neither part of Germany need not inévitable to the heart. But the German could he understand this orientation at its face value many a vituperation meant in bad part. Our radi impudent abuse of the fatherland, simply because the German difficulties, could not instantly impatient children. They contain humility and the sheeplike people believed in their own grotesque imagining that the most passionate the *Juria tedesca*, was phlegmatic.

During the years when even the national caricature of the repulsive configuration. The befitted his warrior name, had and uncouth, but valiant, down or Robert Macaire, not unworth believed in itself and could therefore time to time. But now, under described as a cowardly and slug he met, pulled down his nightcap, come into vogue during the philistines, making its first appearance in the *Heidelberger Einsiedlerzeitung*, declared that this good-for-nothing to-do reading public, "not my whom I shall never lightly jest knew nothing of such discretion.

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mock of themselves with utter ruthlessness, and the severest things ever said about Jews proceeded from Jewish lips. The racial pride of the chosen people vis-à-vis the Gentiles was, indeed, so deeply rooted that the Jew remained undisturbed by the bitterest expressions of self-mockery. But now this evil Jewish custom made its way into German literature, where the soil was already prepared by the playful irony of the romanticists and the political bitterness of the liberals. It came to be regarded as a mark of genius to speak dispassionately, with shameless disrespect, of the fatherland, as if the speaker had neither part nor lot therein, as if the mockery of Germany need not inevitably cut every individual German to the heart. But the German jokes with difficulty. Least of all could he understand this orientalist wit, and he consequently took at its face value many a vituperative onslaught which was not really meant in bad part. Our radical youth soon began to look upon impudent abuse of the fatherland as the true index of intellectual ability, simply because the German state, hemmed in by a thousand difficulties, could not instantaneously grant all the wishes of its impatient children. They continued to rail against the cringing humility and the sheeplike patience of the Germans until they believed in their own grotesque caricature of Germany, honestly imagining that the most passionate nation in Europe, the nation of the furia tedesca, was phlegmatic.

During the years when everything German was being decried, the national caricature of the German Michael acquired a new and repulsive configuration. The German Michael of old days, as befitted his warrior name, had been a great hulking fellow, clumsy and uncouth, but valiant, downright, and cheerful, like John Bull or Robert Macaire, not unworthy of a great nation, a nation that believed in itself and could therefore venture to laugh at itself from time to time. But now, under the old name, he was portrayed and described as a cowardly and sluggish dolt who, maltreated by everyone he met, pulled down his nightcap over his ears. This caricature had come into vogue during the romanticist campaign against the philistines, making its first appearance on the title page of the *Heidelberger Einsiedlerzeitung*, but Achim von Arnim had solemnly declared that this good-for-nothing was intended to typify the well-to-do reading public, "not my people, whom I honour, and about whom I shall never lightly jest." The new generation of radicals knew nothing of such discretions, and was not ashamed to make a

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mock of the nation whose victorious sword had just overthrown the Napoleonic world empire, depicting it in the repulsive lineaments of a cowardly lazybones.

The stimulating and destructive efficiency of radical Jewry was all the more dangerous because the Germans were subject to a long-standing illusion as to the nature of this new literary force. They ingenuously accepted as German enlightenment and German freedom of thought that which was in reality Jewish hatred of Christianity and Jewish cosmopolitanism. It was only Wolfgang Menzel and a few other publicists whose eyes were open to the danger, but since they all belonged to the high church school their warnings were disregarded. Not until much later did the nation recognise that from the end of the twenties a foreign drop had been mingled with its blood. The Germans had justly prided themselves on their freedom from irreverence, for the liberal spirits among them had spoken boldly, but had always approached sacred things with respect. This could not be said henceforward, for in Germany, too, were to appear writings characterised by all the impudence of Voltaire, though lacking the Frenchman's genius.

The intellectual father of this hybrid Judaico-German literature was Ludwig Börne of Frankfort, a man essentially upright, gentle and warm-hearted, but destined never to rise above a tasteless amalgam of German sentimentalism and Jewish facetiousness, vacillating hopelessly between patriotism and cosmopolitanism, equally incompetent to discover a definite creed and to attain to a genuine national feeling, and ultimately giving himself up to the uncouthness of an arid and stormy radicalism. In a simpler and more vigorous epoch, a character so inharmonious would merely have aroused the interest of the mental pathologist, but amid the confusion and bitterness of German party struggles he was able for a time to play the part of tribune of the people. The great figures of our classical literature were too lofty for his understanding. He gave his admiration to Jean Paul, and in youth was so devoted to lachrymose self-portraiture that when he was in love with pretty Henriette Herz he was careful to describe in his diary all the hours and minutes of his "spiritual hypochondria" and the sublime sentiments by which this state was characterised. Subsequently pulling himself together, as dramatic critic he acquired a reputation which was not altogether undeserved, though unduly exaggerated by the zealous trumpeting of his co-religionists. Lacking a cultured sense of beauty, he was

nevertheless endowed with understanding. Not more of the fate-tragedy and in addition an eye for unreason and Immermann.

He now began to write *Wage*, the *Zeitschwinger*, soon monopolised his end displayed all the arts of it arises from the noble the qualities requisite to of proportion, foresight, Industry, by which the Jewish superfluous in politics. ephemeral journalism, for study of the matter with establish the dominion of such unspeakable harm to and emboldened crude few jests, puns, figures of all the serious problems.

Wherever wit could He satirised the Gotham enough, though raising formed to the triviality which ages prematurely, justice. Börne, however, about serene highnesses councillors' wards, the T ordinary; these witty writings, in which their attention to-day. Direct trivialities into the sphere dull understanding, which complicated political problem "Is the state our end, or to him the great problem. the futility of such a quest its absurdity. Thus comprehensible goal, he

anarchy, the mother of freedom, and to equally vain tirades about the hopeless miseries of Germany, saying, "We are dumb driven cattle, handed down from the past to the present, which the present will bequeath unchanged to the future."

He had but one clear political aim, the emancipation of the Jews. His conversion to Christianity was not dictated by religious conviction, nor yet by the desire to become a thorough German, being merely the outcome of a wish to do away with obstacles to easy social progress. But shame was unknown to him, and though a renegade he had no sense of impropriety in playing the advocate on behalf of the coreligionists he had abandoned. After his conversion he still retained the racial pride of the chosen people, and scarce troubled to conceal that he regarded the Jews as the salt of the German earth—and yet, when the fancy took him, he would roughly attack Jews and Germans in one breath, and would satirise German Jews as eight-footed hares. "I well know how to prize," he wrote on one occasion, "the unmerited good fortune through which I was born both German and Jew, so that I am able to aspire to all the virtues of the Germans without sharing any of their faults!" But he could not endure that Christians should even speak of "Jews," and raised clamorous complaints of intolerance when the newspapers reported as a simple statement of fact that Levi, a Jewish merchant, had gone bankrupt. Among the grievances he was never weary of airing, there were many of which he could justly complain, but there were many others that were simply the outcome of the sensibilities of a morbidly inflated self-esteem. On the occasion of the centenary of a great conflagration, the town of Frankfort proposed a commemorative festival, and the council issued the following decree: "At the close of the festival, on Sunday 27th, a solemn religious service will be held in all Christian churches, and it is likewise ordered that prayers be said in the Jewish synagogues." Both in form and content this proclamation was perfectly innocent, but since the wording in the case of the Jews differed slightly from that used about the Christians, Börne wrote a furious article, and despairingly exclaimed: "Oh, unhappy fatherland in which these things can happen!" Notwithstanding such exaggerations, the persistent iteration of complaints made an impression, and the Jews, so recently regarded with hatred, were now by young men of radical views esteemed as noble fighters for freedom.

In the year 1822 Börne journeyed to Paris, and as soon as he

reached Strasburg declared himself freely! How remote to the Germans that princely castle must appear of German freedom among fishes, I was never devoid of appreciation of his better hours he used glory," recognised the valued German freedom German sentiment his phrases, bombastic to ever excelled, saying, past, the microscope of He was never weary of Germany the brilliant Without noticing the mend to us, in especial sentiment. "The first everyone belonging to one attached to the of anything, while we call Vendôme column, he good if the reed could has overthrown the overthrow of the German we were the storm which long ere this begun the *grande nation* had been of destiny, without as now the victors were of the vanquished.

Börne's books set youth towards Paris or had allured to the Seign struggle. It speedily author must prove a pilgrimage to the Mecc Gans, a man of much the defects of French

the theatrical tumult of party struggles. When, in a journalistic prosecution, the loud applause of the liberal-minded public thundered through the court, he imagined himself to be listening to "France's heart-beat"; and in comparison with the politically awakened young men of Paris, those of Germany seemed to him superficial triflers. Thus matters went on, German men of letters crossing the Rhine in unending succession, their spirits rising directly they reached Kehl bridge. All of them set out with the fixed determination to admire everything French. Since they learned nothing of France but Paris, and while in Paris associated only with a small circle of radical journalists, they furnished utterly false reports to the German papers. The Prussian officers quartered in France during the war had not failed to observe that most of the inhabitants of the country were thrifty, hard-working, rather timid people, and that the military spirit was incomparably weaker than in Prussia. These sound opinions were now abandoned by the Germans, for Börne and his disciples unceasingly declared that the chivalrous French nation concerned itself little about base economic cares, and was glowing with ardour to win liberty for itself in order to share the acquirement with other peoples. The cult of the so-called ideas of '89, which in Germany during the actual years of the Revolution had been restricted to a group of men of learning, was first diffused throughout the broad masses of our middle classes by this German-French journalistic campaign. It was the worst conceivable of political schools for a nation already prone to doctrinaire excesses.

After his return from Paris, Börne was in a state of feverish excitement, longing for the revolution. He himself did not know how the revolution was to be brought about or what its coming was to effect. Since the Germans remained calm, he abused them as coarsely as had Saul Ascher. In the years following the War of Liberation, the nation had exercised its domestic rights, and had shown Ascher's Jewish impudence the door. But now had come a change of sentiment. Advanced radicals looked at one another with meaning smiles when Börne, in ever-new invective, reiterated Ascher's idea, saying: "The Germans are a nation of servants, and at the word 'fetch' would wag their tails and bring lost crowns back to their masters." They thought it witty when he recommended the burning of the Göttingen library, and announced his intention to abuse the Germans until he had spurred them on to an

Radicalism and the Jews

awakening of national pride when, with a spitefulness worthy by the persecutors of the sentiments of the more naive, accusing of servility all who with his mean suspicions were great for his understanding rhyming knave," and for take it amiss of the young man's right in the case of Goethe, and should declaim this world of beauty. He declaimed against the even of Schiller, regarding aristocrat. He dragged their greatness, although it to all German hearts. "Two greatest geniuses show so petty that, were it possible. Summarising his judgment favoured by unexampled handwriting of genius a Voltaire, in order to emulate of Goethe's style. "How us captive. We are delighted before our criticism, show approval!"

The hubbub was so say how much of it was danger. Börne, though a patriot after his own fashion, an unnatural ear to this the fatherland, and thus inevitable in the circumstance. Dipping youth in new idea. Moreover, he the opening of the century though at times somewhat the lengthy periods of the day life). But Börne for

erty struggles. When, in a journalistic se of the liberal-minded public thundered ned himself to be listening to "France's parison with the politically awakened of Germany seemed to him superficial went on, German men of letters tending succession, their spirits rising bridge. All of them set out with the lmire everything French. Since they but Paris, and while in Paris associated adical journalists, they furnished utterly papers. The Prussian officers quartered ad not failed to observe that most of the ry were thrifty, hard-working, rather military spirit was incomparably weaker ound opinions were now abandoned by d his disciples unceasingly declared that tion concerned itself little about base glowing with ardour to win liberty for the acquirement with other peoples. leas of '89, which in Germany during the ution had been restricted to a group of diffused throughout the broad masses of s German-French journalistic campaign. le of political schools for a nation already es.

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*der geistigste schurke
der langsame schurke*

awakening of national pride. They greeted him with applause when, with a spitefulness which nowise fell short of the zeal exhibited by the persecutors of the demagogues, he examined the political sentiments of the more notable among his contemporaries, bluntly accusing of servility all who held moderate views, and aspersing with his mean suspicions the leading spirits of the nation, men too great for his understanding. His nickname for Goethe was "the rhyming knave," and for Hegel "the prosy knave." Who could take it amiss of the younger generation that it should use the living man's right in the case of the correspondence between Schiller and Goethe, and should declare, even if crudely and unjustly, that this world of beauty was out-of-date. But Börne did more. He declaimed against the anti-popular sentiments of Goethe and even of Schiller, regarding the latter as a yet more pernicious aristocrat. He dragged the poets' friendship in the mud, sullyng their greatness, although in these very letters it spoke so convincingly to all German hearts. "It is tragical," he exclaimed, "that our two greatest geniuses should be so null when we see them at home, so petty that, were it possible, they would be even less than null!" Summarising his judgment of Goethe, he said that for sixty years, favoured by unexampled good fortune, this man had imitated the handwriting of genius and never been found out. He extolled Voltaire, in order to emphasise a contrast with the offensive repose of Goethe's style. "How different is Voltaire! His vanity takes us captive. We are delighted that so great a man should tremble before our criticism, should fawn upon us, should seek to win our approval!"

The hubbub was so senseless that it was hardly possible to say how much of it was seriously meant, and yet herein lay the danger. Börne, though he reviled Germany's greatness, remained a patriot after his own fashion. But our German youths who lent an unnatural ear to this Jewish self-mockery lost all veneration for the fatherland, and thus Börne's influence, though it was in a sense inevitable in the circumstances, was disastrous to the coming generation. Dipping youth in gall, he was unable to offer youth a single new idea. Moreover, he sinned deeply against our language. At the opening of the century Germans for the most part wrote well, though at times somewhat cumbrously (for many of them carried the lengthy periods of the classical tongues from school into everyday life). But Börne formed himself upon Jean Paul's over-elaborate

the *Der Rabbi von Bacharach* which omise. Aware of his own weakness, desultoriness. He spoke of himself contrasting his own characteristics with ; but he was too shrewd and too fine man of genius publicly, as did Börne. comrades extolled him as the poet with who had discovered the secret of being and ardent, and his hopeless vacillation yearning was by them termed Heine's this weltschmerz did not spring from defiant spirit ; it arose from the man's maintenance of the poetic mood. insipid love songs to entrancing maidens ty humorous newspaper articles. His *Reise* (1824), greeted with a storm of society participated. In the dull and a sense of liberation was induced by the ned humour, which led him to look at is side and to administer his drubbings ext, in *Die Nordsee*, he utilised his of nature in a hitherto untilled field. men of the inlands, and Heine was the ans the majesty of the ocean. But the *der* did not fulfil the splendid promise he author's descriptive faculty was oes of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, and philosophical observations, were nd this tasteless amalgam of fact and nd easy to read, was congenial to the and of his admirers. It resulted that t decade volatilised almost exclusively s. The sole distinctive feature of the *Reisebilder* was the impudence of their ad the temple of the German muse been ilities as Heine defiled it in his base worship of the shade of Napoleon was outrivalled the unctuous flatteries of this servility appeared all the more ifestly due in great part to a wish to

ingratiated ; in glorifying genius, the vain poet desired incidentally to illuminate his own greatness.

In the *Buch der Lieder* are to be found many futile imitations, but also a few poems which vie with the best productions of the German romantic school. For Heine was not merely a man of incomparably richer endowments than Börne, who poured all the wine of life into the goatskins of politics, but was also far more of a German than his Frankfort fellow-tribesman. In the hours in which he was a poet he was German to the core. German emotion spoke from those few of his love poems which genuinely represented personal experience. It spoke from his spring songs. It radiated from his stanzas on the pine tree and the palm, which gave vivid expression to the nomadic impulse of the Teutons—stanzas that have lost their witchery solely through perpetual repetition. When, as a skilled technician, he took the lay of the Lorelei, Clemens Brentano's treasure-trove, and reminted it, he could plume himself on giving to a piece of fine material a form accordant with national sentiment, and he asserted the artist's right to seize his inspiration wherever he could find it.

Heine never awoke that spontaneous and joyful understanding which the great poet knows how to induce in his fellow countrymen. The Germans always took him too seriously, and were consequently unable to grasp his drift. The idle fellow desired to amuse his readers, to move them, to astound them, and above all to please them ; he cared not a rap whether his words had any real meaning. He early assumed the role of political martyr, although no one had touched a hair of his head, and although the placing of a few of his writings on the index had had the customary effect of increasing their sale. In truth, exercising the humourist's right, he regarded politics merely as a field for the display of his literary talents. Whereas Börne pursued political aims in good faith, and failed only because of his incompetence to discover a single political idea, it was simply in order to dazzle and to titillate that Heine interspersed his writings with empty political chatter. No fault of his that readers sought a profound meaning in his jests. The solitary political idea to which he clung faithfully throughout life was his deadly enmity to Prussia, nor was this enmity utterly frivolous or devoid of elemental energy, for it betrayed in him the instinctive feeling of the Rhineland. When Heine made fun of the Prussian soldiers, writing "the queue that hung behind of yore now hangs beneath the nose,"

Goel

one seemed to be listening to a Düsseldorf guttersnipe or to a clown in the carnival of Cologne, and was gratified to recognise that this German Jew did after all possess a home. For the rest, his political views were wholly dictated by the caprice of the moment and by æsthetic inclination. Following Byron's example, he sought the finest blossoms of humanity in the heights or the depths of society; the middle classes, the strata in whom the newer German literature was rooted, were to him tedious and ridiculous, and to him middle-class virtue denoted that financial solvency which was the ethical touchstone of the Hamburg bourse. After his manner he loved Germany no less sincerely than did Börne, and he loved with greater penetration; but like Börne he unceasingly showered upon the land of his affection the invectives of his elfin Jewish wit. It seemed funny to radical youths when Heine flung in their faces the saucy sophism: "The Englishman loves liberty as his legal wife; the Frenchman, as his betrothed; the German, as his aged grandmother."

Like Börne, Heine submitted to baptism on contemptible grounds and without profit; yet the tolerance of public opinion found it nowise amiss that these two renegade Hebrews should make a parade of their "Jewish woes." Heine's hatred of Christianity glowed far more fiercely than Börne's. "Certain species of ideas are dirty," he once wrote. "If you crush one of these bug-ideas it emits a stench which is perceptible for thousands of years. Of such is Christianity, which was trodden under foot eighteen centuries ago, and which has continued ever since to poison the air for us unfortunate Jews." Yet at times he would commend the power of Christian love and would feel the æsthetic attraction of Catholic ritual; the heavenly smile of a Madonna would enthrall him no less completely than the mysterious light of the Sabbath lamp. Whereas the great artist gains fresh illumination with the passing of the years, this man, without firm standing-ground and devoid of spiritual peace, declined ever lower towards the level of a vulgar buffoon. His evangel of the joy of life, which in his youth was still ennobled by the cult of beauty, became blunted and coarsened to an unclean and prosaic religion of the flesh, and before long he set the crown upon his self-mockery in the frank confession to his readers:

'Tis rare that you and I foregather
In the abstract realm of mind.

Edgar Allan Poe
* *Heine loved liberty that little bit of flesh and blood.*

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Roll 'we in the dung together,
Quick we understanding find!

At last!
this!

With Börne and Heine, with the inroad of Judaism, there was heralded a new literary epoch, destined happily to be of brief duration, but the most odious and sterile period of our recent literature. Since the days of Lessing, no school of German imaginative thought sowed so many dragon's teeth, and none created so little of permanent value, as that of the radical journalists of the thirties.

The Dominion of the Feuilleton (V, 511-24)

The noisy activities of the new generation that gathered round the banner of Heine were pursued in fields remote from there luminous hilltops of poesy. Since Heine had taken up his residence in Paris his lyrical talent had undergone a speedy decay; and in a dissolute life, one devoid of concentration, his mind became empty, his feelings blunted. In any case he could not venture the creation of comprehensive works, for as a rule the massive energy of the Aryan is alone competent to produce artistic composition in the grand style. Even the marvellous products of oriental art, even the forest of pillars in the Mezquita at Cordova, or the scintillating arches of the Alhambra, fail, for all their magnificence, to produce the impression of a coherent whole. Apart from a few songs and the fragment of an unsavoury tale entitled *Schnabelewopski*, in this decade Heine wrote no notable imaginative work. His energies were monopolised by the day's gifts and the day's demands. He elaborated his fugitive impressions into all kinds of literary capriccios, the fragments being then assembled under such titles as *Zustände*, *Zeitbilder*, and *Reisebilder*—new names for which he secured the freedom of the city among the German feuilleton writers. To excuse these dispersed activities, he boastfully announced to the world that he felt it to be his vocation to mediate between the civilisations of the two neighbour nations, and the German liberals loyally accepted his assurance.

The French took his measure more accurately. They

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he knew nothing whatever about French in part they could learn nothing about Heine's jocular comments. The most Parisian friends considered that he was living when he imagined himself predestined teacher to the nations. They were, though to encourage by their flatteries for never before had any foreigner so just from their boots. Englishmen and Germans, were accustomed to express their Germans did not talk English or French; German was filled with shy veneration at in France every dull-witted peasant French. Even this talented Jew was simple German philistine. Everything in a more refined, more beautiful, more than he had seen at home; and he content (writing as his manner was half jest) that a "Dame de la Halle speaks German canoness with sixty-four ancestors. *stande* he could find no words adequate to his antipatriotic enthusiasm. "The people of the new religion, Paris is the Rhine is the Jordan separating Germany from the land of the philistines." Sing the praises of the new "bourgeois society, without pages, without courtesans, diamond trinkets and similar splendours." Bewise of the men of the mountain who preside of the national convention in Paris offered gospel, in harmony with the gospel delivered the sermon on the mount. Heise of the great Napoleon, overthrown by solely by the might of stupidity, small importance seeing that "through French are able to put their opponents the Paris mob was shouting beneath the fallen, death to the Russians, war proudly declared that none but the

foes of democracy would stimulate national prejudice, that French patriotism embraced with its love the entire territory of civilisation, whereas German patriotism constricted the heart as with leathern thongs.

At the same time he posed as a political refugee, speaking tearfully of his exile when in reality nothing kept him in Paris but love of pleasure and his French leanings. Declining soon to lower depths, he sold himself to the French court, begging for and accepting for many years in succession a state pension. He displayed his gratitude by continuing to slander his native land, whilst ceasing to pen the mocking sallies against Louis Philippe which hitherto he had from time to time permitted himself. Then, desiring to found a periodical intended to circulate in Prussia, through the mediation of Varnhagen he applied to the Prussian government, giving solemn assurance of his thankfulness to Prussia for her services to the bastard population of his Rhenish home. The Rhinelanders, he said, these Belgians endowed with all the faults of the Germans and possessing none of the virtues of the French, had through Prussia's instrumentality been made German once more. In the ministry at Berlin his asseverations were taken for what they were worth, and directly Heine learned that his application had been fruitless, he hastened to resume his invectives, speaking of the "ukasuits and knoutologists of Berlin," and appealing to the Rhenish bowmen to shoot the detestable black eagle from its perch. Yet the admiration felt by the German liberals was unaffected when in the year 1848 the secret dealings between Guizot and Heine at length came to light. In their eyes the unmasked mercenary of France was still an apostle of German freedom, and anyone who timidly ventured to maintain that even for Heine the principles of honour and uprightness ought to be valid was dismissed as a man without understanding by the protagonists of the dominant literary school.

A trifle more solid was the small talk with which Heine attempted to enlighten the Parisians upon the history of German religion, philosophy, and literature, for in this department the pupil of Hegel was not quite so rudderless as upon the high seas of politics. Even here, it is true, the core of things

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was eminently receptive and utterly surrendered himself unresistingly to the influence of this peculiar literature which, in its decadent and affected with its greedily swallowed the foam of every Paris. For a time he was even for the socialistic cobwebs spun from the air, until the æsthetic repugnance of the world made him draw away from "socialism." All this desultory scribbling of value beyond a few fine poems and a few bad, and indifferent; but its influence was enormous. Heine, soaring even above the master of the European feuilleton, with that journalistic impudence which reaches the depths of human life with a few internationalist fellows, who were cautious at first, engaged in the work, overwhelmed him with admiration. The second Aristophanes, the naughty jesting the obvious difference that Heine's naughtiness was due to a pygmy spirit, incapable of great things, itself by mocking exuberance. Heine's fellow countrymen by that time the broadminded German nature and. Ever since the Germans had been in a form for the clothing of their time, and of how many of our time that they had never succeeded in the form for the clothing of their time there appeared among us for the first time who was utterly indifferent to the Heine's "divine prose," striving after effect, became with time and more a prey to mannerism and polish. By this affected, careless, style, he endeavoured to make

everything, no matter what, palatable to his readers. He possessed what the Jews have in common with the French, the gracefulness of vice which makes even the base and the odious seem alluring for a moment; he had the trick of turning out a fine-sounding sentence about a pretty trifle; and above all he was endowed with what Goethe had so often condemned as sterile, wit which can play over the surface of things without mastering them. All this was utterly ungerman. The language of Martin Luther, born in the struggles of conscience, had at all times remained the language of candour and truth; in this tongue sin was termed sin, nothing, nothing, and once again did Goethe speak from the very heart of the nation when he declared: "When we speak German, we lie when we are polite." But for the very reason that the Germans felt unable to vie with this clever Jew in the artifices of piquancy and charm, they allowed themselves to be dazzled by him, mistaking for the magic of art what was in reality no more than the stimulus of novelty.

Slowly, very slowly, did the understanding gain ground that Heine's witticisms could never be truly congenial to German minds. Of all our lyric poets he was the only one who never wrote a drinking song; to him heaven seemed full of almond cakes, purses of gold, and street wenches, for the oriental was incompetent to carouse after the German manner. It was long before people realised that Heine's "esprit" was far from being "Geist" in the German sense. Whenever he had spoken in earnest, he proved a false prophet; what he regarded as dead lived on, and what he spoke of as living was dead. Heine could not read the true signs of the times, which had already been clearly recognised by Thomas Carlyle in his profound work on the French revolution; Heine could not recognise the decay of France and the quiet strengthening of Prussian Germany. Years were to elapse before ephemeral journalistic literature was appraised at its true value; but Heine's reputation collapsed as soon as the world became accustomed merely to skim the feuilleton, and to forget in a day the thoughts conceived in a day.

Upon contemporary imaginative writers, however, the example of the widely acclaimed Parisian feuilletonist exercised

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Lord Byron, by the brilliant arbitrary and incidental descriptions, had often of artistic forms; but he wrote in marvellous beauty, so that the nobility was lacking. Heine, with his feuilleton throw down the barriers which must in prose. His judgments on art, his literary and political disquisitions, meagre and out with tinsel and with flowers of genuinely poetic but were intended to flourish. Hence his admirer Arnold called the ridiculous name of "critical poet." He went straight forward towards its goal, continually straying from the path in earlier days, when academic rules were of bondage to prose, and was termed by the species of prose." But in Germany he learned to stand on its own feet; he acquired such constructive energy could allow itself unheard of liberties. It was not the permissible poetic prose novel, but a morbid mongrel style of flesh. Prosaic matter appeared in its place. It entered a claim to be enjoyed as a not surprising that the critical poet, as after all incomparable, should be the object of poetic critics, who imagined they interwove into their judgments from the imaginative treasure-house of writers of real talent misapplied their of this iridescent prose, wandering in hony.

the changing impressions of Parisian these elegant trifles, Börne, in his into sheer fanaticism. He could not one of Paul de Kock's frivolous charge of stage thunder. If Heine, Börne was the advocate of political no definite aim, being concerned

merely to rail at everything that existed in Germany, and to manifest his enthusiasm for "the rights of man" which were to be above every law. Should he occasionally go so far as to offer his readers any morsel of fact, he showed a childlike lack of critical faculty; and several of the apocryphal documents from the archives of the Bundestag upon which the liberal legend was nourished for many subsequent years, were first published in his *Paris Letters*. Since he was incapable of development, and could never find anything new to say, he was reduced to screaming. "Turks, Spaniards, and Jews," he exclaimed, "are much nearer freedom than the Germans. They are slaves, but one day they will break their chains and will then become free. The German, however, is a born servant; he could be free but will not." His old hatred for Goethe became a positive fury, and he wrote: "Kotzebue's tepid tear-soup is a thousand times better than Goethe's frozen wine." To such an extreme did he go with these invectives that Carl Simrock, though a liberal, felt impelled to ask Börne whether he hoped to annihilate the German nation by this abuse of its leading mind.

Börne accepted the new doctrine regarded by the radicals as essential to salvation, that in this enlightened century history had suddenly changed its character, and no longer fulfilled its ends through the instrumentality of great men, but through the reason of the masses. He consequently spoke of modern France, a country whose culture was produced by rule of thumb, as "the school of the world, the great railway of freedom and morality"; whilst Germany, with its wealth of individual energies, its manifold and yet unified civilisation, became ever more unintelligible to him. Since all true culture is aristocratic, he was opposed to German science as an enemy to liberty, contending: "Every university makes the whole country stupid for fifty miles round; a few are to know everything in order that all may know nothing." Refined sophistical images, which in truth had always been the outcome of mere wit, never of reflection, gradually became rarer in his writings. They were replaced by unmeaning demagogic catchwords, by references to "the horny hand of the honest man, the sugary leaden hearts and lecherous lavender souls" of the servants of

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hal of all those simple souls who politician than that he should hold of faith. Even Rotteck magnanimous personal attacks, and never ceased one's fidelity to conviction. But a few men whose national pride who found the Jewish self-mockery eternal rain of abuse. C. F. Wurm is, the young poet of Berlin, and other serious publicists, entered the owed that he was a man utterly ting in commonplaces." In witty fun of the cheap heroism of the his poisoned arrows from a safe en to suffer pecuniarily in the ans, "good natured fools," bought to the allurements of revolutionary poet proudly rejoined that the ars to idols, and that they would to the foreigner were they to strive land.

Heine and Börne, but with almost le of Rahel Varnhagen strive to In his books the language used ly cautious. With great industry, collected from Prussian history *Monuments*, giving in well-rounded solemn narration of mingled truth ecdothe. If he had to describe an or a Canitz, he could produce a aceful as the black paper figures scissors in his drawing-room. But th requisite to carve the oak of made. The figures of Blucher and are quite unmeaning without an rough humour, appear lifeless and smooth, spruce presentation. To rism was agreeable, and Metternich

extolled the shipwrecked diplomatist as a master of historical style, doubtless tacitly intending to frighten the inconvenient man away from political activities. Varnhagen's liberal views found somewhat more definite expression in the Hegelian *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, to which he contributed almost as indefatigably as the editor, Eduard Gans.

But he was entirely himself only at his Rahel's tea table. Here, amid authors, men of the world, and diplomatists not in active service, he gave free rein to his malicious tongue, and, knowing everybody, always ready to do a service, he played the patron to young men of talent. It was here that Gans, among a number of new political ideas, discovered also the great æsthetic truth: "The Taglioni dances Goethe." Here everyone was called upon to contribute brilliant impressions, and everyone was expected to know better than other people (the crown of life to the true Berliner). Then Rahel, "thyrsus-swinger to the thought of the time," would send the lightnings of her spirit across the wide world, inspiring initiates to smiles of intimate comprehension. Everything about her breathed the restless weltschmerz of a noble but profoundly unsatisfied feminine nature. To quote her own words, she was affected with "a peculiar melancholy, an impulse to advance, a claim, a desire for something to happen." Something new and unprecedented was to take place. With dialectical audacity she disregarded all the limits which nature and history have imposed upon humanity; fatherland and church, marriage and property, everything was subjected to her disintegrating criticism. Why should not water burn; why should not fire flow; why should not a man bear children? "Had Fichte's wife written Fichte's works, would they have been any less worthy of attention?" In such a phrase she would victoriously proclaim the mental equality of the sexes. In the moral world the only thing that seemed to her of account was the arbitrary choice of personal feeling. She considered it "dreadful" that in wedlock many children should be procreated whose parents were not inspired by genuine mutual love. Her blunt conclusion was: "Jesus had only a mother. All children should have an ideal father, and all mothers should be held as blameless and honourable as was

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ut the "highly well born," about and so on; and in a tedious work he showed that henceforward great possible nor necessary, for constitute kingship "devoid of physiognomically be no more than a transitional canism. More noteworthy were the her minor critical essays by Ludolf Sensation and reason were, in his new age; Luther had freed the senses must come into their rights. the modern "writers of destiny" "Poesy and life are inseparables; when severed from the male." Add tenment and cosmopolitanism, for spring from the same root." was capable of continued growth, the latter industry. owed with a larger share of vital in a breath of Silesian cheerfulness Berlin authorship. Unfortunately arly to the literary market, and original to say, he was compelled by whip-crackings and bombast. e endeavoured (to quote what he s) "to judge everything possible ard of liberalism." He extolled yette; declared reason to be the the supreme source of all rights; with a naivety truly remarkable *Europa*, too, contained nothing mments, but to these comments, e gave "the physiognomy of a of his descriptions of free love, than by charm, might well think a work of imagination. It was t from the occasional gleams of g it might be inferred that the of these unripe boastings. Laube

spoke of Goethe in admiring terms, but he was not free from a sense of superiority, for Young Germany was firmly convinced that the newer literature was advancing with giant strides far beyond anything that had been attainable by the old pleasure-seeking prince's servant. "As long as Goethe lived in a petty time, Goethe was great; but when the time became great, Goethe was small. It may be that freedom will rise from his tomb. With other maidens has he dallied, but never with the most beautiful of them all."

Even earlier than Laube, when no more than twenty-one years of age, Carl Gutzkow made his first essays in authorship. A typical Berliner, quite estranged from nature, he was all understanding, all culture, so that even his passions had a doctrinaire flavour. However earnestly in later years he might endeavour to contemplate, to experience, to feel, throughout life there clung to him the influences resulting from his having grown up in this metropolis, where even the mob knew no stronger term of abuse than "uncultured man," where the children in their earliest years became acquainted at menageries with their own resemblance to monkeys, but seldom or never caught sight of a herd of German cattle. Gutzkow invariably aspired towards intellectualism, and it was impossible for him to express a simple thought in simple words. Ardently desirous of fame, the successes of others preyed upon his mind, and distant observers could readily regard this man who, though irritable, was essentially good-natured, as a person of malicious and envious disposition. In rapid succession he published a number of short stories, all defective in point of character drawing, and overloaded with *weltchmerz*. Next came *Briefe eines Narren an eine Narrin*, a sentimental sketch in the inflated style of Jean Paul, but devoid of the latter's geniality. This was followed by *Nero*, a shapeless drama, ostensibly intended to represent "the struggle of the beautiful with the good, a struggle still undecided"; but the work achieved nothing more than confused freethinking utterances and tepid witticisms, failing even to arouse a sentiment of awe by its delineation of the mania of Caesarism.

It was through a great literary scandal that Gutzkow's name first became known to wider circles. The sultry vintage

Ad
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Gutzkow

to involve our literature in severe of 1834 occurred the death of h mourned for its great teacher, to understand the hidden tragedy profoundly moved in contemplating o had only attained his splendid on to heavy laden hearts because greatly, because he himself had contact with the great forces of had God guided him! How many which this shy spirit had at length e towards all public activities, to influence over the nation. How ment, how many disillusionments een wit, had to be endured, before stretching all its roots and leaves to terms with the weakly and at length find peace in work of any doubts must be surmounted nce upon God became elevated into purtenancy, of sonship to the Father, felt himself in perfect harmony is deathbed, as was his Protestant ament to himself and his family. mpled with veneration even by Gutzkow, with youthful impudence, make fun of the unctuous laments y, quite without authorisation, he long forgotten and weakest work, of its author, *Vertraute Briefe cinde*, published in the year 1800. ad by Schleiermacher in the desire egel against the attacks of the whilst actually engaged in writing bout his own work. The mysticism inriddled many a fine secret, but many another, did not arise from trong passion, but from the half

unconscious sophistry of a hypercultured sentiment influenced by external suggestions. At a later date, when Schleiermacher outgrew romanticism, he recognised how impossible it is to deduce the moral laws of society solely from the idea of individuality. But this subjectivism of the youthful romanticist was the very thing which pleased the Young Germans, whose principal talent it was to trot out old errors in a new dress. His cordial defence of sensual delights was a dainty morsel for their lustful palates, and in Gutzkow's hands it was accentuated to become the "soulless and unworthy libertinage" which the young Schleiermacher had expressly repudiated. Gutzkow took the theologian's name in vain, writing a lengthy introduction in which he bluntly preached unchastity and godlessness. "Is it not true, Rosalie? Only since you have worn spurs on your little silken boots have you known the meaning of the words, 'I love you' . . . Come here, Franz! Who is God? You don't know? Innocent atheist, philosophical child! Had the world never known of God, it would have been much happier!" The writer really imagined that with this foolish chatter he was performing a great act of spiritual enfranchisement. "I believe," he wrote, "in the reformation of love, as I believe in every social problem of the century"—and his associates acclaimed this remarkable reformer, who believed in all problems. Wienbarg wrote with delight: "The most beautiful and the most talented of Schleiermacher's children has hitherto been disowned and calumniated because it was a love child and did not bear its father's name."

The Young German writings were but little read, but they were much talked of, and this was already success, for modern society believes it to be its duty to discuss everything, whether this be understood or not, and thus is apt credulously to accept any established reputation. With the ideas of the newer Parisian literature, the industrious business habits characteristic of that literature and all the evil arts of log-rolling had crossed the Rhine. It was fruitless for Scribe to make mock of these abuses in his clever comedy *La Camaraderie*; they had become indispensable to the French, especially since the newspapers, following the example of

se, had assumed purely democratic power to secure extensive circulation of business advertisements. As far as modest conditions, Young Germany, to the ephemeral reputation of its presented to the nation by Wienbarg

He was "the talented author of the epoch-making literary supplement, the boldest soldier of the ring priest of love on German soil." It is sound when Heine sang the Laube on account of his "notable greatness." In this fertilising many of the mere camp-followers found themselves on the way to Leipzig lived Gustav Kühne, editor of the account, and so dull a writer that a from boredom was wont to say: "In his well-ordered house the younger is a welcome, so they praised him, and his name is still copied over to another although no one ever

the Teutonic followers of Jahn and The former displayed energy pushed the latter's work was artificialised. Teutonists displayed faith, the Young instead of the overstrained patriotic man speech, we find in the Young made of foreign locutions, in which the German parliamentarians. The tongue has ever been a sign of a born conqueror, takes his property like every great talent, it is liable to be more grossly misused than in vanity, because they considered themselves distinguished, and because they themselves were quite at home in the Young German school loaded their

style, even without this unduly artificial, with a mass of foolish French words and phrases. When Wienbarg published a new volume, he sublimely announced that he was placing "his critical effort under the reverberation of the book trade."

The evil example was all the more disastrous to German journalistic style because the younger writers on the daily press were many of them Jews, almost invariably devoid of a feeling for the niceties of language. How great had become the power of Jewry during these few years! Börne and Heine, Eduard Gans and Rahel, set the tone for Young Germany, whilst a fifth in the company was Zacharias Lowenthal, the busy publisher of Mannheim. Cosmopolitanism and hatred of Christianity, bitter mockery and corruption of speech, utter indifference towards the greatness of national history—everything in the movement was Jewish, although the Young Germans never constituted a definitely circumscribed school, although Börne did not even correspond with most of his German imitators, whilst Gutzkow at least was no lover of the Jews. It is true that the Hebraic choir-masters were few in number, but the Jew's mysterious faculty for multiplying himself is familiar to all, and any one who in a narrow alley sees twenty Jews standing at their thresholds is prepared to take his oath that there must have been hundreds there. Moreover, since the five leaders were really of much greater intellectual force than the members of their Germanic following, the Judaic spirit exercised for a brief period an influence upon German literature such as has never since been paralleled. It is true that the number of Jewish authors is now much larger than in those days, but they do not gain the respect of the nation unless they are fully Germanised. Such a reputation as Heine's was possible only in a generation whose cosmopolitan dreams had expunged for a time the memory of the primeval contrast between Aryan and Semitic sensibilities. This semi-Jewish radicalism had no creative faculty whatever, but it assisted in undermining the foundations of state, church, and society, thus contributing to the revolution of 1848. For this reason alone does the movement find a place in history.

The hopeless confusion of all moral ideas in Young German

and it may be also because her mind avoured to wrap her woman's motives in mystery. Like most suicides, this also was a weakness, of pusillanimity. But it was an explanation should content an artist. All Berlin looked upon Charlotte as an act which deserved nothing but sympathy as the manifestation of an heroic self-sacrifice, as a literary martyrdom of the saints of the church. Serious-minded men were carried away in admiration. Böckh, in Greek distichs, wrote, "who had voluntarily gone down for her spouse." Theodor Mundt, a poet, satiate to turn the horrible incident into a promptly erected a biographical monument, roughly withdrawing the veil of this profoundly unhappy marriage. A journey through Germany, carrying a banner, and boasting of his own shame. Charlotte, which was not published until 1840, he says: "Her last lines are my promotion to a higher rank." Now should awaken profound thoughts of the man who died of cholera in Italy, a martyr. Not the desperate deed itself, but the act, was a tragical sign of the times, caused by hyperculture. Charlotte, Gutzkow was stimulated to write. With this work (such was the title) by the chorus of Young German writers, Sturm und Drang ventured their earlier movement had ventured in. But how shameful was the result. They were displayed naked and unfalsified in the most atrocious portraiture, and a charming portrait of the reader is readily induced to enter of the contents. Moreover, the same is on art are to be found many

excellent ideas, worthy of a time which still possessed an enthusiastic faith in beauty. But in Gutzkow we find nothing but a desert of reflections, of immature and precocious utterances concerning the rights of the flesh, the unnaturalness of marriage, the folly of Christianity. We are shown a bored and impotent hero, and an equally stupid and world-weary heroine, who is ashamed of her feminine modesty as a prejudice, who exhibits herself nude to her lover in order to wed him symbolically, whilst contracting marriage with a man whom she does not love. Naturally the work closes with a suicide. This detestable piece of obscenity does not contain a trace of vigorous passion or a single natural word.

It was impossible that in a moral nation such an overplus of uncleanly impudence should be allowed to pass unchallenged. In September, 1835, Wolfgang Menzel opened a campaign against Young Germany in the columns of the Stuttgart *Literaturblatt*, of which he was editor. One of the most zealous members of the Würtemberg opposition, on intimate terms with Welcker and many others among the South German parliamentarians, he had been an eager participant in the petition issued from Boll by the Swabian liberals, and had on many occasions warmly espoused the cause of the ill-treated Jews; but he remained a firm adherent of the Protestant faith, and would not allow the wisdom of the newspapers to shake his conviction that France was on the decline, Germany in the ascendant. When the ungerman and unchristian tendencies of Young Germany had been plainly demonstrated in Gutzkow's *Wally*, he gave vent to his feelings in his rough, arrogant, and blustering manner, but with honest courage. He must have known that the majority of his liberal associates were half estranged from the church, and that they would be likely to look askance at his defence of Christianity. In the course of the prolonged dispute, in which retort was perpetually followed by counter retort, he at length openly declared that sans patrie Judaism was disintegrating all our ideas of shame and morality, and that whilst the mob frenzy of the middle

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among all foreigners, the Teuton English have alone fully understood him, the French never. By his *St. Paul* he awakened the Protestant oratorio to new life, and he gave to German song a deep and ecstatic musical expression. Hardly less important than these compositions, which raised him to a rank far above that of all composers then living, was his activity as conductor. In 1829, when no more than twenty years of age, he made his debut in this field by the production in Berlin of Sebastian Bach's forgotten *Passion*, and from that time forward he never remitted from his endeavours to revive among the cultured the taste for the noble and genuinely German artistic forms of the symphony, the oratorio, and the sonata. He made comprehensible to the nation the works of Bach and Handel, and also Beethoven's last symphonies, which had long been considered impossible of production. From the days when Mendelssohn, universally known and loved throughout Germany, began to wield his baton in Berlin, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Leipzig music, which had sunk almost to the level of a pastime, regained honour as a lofty art. It was to him that the Germans owed it that when anarchy came to prevail also in the world of opera, audiences continued to preserve a kernel of sound taste. Thus did a German of Jewish descent lead back our cultured society to the old traditions of national art, in the very days when the German Jews of Paris were sinning so grossly against German nationality. Mendelssohn's noble and grand activity showed for all time that the German Jew can attain true fame only when he gives himself up wholly and without reserve to German life.

Painting, too, was affected by the realistic impulse of the day. A long time must always elapse before the world can recognise the limits imposed upon the talent of creative spirits. Happy is the artist who, like Schiller, after the production of raw and immature works, can strive steadily upwards, attaining to an ever freer development of his genius, to depart as soon as the nation begins to understand him fully. Different and tragical was the destiny of Cornelius. Impetus, nobility, greatness, a world of new ideas, were infused by him into

The Fine Arts

the petrified graph of a second Goethe; him as a greater 1831, when he received him as if from his carriage, at the town. But to succeed. Cornelius new painting, more than the writer of pioneer than one unfortunately there no one to gather the rays of the imagination of the of form and colour always a great poet to discover the form created ideal. For same reason feminise him, since this beauty could teach little, it can be conveyed by to communicate to works, the power of his career, a serious thinker, idolised by It was a saying of the man," but he suit him to immerse Those who painted his grandiose conce were despised by the Since he continued what did it matter in Munich? What French, who reproached not a genuine painter, fore incapable of un-

34?

defeating this, and decides it
not only in politics, but
practically speaking, impossible

story of Prussia if you only knew how
 e was better aware of this than young
 s still comparatively unnoted. His
 what the Berlin realists, Chodowiecki
 . Pictures of manners and review
 eeded by pictures of heroic incidents

pride glowed in the heart of Rauch.
 saster and the subsequent marvellous
 n to the depths of the soul. It was
 fresh life to him when in brass or
 emorate the men who had participated
 spoke of his noble handicraft as the
 was fond of recalling Goethe's saying,
 is man himself." Even in Schleier-
 was able to see and reproduce the
 ent. He had made himself intimately
 ents of the king, who became ever
 n; one bust of Frederick William
 the sculptor, simply for his own
 his memorial of Queen Louise. No
 too trifling if done for the sake of
 n he shaped the eagle for the gates
 e pillars of bridges, until at length
 bird secured perfect monumental
 who designed the embellished death's
 he black hussars. He was delighted
 om the town of Gumbinnen to carve
 William I, for it gave him immense
 ful eastern march he could reproduce
 his human worth as "the restorer
 was too much the classicist to feel
 apeless northern world. His favourite
 of those happy days of youth when
 on had been attracted to the eternal
 degenerating art, just as of old for
 ting church. What an expansion of
 roaming among the statues of the

Vatican, or when admiring in Carrara the snow-white peaks
 thrusting upwards like sugar loaves into the blue sky and when,
 in the company of his friend Tieck, clambering through the
 rifts in search of the finest marble.

Herein lies the rarely understood but splendid beauty
 of modern German history, that all the little streamlets
 of tribal history, as if impelled by a mysterious force
 of nature, gradually coalesced to form a single stream,
 until ultimately every part of the nation came to share in
 the greatness of the fatherland. Certainly as the south excelled
 the north in imaginative and poetic energy, no less certainly
 were the North Germans in advance of the highlanders in
 intellectual power and in the art of sculpture. The Low
 Germans, Winckelmann and Carstens, Schinkel and Rauch,
 were the first to awaken in Germany a sense for the formal
 beauties of the classical antique, their nearest collaborators
 in this field being Thorwaldsen, the kindred Dane, and Zoega
 the archæologist, a Holsteiner. In Berlin, Rauch was never
 happier than when with Wilhelm Humboldt, his loyal patron
 since Roman days, or when with Schinkel—for all three were firm
 believers in the affinity of the Hellenic with the Teutonic
 genius. It was his pride that Prussia did more than any
 other state for the study of the antique. He eagerly promoted
 the establishing of the new collections of casts at the universities
 of Bonn, Königsberg, and Breslau; and he had an extensive
 supply of marble blocks brought to Berlin.

As he grew older his pleasure in classical forms increased.
 With ecstatic delight, therefore, did he accept a commission
 from King Louis to adorn the Ratisbon Walhalla with six
 colossal Victories. At last he could throw into the corner
 "the everlasting trousers" of the statues of Prussian
 commanders, and feast his eyes upon "the noble nude." These
 magnificent female forms remained the joy of his life for years.
 But he still had time to spare for the realistically conceived
 Dürer monument at Nuremberg; whilst with touching simplicity
 he incorporated Christ's saying, "Suffer little children to come
 unto me," in the Halle statue of the pious Francke. On
 one occasion he was somewhat influenced by echoes of the
 romanticism, when he produced the charming statuette of the

* 1919 - he sees how to use it

* natural surroundings. Some of these buildings, like the charming Villa Charlottenhof, were finished by his own hand; others, such as the châteaux of Babelsberg and Camentz, were completed by other architects; but the majority of his essays in this field, like the marvellously beautiful design for the castle of Orianda, were never carried out. He wished to demolish the library in the Opernplatz in Berlin, and to replace it by a fine palace for Prince William, but the prince's means were restricted, and Schinkel had to allow his friend Langhanns to build in the corner of the square a palace which, though finely conceived, was of extremely modest proportions. No more than a fraction of his colossal energies bore fruit in German life. Down to the days of 1848 the after effects of his genius could still be traced in new churches and museums, and also in many of the pleasant country houses which, as general prosperity came, sprang up in the neighbourhood of large towns. But the quiet and peaceful generation to which he had devoted his labours passed away, and the new epoch of clamorous commerce, of railway stations, exhibitions, and banks, imposed upon architecture tasks of an entirely new character.

For all the restrictions by which it was hampered, Schinkel's work had a far profounder influence upon national life than had the febrile architectural activity of the court of Munich. In Gärtner, from Rhineland, King Louis had at length found an architect after his own heart, a nimble and hasty artist, ever ready to produce all that the impatient employer demanded. In rapid succession were now erected the romanticist structures of the Ludwigstrasse, cold and uninspiring for the most part, although the great staircase of the library is not without artistic charm. Fortunately at one end of the desert street was the gate of victory modelled upon the arch of Constantine, whilst at the other end was a somewhat unsuccessful imitation of the Florentine Loggia dei Lanzi, which, however, from a distance had a stately appearance. The street was spoken of as "the Gallery of Bavarian Generals," statues of Tilly and Wrede being erected there—but the name gave much amusement to neighbours, for Tilly was no Bavarian, and Wrede was no general. Nowhere was the artificiality of this

monumental art up displayed than in thirty thousand Ba This was a master of the pedestal wa "They too died f the citizens of M battering ram, en their ruler had th by depicting four Nicholas viewed t eloquence to pers had some meanin Bonifacius and O showed that the a competent to tra king's undertaking were justified in stately mansions

Literature and morbid moods of the pith of Germa taneously took up classical and of th of our people, desc by the fact that studied the achie the simple efficiet yet, in striking s either at home o set out on his tr of Gentz, and w in the first insta is exercised by Vienna, freshly in of Wuk, the Serbia

* 1905 At reading tractates

of true historiography. The Protestants, at first exhibited towards their renegade weakly consideration which has always been object of Protestant religious freedom. Hurter at the doors of several Catholic publishers, afraid to offend a reading public proud of Perthes, on the other hand, a loyal book to the world as inconsiderately as he issued Stolberg's *History of Religion*, for at least to hope for an understanding between men. In the *Berliner Jahrbücher*, Leo paid homage to the Ghibellines. In 1834, after the history of Innocent III had been strictly Protestant fellow countrymen in him antistes, chief pastor of the canton, and faculty of the university of Basle, as members such men as de Wette and conferred upon him an honorary doctor's of the abundant knowledge he has displayed.

If Hurter had had the least understanding of the Protestant congregational church, as would have been impossible for him to do to preach a faith whose fundamental he denied. Even Haller implored his friend heresy, seeing that his position had become as well be that the old man now looked upon the days when he had himself chosen to keep his conversion a secret. But fully under the sway of old family traditions, those who as bailiffs had in former days confederacy, and he had simply transferred his hip to the church. Looking on himself himself competent to exercise hierarchical regardless of the opinions of errant members unteachable, and mulish, like most of the clung to his Protestant office, and continued story, which became more fanatical with entered into an alliance with the pope,

with nuncios and bishops, with all the leaders of the clericalist party in South Germany, engaging unashamedly in ultramontane intrigues, until, after years had passed, the Protestant population displayed its hostility to behaviour which was tantamount to an impudent falsehood.

Whilst the notable political historians first approached German affairs by devious paths, through the domain of universal history, Jacob Grimm's attention was wholly devoted to the homeland, for he guarded the treasures of our primal age as a pious priest guards a sacred relic. He desired "to encourage more elevated ideas of the fatherland, whose tongue, laws, and antiquities are far from being adequately esteemed," foreseeing that "the future will take revenge upon the present for any contempt of primitive times." He had therefore demonstrated to his countrymen that "our forefathers spoke a well-constructed speech and had excellent legal institutions." Now, in *German Mythology* (1835), the third of his pioneer works, he showed that they had also been "filled with the happy belief in God and gods," and that they had "not abused themselves before idols and wooden images." Never before had he written so movingly. It gave pleasure to his amiable mind to rebuild where ignorant rationalist criticism had demolished. He knew that belief in the gods was the basis of all saga, and that saga is perpetually reborn, whereas history is invariably new, and never repeats itself. He was the first to recognise that, after the conversion of the Teutons, Christianity, wishing to dispel pagan ideas, had endeavoured to conceal paganism under Christian forms, and that for this reason many of the old pagan beliefs persisted in distorted guise throughout the middle ages, as a belief in witchcraft and in the devil, and further that the sacred figures of Christian belief were likewise indued with many of the attributes of the ancient gods, so that Freya lived on in Mary, Thor in Peter, the Æsir in the apostles. Thus by his comprehensive study of pagan and Christian traditions was he enabled to reconstruct an accurate picture of the Teutonic pantheon, and to demonstrate that whilst the gods of our ancestors are obscurer figures, less shapely and more fantastical than the gods of Olympus, yet

our mythology was superior to classical mythology through the persistence of a living belief in a continued existence after death and in the moral responsibility of mortals. He showed, likewise, that it was superior through its kinship with Christianity, and superior through its frank naturalness, for how much more homely and congenial are the dwarfs, elves, and giants of the Germans than the respectable and artistically decked nymphs, cabiri, and cyclops. He objected to any learned attempts at systematisation in this world of live figures, which had filled a daring race of heroes with joy in victory and contempt for death. He would not permit the imputation of pantheism to our fathers, for they had venerated many gods of varying strength and dignity; nor would he admit the charge of dualism, for in this hopeful creed the gentle and kindly gods were enormously preponderant.

No other nation now possesses so vivid and so solidly grounded a conception of the mental life of its primitive forefathers. Equally incomparable in world literature was the essay, *The Diversity in the Structure of Languages*, the last work of Wilhelm Humboldt, wherein the brilliant forces of two epochs, the philosophic universality characteristic of the eighteenth century and the strict study of detail characteristic of the nineteenth, are united even more happily than they had been in the *Essay concerning the Task of the Historian*. In this work, which touches upon the profoundest riddles of existence, Humboldt sketched in bold antitheses a philosophic and historical picture of the nature of man, the subject which had occupied his mind throughout life. He showed that man is man solely through language, but is certainly not the creator of language, for he must be man before he could become competent to discover language. He showed that the enigma of language does not lie in speaking but in understanding, and that the enigma can only be grasped when we recognise that "I" and "thou" are in truth identical concepts. He showed that language is simultaneously foreign to the soul and subject to the soul, dependent upon the laws of thought and nevertheless free, seeing that the contradictory, though it cannot be thought, may be uttered. He showed how the organism of language is fashioned by the entire nation, whereas civilisation

Historians and

is fashioned by the national and yet rendered but an act but advancing creative energy as a whole though may be scientific ideas, but they are an expression application of our general and history.

Years before the knock-down the monkey story is enunciated by Humboldt consciousness is detached from inevitably impossible to show in reality, and he of a substantiation for a long time comparative of magnificent Goethe of Weimar and he had completed the before-men sufferings of his close to his resting place of hill overlooking place is surmounted by a marble statue upon the ivy-German descent

Who?
AH?
E?
Goethe?
Alas?

YS
*

to the young Jew

self-deification of the Bourbons or the unthinking hebetude of the Viennese Hofburg, and it had but little in common with the priestly kingcraft of the Stuarts. Like the elaborated despotism of King Louis of Bavaria it could flourish solely upon German soil, upon the soil of that romanticist outlook on the world which found its ideal in the boundless development of all the talents, in the self-confidence and self-gratification of the proud ego. In this harassed and restricted age, all were clamouring for liberty, and none clamoured more loudly than the new king. But before everything the freedom he desired was one that would enable him to live out his own life upon the heights, and to make an active use of his royal wisdom and formative powers. He believed in the existence of a mysterious illumination which God's grace bestowed upon kings as distinct from other mortals; he had a cordial belief in mankind, and imagined that he understood his era because he had a connoisseur's receptivity for all it had to offer in the way of the grand and the beautiful. Hence he considered it possible for him, in virtue of his unrestricted royal authority, to endow his beloved people with more true freedom than any written constitution could bring.

Frederick William was now nearly forty-five, and his portly figure and the intellectual but placid lineaments of his beardless countenance already suggested the advance of years, despite the youthful restlessness of his movements. Manifold had been his experiences during these long years of waiting. Much homage had been paid him since those distant days when the old Albertina university had chosen the thirteen year old boy to be its rector, and when on his mother's last birthday "the flourishing hope of the fatherland" was honoured by the striking of a medal. At a considerably later date Goethe had prophesied that this great talent must awaken new talents, and everyone had admired the crown prince's intellectual supremacy. He had long sat as president of the council of state and of the ministry, believing himself to be thus supervising all the affairs of state. His father, however, simple-minded but with a good knowledge of men, had been careful to see that this brilliant position, not altogether suitable for the heir to a throne, should not degenerate into a co-regency

King Frederick W

The old king has in the state. His veneration which to inspire even crown prince's advocacy was d orthodox pastors place with the exclusively to l momentous decis that the heir t powerlessness, ar enmity towards

Not merely failing to recogn it contemptuous. did he detest seemed to him enlightenment. beneath the hill which his father adorned with l animated conver future. The a enormously supe faith, the profun William's bosom trochaic verse, r halls on the plat

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a step which neither of his two predecessors had ventured, and established his court in the palace of the great Frederick. He had no fear of the inevitable comparisons, for it was his hope that for the second time from this "historic hill" a new spirit would breathe over the land, though a different spirit from the Frederician, being that of the Christian state. By hard work and through severe mental struggles he had long ere this got the better of the rationalistic teaching of his early tutor, and had come to conceive faith as the highest power of reason. Indelibly graven upon his heart was the saying of St. Augustine: "The immutable light of God was over me, for it gave me existence, and I was beneath it, because it created me." From this he derived his sense of "the inexpressible difference between the creator and the creature," and from this likewise he derived the delusion that he could "create divinity" out of his own nature "as an analogy of the godhead!!!"¹ Nothing therefore seemed more abominable to him than "the dragon's teeth of Hegelian pantheism." More far-sighted than Hegel, he recognised that every epoch has its own independent value, its own peculiar relationship to God, and that no epoch can be significant merely as a developmental stage on the way to the future. The new age that was now dawning was destined, he considered, to make a clean sweep of the heritage of the old enlightenment, was to overcome the revolution by liberty, carnal freedom by Christian freedom, the mechanical state by the Christian state.

With an artist's imagination he had already conceived a whole world of splendid plans, and, being now master, his amiable disposition, which made him desire to universalise happiness without delay, which made him long to see cheerful faces wherever he looked, impelled him towards realisation. His idea was to supplement the provincial diets by summoning a Reichstag based upon representation by estates, but he had no idea of inaugurating a written constitution, for although he loved to express his contempt for all political theories, his own mind was permeated by an unchangeable political doctrine. The artificial contrast between the revolutionary

¹ Annotations of the crown prince on Bunsen's treatise, Concerning Marriage Law, State, and Church.

* D.T. Absolutely true. Near then to rivet each people as much as the Danubioffs did it.

King Frederick William

representative system estates which Gentz of the year 1819, s Just as the adherents believed in an abstract laws, so did he be of the estates which authority, and could recognised. The tr modern nations disp tion of state laws by the Hegelian i monarchy was ever the state." Haller's greatest triumph at passed his seventieth William this crude a by rich adornments of the state was a estates and all the a free and multiform Even the Wends, Masurians were to h speech and customs

He proposed to There was to be : for the Poles, with illegal oppression ; above all for the c account of the Col overcome by ma church of Prussia monarchy seemed to Protestantism had congregations of th their own independe thus rendering visi long regarded with His court was to

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of his two predecessors had ventured, in the palace of the great Frederick. Inevitable comparisons, for it was his and time from this "historic hill" a the over the land, though a different man, being that of the Christian state. Through severe mental struggles he had better of the rationalistic teaching of and come to conceive faith as the highest elibly graven upon his heart was the e: "The immutable light of God was existence, and I was beneath it, because n this he derived his sense of "the between the creator and the creature," he derived the delusion that he could of his own nature "as an analogy of thing therefore seemed more abominable ragon's teeth of Hegelian pantheism." Hegel, he recognised that every epoch ent value, its own peculiar relationship epoch can be significant merely as a the way to the future. The new age g was destined, he considered, to make heritage of the old enlightenment, was olution by liberty, carnal freedom by mechanical state by the Christian state. imagination he had already conceived a did plans, and, being now master, his which made him desire to universalise y, which made him long to see cheerful oked, impelled him towards realisation. ement the provincial diets by summoning on representation by estates, but he had ng a written constitution, for although his contempt for all political theories, permeated by an unchangeable political ial contrast between the revolutionary

representative system and the legitimate representation by estates which Gentz had described in his Carlsbad memorial of the year 1819, seemed to the king an irrefutable truth. Just as the adherents of the old doctrine of natural law had believed in an abstract law of reason far superior to all positive laws, so did he believe in the existence of a historic right of the estates which had arisen independently of the state authority, and could not be suspended by the latter, but merely recognised. The truth that the law-constructing spirit of modern nations displays its strongest activity in the inauguration of state laws was despised by him as an error cherished by the Hegelian idolisers of the state, and his Christian monarchy was ever to remain free from this "all-power of the state." Haller's doctrine of the state now celebrated its greatest triumph at a time when its originator had already passed his seventieth year, but in the mind of Frederick William this crude and prosaic theory of power was transfigured by rich adornments of artistic imagery. For him the unity of the state was as nothing. It sufficed him that all the estates and all the territories of his wide realm should unfold a free and multiform life in their several historical peculiarities. Even the Wends, the Lithuanians, the Kashubes, and the Masurians were to have undisturbed enjoyment of their national speech and customs.

He proposed to mitigate all the severities of the old system. There was to be an amnesty for the demagogues, and also for the Poles, with whom he sympathised as the victims of illegal oppression; there was to be freedom for the press, and above all for the church. The bitterness of the Catholics on account of the Cologne episcopal dispute would, he hoped, be overcome by magnanimous concessions. The Evangelical church of Prussia and the supra-episcopal authority of the monarchy seemed to him almost devoid of justification. When Protestantism had purged itself of unbelieving elements, the congregations of the faithful were to rebuild their church with their own independent energies, untrammelled by state authority, thus rendering visible the church invisible. Further, he had long regarded with dislike the penuriousness of the old regime. His court was to be brilliant, tasteful, worthy of the Hohen-

D. T.

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zollern name, and with this end in view he hoped to assemble round his person all that was great in German art and science. Before his accession he had furthered the rebuilding of the Marienburg and the completion of the cathedral of Cologne; at Castel, he had restored the mortuary chapel of his Lützelburg forefathers, which stands on a precipitous rock high above the Saar; at Stolzenfels he had magnificently reconstructed the Rhenish palace of the prince bishops of Treves; and he had thrown open to the public the ruins of Stahleck, at one time a stronghold of his wife's ancestors, the Counts Palatine. Everywhere, now, the ruinous edifices that had belonged to his German forebears were to be splendidly reinstated, the work providing an abundance of new opportunities for the creative talent of the younger generation of artists. The Christian monarch desired to be scrupulously just to all the fresh energies of his country's life—to commerce, to industry, to communications, and not least to the working masses, whose growing power had become apparent to him while he was still crown prince, and earlier than to most of his contemporaries.

It was not his intention to make any radical change in the traditional foreign policy of Prussia. He regarded the league of the eastern powers as a protective barrier against the revolution. His long-standing veneration for Metternich's wisdom had but increased with the passage of the years; and towards his Russian brother-in-law he was weaker than his predecessor had been. The late king had loved "darling Niks" like a son, but in his quiet way had ever kept the Russian within bounds. To the new ruler the czar's harshnesses were profoundly repugnant, and in the intimacy of private life he would often use bitter expressions concerning "his autocratic majesty"; but Nicholas impressed him with that secret dread which a man of strong will is often able to inspire in a man of strong intelligence. Yet he felt very keenly that his domestic policy could have nothing in common either with the easy-going slumbrousness of Old Austria or with the slavish tranquillity of the tsarist realm, and he longed for the coming of the time when England should reenter the old quadruple alliance, and when Prussia, fortified by an intimate league between the two Protestant great powers, should secure a

D.T.
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King Frederick William

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somewhat freer hand in Europe. For years he had felt great
 admiration for this kindred island stock, and the ardency of
 the sentiment was continually increased by Bunsen's enthu-
 siastic letters. It was a delight to him to see how at the
 close of the thirties anglomania spread among the nobility all
 over Central Europe and even as far as Hungary, the dress
 and customs of English sportsmen being sedulously copied by
 good society. The British constitution seemed to him the
 model of that organic development which, though in other
 forms, he desired to achieve for his own state; and he shared
 the opinion widely diffused among the more liberal nobles and
 among the bourgeoisie, that England is our natural ally.
 Nevertheless his political experience was already more extensive
 than that of the liberals; he recognised that the alliances of
 states are not solely determined by the ties of inner kinship;
 and he considered that a peculiarly close bond between the
 two Protestant powers would not be possible unless the old
 eastern league remained inviolable.

Yet more lively was his interest in Prussia's German
 policy. He had no expectation of a long life, and soon after his
 accession said that he did not know whether this short reign
 would be glorious; at least he was determined that it should
 have a German stamp. Since he despised "the prejudices"
 of the Frederician era, and ungrudgingly acknowledged the
 precedence of the old imperial house, he regarded the Germanic
 Federation under peaceful dualist rule as an institution of the
 utmost value, and his only ambition was that Prussia should
 invigorate it, should secure for the Federation effective leader-
 ship in military affairs, trade and communications, and
 commercial policy. He hardly troubled himself to ask the
 question how it was possible to harmonise the enlarged federal
 authority with the customs union, which had arisen independ-
 ently of the Federation and in opposition thereto. His
 Prussian sense of the state ever remained weaker than his
 vague enthusiasm for German unity, and the idea of demanding
 the leadership of the nation for Prussia (a leadership that could
 be secured only through a struggle with Austria) lay quite
 without his circle of vision. Among all the Hohenzollern
 kings he was the most pacifically minded, excelling even his

P. T. a useful principle

father in this respect, and was therefore the only one who was never engaged in a serious war. Upon the wall of one of his museums he had inscribed the well-known utterance of the Cæsar: "Melius bene imperare quam imperia ampliare"—a saying that well became the ruler of a world empire, but was unsuitable in the mouth of the king of a young and inchoate state, a land with derisory frontiers. He was no man of the sword. Being extremely short-sighted, he disliked mounting a horse; and although at manœuvres he frequently surprised his officers with keen, critical observations, it was plain to them that for the king the fulfilment of his military duties was a matter of conscience, not a pleasure. He was devoted to the joys of peace. But all the peaceful blessings which his subjects were to expect under the class-stratified Christian monarchy were to issue from the wisdom of the crown. Resembling that of an Old Testament patriarch was his view of his dignified office, for he really looked upon kingship as a paternal authority specially instituted by God for the education of the peoples. Everything that happened in the state was related, as he thought, to the person of the monarch. The highest aim of the free press was "the discovery of errors and abuses concerning which I have no other sources of information."¹ When he chid his people, he would say menacingly, "Both Solomon and Sirach recommend that naughty children shall be chastised in due season."²

If only among all the promising plans cherished by the crown prince there had been but a single proposal fully matured, and thought out with statesmanlike intelligence! But that passion for results, even inadequate results, which is characteristic of the man of action, was unknown to him. Like a spectator at the play, he luxuriated in contemplating the abundant flow of his ideas, and during the long years of waiting he had almost forgotten how to ask himself in what way his splendid fantasies were to be realised. Even his design for the liberation of the Protestant church, the design dear to him beyond all others, was merely to be promoted with all his powers for seven years. Should the obstacles

¹ Marginal note, June 7, 1843.

² Marginal note, June 10, 1847.

prove insuperable, the the language of a ma imaginative mind; of determined, the impre confiding in God and that things would t ascribable, not to his decrees of Providence Sans Souci stood sta Gellert, and Czar Nic lously versatile sensil stand all that was and church, but who In converse with displayed so dazzlin exclaimed with astor Yet he was no ma brilliant dilettantes w tion. In none of t with which his rest true strength, genuin field of politics. In being referred by the invectives against thi often recall the win unfortunately, it wa an equal loathing for and for the asperit conscientiously disch working for this p failed to draw a b the commonplace w duality, and his ha cating and intoxicat issue to the flow o not keep it in, I f friends.¹ Those on an actor's calculat

¹ Freder.

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open path for art and science, he was thinking of the old nature philosophy and of romanticist poesy, spiritual forces which the self-complacent younger generation imagined itself to have long outgrown.

Thus it came to pass that the first phase of his reign was a long concatenation of misunderstandings, and for this mutual confusion the king was just as much responsible as was the obscurely fomenting spirit of the time, which began by acclaiming him as its hero and ended by opposing him with all the bitterness of disillusionment. Even General Gerlach, his faithful friend and servant, would at times say, "The ways of the Lord are wonderful"; whilst Bunsen, who was no less devoted, on reading the king's plaint, "No one understands me, no one comprehends me," wrote the despairing marginal note, "Even if one could understand him, how could one comprehend him?" It was impossible for Frederick William, just as it was impossible for his no less imaginative and fanciful Bavarian brother-in-law, to discover by way of despotic severity and an over-elaborated shrewdness, an escape from the complications he had brought upon himself, and he wearied himself with ineffectual endeavours until history marched over him. He lacked energy alike for resolute enjoyment and for resolute action, and although he never completely lost his natural cheerfulness, he suffered always from a sense of inward dissatisfaction. He soon came to recognise with distress that he could achieve no successes, and his contemporaries, irritated and censorious, were in no mood to show human sympathy for the mute sufferings of a greatly gifted soul. The man who had formed so preposterously an exalted estimate of the vocation of king by God's grace had the bitter experience that in a realm where monarchy was traditional his reign had shaken faith in kingship—though the disaster, happily, was not irretrievable. It seemed as if Providence had wished by a tragical example to show this over-cultured generation, this generation whose estimate of the value of culture was so grossly exaggerated, how (in the struggles of national life) intelligence, knowledge, high-mindedness, and amiability are of little worth, unless they are infused with the simple energy of a virile will. In the great complex of German history, this disastrous reign

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appears, after all, as a necessary and wholesome dispensation, for under a stronger ruler the inevitable transition of the proud Prussian monarchy to constitutional forms of government could hardly have been effected without terrible struggles.

Fate determined that several of the most important offices of state should be simultaneously vacated by death. Altenstein's demise took place a few weeks before that of Frederick William III, and the pious Nicolovius had died a little earlier. Before the close of the year occurred the death of the trusty Stagemann, who had so long acted as the monarch's secretary in all confidential concerns. Schinkel, while still in the vigour of his years, was attacked by a terrible disorder which clouded his mind and was soon to bring his life to a close. Both Count Lottum and General Rauch, the minister for war, felt weakened by age, and their lives seemed unlikely to be prolonged. Prince Wittgenstein, now advanced in years, held sedulously aloof from affairs, bitterly complaining that he had nothing in common with the changed world. There was room everywhere for fresh energies, and Peter Cornelius wrote exultantly: "A time of spring and festivity is at hand for all Germany!" But during the past quarter of a century Germany's life had run an astonishingly rapid course, and owing to the prolonged reign of the late king the natural succession of the generations had been disordered. The new men who came to the top were no longer young. Most of them, like their royal patron, had grown up among the determinative impressions of the wars of liberation, of the restoration epoch, and of the period of religious revival; and many of them continued to cherish the ideals of liberty that had animated the first Burschenschaft. But the youngest radical generation smiled on them contemptuously as reactionaries, and to the young Hegelians of the new enlightenment their Christo-Germanic ideas appeared even more detestable than did the dryly reasonable bureaucracy of the old system.

Queen Elizabeth was dearest of all to the king's heart. His affection for her was unbounded, and almost exceeded the limits proper to a ruler. When, with tears streaming down his face, he rose in profound distress from beside his father's

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man of feeling and was therefore unjust the natural benignity of his disposition, he an effective counterpoise to the monarch's self formed a modest estimate of his businessness of his understanding.¹ The religious exhibited itself in forms which conflicted istom. Every evening he, his pious and ers, and his entire household, would kneel family prayer, and in new Berlin few were respect the perfectly unhypocritical fervour exercises.

religious matters was yet more marked in now a cabinet minister, who henceforward um in the duty of furnishing regular political

An earnest religious sentiment, straight-in point of verbal expression, had longussian army. Nearly all the distinguished shared the opinion of the Old Dessauer did not fear God was nothing but a tedly performing their duties, they humbly of battles the uncertain fate of the warrior. ng of theological and pacifist inclinations, quite unprussian type secured the favour whom the prayer-book was dearer than without merit as soldiers (for in the last ght in knightly fashion), but lacking that on which fills the whole soul. Their d that of Cromwell's dragoons, although ic believers were not endowed with the ngth of the Puritans. Thile was an re. He was an inconspicuous little man, not immediately plain to the onlooker, ing, conscientious, a ready writer, and ions. His character was irreproachable; well-doing; for years, from his modest vided for the support of a man who enemy and who had fallen upon evil yon and of many other officers of a

rg to Cuny, January 12, 1841.

comparatively liberal trend, he shunned political extremes, and never hesitated, when he thought it necessary, frankly to contradict the monarch, for whom he had a strong personal affection. But he had no independent statesmanlike ideas, and his political vision was frequently clouded by the overstrained mystical piety which induced the wits of Berlin to bestow on him the nickname of "Bible-Thile." Not long before the opening of the new reign he had entertained serious thoughts of going out as a missionary to Australia or Africa. No less passionately than Frederick William did he loathe the new philosophers, who, as the saying ran at court, "Hegeled their Bible and Bibled their Hegel"; yet more profoundly than the king was his mind permeated with the conviction that the decisive struggle between faith and unfaith was at hand, and that, in view of this one great contrast, differences of creed were matters of no import. Not merely did he believe in the divine guidance of history with a fatalist confidence which was apt to impair his powers of free activity, but he believed in addition in the immediate influence of divine grace upon worldly resolves, and in moments of religious ecstasy his political conduct became utterly incalculable. On one occasion, having given Count Stolberg his opinion regarding the Neuchâtel matter, he wrote to his friend a few hours later: "To-day I regarded the affair solely with the eyes of the natural man, and considered it merely from the so-called political aspect. But in the evening I became ashamed when the words were borne in upon me that greater than all the might of steeds and riders is the might of a nation united with its king in prayer. Where prayer is in question, only the prayerful count; and if God's word be true they will be victorious over all the mockers."¹ Such was the reasoning by which he explained a change in his judgment of the political situation. A man of this temperament could be Frederick William's faithful assistant, but could never compensate for the monarch's deficiencies.

Living in somewhat monotonous intercourse with these two everyday confidants, the king was always refreshed when another friend belonging to the former Wilhelmstrasse circle, Colonel Joseph von Radowitz, appeared in the capital. On

¹ Thile to Stolberg, December 8, 1846.

* D. Th. That is exactly the sort of unity for which we seek with Dölpi we need of course to make a number of adjustments

rick William would joyfully exclaim: "back again!" Radowitz sprang from the well-known Hungarian family; his grandfather had been taken to Prussia as prisoner of war and had

A precocious boy, Joseph Radowitz Westphalian service and was educated in the Prussian army. When fifteen he was already an officer. At Bautzen, he won the cross of the Iron Cross, the age of eighteen, after the dissolution of the Westphalia, he became head teacher of a cadet school in Cassel. Being subsequently promoted to lieutenant, he was sent to the front, where owing to his chivalrous intervention in the defence of an electrified position, he secured an honourable discharge. He then joined the Prussian army, where he ably cooperated in the military training colleges and in the artillery. The fiery glance of the short-cut hair, the straight nose, the deep-set eyes, the lofty brow, the bronzed complexion, the thin lips surmounted by a straight nose, his clear-cut features a foreign stamp. He was a man of a noble bearing, a noble character, a noble heart. He was a noble man, a noble character, a noble heart. He was a noble man, a noble character, a noble heart.

In society he preferred to sit apart, over the leaves of a book, until of a polate some brilliant observation which rs that he had marked every word. I almost unknown to him; he ate ig but water, and looked as if he had from his earliest years he had been iable thirst for knowledge. Books were in his exceptional memory he gradually abundance of varied knowledge. His 'happiness of the Saints, showed how thorough with the history of customs, of art, and crown prince's salon he soon became and the *Berliner Wochenblatt* had to thank st articles.

Countess Voss introduced him into the country, but among the rigid Old Prussians

he long remained suspect as a foreigner. Though he was of noble character, and a man who utterly despised intrigue, many spoke of him as a new Cagliostro, and he was generally regarded as a masked Jesuit. Witzleben, minister for war, a zealous Protestant and friendly to constitutional ideas, at length thought it expedient to have the Catholic legitimist removed from the crown prince's entourage, this being at the time when General Gröben and Colonel Gerlach were likewise transferred to the provinces. The old king approved the proposal, but inspired with his customary sense of justice he appointed Radowitz, a staff officer barely forty years of age, to succeed General Wolzogen on the military committee of the Bundestag. There, too, through his industry and intellectual superiority, Radowitz soon made himself a burden to his easy-going colleagues. The offspring of a mixed marriage and educated at first as a Protestant, shortly before attaining manhood, but with a full sense of what he was doing, he had entered the Roman church, securing there such perfect peace of mind that he bluntly declared all truth to be Catholic. His self-denying life as a thinker led him to take a strict and almost monastic view of the moral world. He could never recognise that the Protestant moral ideal, the unity of thought and will, imposes far more arduous duties upon weak mortal men than the Catholic idea of salvation by works. To him celibacy did not seem a masterstroke of papal policy, a cleverly devised means for promoting the power of the clergy by detaching them, as a circumscribed priestly caste, from lay society; it seemed a lofty moral ideal. The struggle of the Protestants against this monstrous mutilation of nature was to him explicable only as a manifestation of the lusts of the flesh—though he himself was a happy husband and father. Such being his sentiments, it was inevitable that he should be profoundly distressed by the Cologne episcopal dispute. His delight in his adopted fatherland of Prussia received a sudden and painful check, and he considered it a gracious dispensation of Providence that his office was one which rendered it needless for him to show his colours publicly in the struggle.

Notwithstanding all his learning, his æsthetic judgments were no less one-sided. Goethe's cordial sensuality was incompre-

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no less incomprehensible was the whole art that its highest achievements were secured in of heathen nudity. For him the primary sins of the modern age was to be found in the cinquecento, in the revival of classical the spirit of Haller, therefore, he abhorred devilish principle, and was utterly opposed to it because in it the state was regarded, not as the creator of law. He could not see the law-constructing spirit of modern nations, nor had it become the historical evolution of law cannot be without the cooperation of liberally organised no less fundamentally opposed than his pseudo-liberal activities" of the officialdom, maintained "the higher standpoint which view of the absolute state." He hoped Germanic monarchy, for it seemed to him at least of it, whether a Christo-Germanic possible. During the thirties his mind resounded within the circle of Haller's ideas, he reiterated the assertion that the power rested upon the ruler's personal ownership, where all the domains had long ago, this doctrinaire contention was now

he never became the slave of a theory, contemplated the world of reality, always in opinions. He recognised at an early stage the passage of many and turbulent general recognition, that the heartfelt Germans was directed, not strictly speaking in forms, but towards political acquisitions character—legal security, nationality, self, and the social foundation of the political. He saw how the middle classes were they posed as representatives of the people; initial that the crown should prove by

vitz to the king, June 23, 1844.

constructive social legislation that in the crown alone could the masses of the people find a watchful advocate and a genuine protector. Especially perspicacious was Radowitz' judgment in matters of German federal politics, for he saw here far more clearly than the king or any of his friends. Since in his view the Roman church was not a power hostile to culture, but was the climax of all civilisation, he was able to undertake an unprejudiced comparison between Austrian and Prussian conditions, and this strict Catholic came to the conclusion that Prussia, aspiring sunwards, had need of the light, whereas the Austrian fungus could thrive only in the shade. The dull sterility of Viennese policy, with its multifarious European interests and consequent estrangement from Germany, was no less plain to him than was the superficiality of Austrian semi-culture, which had no counterpoise to offer to arid Josephanism or to liberal phrasemongering. With this stagnant life he proudly contrasted the healthy energy of the Prussian people and the Prussian state, German to the core. Even before the opening of the new reign (1839) he declared that Prussia alone was competent to lead the nation, that Germany's princes and peoples must learn to look Berlinwards for the defence of their rights and interests. He therefore demanded the continued development of the customs union, and insisted before all that the rights of every German must be safeguarded by the crown of Prussia—a sacred duty which, alas! was so shamefully repudiated in the affair of the Hanoverian constitution. Thus there was already dawning in his mind the idea of the Prussian empery of the German nation, and he did not hesitate to avow that he regarded himself primarily as a German, and only secondarily as a Prussian. The king asked his old friend for counsel upon all the problems of German federal politics, but could never make up his mind to be guided unreservedly by this adviser, nor could he decide to appoint Radowitz to the position in which the latter's influence would have been decisive.

Radowitz expounded his political ideas in the *Colloquies upon State and Church*. This work was published anonymously in the year 1846, and at the time many believed the king to be its author, although the chaste simplicity of its

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policy a stage further, her internal structure must be made to approximate to that of her little constitutionalist neighbours. Prussia, therefore, must summon a Reichstag as soon as possible, but he considered that this body must be composed of representatives of the separate estates. His mind was free from all tendency to narrow partisanship. Handsome and distinguished in appearance, a good conversationalist, witty and trenchant, in ordinary intercourse he was little inclined to parade the strictness of his religious principles. Though in his romanticist circle the Prussian officialdom was as a rule regarded with profound hostility, he gladly recognised how great had been the services of this body. He was on friendly terms with liberals, not excepting Varnhagen. Among the king's pious friends he was most definitely distinguished by the ease of the man of the world.

Very different in type was General Carl von der Gröben, Dörnberg's son-in-law, a long and lean Old Prussian giant, round whose shoulders the white mantle of the Teutonic knights still seemed to cling. This chevalier sans peur et sans reproche could find no rest until, when advanced in years, he was able to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. With what delight had he long ago taken part in the preparations for the War of Liberation and in the struggle when it came. So intimate had been his friendship with Gneisenau and Arndt, with Schenkendorf and Görres, that for a time he even aroused the suspicions of the demagogue hunters. Throughout life he preserved the enthusiastic crusading spirit of those pious days. What he lacked in political insight was made good by inviolable fidelity to his Christian king, and by a general love for humanity, which so benevolently embraced without distinction the just and the unjust that Queen Elizabeth once observed, "The good Gröben will begin to talk to us next about the dear and excellent Nero!"

Whilst Gröben's feeling for the king was nothing more than the knightly sentiment of unconditional loyalty, the three brothers von Gerlach were declared Hallerians. They were sons of the highly respected President Gerlach who had courageously defended Electoral Mark against Napoleonic extortions,

* All well this as his own

and subsequently quitted the stat the position of courage, his pati been transmitted The second son, lawyer, just alike guardian of the to which his relig some years earlier made ex cathedra a coup which s crown prince. and above all th the Germanic Fe inviolably sacred, friends Radowitz their more liberal of radical "Te condemned his p and unchristian l differences of op than differences critical, he had f scourge the sins when the questio von Bismarck and supporters discove after all do nothi with everything. a dreaded writer and could never with the sparkling social companion, seriously meant, o texts. Some trac likewise seen in t Gerlach. He disc

same stamp were C. W. von Lantzolla, time instructor of the royal princes in law; Götze, the learned jurist; General Jan of childlike piety; and others too who during the first years of the peace conventicles of the awakened or to the of the young Berlinesse romanticists, d a court circle more worthy of respect, nts, nobility of mind, were all admirably e was little energy of will, and little needs of the age.

Humboldt, a regular visitor of an evening seemed like a foreigner in this Christian alled to mind; the king and the man of ot do without one another; and their tarly thought of Frederick and Voltaire, i was hardly an apt one. Voltaire had ee upon the great king's aesthetic judg- l to form Frederick's philosophical views, ctly aloof from Prussian politics. Hum- ad long ago formed his own outlook on impossible that Humboldt could affect as he did partly above and partly below e old enlightenment, the man whom in an officials at Baireuth had looked upon understanding of the new religious life e Germans and was so joyfully hailed other hand, Humboldt had a far franker Frederick William for the liberal ideas class. Thus differing in almost all other nd their only common ground in their earch and in the growth of knowledge, ow to perceive that the king was not l would never secure the happiness for e man of science therefore determined e one domain of politics that remained r the king's inclinations for playing the ll the aspiring energies of German art

and science more effectively than had been possible under the thrifty and comparatively inaccessible old ruler. With unwonted frankness he expressed himself on one occasion about Bunsen, saying: "It is a weakness of mine to desire that those whose talent I have early recognised and honoured shall do something great. Thus do we mutually support one another, and thus do we contribute towards nourishing and sustaining like a sacred fire respect for intellectual endeavours."

He wished to be the recognised prince in the realm of knowledge, but he used his powers in a grand manner for the realisation of that ideal of the state of Pericles which was so dear to him as it was to his brother William. He considered that even the well-equipped and well-ordered state was valueless in default of the cultivation of the true and the beautiful. Humboldt had an important share in all that Frederick William did on behalf of science. The old family mansion in the Oranienburger Strasse became a place of pilgrimage for all youthful men of talent. Hermann Helmholtz and many another promising beginner found there help and counsel. The little old man sat among towers of books, cards, letters, articles of every kind sent to him from all quarters of the earth. Facing him on the green wall was a great map of the world. Here he would write far on into the night, sometimes working at his *Cosmos*, sometimes drafting schemes for scientific institutes, sometimes penning countless letters of introduction, so that it seemed as if all the threads from the boundless realm of research were centred in the old magician's hand. The king overwhelmed him with honours and gifts, without being able in the end to prevent this man, who had no thought for the monetary aspects of life, becoming a debtor to his own servant. Frederick William, in letters to "dearest Alexandros," displayed all the tenderness, all the cordiality of his excellent heart, and when Humboldt fell ill the king would sit for hours at his bedside reading aloud to him. Regarded as one who knew everything, Humboldt had to furnish information upon the most divers matters, being now asked to throw light upon some serious problem, and now to clear up an idle difficulty—to explain, for instance, why the figures representing multiples of the number nine, when added together,

* D.T. I would call upon this remark whenever I become disgusted with one or another of the messes all left in his path.

Prussian constitutional problem. Since to be expected, vigorously supported Prussian ministers, the king allowed himself abandon his proposals for a time. This on which he failed to avail himself of a precious hour, and in after years he bitterly regretted another lost opportunity, of which he said: "Many!!! and for so many years." Yet far from being satisfied with himself and his reign, he shall see how evil will be the conse-

quences of the arbitrary draft of the old king was never made and by command of his successor was kept strictly secret. Frederick William now began to gradually enlarging the competence of the king, thus by the highly prized organic process opening the way for the eventual summoning of a popular assembly. Prussia's future Reichstag was to be different from the South German chambers; a popular representative assembly, but an assembly each with its own rights to safeguard, based upon historic tradition, and therefore due obedience to the friendly eastern powers, and to give the Prussian monarchy into the arms of the July revolution. The king's mind was still that old Gentzian doctrine of estates which had recently expounded once more to acceptable terms. Frederick William overruled the constitutional Bavarian diet was, after elected in accordance with the principle of estates, and he failed to foresee that any day if it were more than a petty committee, regard itself as popularly representative, and in opinion. Dahlmann, more far-seeing than earlier, in the finest chapter of his *Politics*, an essay development, explaining that the same which had everywhere substituted money for caste for tradition, public opinion for caste

Frederick William to Thile, June 10, 1847.

opinion, rendered it also inevitable that the old diets should be compacted into a popular representative body. The king could not but regard such words as revolutionary, for the leader of the seven of Göttingen had issued warnings against a doctrine which proposed "to deck out the state, half as a family mansion and half as a church."

But it was precisely this idea of the Christo-Germanic patrimonial state which was sacred to the monarch. He wished to realise it ("for centuries to come," as Prince Solms confidently opined) in deliberate contrast with the states of popular sovereignty and of written charters. Consequently not one of his subjects had power to dissuade him from his hidden designs. He understood in its literal sense the warning which Leopold Gerlach uttered to him in these days, that a king is no longer able to rule when his people has ceased to regard him as king by God's grace. How fiercely nine years earlier had he railed against "these Westphalian Lafayettes," when the Westphalian estates had ventured to remind the king of the promise of a constitution, and when young Fritz Harkort had distinguished himself by the boldness of his language. The people was patiently to abide what the king in his wisdom should in due time think fit to give. Never would he permit his hand to be forced.

Meanwhile preparations were being made for the act of allegiance in Königsberg. It was to be celebrated with peculiar solemnity, for this was the first time that a king of Prussia had ascended the throne as sovereign lord over all his lands.

On August 29th the royal pair entered the ancient coronation city. The butchers rode in the van, this being their privilege here as in Berlin, a privilege gained of old by glorious deeds in war. The members of the other guilds were drawn up in double lines between the festively adorned high-gabled houses, and the ships on the Pregel were gaily decked with bunting. The king was on horseback beside his consort's carriage and responded to the burgomaster's address with apt and cordial words. Thunderous and interminable were the cheers of the masses. The children would not be withheld, and pressed round their sovereign, who with smiling good nature stroked the curly little heads. It seemed as if nothing

owner. For a man in Schön's position
document seems positively insane, and
very melancholy impression upon my

lingly composed, the leaflet unquestion-
s ministerial programme. He hoped
over to his views, or else, should he
o unfurl by his demand for a national
a banner visible from afar, around
and aimless opposition of the country
The scheme was doubtless well-conceived
suitable to a man holding the position
a later date, indeed, Schön contended
Whither? had been designed merely as
which would enlighten posterity concern-
tion in the kingdom of Prussia during
was impossible that the experienced
e believed that such a writing by such
permanently secret, after it had been
g court printing office, distributed to
ent in confidence to five friends of
cal opinion. The king regarded this
conceivable, and on December 26th,
he lord lieutenant, said very frankly
their old friendship had now arrived.
does *not* please me." So shortly
ate king the "whence" should have
. As for the "whither," "this will
riends and joy to your enemies."
n to recount all the incautious liberal
ting, such as the assertion that the
my of representatives of the people
he army of the crown, or that the
ake over the work of administration.
ng, "is for me a cheerful prospect!"
ental ideas of his own policy, which
y elevated above all the meddlesome-
f feel that power is vested in me

Thile, December 31, 1840.

wholly by God's grace, and with God's help I shall continue
to feel this to the end. Believe me, upon my royal word,
that in my day no prince, no peasant and no peasant boy,
no diet-and no Jewish school, shall appropriate anything which
has hitherto rightly or wrongly appertained to the crown
unless I have myself in the first instance given it away. . . .
Resplendency and astuteness I leave ungrudgingly to the
so-called constitutional rulers whom a scrap of paper has
converted into a fiction, an abstract idea, vis-à-vis the people.
Paternal rule is in accordance with the manner of German
princes, and because dominion is a legacy from my ancestors,
is my patrimony, I confront my people boldly; for this
reason I can and I will guide immature children, chastise
those that are froward, but permit the worthy and the well-
behaved to participate in the administration of my possessions,
indicate what is their own patrimony, and safeguard them
against the arrogant pretensions of servants." In conclusion,
he forbade his friend to communicate the writing to the next
East Prussian diet, where it could work nothing but mischief.
It might appear subsequently, but must be authenticated by
Schön's signature.

The letter did credit to the king's gentle heart, but hardly
to his political acumen, for if he disapproved of the ideas
in the writing he should not have allowed Schön to remain
governor of a province whose mood became daily more difficult.
Yet at the bottom of his soul Frederick William really desired
to establish the national assembly for which Schön asked,
but to establish it in a different form; and since he did not
desire to hurt his friend's feelings, he finally decided on January
1, 1841, though Schön had twice tendered his resignation, that
in the next diet the lord lieutenant should hold the post of
royal commissary as the king's friend and plenipotentiary. Thus
Schön remained in office, with Rochow as his superior. Rochow
could not deny himself the malicious pleasure of informing
the lord lieutenant that a dangerous writing entitled *Whence
and Whither?* was being circulated, and that it was essential
that proceedings should be taken as soon as the identity of
the anonymous author could be ascertained. Schön responded
by a gruff despatch acknowledging the authorship and declaring