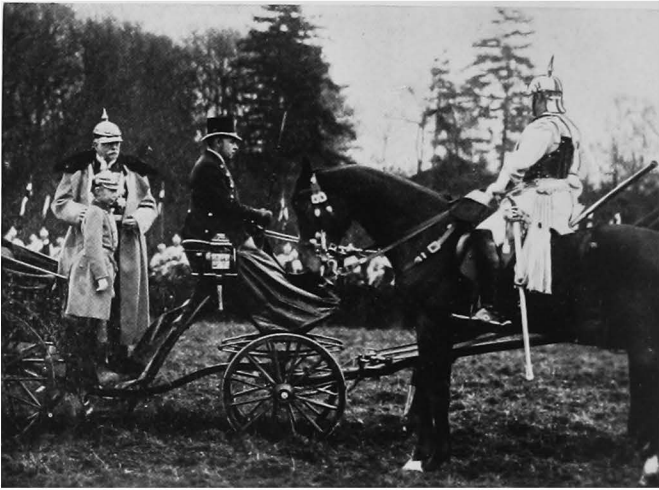


KAISER AND CHANCELLOR



Emperor William the Second congratulating
Prince Bismarck on his 80th birthday
in the grounds of Friedrichsruhe.

KAISER & CHANCELLOR

THE OPENING YEARS OF THE REIGN OF
THE EMPEROR WILLIAM II.

by

KARL FRIEDRICH NOWAK

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. DICKES

LONDON

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

1930

FIRST PRINTED

September, 1930

This book is a translation of

DAS DRITTE DEUTSCHE KAISERREICH

(Erster Band: Die Uebersprungene Generation)

PUBLISHED IN 1929 BY THE
VERLAG FÜR KULTURPOLITIK, BERLIN

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, GLASGOW

Foreword

THE sources relied on for this and the succeeding volumes are manifold and are not in evidence at a glance. Emperor William II contributed substantial material by placing at the disposal of the author numbers of confidential memoranda, giving him written material for important sections of the work and accounts of the course of various events, answering in precise terms every question that the author put to him, and assisting to make the material clear in the course of countless conversations at Doorn. The notes taken of every talk in Holland were regularly gone through on the following day, when the Kaiser made sure that they accurately reproduced what he had said, and made any further explanations or additions needed.

That, apart from the various historical works published, and the collections of documents, which can only be a guiding thread for the thirty years of rule of the last of the German Emperors, and apart from the documents inspected and studied in the archives, was the first stage in the preliminary work. Then began the checking of the Kaiser's statements : dates had to be compared, inconsistencies between his statements and those of other persons or the

KAISER AND CHANCELLOR

documents had to be noted and removed beyond cavil. Often a subject was dealt with five, six, ten times over. Even this was not enough for the author.

Numbers of statesmen, Ambassadors and persons who in one way or another had been associated with the Kaiser in his work, were visited by the author: they contributed material out of their recollection, their diaries, their own actual experience. This material also was noted down there and then—so far as it was not supplied to the author in written form. The new material was transmitted or handed by the author to the Kaiser—complete, exactly as communicated, with all the unpleasant things for the Kaiser that were to be found here and there in the manuscripts. The Kaiser left the unpleasantnesses untouched, confirmed what was accurate, made necessary corrections on points of fact. Then, where there were points of doubt, the author once more consulted his informants.

At last the material was sufficiently cleared up and freed from the mass of the relatively trivial and the purely legendary to stand out plainly in its true contours and interconnected detail, so that the author could proceed to write this first volume. The Kaiser had not insisted to the author that he must read the manuscript before publication. He had made no demand of any sort; on the contrary, when, several years ago, the author's constant intercourse with the ex-Kaiser began, it was he, the author, who insisted that two things were indispensable if his work was to

FOREWORD

take shape: the author must have the certainty that he would be able to speak always alone with the Kaiser and correspond with him without any sort of interposition on the part of the court entourage or any court intermediaries; and, further, there must be no attempt to influence the shaping and presentation of the material.

Emperor William not only at once agreed that both conditions should be complied with, but when, shortly before publication, the author passed the manuscript to him, as a matter of tact, for perusal, he refrained from any sort of objection to its contents. Yet the chapter 'The Young Master,' for instance, could scarcely have been pleasant reading for him: he said to the author,

'One charge it will certainly be impossible for anyone to level against you—that of obsequiousness. You are not servile!'

The German edition of the present volume appeared in the autumn of 1929, and naturally produced storms. Enthusiastic assent alternated with bitter attacks. It was a work dealing with a ruler who had lost his throne and his power; accordingly the attacks predominated. The historic side of the matter, which was all the author was concerned with, was disregarded, and it was discussed from political standpoints. The socialistically inclined, the party democrat turned against the author for not reviling the fallen, where there was nothing to revile if one was concerned only to let simple justice speak. The

KAISER AND CHANCELLOR

conservatively minded and those rooted and held fast in the tradition of the founding of the Empire in 1870 turned in fury against the author for the opposite reason: he had not only seen weaknesses as well as qualities in Emperor William II, but had presumed to see weaknesses or defects in Bismarck, the elect, the chosen of the Lord. Recognized authorities abroad bore witness at once and unreservedly to the plain intention of impartiality in the work; in Germany it was for many months a centre of contention. Ultimately the contending parties appealed to the arbitrament of authorities whose standing was above all criticism; and the result was a scientific imprimatur of the work, its bases, its presentation, its general historic scheme, its accuracy of detail. Such has been the judgment delivered by Dr. Friedrich Thimme, the editor of the German Foreign Ministry's great collection of documents, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*, whose expert authority is uncontested, by Professor Joseph Redlich, the famous historian of the Universities of Vienna and Cambridge (Mass.), and by the Rector Magnificus of Vienna University, Professor Hans Uebersberger, the joint editor of the comprehensive and admirable collection of Austrian official documents, whose researches in the field of Eastern European history have won international recognition.

In Britain and America it will be possible for the work to be read with a critical calm and impartiality

FOREWORD

which to this day are beyond the reach of many Germans in approaching its subject, since it concerns their own experiences and destinies too closely and too deeply. The Anglo-Saxon reader will appreciate and recognize the unquestionable genius, the almost superhuman capacities of a statesman who was, for all that, deeply in error in the systems of statesmanship by which he sought to maintain abroad and at home the realm which he had founded. He will see a human personality of immense strength, and yet all too human in its limitations; at issue with a young prince who was not always perfect in outward form, was often dominating and inconsiderate, and yet was on a solid basis of right in his struggle for his independence and for freedom to pursue his own not ignoble ideas. Placing over against one another these two characters, with their motives and settled convictions, amid their environment and the conditions and limitations of their time, to which they were inevitably subject in all that they did, the detached British or American reader will without doubt himself realize the fact that it has been the endeavour of this volume to bring out—the inexorability of the process of history.

KARL FRIEDRICH NOWAK

BERLIN, *August* 19, 1930

**For a detailed list of authorities
see Appendix, page 221**

Contents

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE HEIR TO EMPIRE - - - - -	I
II. THE HOUR OF INHERITANCE - - - - -	26
III. KAISER AND KINGS - - - - -	52
IV. BISMARCK <i>furioso</i> - - - - -	68
V. THE INCUBUS OF ALLIANCES - - - - -	78
VI. WORKERS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS - - - - -	92
VII. THE YOUNG MASTER - - - - -	108
VIII. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY - - - - -	127
IX. THE BISMARCKS - - - - -	144
X. SOCIAL REFORMS - - - - -	163
XI. BISMARCK AS <i>Major Domus</i> - - - - -	178
XII. THE FALL OF THE FIRST CHANCELLOR - - - - -	199
APPENDIX :	
AUTHORITIES - - - - -	221
AMBASSADORS' REPORTS - - - - -	224
EMPEROR WILLIAM II TO EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH I - - - - -	238
SPEECH OF COUNT DOUGLAS - - - - -	250
REFERENCES IN THE PRESS TO EMPEROR WILLIAM II, 1888-1890 - - - - -	254
INDEX OF NAMES - - - - -	293
INDEX OF SUBJECTS - - - - -	300

Illustrations

	PAGE
Emperor William II congratulating Bismarck on his 80th birthday - - - - - <i>Frontispiece</i>	
Emperor William the Great in the uniform of the First Regiment of Cuirassiers - - - - -	2
Prince Frederick William of Prussia as First Lieu- tenant in First Footguards - - - - -	4
Prince Frederick William of Prussia and Princess Victoria after their engagement. Windsor, 29th January, 1858 - - - - -	6
Crown Prince and Crown Princess with their children at Heringsdorf, 1866 - - - - -	10
Prince William of Prussia, <i>ætas</i> 3 years, 1862 - -	12
Queen Victoria, 1862 - - - - -	14
H.M. The Queen, Empress Frederick, Duke of Con- naught, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, German Emperor, Prince of Wales at Coburg - -	16
Prince William of Prussia, <i>ætas</i> 1 year, 1860 - -	18
Sir Morell Mackenzie - - - - -	20
Crown Prince with Prince William at Balmoral -	22
The Empress Frederick, 1888 - - - - -	26
Emperor William the Great at the Grand Manœuvres	28
The Prince Consort - - - - -	30
The German Emperor wild boar shooting - -	32
Emperor William I at the historical corner window in the year of his death - - - - -	34

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Victoria, Crown Princess of Prussia and her eldest son, William. Norderney, 1869 - - -	38
Prince Frederick William and Princess Victoria of Prussia at Babelsberg shortly after their marriage	44
General Count Waldersee - - - - -	48
The German Emperor with King Humbert of Italy at a Field Artillery Gunnery School - -	50
King Humbert of Italy and H.I.M. at the Field Artillery Gunnery School, Füterbogh - -	60
Francesco Crispi - - - - -	62
Crown Princess Victoria of Prussia with Prince William, 1861 - - - - -	70
Pastor Adolf Stöcker - - - - -	74
Emperor Francis Joseph - - - - -	78
Coburg—Family Group taken after the engagement of the Zarevitsch Nicholas to Princess Alexandra of Hessen - - - - -	86
The Imperial Castle on the Spree, Berlin - -	96
Professor Georg Ernst Hinzpeter - - - -	102
The German Emperor reviewing Bavarian Troops, Nürnberg - - - - -	110
Meet of the Royal boar hounds - - - -	112
The German Emperor during a boar drive - -	116
Ivory Bust of Queen Victoria, 1874 - - - -	118
Kaiser-Manœuvres in Bavaria - - - -	126
Emperor William the Great in his 85th year - -	130
Count Harry von Arnim - - - - -	132
Holstein - - - - -	140
Herbert Bismarck - - - - -	148
The Tsar Alexander III - - - - -	158

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
British Representatives at Labour Conference - -	174
The Royal Shooting Box, 'Hubertusstock,' Schorf- heide, near Berlin - - - - -	190
Group of Representatives at Labour Conference -	204
The German Emperor and Admiral von der Goltz on H.I.M. Yacht 'Hohenzollern' - - -	210
General von Caprivi and General Count Wartens- leben watching the Kaiser-Manœuvres - -	214

¶ The illustrations in this book are reproduced by permission from originals in the private collection of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The Publishers desire to express their grateful acknowledgments for the use of the pictures and for the descriptive titles in the Kaiser's own handwriting. These are printed in facsimile.

Subject Index

- Army, William II and the, 19-21, 26, 43-46, 50
 Austria-Hungary, 32, 35, 38, 53-60, 78-91, 228-230
 Berlin City Mission, 14, 73-74
 Bismarck, Otto Count (1871 Prince) (1815-1898), Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Prussia 1862, Imperial Chancellor 1871-1890
 and Austria, 32-33, 78-91
 and Britain, 85, 86, 88-90
 and France, 79, 89
 and Russia, 31-37, 79-91
 and Social Democracy, 1-2, 75-77, 92-107, 161-162, 165-166, 170, 192-194
 at Crown Council, 165-172
 at the Foreign Ministry, 127-131
 attitude to the Constitution, 187-191, 195-196
 Geffcken case, 68-70
 his Alliances, 87-91
 home life, 145-148, 159-160
 ill-health, 151-154, 160-161, 183
 Morier case, 70-73
 relations with Crown Princess, 5, 6, 16, 69, 70, 71
 relations with Holstein, 131-143
 relations with Ministers, 155-157, 178-181, 184, 194-198
 relations with William II, 15, 16, 30, 31-33, 72, 100-107, 161-162, 163-173, 177, 178-198, 199-219, 239-250
 retirement, 212-213, 216-219
 Stöcker case, 73-74
 Windthorst interview, 202-203, 204-205
 Wohlgemuth case, 74-77
 Britain, 32-33, 79, 85, 86, 88-90
 Britain, William II and, 118
 Bulgaria, 19, 35-36, 38, 54-55, 83, 87, 228-230
 Bundesrat, voting power in, 187-191, 195-196
 Cartel Parties, 40-42, 166, 169, 171
 Catholics and Prussian schools, 202
 Christian Socialism, 15
 Constantinople, 33, 87
 Constitution, German, 26, 187-191, 195-196
 Council of State on labour questions, 168, 185, 192
 Crown Council on labour questions, 163-177
 Foreign Ministry, 127-131
 Foreign Ministry, Holstein at, 131-143
 France, 79, 89-90
 Great Britain—*see* Britain
 Guelfh fund, 180
 Heligoland, 210
 International Labour Conference, 168, 174-177, 200-201, 203
 Italy, 60-66, 79
 Japan, 62
 Jesuits, 202
 Labour Conference, International, 168, 174-177, 200-201, 203
 Labour legislation, 92-107, 163-177, 192
 Mediterranean agreement, 80-82, 85, 87, 88, 91
 Navy, British, William II and, 118

SUBJECT INDEX

- Parliamentarism in Germany, 24, 40-42.
- Pope and William II, 63-66
- Reinsurance Treaty, 82-91, 158-159, 213-216, 224
- Rhineland, labour troubles in, 94-107
- Roumania, 55-87
- Russia, 30-40, 76, 78-91, 227-231
- Salonica, 32, 86
- Serbia, 35, 54, 230
- Social Democrats, 1-2, 75-77, 92-107, 161-166, 170, 192-194, 199-200
- Strikes, 94-107
- Switzerland, 74-77, 94, 200-201
- Triple Alliance, 78-91
- Vatican, 61-66
- Westphalia, strikes in, 94-107
- William II, German Emperor, King of Prussia (1859-), reigned 1888-1918, married (1) 1880 Augusta Victoria, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein (1858-1921), (2) 1922 Hermine Princess of Reuss, widow of Prince of Schönauich-Carolath (1887-)
- Ambassadors' reports on, 225-237
- and anti-Semitism, 253
- and British Navy, 118
- and German trade, 209-210
- and labour troubles, 92-107, 163-177, 192
- and Pope Leo XIII, 63-66
- and Reinsurance Treaty, 84, 88, 213-216, 224
- and spiritualism, 115-116
- William II (*continued*)
- attitude to Parliament, 40-43, 201-203
- audiences with miners and mine-owners, 96-100
- audiences with Ministers cut off, 197-198, 199, 201, 203-205, 209, 212
- birth, 9-10
- coronation declined, 28-29
- Count Douglas on, 250-253
- court appointments, 27-28
- dismissal of Bismarck, 199-219, 239-250
- early days, 10-16, 52
- letters to Francis Joseph, 238-250
- military interests and dispositions, 19-21, 26, 43-46, 50
- personality, 108-126
- press references to, 254-292
- relations with Bismarck, 15, 16, 30, 31-33, 72, 100-107, 161-162, 163-173, 177, 178-198, 199-219, 239-250
- relations with his parents, 9-11, 14, 15, 16-19, 20-23
- relations with Parliament, 40-43, 166, 169, 201-203, 250-253
- relations with Queen Victoria, 14, 19, 30, 113
- relations with Waldersee, 18, 20-24, 50-51
- visit to Austria, 53-60
- visit to Greece, 118
- visit to Italy, 60-66.
- visit to Russia, 30-40, 52-53, 217-218, 238-239
- visit to Russia—Hatzfeldt's report on, 40, 159, 207
- visit to Sweden and Denmark, 53
- visit to Vienna, 53-60
- Zanzibar, 210

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, GLASGOW