OCR – A2 GCE Historical Themes 1789–1997 F966: Option B	The Challenge of German Nationalism 1789–1919	QUESTION 1

Examiner's Specific Advice

Candidates are expected to assess the degree of change which occurred in the support for German nationalism from 1789 to 1919. They must attempt to address the whole period. At the beginning of the period, interest in nationalism was centred on literary and cultural ideas, and gained momentum as a result of the French Revolution and influence of Napoleon. This had both positive and negative effects among students and literate groups, who came to resent Austrian dominance and Prussian weakness. German nationalism received its greatest support from the liberal middle class during the period from 1815 to 1850. This class sought parliamentary government within the German Confederation area. To achieve this aim they believed the creation of a united German state an important prerequisite. Therefore, they opposed the autocratic ruler of monarchs. In 1848–49 they attempted to create a liberal, parliamentary united Germany, but failed. Candidates may mention that support for German nationalism in this period divided between supporters of an Austrian-led and Prussia-led German national entity. Following the unification of Germany under Prussia (1864–71), support for German nationalism changed. The rise of aggressive, racially motivated nationalism characterised the second half of the period 1871–1919. In particular, it was associated with the reign of William II (1888–1918). Weltpolitik and Mitteleuropa were policy aims which supported the creation of a German-dominated Europe with a large overseas empire. Also support for German nationalism came from the Pan German League, which wished to unite all German-speaking peoples in Europe. However, even after 1871 some liberals continued to support German nationalism, even the Bismarckian and Wilhelmine varieties. These were the National Liberals, who represented the business class.

Exemplar Question

1. To what extent did support for German nationalism change in the period from 1789 to 1919?

[60 marks]

Examiner's Exemplar Plan and Essay 1

Plan

- Introduction
- Situation in 1789
- Liberal nationalism became Prussian and more aggressive between 1815 and 1890
- Burschenschaften – *c.*1848
- Prussia – *c.*1871
- Weltpolitik and WWI

German nationalism was the idea that all Germans should be united into one country. At first there was very little support for nationalism. The Church, nobility and landowners in Germany were not affected by the French Revolution and only students and intellectuals took an interest in its ideas. The bulk of Germans – peasants and urban workers – were disinterested (1).

In 1815 Germany was divided into 39 different states. The largest state was the Austrian Empire, which contained Germans but also other nationalities such as Hungarians and Slavs. Supporters of German nationalism were educated people in professions such as education and the law (2). German students formed Burschenschaften, student unions to support German nationalism. In 1830 many demonstrations by these liberals took place across Germany in support of German nationalism. At this time there was no leadership or unity among nationalists. The northern states wanted their rights restored and southern states wanted a new constitution. However, the liberals reached their most important moment in the 1848 revolutions. In the spring of 1848, liberal revolutions occurred in Austria, Prussia and across the other German states. These liberals then met in Frankfurt, in a parliament, to decide on the creation of a German state which was ruled by an elected government. The liberals failed because they tried to unite Germany by consent not armed force but a key question had been raised: should Germany be reconstituted into a larger empire that included Austria or should it exclude Austria and be Kleindeutschland? German nationalism had reached a turning point but failed to turn (3).

Support for German nationalism then turned towards Prussia. In the 1860s, Prussia was led by Bismarck. In a series of wars, he defeated Denmark, Austria and France and united Germany. He received support from nationalists, of whom only a minority were liberals. Most nationalists were interested in seeing their country strengthened by economic and military means and this objective had the support of big businesses and Prussian politicians. Attempts to win over peasants and workers to the nationalists' ideas rested on pursuing socialist policies and in this respect Bismarck had some success until he suddenly fell from power in 1890. So support for German nationalism changed (4).

When William II became German Emperor, he wanted to make Germany a large, world empire. In his policy of Weltpolitik, he attempted to create an empire which rivalled Britain's empire. He received support for his ideas from German nationalists. These were

(1) The answer begins with a very general statement and provides some valid information about early 19th-century Germany but without explaining the limited interest in revolutionary ideas and support for nationalism.

(2) The start of the second paragraph is much better. It refers directly to supporters of German nationalism before developing into a general narrative/ descriptive coverage of aspects of German nationalist history in the early 19th century.

(3) An interesting point that needs further discussion and clarification.

(4) Although a narrative/chronological structure is sustained, the student identifies change in the final sentence of the paragraph. However, an explanation of why support changed is implied. No reference is made to why German liberal nationalists might not

different from liberal nationalists. They were aggressive and wanted Germany to dominate other races. <u>They did not believe in parliamentary government but supported racial superiority</u> (5). The First World War saw aggressive nationalism reach its highest point. Germany planned to dominate central Europe and also to create a large colonial empire if they won that war.

<u>So, between 1789 and 1919 support for German nationalism changed, it became more aggressive</u> (6).

Examiner's Assessment

There is a deployment of relevant knowledge that shows a sound understanding of change and a fair command of the topic in question. Details and development are limited, e.g. the periods 1789–1815 and 1862–90. This element of the essay gains a Level III mark of 12 (AO1a).

Narrative and descriptions predominate and there is no effective use of factual knowledge. For instance, it is unclear why German liberals found Bismarck's aims and methods problematic from a nationalist viewpoint. Synthesis is also limited. The answer receives a Level IV mark of 23 (AO1b).

The overall total mark is 35, around the D/C boundary.

Examiner's Exemplar Plan and Essay 2

Plan

- Introduction
- Evidence that the support for German nationalism changed in the period 1789–1919:
  * In the 1789–1871 period German nationalism was supported largely by the German liberal middle class. 1848 Revolutions illustrate this view.
  * Between 1815 and 1860s support for German nationalism divided between supporters of Kleindeutschland and Grossdeutschland views of the nature of the future German state. As a result of the wars of unification, the majority of German nationalists ended up supporting a German Empire under leadership of Prussia.
  * After 1871 new groups supporting German nationalism were Pan Germans and racial nationalists. German nationalism became associated more with conservativism than liberalism.
- Evidence to suggest that some aspects of support did not change.
  * However, even after 1871 the industrial middle class still remained supporters of German nationalism through Kolonialverein and support of Weltpolitik.

In the period 1789 to 1919 the support for German nationalism changed considerably. Perhaps, <u>the turning point in support came with the unification of Germany under Prussia</u>

have been in favour of Bismarck's policies and tactics.

(5) This sentence links the answer to the question by identifying change in support of German nationalism.

(6) The conclusion is short and weak. It does not address the command instruction in the question: 'to what extent did support change …'

(7) The answer begins with a focused introduction. It identifies that the answer will provide an

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by 1871 (7).

The French Revolution had little impact at first on German society. It only affected the Rhineland and Prussian Silesia, where peasants called for reforms that were largely ignored. Nationalism as such was rooted in German language and literature and only had the support of intellectuals and romantics. The occupation of much of Europe by Napoleon and the defeat of both Austrian and Prussian armies at the turn of the century altered their perspective. Fichte, in his *Address to the German Nation* in 1807, struck a nerve when he called for a united Germany to drive out the French, and ideas centred upon liberty, fraternity and equality won some support from the cultural and intellectual elements. Peasants and workers, however, remained disinterested, more so when Napoleon's armies continued to defeat coalition forces. Nevertheless, the Napoleonic System had done German nationalists a great favour: it had smashed the old order and traditional ideas, and germinated new ones. Though few Germans were ready to embrace nationalism in 1815, the seeds had been sown by eighteenth-century scholars, and their legacy, coupled with the sentiment of change brought about by Napoleon, made further changes possible (8).

In the period 1815 to 1850 German nationalism received widespread support from the professional middle class, (9) people such as doctors, lawyers and teachers. These were supporters of liberal nationalism. This group disliked the division of Germany into a large number of states, most of which were ruled by autocratic monarchs. Following the Congress of Vienna of 1815, Germany had been divided into 38 separate states (39 from 1817). These states were united only in the sense that they formed the German Confederation, a loose organisation dominated by Austria. It was in the interests of all the 39 states to ensure that German political unity did not increase and it was this impulse that saw the growth of German nationalism.

The supporters of liberal nationalism wanted a united Germany which had an elected parliament. Through the period 1815–48, support for a more united, representative Germany grew amongst the liberal middle class. In 1848–49 these supporters of German nationalism had their chance. Through the Frankfurt parliament they attempted to create a united Germany based on the liberal principles of parliamentary government. However, liberal nationalists failed to agree on what size Germany they wanted to create (10). Some (the Grossdeutschlanders) supported a Germany which included the Austrian Empire; others (the Kleindeutschlanders) supported a Germany without Austria, instead led by Prussia. The experiment in creating a liberal nationalist Germany based on parliamentary government was, however, short lived. By 1850 the old German Confederation had been reformed.

explanation that support for German nationalism changed over the period 1789–1919.

(8) This is an excellent paragraph. It surveys the years from 1789 to 1815, identifies supporters of latent nationalism and analyses the forces that brought about change among a minority of literate-minded Germans.

(9) To explain the nature of support, this paragraph begins with a direct reference to the type of supporters of German nationalism in the 1815–50 period.

(10) This section adds a new dimension to the answer by identifying splits in the nature of support for German nationalism.

Support for liberal nationalism was not limited merely to political unification (11). Members of the middle class, in particular businessmen, merchants and industrialists, supported closer economic union. In 1818 Prussia removed internal barriers to trade within its own borders. By 1834 the move towards greater economic co-operation had resulted in the creation of the Zollverein, a customs union uniting most German states. The largest state not to be included in the Zollverein was Austria.

By the end of the 1850s support for German nationalism had grown from the professional middle class to include the business and industrial middle class. Although political unification with a liberal parliamentary Germany seemed to have failed, greater economic union had taken place with Prussia as the dominant state. In the 1860s Germany was united by Prussia in a number of wars. Bismarck, the Prussian Minister-President, defeated Denmark, Austria and France to create a new German state. By 1871 the German Empire was created. From that time on, supporters of German nationalism accepted Prussian political as well as economic leadership (12).

By 1871 the support for German nationalism changed (13). Some liberals were willing to support Bismarck because he had created a German Empire. These were known as National Liberals. Many other liberals had disliked Bismarck's methods in uniting Germany. They formed the Progressive Liberal Party, which opposed Bismarck's Germany. Also, after 1871, nationalism became associated with conservative ideas (14), such as the racial superiority of Germany and the support for a large German Empire overseas. Support also came from those who wanted to unite all Germans in Europe, the Pan German League. These supporters of German nationalism tended to highlight racial motives. Rather than supporting German nationalism because they wanted to achieve a liberal parliamentary state, these German nationalists emphasised German racial superiority. Many were supporters of Social Darwinism, which suggested that it was Germany's destiny to become Europe's major political power with a large global empire. From the 1880s these supporters of German nationalism helped create the Kolonialverein, which supported the creation of a large colonial empire. In the 1890s they also supported the government policy of Weltpolitik. This policy supported the idea of creating a large navy to challenge British naval supremacy. It also aimed to make Germany a world political power.

By 1914 support for German nationalism had changed. Although some liberals, the National Liberals, continued to support the idea (15). Other liberals disliked the autocratic nature of German government. Also, supporters of German

(11) Paragraph 5 identifies other reasons for support for German nationalism. These are economic reasons associated with the creation of the Zollverein or customs union.

(12) This paragraph demonstrates how to synthesise information to make a synoptic judgement.

(13) Direct reference is made to the important turning point in 1871 following the creation of a conservative, Prussian-led German Empire.

(14) This offers a sound explanation of how and why support for German nationalism changed after 1871.

(15) This assesses the degree of change in support for German nationalism. It states there are some

nationalism became more aggressive and expansionist in their ideas. The political unification of Germany, which had occurred in 1871, was no longer a sufficient goal. These supporters helped propel Germany into the First World War. During the war these supporters ultimately found expression in the Vaterland (Fatherland) Party of 1917, which supported the German war effort and the government's plans for large-scale expansion in both Eastern Europe and Africa after the war.

So support for German nationalism changed from 1789 to 1919. In the earlier period, <u>support largely came from intellectuals and liberals who supported parliamentary government. After 1871 support developed for a more aggressive, expansionist German nationalism that embraced a wider spectrum of society</u> (16).

elements of continuity, such as the continued support from National Liberals. However, it also states that supporters of German nationalism also included conservatives and imperialists, who backed the ideas of Social Darwinism. (16) The answer ends with a conclusion which contains a judgement on the changing support for German nationalism over the whole period.

Examiner's Assessment

This essay uses a wide range of relevant factual knowledge and the appropriate historical terminology. It is well structured and very clearly expressed. It gains a Level IA mark of 19 (AO1a).

The essay shows an excellent understanding of German nationalism and provides a very clear explanation, analysis and synthesis of the period in question. To achieve full marks at AO1b, it needs to give some extra information on the liberal support for German nationalism after 1871 amongst the business class and factory owners who supported Weltpolitik and Mitteleuropa. It gains a Level IA mark of 38.

The overall total mark is 57 (Grade A*).

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[Mark Scheme]

Examiners use Mark Schemes to determine how best to categorise a candidate's essay and to ensure that the performances of thousands of candidates are marked to a high degree of accuracy and consistency. Few essays fall neatly into the mark levels indicated below: some essays only cover part of the period; others give a good overview but provide few supporting details. As a result, examiners seek to find the 'best fit' when applying the scheme. Each essay has a final mark based on two Assessment Objectives (AO1a and AO1b) worth 20 + 40 = 60 marks. As the standard of the two essays lies between Level I and Level IV, only the descriptors and marks for these levels have been tabulated below.

	AO1a Mark Scheme for Levels I, II, III and IV
Assessment Objectives	**Recall, select and use historical knowledge appropriately, and communicate knowledge and understanding clearly and effectively**
Level IA **18–20 marks**	Uses a wide range of accurate, detailed and relevant evidence. Accurate and confident use of appropriate historical terminology. Answer is clearly structured and coherent; communicates accurately and legibly.
Level IB **16–17 marks**	Uses accurate, detailed and relevant evidence. Accurate use of a range of appropriate historical terminology. Answer is clearly structured and mostly coherent; writes accurately and legibly.
Level II **14–15 marks**	Uses mostly accurate, detailed and relevant evidence, which demonstrates a competent command of the topic. Generally accurate use of historical terminology. Answer is structured and mostly coherent; writing is legible and communication is generally clear.
Level III **12–13 marks**	Uses accurate and relevant evidence, which demonstrates some command of the topic but there may be some inaccuracy. Answer includes relevant historical terminology but this may not be extensive or always accurately used. Most of the answer is organised and structured; the answer is mostly legible and clearly communicated.
Level IV **10–11 marks**	There is deployment of relevant knowledge but level/accuracy of detail will vary; there may be some evidence that is tangential or irrelevant. Some unclear and/or under-developed and/or disorganised sections; mostly satisfactory level of communication.

	AO1b Mark Scheme for Levels I, II, III and IV
Assessment Objectives	**Demonstrate an understanding of the past through explanation and analysis, arriving at substantiated judgements of key concepts and of the relationships between key features of the period studied**
Level IA **36–40 marks**	Excellent understanding of key concepts relevant to the question set. Excellent synthesis and synoptic assessment of the whole period. Answer is consistently analytical with developed and substantiated explanations, some of which may be unexpected.
Level IB **32–35 marks**	Clear and accurate understanding of most key concepts relevant to analysis and to the question set. Clear understanding of the significance of issues and synthesis of the whole period. Answer is mostly consistently and relevantly analytical with mostly developed and substantiated explanations.
Level II **28–31 marks**	Mostly clear and accurate understanding of many key concepts relevant to analysis and to the topic. Clear understanding of the significance of most relevant issues in their historical context. Much of the answer is relevantly analytical and substantiated with detailed evidence but there may be some uneven judgements.
Level III **24–27 marks**	Sound understanding of key concepts relevant to analysis and mostly focused on the question set. Answers may be a mixture of analysis and explanation but also simple description of relevant material and narrative of relevant events **OR** answers may provide more consistent analysis but the quality will be uneven and its support often general or thin. There may only be a limited synthesis of the whole period.
Level IV **20–23 marks**	Understanding of key concepts relevant to analysis and the topic is variable but in general is satisfactory. Answers may be largely descriptive/narratives of events and links between this and analytical comments will typically be weak or unexplained **OR** answers will mix passages of descriptive material with occasional explained analysis. Limited synoptic judgements of part of the period.

Further Sample Questions

1. Did industrialisation help or hinder the development of German nationalism from 1789 to 1919?
2. Assess the claim that William II was more effective in managing German nationalism than either Metternich or Bismarck in the period from 1789 to 1919.
3. To what extent was the German nation ever united in the period 1789–1919?
4. To what extent did German nationalism receive mass support in the period 1789–1919?
5. 'The creation of the German Empire in 1871 was the most important turning point in the development of German nationalism in the period from 1789 to 1919.' Assess this view.
6. To what extent was German nationalism undermined by Prussian ambitions in the years from 1789 to 1919?
7. 'German nationalists had little influence on the creation and development of Germany from 1789 to 1919.' To what extent do you agree with this view?

8. How far do you agree that the aims of German nationalists remained the same throughout the period from 1789 to 1919?

Chronology: Key Events in *German nationalism, 1789–1919*

1789: Outbreak of the French Revolution.
1806: Prussian armies defeated by France at Jena and Auerstadt.
1806: Napoleon destroys the Holy Roman Empire; <u>Confederation of the Rhine established</u> (1).
1807: German princes have their own constitution but no political liberty.
1809: Metternich becomes Austrian foreign minister.
1813: Rhine Confederation dissolved.
1815: Establishment of German Confederation.
1818: Burschenschaften founded.
1819: <u>Carlsbad Decrees</u> (2).
1821: Metternich becomes Austrian Chancellor.
1830: Risings in Brunswick, Hanover, Hesse and Saxony.
1832: Hambach Meeting – passage of Six Articles.
1834: <u>Zollverein created</u> (3).
1840: Frederick William IV becomes king of Prussia.
1848–49: Revolutions across Germany and Austria; <u>fall of Metternich</u> (4).
1850: Erfurt Union and Olmutz Agreement.
1859: National Association founded in Prussia.
1861: William I becomes king of Prussia.
1862: Bismarck becomes Minister-President of Prussia.
1863: Universal German Workers' Association created.
1864: Schleswig-Holstein crisis and Danish War.
1866: Austro-Prussian War.
1867: <u>Creation of North German Confederation</u> (5).
1870–71: Franco-Prussian War.
1871: German Empire created.
1871–90: Bismarck becomes German Chancellor.
1872–73: <u>Kulturkampf begins</u> (6).
1875: <u>Social Democratic Party founded</u> (7).
1879: Dual Alliance with Austria–Hungary.
1883–89: Social Reforms.
1886: Settlement Law.
1888: William II becomes Emperor.
1890: <u>Bismarck dismissed</u> (8).
1893: <u>Pan German League founded</u> (9).
1989: Navy Law.
1905–06: <u>Moroccan crisis</u> (10).
1912: Strikes across Germany.
1913: German share of world manufacturing is 14.8% (UK is 13.8%).
1914–18: First World War.
1918: Revolution: Emperor abdicates; Republic declared.
1919: Treaty of Versailles; creation of Weimar Republic.

(1) The Confederation comprising 16 German states and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was put under French protection and received the Napoleonic Code. States enjoyed economic and religious freedom but no political liberty.

(2) The laws were passed by Metternich to suppress student organisations, to censor the press and to establish a committee that would investigate liberal groups within the Confederation.

(3) A customs union started by Prussia in 1814 and extended to nearly all of the German Confederation except Austria. Its domination by Prussia increased with the industrialisation of Germany from the 1850s onwards and greatly assisted the union of German states under her leadership.

(4) The Austrian chancellor fell from office after liberal demonstrations in Vienna called for political reform. His fall precipitated liberal revolutions across the German Confederation.

(5) The North German Confederation replaced the German Confederation and contained the German states north of the River Main and was dominated by Prussia. The south German states of Baden, Bavaria and Württemberg were outside the Confederation but had a military alliance with Prussia. Its constitution formed the basis of the German imperial constitution of 1871–1918.

(6) Bismarck's 'struggle against culture' was in essence a series of anti-Catholic policies between 1872 and 1885, whereby priests became state employees and religious orders were outlawed. Bismarck feared that the Catholics might try to undermine German unity by exploiting Polish groups in eastern Prussia. In practice, his plan to weaken the Catholic Church backfired. Catholics formed the Centre Party, which grew in popularity and strength, so much so that from 1878 Bismarck courted their political support.

(7) The Social Democratic Party supported the re-distribution of wealth in Germany and an extension of democracy. Their goals were seen as a major threat to the Prussian landowning oligarchy and to successive German governments between 1871 and 1914.

(8) Sometimes referred to as 'dropping the pilot', William II's decision to dismiss Bismarck reflected their differences in personality, aims and age. The Emperor refused to approve Bismarck's plans to suspend the Constitution and rule by martial law to nullify the growing influence of the SPD.

(9) The Pan German League was a radical German nationalist organisation (the ADV), which wanted to unite all German-speaking peoples, colonise Eastern Europe and pursue an aggressive Weltpolitik foreign policy.

(10) When France began to increase her colonial activity in Morocco, Germany threatened military and naval reprisals in an attempt to split the recently formed *entente cordiale* between France and Britain. But the plan backfired. Britain strengthened her resolve to support France, and Morocco was partitioned between Spain and France. Moreover, both Britain and France deepened their suspicions of German policy.

Teaching Activities

Divide the class set into groups, each with the task of assessing the role of a factor in the development of German nationalism.
The groups could represent the following:
   a) Cultural and literary intellectuals
   b) Liberal nationalists
   c) Economic development with emphasis on the Zollverein
   d) Bismarck
   e) William II.

Each group is asked to provide evidence to support the view that their group made a positive contribution to the development of German nationalism.

Then a representative from each group is asked to report back to the whole class with the group's findings. This could be either an oral presentation, writing up the findings on the board or via a data projector.

The whole class is then asked to write down, in order of importance, how these factors affected the development of German nationalism for the period 1789–1919, supplying reasons for their decision.

Resources

L. Cowie and R. Wolfson, *Years of Nationalism: European History 1815–1890* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1985)
A. Farmer and A. Stiles, *The Unification of Germany 1815–1919* (Hodder Murray, 2007)
M. Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)
G. Layton, *From Bismarck to Hitler 1890–1933* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1995)
D. Murphy, *Europe 1760 to 1871* (Collins, 2001)
D. Murphy and T. Morris, *Europe 1871–1991* (2nd edn, Collins, 2003)
H. Schulze, *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck 1763–1867* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)
H.W. Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology and Politics 1870–1914* (Princeton University Press, 1995)

Weblinks

www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook22.html
www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/germanunification.html