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### Source Exploration

Bernhard von Bülow's "Dynamic" Foreign Policy (December 11, 1899)

Source: Buchners Kolleg Geschichte. Das Kaiserreich 1871 bis 1918 [Wilhelmine Germany 1871 to 1918]. Bamberg: CC. Buchners Verlag, 1987, p. 137 ff.

Bernhard von Bülow (1849-1929) was the Reich chancellor from 1900-1909. This document was a speech given to the Reichstag and states the need for Germany to become more expansionist in response to other colonial powers such as England and France, and a desire to protect Germany from these countries, introducing the idea of Germany being either “a hammer or an anvil.” The phrase “hammer or anvil” has been in use since the eighteenth century and was found in a poem by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Goethe is cited in Bulow’s memoirs, although there is no specific mention of the particular poem, and the concept does not come up until his speech. The idea of being the hammer or the anvil relates to either being the victor and ruler in any given situation instead of the person who yields and gives in, and addresses the fact that victory has to actively be sought after and worked for. In the case of Bulow’s speech this relates to the building up of the German navy during the time of imperialism, while the phrase has later been used in reference to workers movements and the era of Imperialist Germany in general. While the speech is mentioned in Bulow’s memoir, it is not the full text. A full copy of the speech in the original German is contained in journals that chronicle the activities of the Reichstag and was published shortly after the speech was given. Various news articles from the time report on the international situation surrounding the speech, and mention that it was overshadowed by other events at the time. My research focused on the phrase “hammer and anvil” and its use before and after Bulow’s speech, along with the recognition of his speech, particularly looking at international reactions.

### Annotated Bibliography (Chronological Order)

1. Spielhagen, Friedrich. *Hammer Und Amboss*: Roman. U. Hildebrand's Verlag, 1890

Hammer und Amboss was originally published in 1870 and is the first mention of where the phrase “hammer und amboss” appeared in a publication according to

Google Ngram. There is no obvious link to the Bulow speech, other than that it shows one of the notable phrases was used before the speech took place.

2. *Nauticus. Altes und Neues zur Flottenfrage: Erläuterungen zum Flottengesetz.* E. S. Mittler Und Sohn, 1898.

The Google Ngrams showed two books published before the speech that contained the phrase “hammer und amboss.” The other result was the 1994 history textbook *Hammer and Anvil* by Holger Herwig, along with the novel *Hammer and Amboss* by Friedrich Spielhagen.

3. *Verhandlungen des Reichstags.* 168 (1898-1900): 3292-295.  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.78172744>.

These volumes contain records of the activities of the Reichstag. This particular volume includes a full record of Bulow’s speech in the original German, published in 1900.

4. GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. (1899, Dec 10). *New York Times* (1857-1922)

Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.ucsb.edu:9443/docview/95743154?accountid=14522>

This newspaper from the day before the speech was given indicates the international awareness surrounding Bulow. The speech is only briefly mentioned, stating that Bulow will give a speech regarding German foreign policy, before briefly mentioning that it will probably not affect German-American relations, before moving on to a different topic. While Bulow’s speech was noteworthy enough to receive some attention in the paper, it was fairly brief, and was not treated with that much importance.

5. GERMANS ASK FOR A NAVY. (1899, Dec 12). *New York Times*, Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.ucsb.edu:9443/docview/95750940?accountid=14522>

This article briefly discusses the plans for the expansion of the German navy and contains excerpts from Bulow’s speech to the Reichstag, while also mentioning that it received different reactions from the various political parties, particularly mentioning that the Radicals disapproved of the plan. As the first article published

after the speech was given, it was able to go more in depth into the political climate at the time, and the reaction surrounding the speech.

6. "The German Navy." *Times* [London, England] 12 Dec. 1899: 5. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 31 Oct. 2018.

The first London Times article is a summary of the events surrounding the speech and contains very little analysis of its contents or implications surrounding British-German relations. It briefly addresses the parties that Bulow had support from, including the Conservatives and the National Liberals.

7. "Count Von Bülow's Speech." *Times* [London, England] 13 Dec. 1899: 7. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 31 Oct. 2018.

This article discusses the speech's references to England, although the author believes that they are not that important. It mentions that idea that some do not believe that the current foreign climate necessitates an increase in naval power and goes more in depth about the critiques of the speech, although it mostly focuses on anti-British sentiments that were briefly mentioned.

8. Ebray, Alcide. "Les Déclaration De M. De Bülow." *Journal Des Débats Politiques Et Littéraires*, December 13, 1899, 1. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4697107>.

This article discusses the speech given at the Reichstag, along with the other discussions that were held at the same time, along with the plans to expand the Germany navy, doubling it by 1916. This article goes the most in depth into the actual plans out of all of the articles published around this time.

9. RUSSIANS CRITICISE VON BUELOW. (1899, Dec 14). *New York Times* (1857-1922) Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.ucsb.edu:9443/docview/95749386?accountid=14522>

This extremely brief article states that Bulow's speech was criticized in Russia, as it was seen as Germany attempting to be more dominant and had a threatening tone.

10. GERMANY'S MENACE PASSED OVER. (1899, Dec 17). *New York Times* (1857-1922) Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.ucsb.edu:9443/docview/95745283?accountid=14522>

This article published a few days after the speech was given to the Reichstag

states that conflicts involving the British in South Africa overshadowed the speech and implies that the Germans were attempting to make the most out of the turmoil in South Africa. This article states that the speech was important to the future of Europe, but people were generally more focused on South Africa at the time.

11. Capitain P. "L'Augmentation de la Flotte Allemande." *Revue du Cercle Militaire : Bulletin des Réunions d'officiers des Armées De Terre et de Mer* (revue Violette), January 6, 1900, 7. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5754932c>.  
Similar to the previous article published in France, this journal goes more into depth about the actual improvements that were planned to the German navy, along with exploring more of the history surrounding previous plans to expand the Germany navy prior to the speech.
12. Bülow, Bernhard von, and Friedrich August Voigt. 1931. *Memoirs of Prince von Bülow. 1897-1903*, Boston: Little, Brown.  
[https://archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.183432/2015.183432.Prince-Von-Bulow-Memoirs-1897-1903\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.183432/2015.183432.Prince-Von-Bulow-Memoirs-1897-1903_djvu.txt).  
This is the complete collection of all of his memoirs from 1849 to 1929, which also briefly mentions the speech made to the Reichstag. It also discusses Goethe, who wrote a poem about being the hammer or the anvil, although Bulow does not specifically mention that work, only its author. His memoirs were originally published in German in 1930 and were translated into English in 1932.
13. Cecil, Lamar. *The German Diplomatic Service, 1871-1914*. Princeton University Press, 1976. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13x18d3>.  
This article discusses the roles of various German diplomats and their careers along with how they ended up in their positions. While the author discusses Bulow in his role at the time, there is no specific reference to the “Dynamic Foreign Policy” speech.
14. Herwig, Holger H. *Hammer or Anvil? Modern Germany 1648-present*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1994.  
Textbook written by Holger Herwig about the forces that shaped Germany during the modern era.

15. Anderson, Evelyn. 2007. *Hammer or Anvil: The Story of the German Working Class Movement*. Alameda, CA: Center for Socialist History.  
<http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/711001929>.

This book discusses the German labor movement from 1875 to 1945 and was originally published in 2007.

16. Spielhagen, Friedrich, and William Hand Browne. 1890. *Hammer and Anvil A Novel*. Project Gutenberg. <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/747742240>

A translated copy of the novel *Hammer and Anvil* published as an eBook in 2011. It is available in the Los Angeles Public library and the Cal Lutheran Library.

17. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Bernhard, Prince Von Bülow." Encyclopædia Britannica. October 24, 2018. Accessed November 15, 2018.

The Encyclopedia Britannica contains basic biographical information about Bulow, with no specific reference to his speech at the Reichstag although it briefly mentions that the British were concerned with Germany threatening their naval supremacy, indirectly tying back to some of the articles published in the London Times.

18. "Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe Quotes." ThinkExist.com. Accessed November 15, 2018.  
[http://thinkexist.com/quotation/you\\_must\\_either\\_conquer\\_and\\_rule\\_or\\_serve\\_and/167833.html](http://thinkexist.com/quotation/you_must_either_conquer_and_rule_or_serve_and/167833.html).

Various websites cite Goethe's quote "You must either conquer and rule or serve and lose, suffer or triumph, be the anvil or the hammer", but none contain a reference to where it was originally found. It is the final line of his poem "Another", and discusses the idea of working hard to rule, or ending up submissively giving in.