



CHRISTIAN ADAM

# BERLIN

A Short History

BeBra Verlag



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## A UNIQUE CITY

“Everything that happened in Berlin was without comparison”, wrote author Carl Sternheim (1878–1942) with a certain irony. “Buildings which had just been erected were continually being torn down to be replaced with better ones, deep into the earth and high into sky. Monuments were demolished by the dozen to make way for greater apotheoses. The population consumed breathlessly, not only to encourage quicker consumption through increased production, but because hysterically spiralling production was the only means of occupying the happily profiteering masses in a time of such rapid growth.”

When using these words to describe the thriving German capital in the opening decades of the twentieth century, Sternheim could not possibly have imagined the extent of the destruction and amazing new building both “into the earth and the sky” that would follow. What were once the little medieval twin towns of Berlin/Cölln became the Hohenzollern seat of power and later the Prussian capital, but it was only after the founding of the German Empire in 1871 that the city received the real push of development that enabled it to grow into a true metropolis. The images, myths and clichés associated with this era continue to influence our idea of Berlin to this day. Perhaps the most lasting impressions were those

made by the Twenties, which were characterized on the one hand by deep political strife and on the other by a highly productive cultural life, although the most radical reorganization of the city and its inhabitants occurred under the National Socialists. They drew up plans to construct their world city of “Germania” in Berlin, forced tens of thousands of Berliners into exile, indeed even to their deaths, and left behind a city in ruins. Yet to many foreign visitors Berlin remains the city of the Wall, that most absurd construction in history which gave a concrete form to the division of the world into West and East. When the Iron Curtain fell in November 1989 it was also in Berlin that the Cold War came to a peaceful end. The people danced on top of the Wall at the Brandenburg Gate and soon began to dismantle the “Anti-fascist Protection Wall” with hammers and chisels.

Berlin’s most defining quality is its ability to keep changing. It has always retained something provisional about it, including the waste-land and problems with transport links which resulted from war damage and the years of division. Even if in the 1990s construction work was started to heal these wounds in the city landscape and whole new districts, such as the area around Postdamer Platz, have been created, there will always be corners of the city where something new is emerging and where there are new discoveries to be made. In the final analysis this is what makes Berlin such a fascinating city for both its visitors and its people.



# COLONIA ON THE SPREE

## The Medieval twin towns

### **Slav rule and the conversion to Christianity**

The glacial valley in which Berlin, according to its inhabitants “came to lie”, was formed after the last Ice Age 20,000 years ago by the snow and ice melting from the glaciers. The valley more or less follows the course of the river Spree, bordered by the Barnim plain in the north and the Teltow plain in the south.

In contrast with later centuries, in its early history the area around Berlin was extremely sparsely populated. After the number of inhabitants was greatly reduced by the great migration of peoples in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century A.D., the area was practically depopulated by the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> Century. The Germanic tribes who had settled here over a period of several centuries left little more than the names of the two rivers, the Spree and the Havel to their successors, the Slavs. Two tribes ruled the region: the “Heveller” in the west with Brandenburg as their main settlement and seat of power and the “Sprewaner” in the east, whose main town was Köpenick. The two areas were separated by a band of forest which encompassed the natural crossing point of the Spree in the glacial valley and where later the twin towns of Berlin/Cölln would grow up. The remnants of this green no man’s land still exist today as the Tegeler Forst and the Grunewald.



*Albrecht the Bear captures Brandenburg Castle (1150). Lithograph by Adolph Menzel, 1834*

But first, one of the most important settlements in the Berlin area developed further west, where the Spree joins the Havel. This could be the reason that to this day the inhabitants of Spandau look down on their neighbouring “upstarts” from Berlin; their first castle dates back to the year 700 A.D. With its convenient location Spandau soon developed into an early urban centre of great importance. To the east of the same area, in Sprewaner territory, Köpenick developed into an important settlement. There had been a castle complex dating back to about 700 A.D. on an island in the Dahme and in the surrounding area there was a similar, if modest, upturn

in economic activity. The region around the Spree crossing point served both tribes mainly as a hunting ground and today the most common explanation of the origin of the name Berlin derives from the Slav root “brl” which denotes a marsh or morass.

The region between the Elbe and the Oder, which also includes Berlin, was ruled mainly by Slav tribes until well into the 10<sup>th</sup> Century. Ottonian rulers, however, made continued attempts to extend their territory in an easterly direction. Around the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> Century Otto I brought all the Slav tribes under the jurisdiction of the German Empire. He set up two Marches (borderlands) to protect his territory; these were later divided and the North March was created in the area around Brandenburg. But then the Slav uprising of 983 A.D. ended the Christianization and expansionism of the German Electors and the Slav inhabitants managed to assure their independence for about 200 years.

### **The Ascent of the Askanians**

Renewed efforts to expand the Empire were created by the economic upswing after the turn of the first millennium. The regions to the east of the Elbe were brought into the plan again, especially as at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century the Heveller rulers in power in Brandenburg were weakened. In 1134 the German Emperor, Lothar III, appointed the Askanian Prince, Albrecht the Bear, Count of the North March (Graf der Nordmark). An important factor in Albrecht’s advancement was his good relations with the Heveller ruler, Pribislav-Heinrich, who had converted to Christianity. The childless Prince of Brandenburg named Albrecht the Bear as his successor and Albrecht was able to claim his title as early as

1150. His position was threatened, however, by the occupation of Brandenburg by Jaxa, who was probably the Sprewaner ruler of Köpenick. It wasn't until 1157 that Albrecht was able to gain back Brandenburg and from then onwards Albrecht and his successors called themselves the Margraves of Brandenburg. Their principality still consisted of various areas which were not connected to each other. At first the Askanians had to share their dominion of the North March with other German and Slav rulers, but up to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century they managed through clever politics to keep extending their power base. At this point they were ruling over what had become one of the largest German princedoms.

Part of their political plan was the methodical settlement of the March, combined with the founding of towns and monasteries. In the wake of this expansion of their territory two small market towns posts grew up at the crossing point of the Spree, the future towns of Berlin and Cölln.

From the very start the population of Berlin and Cölln consisted mainly of immigrants, with only few Slavs from the immediate surroundings among them. Newcomers came from the area around Quedlingburg, Ballenstedt and Aschersleben where the Askanians had their ancestral seats, as well as a group from the Rhineland. This could explain the highly plausible derivation of the name Cölln/Colonia from Köln on the Rhein. The settlement of the Teltow and the Barnim plains later made the crossing point of the Spree into a route junction.

The first references to both Berlin and Cölln were made in written sources dating back to 1237 or 1244, which officially document the beginning of their urban development. In a contract from the year 1237, made between Bishop Gernand



*First mention of the city of Cölln in a document from 1237*

of Brandenburg and the Margraves Johann I and Otto III, a Reverend Symeon of Cölln was named as witness.

First and foremost the Margraves used the twin towns to secure the crossing point of the Spree and they served as a settlement for craftsmen and weavers. Although the Margraves set up a regional court in Berlin/ Cölln in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, they stayed mostly in Spandau castle.

Economic progress was promoted by the trading law forcing travelling merchants to offer their wares for a certain period to the inhabitants of the town and for a long time the most significant imports were Flanders cloth and salt-water

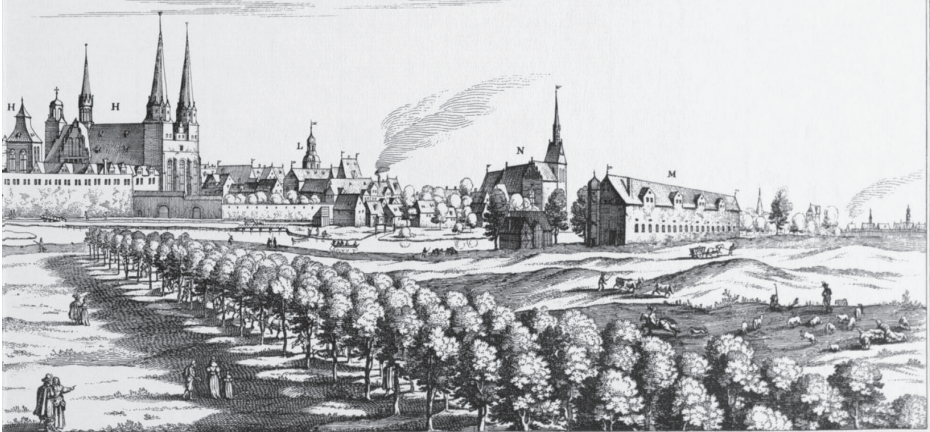


*The electoral residence city of Berlin and Cölln. Copper engraving by Kaspar Merian, 1652*

fish. Berlin/Cölln thus partly developed into a fish market of great importance where most of the local fish was also sold.

Towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century the twin towns had outstripped the nearby older towns of Köpenick and Spandau in importance and in 1280 the first Parliament of the Mark of Brandenburg was set up in Berlin/Cölln. The nobility from the Prignitz and the Midand Old March all gathered here, a clear sign that the twin towns had already become the Capital of the Mark of Brandenburg.

The end of Askanian rule came with the death of the childless Askanians, Waldemar and Heinrich in 1319 and 1320. There then followed a time of a shifting balance of power during which the Wittelsbachers and Luxemburgers strug-



gled for influence in the region and the twin towns were able to further extend their privileges. The urban settlements on either side of the Spree pursued a policy of co-operation, committed themselves to mutual aid and formed a joint Council which existed alongside the Councils of the individual towns. The Town Hall where they met up stood on the Long Bridge which linked the two halves of the town: in more recent times, therefore, Berlin was able to refer to a wealth of experience of being a divided town centuries ago.

# MERCHANTS, ELECTORS AND KINGS

## From the Thirty Years War to Frederick the Great

### **The rule of the Hohenzollern**

Political stability did not return to the town until Friedrich I of Hohenzollern (1371–1440) was proclaimed Margrave and Elector on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1417. With the Hohenzollern, a noble family had arrived on the scene who were to play a central role in shaping the destiny of the city until the year 1918.

From the 15<sup>th</sup> Century onwards the townscape was clearly determined by building work undertaken by the Princes, even if until 1486 the Mark of Brandenburg was seen more as an offshoot of their Frankonian possessions around Ansbach and Kulmbach. The Margrave claimed a large piece of land for himself near Cölln on which to build his royal seat. However, at first he was not made at all welcome and his attempt to appropriate large chunks of his citizens' land met with open resistance. Showing the indignation for which Berliners are well known, the locals staged an uprising to fight against their subjugation to princely rule and initially managed to prevent the building of the palace. It wasn't until the spring of 1451 that the Margrave was able to move into his new residence.

It has to be said that nothing of much significance emerged from the Berlin seat of power. Even amongst the towns of the Mark of Brandenburg Berlin was not the leading light. Frankfurt an der Oder, for example, was still the more important





*The elector had a new palace built in the mid-15th century. Engraving by Carl Röhling, ca. 1890*

economic centre until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. On the other hand the inhabitants of Berlin were known even then for a healthy sense of selfconfidence. After Martin Luther had unleashed the Reformation in the German provinces with his Theses in Wittenberg, the Electors at first remained allied to the Catholic faith. In 1539 the Councils of Berlin and Cölln finally met and demanded from their rulers the introduction of Holy Communion according to the Evangelical rite, which Joachim II (1505–1571) finally granted.

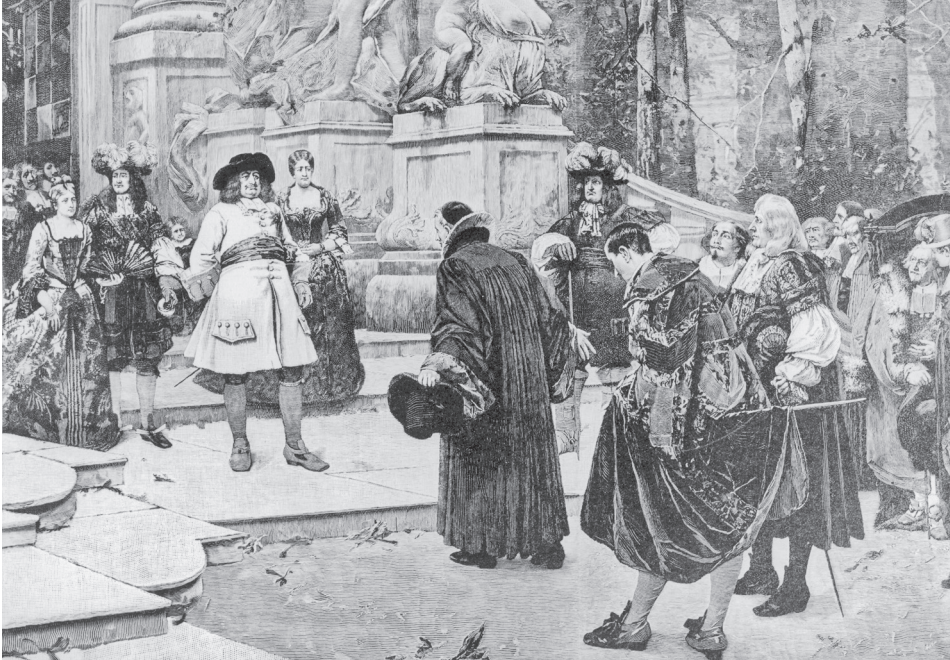
Several important buildings were erected during Joachim's rule. He had the Stadtschloss (City Palace) extended by Caspar Theiss, who had also built the hunting palaces in the Grunewald and at Köpenick. In addition he was respon-

sible for constructing a fast connecting route from his palace to the Grunewald, which led across marshy areas and therefore had to be constructed as a boarded causeway; the Kurfürstendamm (Elector's Causeway).

In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century the population of the twin towns had reached an estimated 12,000. When compared with the European capitals such as London and Paris, which at this time could already count their inhabitants in hundreds of thousands, it is easy to understand why Berlin can only be described in those days as a young city growing up in a provincial backwater. In fact things were only to get worse. The Thirty Years War, which from 1618 to 1648 turned the whole of Europe into a battlefield, did not leave the Mark of Brandenburg untouched. At least Berlin was spared any direct action during the initial years of the war but then later it fell victim to Imperial pillaging when the Hohenzollerns allied themselves with the Swedish King, Gustav Adolf II. By the end of the war the town is supposed to have lost a third of its citizens, including many who died in a rampant outbreak of the plague in 1631. The Mark of Brandenburg was among the most devastated parts of the Empire; whole areas were left depopulated and deserted.

### **The "Great Elector" (Grosser Kurfürst)**

After the war Friedrich Wilhelm (1620–1688), who went down in history as the Great Elector, made decisions that had a profound influence on Berlin's future development. He had the palace further extended, had fortifications constructed in the sixties and strengthened the local garrison to 2,000 men. At the same time private building activity was also stimulated. New building regulations stipulated that the roads



*Elector Frederick William receives Huguenots in Potsdam. Wood engraving from a painting by Hugo Vogel, 1885*

had to be cobbled. Lanterns had to be put up and pig sties were no longer permitted on the roads. Construction initiatives were financed by raising a new import tax the “Akzise”. New districts developed: Friedrichswerder in the west and Dorotheenstadt to the north of it, as well as various suburbs outside the city wall such as the Spandauer Vorstadt and the Stralauer Vorstadt. By the end of the Great Elector’s reign the total area of Berlin had almost doubled in four decades.

However the Mark of Brandenburg could not call on sufficient workers and employers to render his economic policy successful and the Great Elector decided that immigration was the answer. In 1671 the first sizeable group to be assimilated into the Mark were exiled Jews from Vienna. The Edict

of Potsdam in 1685 facilitated the immigration of 20,000 Huguenots, who mainly settled in Berlin. The majority of the Huguenots, Protestant refugees from France, set themselves up in business and trade and the Jews in finance and credit. Thus the idea of tolerance, which was to become one of the pillars of the Prussian conception of a state, had its roots in entirely pragmatic considerations.

### **Prussia becomes a Great Power**

The son of the Great Elector, Friedrich I (1657–1713) finally took the royal crown for the Hollenzollern by having himself crowned King in Prussia in 1701. During his reign both state and city flourished culturally. In 1694 he called the architect, Andreas Schlüter to Berlin to begin on alterations to the Palace and undertake the works on the Zeughaus (Arsenal). Together with other architects such as Eosander von Göthe, Schlüter brought a new elegance to the royal capital both with these projects and others on various private residences.

Sophie Charlotte (1668–1705), Queen of Prussia, also played a large part in stimulating academic life and culture. She was responsible for bringing the philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) to Berlin and on his initiative the Electoral Brandenburg Society of Sciences, later the Academy of Sciences, was founded.

The double existence of Berlin/Cölln came to an end on the eighth anniversary of Friedrich's coronation. Together with their suburbs of Friedrichswerder, Dorotheenstadt and Friedrichstadt, they were amalgamated into one administrative unit which became the centre of the monarchy. The unified community of Berlin had come into being and by the end of Friedrich I's rule the population of Berlin was 60,000.



*Queen Sophie Charlotte in conversation with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in front of Charlottenburg Palace. Wood engraving from a drawing by Adolph Menzel, 1846/47*

His successor to the throne, Friedrich Wilhelm I, was soon given the nickname “The Soldier King”. He reformed the state household, cared nothing for his father’s great love of splendour and stood for rationality and sobriety. Instead of investing in prestige and image he increased the size of the standing army to 80,000 men. This strengthening of the military was intended to get Berlin finally on a par with other European capitals, but it also stimulated the city’s economic development and the manufacture of rifles and textiles flourished. One of the benefactors of this development was the trading company Splitgerber & Daum, founded in 1712. The Berlin garrison was also steadily growing; in 1720 there were

about 12,000 soldiers and their families living in the city. The economic growth attracted more and more new citizens to the region, among them for example the Bohemian Protestants. They mainly settled in the surrounding countryside, in Böhmisches Rixdorf or Neu-Schöneberg. Berlin was now slowly developing into a European city, both in population and in area. The old fortifications had become a hindrance to new building schemes and they were razed to the ground in the 1730s. The sites of the former city gates were turned into squares with striking features such as the round tower at the Hallesches Tor (now Mehringplatz), the octagon at Potsdamer Platz (Leipziger Platz), and the Quarré at the Brandenburg Gate (Pariser Platz), which to this day are an important part of Berlin's architectural heritage. From 1734 onwards a six metre high customs wall, the "Akzisemauer", was built. This wall encircled a larger area of the city than the previous fortifications and was intended to prevent smuggling and desertion, but no longer had any significance as a fortification. Reconstructed remains can still be seen today on the middle stretch of Stresemannstrasse in Kreuzberg.

### **Berlin under Friedrich II**

"Religions must all be tolerated and the state must just be vigilant that no-one does anyone harm because here everyone must be allowed to be spiritual after their own fashion." This famous remark by Friedrich II (1712–1786), son of the Soldier King, is a good example of the long tradition of the Prussian concept of tolerance.

Through numerous drawn-out wars, as during the Seven Year War against the Habsburgs for the Province of Silesia, Friedrich II turned Prussia into a power of European signifi-



*The first Brandenburg Gate in 1734, on the left the guardhouse, on the right the Excise House, behind it the trees of the Tiergarten. Etching by Daniel Chodowiecki, 1764*

cance. But above all, successive generations saw in Frederick the Great (Friedrich der Grosse) a symbolic figure embodying all the virtues required of a Prussian; an appreciation of culture, a sense of duty and military might.

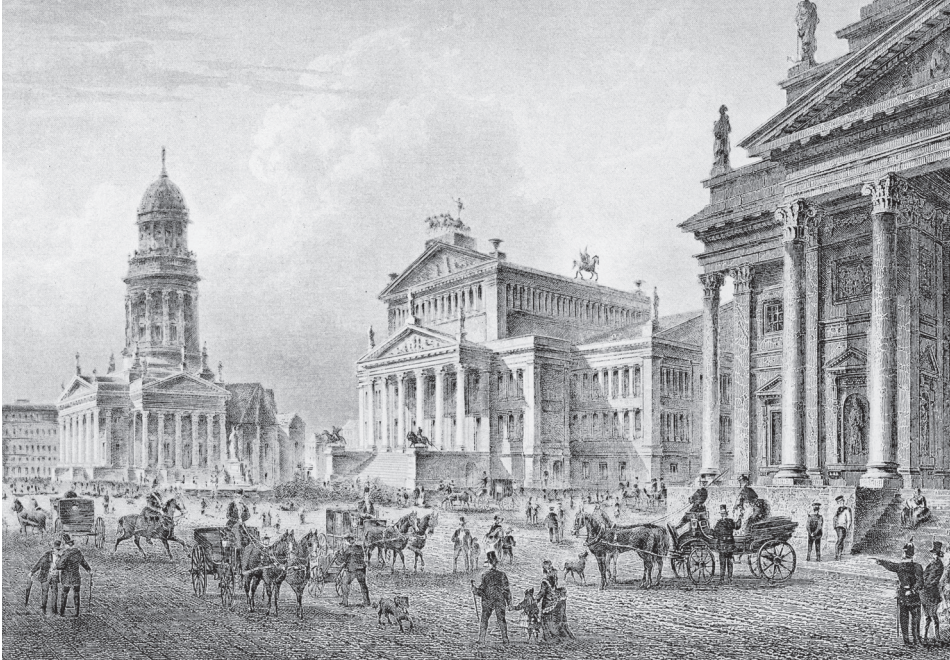
With the King's support Berlin developed into an intellectual centre on the European model. From 1750 until 1753 Voltaire, the French philosopher of the Enlightenment, lived at the court in Potsdam where the King preferred to spend his time and where he had his favourite palace of Sanssouci built. It was this kind of intellectual milieu that attracted citizens interested in science and literature, especially Jews, to Berlin. They gathered around the publisher Friedrich Nicolai,

the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn or the writer Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and with the relaxation of censorship the publication of new journals could go ahead. In 1740 alongside the “Vossische Zeitung” which had first appeared in 1721 under the name of the “Berlinische Privilegierte Zeitung”, the second largest newspaper came into being, the “Berlinische Nachrichten von Staatsund Gelehrtensachen”.

Friedrich II also left behind an architectural landscape whose traces are clearly visible today. The central feature was the Forum Fridericianum which the King planned together with the architect Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff (1699–1753). The first building to be erected was the Staatsooper (State Opera House) on Unter den Linden, which is still standing today. Then followed the St.Hedwigskathedrale, the Prinz-Heinrich-Palais (now the main building of the Humboldt-Universität) and later, from 1775–1780, following G.G. Boumann’s plans, the library on Bebelplatz with the nickname “Kommode” (chest of drawers). Unter den Linden became a magnificent boulevard and the Tiergarten (palace hunting grounds) was turned into a landscaped park designed by the landscape gardener Peter Joseph Lenné.

It was during this period that Berlin’s theatre history also began. The Französisches Schauspielhaus, which had been opened on the Gendarmenmarkt in 1776, was reopened ten years later as the Deutsches Nationaltheater under the direction of Carl Theophil Doebbelin, the leader of a company of actors. It enjoyed such success that after only a few years the architect Carl Gotthard Langhans was commissioned to create a larger, more prestigious building which was opened in 1802 under the name Königliches Nationaltheater (royal national theatre). This was where Friedrich Schiller, among





*The Gendarmenmarkt with the German Cathedral (left), Schauspielhaus and French Cathedral. Steel engraving, around 1870*

others, staged his plays to great public acclaim and today, in memory of this great writer and poet, a statue of him stands between the two cathedrals on the Gendarmenmarkt.

Another of the King's concerns was the promotion of trade and industry. Goods that could be produced in Prussia were subject to import bans and duty. Coffee beans were heavily taxed in order to support the production of substitutes such as chicory coffee. The state took control of countless manufacturing companies; in 1763 the porcelain manufacturer Gotzkowsky became the renowned KPM (Königlich-Preussische Porzellanmanufaktur).

In 1786, the year of Frederick the Great's death, there were 150,000 people living in Berlin, including numerous soldiers

who were billeted on the citizens; barracks were a rare feature of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, most of members of the garrison were fully integrated into the life of the city.

Thus in a letter from 1784, the traveller Johann Kaspar Riesbeck wrote: “Berlin is an extremely beautiful and splendid city. It should always be included amongst the most beautiful cities of Europe. It does not possess the uniformity which makes most new and orderly cities boring after a time. The architecture, the planning, the aspect of the public squares, the planting of trees both on the squares and along the streets, in short everything, is full of variety and entertaining.”

After the death of Friedrich II Berlin entered a period of upheaval. Under his successor, Friedrich Wilhelm II, heavy censorship rules were re-introduced and state support of the economy was greatly reduced. However, the city has to thank this King for its most significant piece of architecture; the Brandenburg Gate (Brandenburger Tor), handed over to the public in 1791, without any great ceremony. Designed by the architect Carl Gotthard Langhans and adorned with Gottfried Schadow’s Quadriga, the “Brandenburg Gate” remains to this day the unequivocal symbol of Berlin.

# **BERLIN BECOMES A METROPOLIS**

## **Royal Prussian Capital and Capital of the German Empire**

### **From the Napoleonic Wars to the Wars of Liberation**

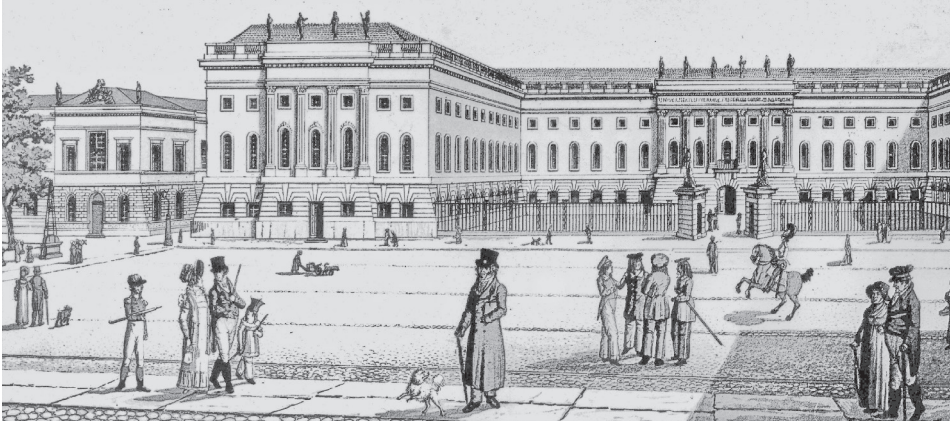
“The King has lost a battle. Now the first duty of the citizen is peace. I require the inhabitants of Berlin to do their duty. Long live the King and his brothers!” This proclamation on 17<sup>th</sup> October 1806 by the Governor of Berlin, Duke Friedrich Wilhelm von Schulenburg, was meant to quell panic amongst the population. In the battle near Jena and Auerstedt the Prussian troops had been beaten by Napoleon’s forces. This defeat marked the end of Frederick the Great’s old Prussia; almost half the land and population were lost and Berlin was occupied by French troops from 1806 until 1808. The occupation began on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1806 when the French marched through the Brandenburg Gate and Napoleon had the Quadriga removed and taken to Paris as spoils of war. Further confiscation of state property, the billeting of French troops, supplies to the army and maintenance costs for the occupying soldiers created a sizeable burden of debt. Unsurprisingly, resistance to the occupation began to grow. A focal point of the opposition was Georg Reimer’s publishing house whose authors included Schleiermacher, Fichte, Arndt, Kleist and the Grimm brothers. Georg Fichte’s “Speeches to the German Nation”, delivered in the winter of 1807/1808, marked the beginning of a new sense of national identity.

In the end the French occupation resulted in some positive developments and reforms were set in motion whose aim was to revitalise the Prussian State. In overall control was Karl Freiherr (Baron) vom und zum Stein (1757–1831) who acted as Prime Minister.

For Berlin the most significant reform was the new urban directive introduced in 1808, which was intended to pave the way for towns and cities to administrate themselves and to involve their citizens in politics. For this purpose a new forum in the shape of a Town Council was introduced, to which councillors were elected by the citizens in free and secret ballots. However, only citizens with an annual income of over 200 Talers were entitled to vote, which at this time was not even seven per cent of the population. Voting rights were therefore still restricted to a small elite circle.

A further important sign of the emergence of a democratic, enlightened society was the foundation in August 1809 of the Friedrich Wilhelms Universität, named after its sponsor. In its first year 52 lecturers taught roughly 250 students in the former Prinz Heinrich Palais opposite the State Opera House. The foundation was the idea of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Director of Culture and Education in the Home Office, and it quickly became an early example of state-run academic life. Soon the university attracted an elite group of German academics, among them Fichte, Friedrich Karl von Savigny, the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher and later the historian Leopold von Ranke and the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.

In this period Luise (1776–1810), Queen of Prussia and wife of Friedrich Wilhelm III, gained considerable popularity with the people. She behaved as a real “First Lady”, kept in



*From 1810, the Palais of Prince Heinrich served as a lecture building for the Friedrich Wilhelm University. Etching by Laurens & Dietrich in the style of Friedrich August Calau, ca. 1820*

close contact with the reformers around von Stein and looked after the concerns of her subjects, who in turn showed her great affection.

When French troops marched in for the second time in March 1812, the Berliners were once more under siege and their city became a centre of the resistance against Napoleon and his control. The defeats which the French army suffered were the starting point for the Wars of Liberation in which a large proportion of the population took up arms in the fight against Napoleon. Out of the 10,000 volunteers from Prussia almost 6,000 came from Berlin. Napoleon's attempts to take control of the city again failed in August 1813 in the Battle of

Großbeeren, south of Berlin. French rule in Germany ended in October of the same year with the Battle of the Nations (Völkerschlacht) near Leipzig.

### **Restoration and Economic Ascendancy**

For a while, however, the hopes of politically progressive forces remained unfulfilled. They had dreamed of a German National State but King Friedrich Wilhelm III did not keep his constitutional promise and instead the citizens experienced a period of restoration with stricter censorship and the persecution of national-liberals.

Prevented from using their energies in the political arena, many citizens pursued cultural or economic goals. If liberal ideas were suppressed in politics they flourished in commercial and economic life. In 1810 the introduction of free trade in Prussia ended the established barriers and had a stimulating effect on Berlin's economic development; by the 1830s industrialisation was in full swing in Prussia and Berlin. The cityscape began to alter radically. Key industries were the textile industry, with cotton printing works, silk manufacturers and production centres for ready-made clothing and those associated with the engineering and metal industries.

Often it was individual entrepreneurs who introduced new industries. In 1837 in North Berlin, in front of the Oranienburger Tor in Chausseestrasse, August Borsig founded a workshop which rapidly rose to become one of the most important engineering factories and subsequently Europe's largest locomotive factory.

The railway soon became the most important driving force in economic development; the demands of increasing traffic could only be met by enlarging the rail network. The