

ROBERT E. NORTON

The Crucible of German Democracy

*Beiträge
zur historischen Theologie
197*

Mohr Siebeck

Beiträge zur historischen Theologie

Herausgegeben von
Albrecht Beutel

197



Robert E. Norton

The Crucible of German Democracy

Ernst Troeltsch and the First World War

Mohr Siebeck

Robert E. Norton, born 1960; B.A. in German from the University of California, Santa Barbara (1982); Ph.D. from Princeton University (1988); since 1998 Professor of German, History, and Philosophy at the University of Notre Dame.

Published with the support of the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, College of Arts and Letters, and the Nanovic Institute for European Studies, University of Notre Dame.

ISBN 978-3-16-159828-9 / eISBN 978-3-16-159829-6

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-159829-6

ISSN 0340-6741 / eISSN 2568-6569 (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2021 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset and printed on non-aging paper by Gulde Druck in Tübingen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Otterweier.

Printed in Germany.

For my children

Grace Evelyn
Millicent Sterling
Frederick Augustus

For this alone is lacking even to God,
to make undone things that have once been done.

Aristotle (quoting Agathon)

Contents

Preface	XIII
Introduction	1
Democracy in Germany	1
<i>Der Kulturkrieg</i>	12
Ideas vs. Spirit	16
The Einstein of Culture	21
<i>Political Ethics and Christianity</i>	32
Chapter One: To Arms! To Arms!	43
A Summer Storm	46
<i>After the Declaration of Mobilization</i>	51
War	66
The War of Words	69
Belgium Burns	76
The Death of Internationalism	82
<i>Our People's Army</i>	89
Chapter Two: Why Do Other Peoples Hate Us?	101
The British Betrayal	105
Exterminating the Germ-Huns	109
The Mobilization of Opinion	112
The Battle of the Marne	116
The Manifesto of the 93	120

What does it Mean to be German?	129
<i>The German Essence</i>	137
War Aims	147
<i>Imperialism</i>	158
Chapter Three: Battleground Berlin	171
<i>Germany and the World War</i>	175
The Spirit of German Culture	179
The Turn Inward	190
Explaining <i>The Culture War</i>	191
Blazing New Trails	203
Delbrück's "Wednesday Evening"	205
Reorientation	218
The New Germany	221
Chapter Four: The Ideas of 1914	237
Caesar Absconditus	238
A General Theory of Cultural Relativism	242
The Importance of Ideas	251
The Free Patriotic Association	252
German Society 1914	257
<i>Die Ideen von 1914</i>	264
The Idea of <i>Mitteleuropa</i>	283
Chapter Five: German Freedom	303
Nemesis U-Boat	304
Introit America	307
Exeunt Tirpitz	313
Rallying Behind Bethmann	320
National Committee for an Honorable Peace	324

Sobriety and Courage	327
The Primacy of Domestic Politics	335
Is there a German Idea of Freedom?	338
The Duumvirate	357
Bread and the Franchise!	360
Finis Bethmann	370
Chapter Six: The Struggle over Democracy	375
A Dispirited 1917	377
Reorientation Redux	378
The Onslaught of Democracy	381
What Does Freedom Mean?	385
Are Germans Free?	387
How Free are the Others?	396
A Democracy of Beggars?	402
The Second July Crisis	411
The Peace Resolution	423
Two Varieties of <i>Vaterland</i>	425
The People's League for Freedom and Fatherland	431
Politics and Ethics	439
Chapter Seven: Between Reaction, Reform, and Revolution	453
The Specter of Civil War	462
A Dispute with Dr. Troeltsch	469
<i>Denunciations of Defeatism</i>	473
A Growing Threat	481
Two Kinds of <i>Realpolitik</i>	487
The End of the Beginning	492
Yet Another Imperial Chancellor	498
The Education of a German Prince	503
<i>Levée en masse</i>	514

Parliamentarization and Peace at Last	525
From <i>Volksbund</i> to <i>Völkerbund</i>	532
Conclusion: Spectator	539
Politician	550
The Murdered Friend	554
<i>Natural Law and Humanity in World Politics</i>	558
Postscript	575
Acknowledgements	577
Bibliography	579
Index of Names	605
Index of Subjects	619

Preface

This book is about how and why Germany became a parliamentary democracy on October 28, 1918. That fact and that date – nearly two weeks before the November Revolution, before the Social Democratic leader Friedrich Ebert assumed the post of the Imperial Chancellorship, and before Wilhelm II abdicated his throne – will come as a surprise to many readers, and that surprise in turn provides perhaps the most compelling rationale for this book.

For a variety of reasons, we have neglected the rise and development of democratic thought in Germany during the First World War. As a consequence, we have lost sight of the many individuals and events discussed here that contributed to the complete transformation of the German political system in the final months of 1918. Although that formal change occurred in some ways unexpectedly, it also took place as a logical result of intentional efforts by a large number of people who had argued and fought for increased democratization in Germany over the previous four years, and in many cases for long before that. During the war, growing numbers of Germans even thought that democracy – for their own country and in general – was inevitable and unstoppable. That was probably too optimistic, but the fact that so many believed it tells us something significant about their outlook and helps to explain their actions. At the same time, of course, there had always been opposition to democracy in Germany, and as the conflict wore on that opposition grew into virulent hostility, only to intensify once the war was lost and the forces of democracy prevailed. But that is the point: democracy *did* prevail, and it did so not in the form of some foreign imposition, and not because there seemed to be no better alternative immediately available, but because it represented the conscious choice of countless Germans themselves who viewed it as providing the best path forward for the future.

In this sensational sequence of events, Ernst Troeltsch, who lived from 1865 to 1923 and over the course of his life came to play a number of prominent roles in his country, occupied a decisive position. Troeltsch was an acclaimed philosopher, historian, theologian, and sociologist, first at Heidelberg and then at Berlin, arguably the two most important universities in Germany at the time. But he was also an active politician and more generally one of the most well-known and respected public figures of his day. Yet he, too, like the democratic movement of

which he was an indispensable part, has been largely forgotten and, like it as well, deserves greater recognition. Troeltsch was by no means the only person in Germany who would advocate for democracy during the war. But given his stature and intellectual authority he was uniquely able to promote it in ways that made it seem both possible and palatable to a large segment of the population, many of whom continued to regard democracy with wariness and suspicion – or with open disdain.

Following an introduction outlining its three principal themes – the general evolution of democratic thought and activity in Germany between 1914 and 1918; the nature and function of the so-called “culture war” during the same period, of which the debate about democracy (both for and against) was a central component; and finally the thought and personality of Ernst Troeltsch himself – the first chapter of the book begins with the events immediately surrounding August 1, 1914, the day mobilization was declared in Germany. Over the next four years, the country and its people would undergo many profound and wrenching changes, ultimately leading to the apparently abrupt transition from a constitutional monarchy to a parliamentary democracy on October 28, 1918. How that tectonic shift came to happen, the convoluted interplay of arguments, decisions, and actions that took place in those intervening years – all of which were the direct product of the war and its multiple pressures – forms the principal subject of the chapters that follow.

Again, Ernst Troeltsch is far from the sole protagonist in this enormous drama and is certainly not the most important one. And to be clear: this book does not offer a conventional biography, tracing the entire span of Troeltsch’s life and thought, nor is it an intellectual biography of him alone. It presents, rather, a kind of intellectual-historical group portrait, depicting Ernst Troeltsch as he interacted with some of the most consequential people and ideas of his time, focusing on the last decade of his life and the role he played in defining and even shaping it. But there were also, as I have said, many others who dedicated their energy – and sometimes their lives – to realizing their vision of a democratic German future, and a large number of them appear in this book as well.

Nevertheless, as one of the most famous intellectuals in the capital of Berlin, and at a time when intellectuals truly mattered, Troeltsch occupied a singular place at the center of a complex nexus of power and influence that gave him privileged access to information few others had and enabled him to apply his extraordinary abilities as few others could to the task of orienting his fellow Germans in a confusing and ever-changing reality. And he did not just comment on, he also actively participated in some of the key political events of the day, giving us, through him, an unusually direct and intimate perspective on those larger developments. As the war persisted and it became possible to speak more freely

about political matters at home, Troeltsch and those who thought like him began to press ever more forcefully for democratic reform and peace. They did not succeed immediately, and their equally determined opponents almost won out. But in the end, and almost unbelievably, the proponents of democracy triumphed – even as Germany itself lost the war.

That mixed legacy served to lay the groundwork for the troubled history of the Weimar Republic. This book, however, is not about that new state but about how the elements that enabled it gradually emerged and coalesced within the old one. Weimar endures as an object of even popular fascination in part because we know that this seemingly improbable experiment in democratic self-governance would not last and that it would fail after only fourteen years of existence, its end hastened by the ceaseless and ever more malevolent assaults by its enemies. In advancing a greater appreciation of the native origins of Germany's first democracy, this book will, I hope, contribute to the on-going revisions in how we judge the Weimar Republic's inherent chances for success and thus participate in the continuing reevaluation of twentieth-century German and European history more broadly. But the primary focus here is on those tumultuous and violent four years between August 1914 and November 1918 in which a German democratic state was originally conceived and then, against all odds, finally realized.

Introduction

Democracy in Germany

Among the received ideas surrounding the fall of the German Empire in 1918 and the subsequent declaration of what became known as the Weimar Republic is the notion that the first German democracy more or less suddenly appeared out of nowhere, emerging unexpectedly from within an otherwise deeply conservative and monarchical state, which made it all but destined to fail. On this reading, the nascent republic was mortally compromised from the outset because there was an insufficient number of actively committed democrats willing or able to defend it against a majority of enemies all too determined to see it destroyed. “The inner weakness and the death of the Weimar democracy,” Kurt Sontheimer concluded in his classic study of 1962, “are inextricably linked with the effectiveness of antidemocratic thought.”¹

The congenital defect of the new state appeared to be two-fold: not only was Weimar under constant inner siege by virulent antirepublican adversaries, it was also, as the sardonic phrase has it, supposedly a “republic without republicans.” There were at best, so the familiar narrative goes, a handful of “rational republicans”² – *Vernunftrepublikaner* – who regarded the new state with cool pragmatism as a necessary but only “provisional roof,”³ to use Heinrich August Wink-

¹ Kurt Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1964), 11.

² This term was coined by the historian Friedrich Meinecke, who wrote in November 1918: “I remain, facing the past, a heartfelt monarchist, and will be, facing the future, a rational republican.” Friedrich Meinecke, “Verfassung und Verwaltung der deutschen Republik,” in *Politische Schriften und Reden, Werke*, ed. Georg Kotowski (Darmstadt: Siegfried Toeche-Mittler Verlag, 1958), 2, 281. See the pioneering essay on this subject by Harm Klueting, “‘Vernunftrepublikanismus’ und ‘Vertrauensdiktatur.’ Friedrich Meinecke in der Weimarer Republik,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 242 (1986), 69–98. On the entire phenomenon see *Vernunftrepublikanismus in der Weimarer Republik. Politik, Literatur, Wissenschaft*, ed. Andreas Wirsching and Jürgen Eder (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008).

³ Heinrich August Winkler, “Der deutsche Sonderweg: Eine Nachlese,” *Merkur* 35/8 (1981), 801.

ler's evocative metaphor, and who were themselves all too eager to replace it at the first opportunity with a more robust and durable alternative. Such apparently grudging acceptance among an elite minority seemed debilitating enough. But even worse were the open scorn and active hostility directed toward the Republic by many others besides. Some detested it as the bastard child of both a shameful defeat and the ignominious end to the monarchy. Others viewed democracy in itself as fundamentally alien to German tradition and culture. The eventual collapse of the Weimar Republic, repudiated and undermined by the very people it was supposed to represent, thus seemed practically guaranteed. The unsteady construction of the reviled state, lacking a deep foundation in either popular sentiment or historical experience, eventually and seemingly inevitably fell in on itself, leaving a political vacuum that others quickly rushed in to fill.⁴

While much of the foregoing account is undeniably true – during the 1920s there were many talented and resourceful antagonists of democracy in Germany, perhaps none so generously equipped with cunning prowess and prosecutorial zeal as Carl Schmitt – it tells only part of the story. There were also considerable numbers of politicians, political theorists, and legal scholars, in addition to other intellectuals from a variety of backgrounds – not to speak of the countless ordinary citizens whose thoughts and actions went unrecorded – who throughout the decade after the war devoted themselves to upholding both the idea and the reality of democracy in Germany and in the rest of Europe. From the prominent Austrian jurist Hans Kelsen, who in 1920 published *On the Essence and Value of Democracy*,⁵ acclaimed as one of “the great foundational writings on democracy ever”⁶ written; to the now neglected but once widely esteemed German political economist Moritz Julius Bonn, who wrote perceptively about, and proposed solutions to, *The Crisis of European Democracy* in 1925;⁷ to the social democratic

⁴ The idea that a “power vacuum” led to the demise of the Weimar Republic is the central thesis of the influential book by Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik. Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (Stuttgart: Ring-Verlag, 1955).

⁵ Hans Kelsen, *Vom Wesen und Wert der Demokratie* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1920); translated as *The Essence and Value of Democracy*, eds. Nadia Urbinati and Carlo Invernizzi Accetti; trans. Brian Graf (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013). Cf. also Horst Dreier, *Rechtslehre, Staatssoziologie und Demokratietheorie bei Hans Kelsen* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1986). See also the collection of all of Kelsen's essays on democracy in German and in English with an informative introduction by the editors: Hans Kelsen, *Verteidigung der Demokratie*, eds. Matthias Jestaedt and Oliver Lepsius (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

⁶ Katrin Groh, *Demokratische Staatsrechtslehrer in der Weimarer Republik. Von der konstitutionellen Staatslehre zur Theorie des modernen demokratischen Verfassungsstaats* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 107.

⁷ Moritz Julius Bonn, *The Crisis of European Democracy* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1925); there quickly followed a German version, *Die Krisis der europäischen Demokratie* (Munich: Meyer & Jessen, 1925). For more on Bonn and his related writings, see Moritz Julius Bonn, *Zur*

philosopher and legal theorist Hermann Heller, who was arguably the most brilliant political thinker on the left during the entire Weimar period and who became a fierce adversary of none other than Carl Schmitt: these and other able advocates of the Republic committed themselves in word and in deed to democracy by justifying its legitimacy and buttressing its institutions.⁸ Leading scholars of constitutional law such as Gerhard Anschütz, Richard Thoma, Hugo Preuß, and Gustav Radbruch were respected and influential voices who in their teaching and their publications steadfastly promoted democratic principles and defended the new German state founded on them. And some, such as Radbruch and Preuß, actively sought to put those ideas into practice by serving in governmental politics.⁹

What is more, many observers on both the left and the right during the Weimar period confidently assumed – or grimly accepted – that democracy in Germany, as throughout the West, had become so firmly entrenched as to be all but ineradicable. In 1926, Heller asserted that, despite the various and acute challenges facing it,

democracy today is by far the predominant form of governmental authority; our democratic way of thinking, the result of a development of ideas over many hundreds of years, is today, despite many antidemocratic sentiments, inextricably linked with the general context of all of our epistemological, metaphysical, ethical, political, and legal notions.¹⁰

Even Schmitt, in his provocative attempt to dissociate liberalism from democracy in his strident essay on *The Intellectual-Historical Condition of Modern Parliamentarianism*, also of 1926, conceded, if with evident reluctance:

The history of political ideas and theories of the state in the nineteenth century can be summarized by a simple slogan: the triumphal march of democracy. No state within the Western European cultural sphere has withstood the spread of democratic ideas and institutions. Even where strong social forces resisted, as in the Prussian monarchy, they still lacked an intellectual energy going beyond their particular sphere that could have conquered the democratic faith. Progress was simply synonymous with the expansion of democracy, antidemocratic resistance

Krise der Demokratie: Politische Schriften in der Weimarer Republik, 1919–1932, ed. Jens Hacke (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015). See also by Jens Hacke, “Moritz Julius Bonn – ein vergessener Verteidiger der Vernunft. Zum Liberalismus in der Krise der Zwischenkriegszeit,” *Mittelweg* 36: *Zeitschrift des Hamburger Instituts für Sozialforschung* 6 (2010), 26–59.

⁸ See David Dyzenhaus, *Legality and Legitimacy: Carl Schmitt, Hans Kelsen and Hermann Heller in Weimar* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997). In his preface, Dyzenhaus writes: “Heller is hardly known outside of Germany. This is unfortunate for, as I shall argue, his social democratic theory of the legitimacy of the legal order is superior to Schmitt’s and Kelsen’s positions;” xi.

⁹ Cf. Martin D. Klein, *Demokratisches Denken bei Gustav Radbruch* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007).

¹⁰ Hermann Heller, *Die politischen Ideenkreise der Gegenwart* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1926), 48. Cf. Marcus Llanque, ed. *Souveräne Demokratie und soziale Homogenität. Das politische Denken Hermann Hellers* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010).

merely a defensive posture, an apology for historically antiquated artifacts and the struggle of the old with the new. [...] Ranke called the idea of popular sovereignty the most powerful idea of the time and its conflict with the principle of monarchy the leading tendency of the century. Since then, that conflict has, for now, ended with the victory of democracy.¹¹

And yet, because of the virtually single-minded focus on the forces that eventually undid the Weimar Republic, the debates about and, crucially, *for* democracy during that period, as well as the particular character of Weimar democracy itself as a political and legal reality, had long been all but ignored.¹² Strikingly, as recently as the year 2000, the editor of a collection of essays on the subject stated that, as a result of this nearly universal neglect, “we still know almost nothing about democratic thought in the Republic.”¹³ A decade on, in 2010, it still had to be said about the 1920s in Germany that “democratic thought, particularly that of constitutional law professors, has so far been researched only in a fragmentary manner.”¹⁴

It will come as no surprise, then, that a similar state of affairs exists with respect to our general awareness of the immediate incubator of Weimar democracy, namely the domestic political developments that took place in Germany during the First World War itself. But the fact is that the Weimar Republic did not just suddenly emerge *ex nihilo* or solely in response to the unprecedented crisis that engulfed the stunned and reeling nation following the traumatic loss of both the war and the Emperor. Rather, throughout the conflict, and especially during its middle years, there had been a vigorous and constantly evolving debate among preeminent German politicians and other public figures – including many university professors, journalists, writers, and unaffiliated intellectuals – about their

¹¹ Carl Schmitt, *Die geistesgeschichtliche Lage des heutigen Parlamentarismus*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1926), 30–31; translated into English as *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*, trans. Ellen Kennedy (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985).

¹² One important early exception is the excellent study by Herbert Döring, *Der Weimarer Kreis. Studien zum politischen Bewußtsein verfassungstreuer Hochschullehrer in der Weimarer Republik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1975). And the most recent significant corrective is by Jens Hacke, *Existenzkrise der Demokratie. Zur politischen Theorie des Liberalismus in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2018).

¹³ Christoph Gusy, ed. *Demokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2000), 12. Heiko Bollmeyer, *Der steinige Weg zur Demokratie. Die Weimarer Nationalversammlung zwischen Kaiserreich und Republik* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2007), 28, also writes that, before his own book, “the work of the Weimar National Assembly has never previously been treated to a systematic investigation.”

¹⁴ Groh, 1. It has recently been argued that, apart from its cultural aspects, the Weimar Republic as a whole “has not received the attention it deserves” from scholars; see Michael Dreyer, Andreas Braune, “Weimar als Herausforderung. Zum Umgang mit einer schwierigen Republik,” in *Weimar als Herausforderung. Die Weimarer Republik und die Demokratie im 21. Jahrhundert*, eds. Michael Dreyer and Andreas Braune (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2016), xii.

country's political future. And for a significant portion of the participants in these debates, that future was, and had to be, democratic. The end of the war and the abdication of the Kaiser finally offered the opportunity to turn theory into practice. And even though the conditions were obviously far from ideal, it was in the eyes of many at least the culmination of a development that was on balance positive and in any case necessary – and above all unavoidable.

On December 16, 1918, Professor Ernst Troeltsch announced in a lecture to the Democratic Student Union of Berlin: “Overnight we have become the most radical democracy in Europe.”¹⁵ After having presumably got his listeners' attention by that bold declaration, Troeltsch took care to emphasize, however, that

if one considers it more carefully, it did not in fact happen quite over night. Democracy is the natural consequence of modern population density, connected with the education of the people necessary for its sustenance, industrialization, mobilization, militarization, and politicization.¹⁶

It was these large and long-term social, economic, and political processes, Troeltsch argued, that had created the conditions that made democracy not just possible but also inevitable. Democracy was not one single thing or the result of a single event, he insisted, but an accumulation of events and experiences over time that had contributed to an enormous, and ongoing, process of social transformation. Moreover, that process was in Troeltsch's view consistent, or even synonymous, with modernity itself and as such was a welcome but in any event inexorable force.

Nevertheless, the intellectual developments that took place between 1914 and 1918 leading up to Troeltsch's conclusion and everything it implies had long been overlooked. Marcus Llanque, the author of a pioneering work on democratic thought in Germany during the war, stated in 2000 that, “the theoretical reflections on democracy during the First World War had not yet been the subject of an independent inquiry” prior to his book.¹⁷ Yet there were many such “theoretical reflections on democracy” during the entire period that merit close attention. To mention only the most well-known example: at the end of 1917 and in early 1918, as the war still raged on and with no clear end in sight, no one less than Max Weber wrote two weighty treatises, “Voting Rights and Democracy in Ger-

¹⁵ Ernst Troeltsch, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Schriften zur Politik und Kulturphilosophie (1918–1923)*, vol. 15, ed. Gangolf Hübinger and Johannes Mikuteit (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 211. This edition will henceforth be referred to in the notes as *KGA*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Marcus Llanque, *Demokratisches Denken im Krieg. Die deutsche Debatte im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Akademie, 2000), 14.

many”¹⁸ and “Parliament and Government in the Reordered Germany,”¹⁹ that together articulated his theory, and expressly announced his endorsement, of parliamentary democracy.

And while these famous essays have certainly not been ignored by scholars, Weber was scarcely alone. Hugo Preuß, who would become the author of the Weimar constitution, published as early as mid-1915 *The German People and Politics* (with a second edition of 8,000 copies coming out the following year), which was quickly recognized as one of the most momentous publications of the entire war.²⁰ Because German censorship officially forbade and actively suppressed public discussion of internal politics until the end of 1916, Preuß was not yet able to advocate openly for democratic reform in his book, and he even conspicuously avoided using the word “democracy” itself. He did, however, advance a bracing critique of the existing German state, and in so doing implicitly created a space for promoting such reform, by characterizing the Imperial Reich as an *Obrigkeitsstaat*, a word Preuß made famous and is usually rendered in English, somewhat misleadingly, as “autocratic state,” although “authoritarian state” would be preferable and more accurate.²¹ By imposing rule by and from above – that is, through the *Obrigkeit* –, the very structure of the German state, Preuß argued, impeded Germany’s broad-based political and social development from below – that is to say, by the people themselves. In a review of Preuß’s book, the liberal constitutional scholar Gerhard Anschütz noted that, “to be sure, the author’s terminology avoids, apparently intentionally, the word democracy.” But Anschütz felt that Preuß had nevertheless made it clear, and deplored the fact, that the existing German state stood as “an antidemocratic island in the ocean of a world that is becoming more and more democratic.”²²

Hugo Preuß’s book – which also counted Ernst Troeltsch among its many admirers – was an exceptionally early, but hardly the sole contribution to the debate

¹⁸ Max Weber, “Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland,” in *Gesammelte politische Schriften*, ed. Johannes Winckelmann, intro. Theodor Heuss (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1958), 233–79.

¹⁹ Weber, “Parlament und Regierung im neugeordneten Deutschland,” *ibid.*, 294–431.

²⁰ Hugo Preuß, *Das deutsche Volk und die Politik* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1915). Llanque, *Demokratisches Denken*, 68, rightly asserts that the book “belongs among the outstanding publications of the World War.”

²¹ The word achieved widespread familiarity through a newspaper article Preuß published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* on November 14, 1918: “Volksstaat oder verkehrter Obrigkeitsstaat?” Reprinted in Hugo Preuß, *Staat, Recht und Freiheit. Aus 40 Jahren deutscher Politik und Geschichte*, with a foreword by Theodor Heuss (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1926), 365–68.

²² Gerhard Anschütz, review of Hugo Preuß, *Das deutsche Volk und die Politik*, in *Preußische Jahrbücher* 164 (1916), 341.

about the need for democratic liberalization and political reform in Germany. And even those at the time who were more skeptical, or merely cautious, about those larger tendencies and who reserved judgment about whether they were in themselves a good thing or not, nevertheless increasingly framed the discussion of Germany's political future around the relative merits or viability of democracy in general in ways that sought to take into account the distinctive historical and cultural identity of Germany. In late 1916, the moderate historian Friedrich Meinecke wrote an essay called "The Reform of the Prussian Franchise" that provides a good example of how some tried to accommodate the incursion of democracy in Germany with existing social and political realities:

We are also not out to win the satisfaction and complete agreement with democracy and social democracy. We are not arguing from the standpoint of democratic ideals, but rather from that of purely state interests. Germany is simply not made for pure democracy. Within its bourgeois classes and in the entire rural population the monarchical tradition is rooted so deeply that reasonable and pragmatic social democrats have now already begun to reckon with it and will know how to find their way to the grand duke as well as to the emperor. Despite all democratic mass movements, the aristocratic view of life is also so integral to the German sensibility, so supported not only by our social structure and custom, but also by the spirit emanating from our highest culture, culminating in Goethe, that, if one would only initiate our democracy properly and not disturb its natural progression, it would also give birth to a new aristocracy and thus organically grow into the old society and our national cultural context.²³

Even for Meinecke, who is typically held up as the very model of the reluctant, "rational" republican, the question was clearly not *if* but rather *how* Germany would become more democratic.²⁴ Or, as Gustaf Steffen, a Swedish social democratic professor of law and member of the Swedish parliament who was sympathetic to the German cause, pithily put it in his book of 1916, *Democracy and the World War*: "There must be democracy. But *how* should democracy be?"²⁵

²³ Friedrich Meinecke, "Die Reform des preußischen Wahlrechts," in *Politische Schriften*, 152.

²⁴ See the richly detailed corrective to the conventional view of Meinecke by Stefan Meinecke, *Friedrich Meinecke. Persönlichkeit und politisches Denken bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995). See also Nikolai Wehrs, "Demokratie durch Diktatur? Meinecke als Vernunftrepublikaner in der Weimarer Republik," in *Friedrich Meinecke in seiner Zeit. Studien zu Leben und Werk*, eds. Gisela Bock and Daniel Schönplugg (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006), 95–118.

²⁵ Gustav F. Steffen, *Demokratie und Weltkrieg* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1916); cited by Johannes Unold, "Deutscher Bürgerstaat," *Deutschlands Erneuerung. Monatsschrift für das deutsche Volk* 11 (1918), 49. Two years before the war began, Steffen had also published a probing historical and analytical work on *Das Problem der Demokratie* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1912). Interestingly, Troeltsch, who wrote in 1915 that he knew only yet another book by Gustav Steffen, *Die Demokratie in England. Einige Beobachtungen im neuen Jahrhundert und*

This is all not to deny that there were many outspoken and resolute opponents of democracy in Germany who, as the war progressed, grew increasingly alarmed at the widening acceptance of the idea that an expanding democratization would, and indeed must, occur in Germany no matter the outcome of the war. Speaking for countless others of similar mind, Kuno Count von Westarp, who was “probably the most influential conservative party politician in Germany during the first third of the twentieth century,”²⁶ published an essay in 1916 in which he advocated, as its title bluntly states, “Order and Subordination – not Democratic Egalitarianism.”²⁷ Twenty years later, in his authoritative history of conservative politics in Germany just before and during the war, Westarp justified his categorical rejection of democracy by stating that he harbored principled reservations toward the “opinion,” as he took care to call it, that

the political institutions in our Western neighbors and in the United States were the result of an irreversible development of humanity and that the essence of all progress consisted in ever greater political freedom, which was understood as an unlimited participation of the masses in governing and constraining the state’s power with regard to all political endeavors.²⁸

To Westarp, who viewed democracy less as a benefit and more as a threat to humanity, resisting its encroachment was not just a political necessity, it was an ethical obligation. “To the statesman who did not acknowledge democratic development even in itself as legitimate,” he explained, “but viewed it as pernicious, resistance appeared as a duty and by no means as futile, if it were mounted against the very first step and carried out with resolve.”²⁹

Even taking into account the uncompromising opposition of Westarp and innumerable others like him, the larger point is that, even though there was often fierce disagreement about the meaning and value of democracy, and despite many challenges, setbacks, and reversals, some of the most intense political debates in Germany from 1915 onwards revolved around democracy itself: what it was or was not, how to promote and expand it, or how to check and contain it. That this fact has largely been forgotten says less about the importance or quality

ein Renaissanceepilog (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1911), also said “I don’t rate him all that highly.” Cf. Ernst Troeltsch to Eugen Diederichs, 10 July, 1915; in *KGA* 21, 109.

²⁶ “*Ich bin der letzte Preuße.*” *Der politische Lebensweg des konservativen Politikers Kuno Graf von Westarp (1864–1945)*, Larry Eugene Jones and Wolfram Pyta, eds. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), 1. The editors note, however, that “there is no comprehensive study of his political life despite the abundance of available sources;” *ibid.*

²⁷ Kuno Graf von Westarp, “Ordnung und Unterordnung – nicht demokratische Gleichmacherei,” *Kreuzzeitung*, 23 January, 1916. Republished in *Preussen und die Folgen*, ed. Achim von Borries (Berlin: J. H. W. Dietz, 1981), 88.

²⁸ Kuno Graf von Westarp, *Konservative Politik im letzten Jahrzehnt des Kaiserreiches*, Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1935), 2, 217.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

of those contemporary discussions and struggles themselves than it does about our own subsequent failure, for whatever assorted reasons, to perceive their significance or even their very existence.

One final illustration of the many complexities and ambivalences involved: no one could suspect the eminent historian and sociologist Otto Hintze – who has been described as “methodologically the most advanced, if not overall the most important German historian of the late Empire”³⁰ – of harboring insufficient loyalty to the German state. A proud and unapologetic Prussian, Hintze, with a face bearing the deep scars giving testimony to his days as a member of a dueling student fraternity, was outwardly and inwardly unmistakably a figure of the establishment. In 1910, Professor Hintze had been contracted by the highest authorities to write the official history of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the ruling family of Prussia and after 1871 of the united German Empire. Five years later, in 1915, the House of Hohenzollern would celebrate the 500-year anniversary of its reign and wanted its triumphant story properly told. In preparation for the commissioned book, Hintze was even granted an hour-long audience with His Imperial and Royal Majesty, King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany, Wilhelm II, an event that Hintze fondly recalled until the end of his life.³¹ Clearly, the resultant portrait did not displease its subject. When *The Hohenzollern and Their Creation. Five Hundred Years of Patriotic History*³² appeared on schedule, it was distributed free of charge to all German schools, an act of largesse that was made possible by a generous subvention from the Prussian government.³³ As the book makes clear over the course of its more than seven hundred pages, Hintze, although he privately harbored reservations about the person of the reigning monarch, could not conceive of a Germany without the monarchy.

Nevertheless, as early as 1911, Otto Hintze was already entertaining the thought that “perhaps the gradual democratization of political life is an unavoidable, even if undesirable, fate of the modern world, but it is not a blessing and not

³⁰ Jürgen Kocka, “Otto Hintze,” in *Deutsche Historiker*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 3, 41. See also the collection of essays in *Otto Hintze und die moderne Geschichtswissenschaft. Ein Tagungsbericht*, eds. Otto Büsch and Michael Erbe (Berlin: Colloquium, 1983).

³¹ See Wolfgang Neugebauer, *Otto Hintze. Denkräume und Sozialwelten eines Historikers in der Globalisierung, 1861–1940* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), 418. See also Meinecke, *Autobiographische Schriften, Werke* (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler, 1969), 8, 235.

³² Otto Hintze, *Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk. Fünfhundert Jahre vaterländischer Geschichte* (Berlin: Paul Parey, 1915). Dietrich Gerhard, “Otto Hintze: His Work and His Significance in Historiography,” *Central European History* 3 (1970), 18, said this work “is still regarded as the most substantial history of Prussia and, in spite of its occasion, as sober and balanced.”

³³ Kocka, “Otto Hintze,” 44.

a goal to aspire to, above all when it occurs at too rapid a tempo.”³⁴ Just before the war in 1914, Hintze’s stance had moved again, ever so slightly, toward a resigned if still reluctant acceptance of such “democratization” as an undeniable reality: “Even if one admits that the tendency toward the progressive democratization of public life is present, there is hardly any question that an unbridled spread of this tendency would not be seen as a blessing.”³⁵

By early 1917, some equivocation about the desirability of democracy in principle still remained in Hintze’s mind. But he had by then recognized that fighting against it would be self-defeating, whereas providing it with positive regulation might contain or correct some of its excesses. As he wrote in an essay that year on “The Democratization of the Prussian Constitution”: “The democratic movement is here and is acting with fundamental force; it would be foolish to want to resist it at all costs. One doesn’t need to promote it deliberately, but one must try to guide it in the right direction.”³⁶ At around the same time, while commenting “On the Reform of the Prussian Franchise,” Hintze came to this remarkable conclusion:

We are living in extraordinary times and have to acquaint ourselves with the thought that a decisive step toward the democratization of our political and social life has become an inevitable necessity. It does not matter if one greets that fact with jubilation or accepts it with silent gravity as a perhaps fateful imperative of the hour. We are about to enter into a new chapter of our history. Within the Empire, the European continent, indeed the world, we cannot alone resist the great momentum of our time toward progressive democratization. We would thereby withdraw into a dangerous isolation from the peoples of the earth.³⁷

The political realism of Hintze’s assessment is impressive, as is the intellectual fairness it displays, leaving room as it does for differences of opinion about whether democracy as such was a positive or negative ideal. But the fact stands that, almost two years before the Weimar Republic was founded or could even be imagined as a remote possibility, Otto Hintze, the very incarnation of a loyal Prussian subject, left no doubt that, to his mind, there was no alternative for Germany but to join the world in following the democratic path.

³⁴ Otto Hintze, “Das monarchische Prinzip und die konstitutionelle Verfassung,” in *Staat und Verfassung. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur allgemeinen Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. Gerhard Oestreich (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 379. On these and the following passages, see Neugebauer, 446–49.

³⁵ Otto Hintze, “Das Verfassungsleben der heutigen Kulturstaaten,” in *Staat und Verfassung*, 400.

³⁶ Otto Hintze, “Die Demokratisierung der preußischen Verfassung,” *Europäische Staats- und Wirtschaftszeitung* 2/18 (1917), 459.

³⁷ Otto Hintze, “Zur Reform des preußischen Wahlrechts,” *Europäische Staats- und Wirtschaftszeitung* 2/17 (1917), 435.

Index of Names

- Adler, Max 347
Adorno, Theodor W. 25
Albert, Heinrich 187
Albert I, King of Belgium 68
Albrecht, Johann 427, 469
Althoff, Friedrich 83
Althusius, Johannes 565
Angell, Norman 135
Anschütz, Gerhard
– annexation and 211
– *Burgfrieden* and 226
– censorship and 119
– German democracy and 3, 6, 333
– outbreak of war and 67
– People's League and 434
– on possibility of WWI 45–46
– on Prussian franchise 223–226, 227–228, 333
– works
– – *Labor Force in the New Germany* contribution 217, 333
– – “Thoughts on Future Reforms of the State” (1915) 223–226, 227–228
- Arndt, Ernst Moritz 58–60
Asquith, Herbert Henry 305, 368
Auerbach, Erich 25
- Ballin, Albert 369
Balzac, Honoré de 551
Barker, Ernest 31
Barth, Karl 26, 26n72
Bauer, Gustav 434
Bauer, Max 417, 418–419, 457–458
Baumeister, Alfred 523
Bäumer, Gertrud 435, 447, 559
Baumgarten, Otto 105–106, 118, 558
Becker, Carl Heinrich 559
Beerfelde, Hans-Georg von 505–508
- Below, children of 483
Below, Georg von
– on authoritarian state 482–483
– H. Delbrück and 485n118
– Fatherland Party and 426
– on Prussian franchise 481, 482
– Troeltsch and 481–485
– works
– – review of *Germany and the World War* 186
– – review of *Labor Force in the New Germany* 482, 482n103
– – “The Stance of University Professors toward Questions of the War” 484
- Below, Maria (Minnie) (née von der Goltz) 483, 484
Benjamin, Walter 25
Bergson, Henri 101, 182, 244
Berlepsch, Hans Hermann von 226
Bernstein, Eduard 161, 233, 234
Bernstorff, Johann Heinrich von 373–374
Bethmann Hollweg, Friedrich von 124
Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von.
 See also Burgfrieden; Prussian franchise; reorientation (reform)
– on annexation 153–158, 207–208, 210, 212n150, 215, 220, 286–288, 293, 324
– on atrocities 124
– Battle of the Marne and 117
– *Burgfrieden* and 149, 151, 156, 158, 210–211, 219, 221, 318, 320, 321, 332, 363, 371
– Central European block and 283–287, 288–294, 294n225, 297n239, 297–298, 313
– death and reputation of 370–374
– on defensive war 70, 73–74
– domestic crisis of 1916–1917 and 303–304, 320–326, 358–374

- economic war aims and 287
- on freedom 228
- on German atrocities 124
- German dominance and 299–300
- Goschen and 75–76
- Harnack and 413
- imperialism and 166–167
- industrialists/conservatives and 220
- Industrialists’ Petition and 208
- “Intellectuals’ Petition” and 208–209
- on invasion of Belgium 73–76, 76n120, 110
- Kapp and 317–319
- Meineke and 303, 373
- military leadership and 358–360, 372–373
- National Committee for an Honorable Peace and 324, 325n106
- opposition to 303–304, 326, 335, 380, 415, 421–422, 423, 426, 428, 463
- Pan-Germans and 150, 158, 158n227, 163n247, 210–211, 215–216, 323–324, 326, 370
- peace and 76, 157, 315–316, 364, 367–369, 375–376
- People’s League and 433
- Prussian franchise and 363–365, 367, 371, 379–380, 380n18, 380–381, 381n2, 381n21, 393, 448
- public opinion and 210–211, 317–318, 321, 369, 371
- reorientation and 150, 218, 219, 220, 224, 228, 362–368, 379–381, 402, 414n171, 415
- resignation of 423, 468, 508
- rights and 374
- Seeberg Address and 209, 210–211, 215–216, 303–304, 321
- September Program and 287
- Social Democrats and 219–220
- Solf and 258
- speeches
 - – on domestic opponents (*Reichstag*) (1916) 323–324
 - – peace negotiations message (*Reichstag*) (1916) 367–368
 - – to *Reichstag* (March 1917) 379–380
 - – on reorientation (*Reichstag*) (1916) 364
 - – on submarine warfare (*Reichstag*) (1916) 315–316
- submarine warfare and 306–307, 309–310, 313–316, 321, 343, 358–359, 372, 372n284, 372–373
- supporters of 303, 320–326, 332–333, 334–335, 358, 362–363, 371–372, 385, 415, 459
- Tirpitz and 74, 76n120, 314, 463
- Troeltsch and 28, 327–333, 330n119, 334, 370–372, 373, 422–423, 423n212, 441, 551
- war aims and 149, 156–157
- on Wilhelm II’s mental health (August 1914) 237–238
- Bismarck, Otto von 46, 487
- Bode, Wilhelm von 84
- Bodin, Jean 565
- Boehm, Max Hildebert 376
- Bonn, Moritz Julius 2n7, 2–3, 559
- Borchardt, Rudolf 340
- Borsig, Ernst 252
- Bosch, Robert 28, 258
- Bottomley, Horatio 111
- Bousset, Wilhelm 174
- Braband, Carl 67
- Braun, Otto 536
- Brecht, Arnold 559
- Brentano, Lujo 84, 118–120, 121, 128, 215, 297, 377, 434
- Brockdorff-Rantzau, Ulrich von 498, 498n169
- Bruck, Moeller van den 376
- Bruendel, Steffen 15–16, 439
- Buch, Leopold von 366
- Buchwald, Erich 121
- Bülow, Bernard von 28, 237, 301
- Bülow, Karl Ulrich von 81, 81n141
- Bülow, Maria Princess von 81
- Butler, Nicholas Murray 126

- Capelle, Eduard von 263, 307, 469
- Capus, Alfred 126
- Cassirer, Ernst 23
- Cecil, Eustace 499
- Chamberlin, Houston Stewart 501
- Churchill, Winston 112, 305
- Claß, Heinrich. *See also* Industrialists’ Petition; Pan-German League

- annexation and 153–158, 207–208, 220, 286–288
- Anti-semitism and 156
- British and German culture compared by 107
- *Burgfrieden* and 154n210, 156, 157–158, 209–210, 270–271
- negotiated peace and 326
- peace and 150, 153–154, 207
- Rohrbach and 163n247
- Troeltsch compared 168–169, 327
- works
 - – *Position Paper on German War Aims* 151–159, 168–169, 207, 208, 209, 220, 270, 286
 - – *Wenn ich der Kaiser wär*. *Politische Wahrheiten und Notwendigkeiten* 107n23
- Clemenceau, Georges 126
- Cohen, Hermann 23
- Cornicelius, Max 83–84
- Cramb, John Adam 185
- Curtius, Ernst Robert 25, 104n10
- Czernin, Ottokar 239

- Dante Alighieri 203
- Darwin, Charles 106, 160, 271, 570
- Delbrück, Clemens von 117, 220, 285, 287, 288–289, 433
- Delbrück, Hans. *See also* “Berlin Declaration”; Delbrück-Dernburg Petition; *Preußische Jahrbücher*; Wednesday Evening (*Mittwochabend*) circle (H. Delbrück)
 - on annexation 152–153
 - Below and 485n118
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 258, 335
 - Bethmann Hollweg and submarine warfare and 321, 373
 - *Burgfrieden* and 153, 220, 255, 335
 - on end of monarchy 541
 - Free Patriotic Association and 252, 255–256
 - liberal conservatism and 206
 - Max von Baden and 502, 503
 - on military leadership 359–360
 - Pan-German League and 151–153, 158
 - People’s League and 434
 - on Prussian franchise 397
 - reorientation and 220, 349–350
 - Rohrbach and 163, 163n249
 - Seeberg and 210
 - speeches
 - – against Industrialists’ Petition 213–214
 - Troeltsch and 27, 171, 540
 - Weber and 311–312
 - works
 - – “Die Alldeutschen” 151n194
 - – “The Future Peace” 152–153, 162
 - – “The German Military System” 177
 - – *Government and the Will of the People* 349–350
 - – review of *Germany and the World War* 186
 - – review of *Labor Force in the New Germany* 226
- Dernburg, Bernhard 212–213, 434, 461, 533n319, 533–534. *See also* Delbrück-Dernburg Petition
- Deutelmoser, Erhard 126–127, 375–376, 523n271
- Diederichs, Eugen 347
- Diels, Hermann 84
- Dilthey, Wilhelm 142, 171
- Doehring, Bruno 51
- Dove, Heinrich Wilhelm 212
- Drescher, Hans-Georg 26, 41n127, 55n45, 65n71, 95n194, 148n181, 340n149, 423n212
- Draws, Wilhelm 531, 533
- Droysen, Johann Gustav 398

- Ebert, Friedrich XIII, 416, 536, 537, 540, 559
- Einstein, Albert 25, 214, 248, 467–468
- Eisenhart-Rothe, Ernst von 496
- Eisner, Kurt 540, 554
- Emmich, Otto von 68
- Erzberger, Matthias. *See also* National Committee for an Honorable Peace; Peace Resolution (*Friedensresolution*) (Erzberger) (1917)
 - on annexation 286
 - assassination of 485
 - on Belgium 286, 286n198
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 158, 320–321, 423

- league of nations and 533n317
- naval expansion propaganda and 113–114
- on peace 419–422, 423, 424, 429
- on public opinion 418–419
- speeches
 - before *Reichstag* (1918) 469
 - to *Reichstag* (July 6, 1917) 419–420, 424
- on submarine warfare 320–321, 418–420, 423, 424
- on Tirpitz and Capelle 469
- on Wilhelm II 96
- works
 - *Der Völkerbund. Der Weg zum Weltfrieden* 533n317
- Esebeck, Baron von 237
- Eucken, Rudolf 28, 30, 84, 244, 552

- Falkenhayn, Erich von. *See also* Battle of Verdun (1916)
 - on Battle of the Marne 117
 - Central European block and 289, 291–294, 294n225, 298, 339
 - dismissal of 339, 358–359
 - munitions report of 132
 - submarine warfare and 308–309, 310
 - Western Front and 359
 - Wilhelm II and 239
 - Wolff on 360
- Fegter, Jan 67
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 61, 203, 275
- Fischer, Fritz 14–15, 19, 148, 148nn181,182, 283n182, 286n198
- Fischer, Kuno 27
- Flasch, Kurt 13, 13n47, 64n69, 65n71, 148n181, 163n247, 340n149
- Fort, Gertrud von le 173, 552, 555, 573
- Francke, Ernst 433n241, 434, 518–519, 520, 534–535
- Franz Ferdinand, Archduke and wife Sophie 43, 44–45
- Frederick II (the Great) 46, 57, 93, 94, 145, 174, 531
- Freud, Sigmund 65
- Friedländer, Max 241
- Friedrich II, Grand Duke of Baden 52, 138
- Fulda, Ludwig 121–122

- Gebtsattel, Konstantin von 216, 326.
 - See also* Pan-German League
- Gentzmer, Felix 212–213
- Geyer, Michael 516n250
- Gierke, Otto von 84, 552
- Giesberts, Johannes 431n238, 436–438
- Gleichen-Russwurm, Heinrich von 517–518
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 7, 123, 322, 327, 353
- Goltz, Colmar von der 54n41
- Goschen, Edward 74–76
- Gothein, Eberhard 12, 27, 52, 52n35, 60, 61, 64, 173
- Grabowsky, Adolf 334n129, 431, 431n218, 439–440, 440n268, 440–441, 451–452, 487
- Graupner, Christoph 241–242
- Grotius, Hugo 565
- Grotjahn, Alfred 455, 456, 456n13, 459
- Gutmann, Herbert 28
- Gwinner, Arthur von 252

- Haas, Ludwig 362
- Haase, Hugo 72, 233, 234
- Hacke, Jens 4n12, 544n12
- Haeckel, Ernst 106, 109, 120, 126
- Hagenlücke, Heinz 433n242, 440n271, 443n285, 447n297
- Haig, Douglas 453
- Hamilton, Alexander 399–400
- Hammann, Otto 125, 224
- Hampe, Karl 11n41, 330n119, 372n284, 377–378, 455, 456n13, 459, 466
- Hannover, Ernst August von 469
- Harnack, Adolf von
 - on annexation 336
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 321–322, 373, 413
 - constitutional reform and 336–337
 - on equal franchise 336–338
 - on feared Allied invasion (1918) 517
 - Free Patriotic Association and 252
 - on German democracy 414–415
 - on German freedom 336, 385
 - on German government 520
 - on Imperial Chancellors 498
 - on intellectual civil war 412–415
 - justification of war and 59

- Max von Baden and 503
- memoranda
- – “The Requirement of the Hour” (1917) 412–415
- National Committee for an Honorable Peace and 325
- on peace 336–338, 386–387, 413
- on Prussian franchise 413
- Prussian House of Representatives debate (1915) and 211
- Schmidt-Ott and 178
- speeches
- – “Introductory Words” “German Freedom” (lecture series, Prussian House of Representatives, 1917) 385, 386–387
- submarine warfare and 321–322, 373
- on To the Civilized World! (*An die Kulturwelt!*) 120
- Troeltsch and 27, 28, 171–172
- turn inward and 190
- Wilhelm II’s speech to the *Reichstag* (1914) 70
- on Wilson 387
- works
- – *Germany and the World War* article 178
- – *Internationale Monatschrift* contribution (1914) 84
- – “The Tasks of Peace and the Work of Peace” 336–338
- Hatzfeldt, Hermann von 211, 213
- Haußmann, Conrad 67, 70–71, 73, 80, 240, 367, 532
- Hegel, Georg Friedrich Wilhelm 28, 142, 165, 203, 264, 265, 275
- Helfferrich, Karl 368n260, 457
- Heller, Hermann 3, 3n8
- Hellingrath, Philipp von 421–422
- Herder, Johann Gottfried 142
- Herkner, Heinrich 205, 434
- Herre, Paul 486–487
- Hertling, Georg von 90, 431, 456–459, 483, 490
- Heyn, Immanuel 67
- Hindenburg, Paul von. *See also* Tannenberg victory
- Bethmann Hollweg and 358–359, 369, 373, 423
- Ludendorff and 470n63
- Michaelis and 424
- on peace proposal 421
- Valentini and 459
- victory of 90
- Wilhelm II and 358, 421, 497
- Wolff on 360
- Hintze, Otto. *See also* *Germany and the World War* (Hintze and Meinecke, eds.)
- German democracy and 9–11
- on internationalism 84–87
- parliamentarianism and 11n38
- *Realpolitik* and 10
- speeches of
- – “Imperialism and German World Politics” (Prussian House of Representatives, 1917) 385
- transition from monarchism and 11n41
- Troeltsch and 27, 185n45, 198
- walks in the Grunewald and 204–205
- works
- – “The Democratization of the Prussian Constitution” 9, 9n32, 10
- – “Germany, the War, and the International Community” 84
- – “Germany and the System of World States” 177
- – “The History of the Prussian Constitution and Administration” 87
- – *The Hohenzollern and Their Creation, Five Hundred Years of Patriotic History* 9, 9n32
- – “The Meaning of the War” 177, 185
- – “Tax Reform of 1891” 87
- Hintze, Paul von 515, 525, 526
- Hirsch, Paul von 217
- Hirschfeld, Magnus 102
- Hitler, Adolf. *See* National Socialism
- Hobbes, Thomas 565
- Hohenborn, Adolf Wild von 293–294, 309
- Hohen-Schillingsfürst, Gottfried zu 454
- Hohenzollern, Friedrich von (Fritz) (second son of Wilhelm II) 96
- Hohenzollern, Viktoria Luise von 469
- Holtzendorff, Henning von 211–212, 308, 309
- Hötzendorf, Conrad von 77
- Huber, Ernst Rudolf 72, 537

- Hübinger, Gangolf 26n74
Hügel, Friedrich von 31, 99n204, 174,
485n119, 552, 553, 556–58, 572
Hugenberg, Alfred 151
- Isenburg-Birstein, Franz Joseph Prince zu
456n13
- Jäckh, Ernst 295n227, 559
Jaffé, Edgar 217
Jagow, Gottfried von 314–315
James, William 23
Jellinek, Georg 27, 36n109
- Kahl, Wilhelm 212, 213, 252–255, 275, 325
Kant, Immanuel 36, 40, 165, 247n43,
247–248, 275, 461, 499, 534. *See also*
neo-Kantianism
- Kapp, Wolfgang
– anti-Semitism and 548
– Bethmann Hollweg and 317–320, 323, 426
– *Burgfrieden* and 318, 320
– Fatherland Party and 326, 426–427, 428,
435, 535
– on invasion of Belgium 74
– Kapp Putsch and 548–549
– Troeltsch on 327–328
- Keegan, John 79
Keim, August 425
Kelsen, Hans 2, 2n5
Kerenski, Alexander 508
Kessel, Gustav von 115
Kitchener, Lord 112
Kjellén, Rudolf 265–267, 267n127, 269,
271, 281
Kleist, Georg von 380
Kluge, Günther von 435–436
Körte, Siegfried 426
Köster, Adolf 559
Kühlmann, Richard von 458
- Lamprecht, Karl 120
Lansing, Robert 461
Lasswell, Harold 112
Legien, Carl 217, 217n169, 434, 464, 518,
519, 520, 522–523, 534. *See also*
The Labor Force in the New Germany
(Thimme and Legien, eds.)
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 28
Leppmann, Friedrich 505
Lerchenfeld, Hugo Count von 263
Lichnowsky, Karl Max Prince von 505,
505n203
Liebermann, Max 120
Liebknecht, Karl 71, 316, 412, 485, 537
Liszt, Franz von 96–97
Llanque, Marcus 5–6, 6n20, 402n110,
439n267
Lloyd George, David 279–280, 368, 418, 508
Loebell, Friedrich Willhelm von 156–157
Löhlein, Heinrich 113
Louis XIV, King of France 82
Lübbe, Hermann 31–32
Ludendorff, Erich von
– armistice and 515
– Bethmann Hollweg and 358–360, 369,
373, 421–422, 423
– death threats of 486
– educated elite and 373, 376
– Fatherland Party and 427, 428n228, 463
– Hindenburg and 470n63
– – on Battle of Amiens 492
– – on military victory 493–494
– *levée en masse* and 523–524
– Max von Baden and 500, 502–503, 507,
527–528
– Michaelis and 424, 511
– parliamentary democracy and 495–498,
514
– peace and 417, 421, 495–498
– personal losses of 496
– revolution and 417, 495
– Solf and 500, 528
– on Spirit of 1914 376
– submarine warfare and 418–419
– Troeltsch and 463–464, 511
– Valentini and 459
– Wilhelm II and 380, 421, 427, 463, 497,
528
– Wilson and 527–528
Ludendorff, Margarethe 496, 496n161, 528
Luxemburg, Rosa 485, 537, 554
Lyncker, Moriz von 237
- Machtan, Lothar 501, 503n190
Mackel, Emil 102–103

- Mann, Anka 121
- Mann, Thomas 572, 572n117
- Marcks, Erich 27, 291
- Marcuse, Ludwig 29
- Mas, Ezéchiél du Mas, comte de Mélaç 82
- Masterman, Charles Frederick Gurney 112–113
- Max, Prince von Baden
- appointment as Chancellor and 500–503, 514
 - breakdown of 531–532
 - ceasefire and 515
 - on “To the Civilized World!” (*An die Kulturwelt!*) 125
 - on feared Allied invasion (1918) 524
 - German democratization and peace and 507, 509, 514
 - homosexuality of 502, 503n190
 - integrity and 498
 - Ludendorff and 500, 502–503, 507, 527–528
 - parliamentary democracy and 500–501, 503, 514
 - peace and 207, 500–503, 507, 514
 - Prussian franchise and 503, 514
 - *Reichstag* and 532
 - reorientation and 500
 - resignation of 536
 - speeches
 - – proclamation by (Parliament of Baden) (1917) 512
 - Troeltsch and 28, 503, 504–514
 - Wednesday evening circle and 206–207
 - Wilhelm II and 239, 529–531, 537
 - Wilson and 512, 514, 516, 527
- Mayer, Gustav 205, 554
- Meinecke, Friedrich. *See also Germany and the World War* (Hintze and Meinecke, eds.); monarchy, social
- on annexation 222–223
 - on authoritarian state 389
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 303, 373
 - on Bethmann Hollweg’s submarine policy 373–73
 - censorship restrictions and 179n27
 - defeatism and 378
 - defensive war and 60n57
 - demobilization of minds and 471n68
 - on Fatherland Party 427
 - on Franco-Prussian war influence 131–132
 - German College for Politics and 559
 - on German democracy 394–396, 395n75
 - German Society 1914 and 263
 - Grabowsky and 431n218
 - on ideas *versus* material forces 272n143
 - on imperialism 408
 - on Isenburg-Birstein 456n13
 - on Kjellén 267n127
 - *Labor Force in the New Germany* and 217
 - Max von Baden and 503
 - on militarism 390, 392–393
 - on monarchism 1n2, 333
 - parliamentarianism and 394–395, 395n73
 - on peace 388, 395, 413
 - People’s League and 431, 434, 452
 - on Prussian franchise 393–394
 - on Rathenau 205, 555
 - reorientation and 393–394, 438
 - revolution and 393
 - on social democracy 7
 - on *Spectator Letters* (Troeltsch) 549–550
 - speeches
 - – “German Freedom” (lecture series, Prussian House of Representatives, 1917) 385, 387–396
 - – at People’s League inauguration (“Um Freiheit und Vaterland” (1917) 437n256, 437–438
 - support for Bethmann Hollweg and 303
 - Troeltsch and 27, 378, 390, 408
 - on Troeltsch’s limit of hope 554
 - University of Freiburg and 481
 - walks in the Grunewald and 204–205, 378
 - works
 - – “Culture, Power Politics, and Militarism” 177
 - – “The Reform of the Prussian Franchise” 7
 - – “Social Democracy and Power Politics” 222–223
 - – “What Goods are We Fighting For?” 60n57
- Meinecke, Stefan 7
- Metternich, Paul Graf Wolff 258, 259

- Meyer, Eduard 106, 109, 120, 377, 521
 Michaelis, Georg 423–425, 431, 511
 Mill, John Stuart 35n105, 410, 410n148
 Milton, John 108
 Miquel, Walter von 87
 Moltke, Helmuth von 68, 77, 116, 117, 176, 239, 259–260, 263, 288, 427–428.
See also Battle of the Marne
 Mommsen, Theodor 398
 Mommsen, Wolfgang J. 14–15, 476nn85,86
 Mühsam, Kurt 126–127
 Muir, Ramsay 111
 Müller, Georg Alexander von 237, 240, 309, 423, 427
 Müller, Joachim 265
 Müller, Johannes 512
 Müller, Karl Alexander von 60n57, 105, 108
- Napoleon 53, 58, 152–153, 244, 319, 386, 438
 Natorp, Paul 23, 217, 557
 Naumann, Friedrich
 – biography of 295n229
 – Central European block and 295–298, 338
 – German College for Politics and 559
 – Ludendorff and 493
 – Manifesto of the 93 and 120
 – National Committee for an Honorable Peace and 325
 – People’s League and 434
 – Rathenau and 295n229
 – on revolution 493
 – social liberalism and 163
 – social monarchy and 395
 – Troeltsch’s democratic Protestantism and 40–41
 – M. Weber on 297n240
 – works
 – – *Democracy and Emperorship* 40, 40n125, 40–41, 227
 – – *Mitteleuropa* 163, 295–298, 297n240, 338
- Neumann, Carl 27
 Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia 379
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 160, 267, 271, 569
 Nipperdey, Thomas 432n240, 500
- Nitschke, Paul 466
 Norton, Kurt 56
 Noske, Gustav 217, 228–229
- Ockham, William of 564
 Oncken, Hermann
 – on Central European block 290–291
 – on domestic crisis of 1916–1917 321
 – on Britain 106, 109
 – *Labor Force in the New Germany* and 217, 223
 – People’s League and 434
 – works and speeches
 – – “The Germans on the Path toward a United and Free Nation” 221–222
 – – “On the Threshold of the Third Year of War” (National Committee for an Honorable Peace, 1916) 325, 335
 – – “Outbreak” 177
 – – “Prologue” to *Germany and the World War* 176, 177, 188
 – – on World War I 53, 106, 177
- Oppenheim, Franz 45
 Oren, Ido 383n25, 407n132
 Otte, Thomas 148
- Paulsen, Friedrich 171
 Payer, Friedrich 457, 483, 523, 523n271, 530
 Pernerstorfer, Engelbert 346–347
 Pernet, Erich 496, 496n161
 Pernet, Franz 496, 496n161
 Peschel, Andreas 271n141, 443–444
 Pfeleiderer, Otto 171
 Pipkin, Charles Wooten 573
 Planck, Max 120, 171, 214
 Plenge, Johann 103n7, 264–268, 269, 269n136, 277, 281, 288
 – works
 – – *Marx and Hegel* 264
 – – *The War and the National Economy* 264–65
- Plessen, Hans von 239
 Plessner, Helmuth 344
 Plettenberg, Karl Baron von 123–125
 Pohl, Hugo von 306
 Preuß, Hugo
 – on authoritarian state 6, 94n189, 345–348, 349, 351, 383, 482

- *Burgfrieden* and 6, 346, 347
- on competitive envy 57n50
- domestic crisis of 1916–1917 and 345–346
- on duty 351
- on general conscription 94n189
- German College for Politics and 559
- on German democracy 3, 6, 103n8, 346
- on German freedom 351–352, 356–357
- on German state 383, 482
- on hatred of Germans 102
- international opinion and 102
- parliamentarianism and 349, 394n70
- People’s League and 434, 533
- power of public opinion and 278n170
- Scheler on 103n8
- Troeltsch and 6, 347–348
- works
 - – “Deutsche Demokratisierung” 394n70
 - – *The German People and Politics* (*Das deutsche Volk und die Politik*) 6n20, 6–7, 57n50, 103n8, 278n170, 343n155, 345–347, 482
 - – “Innere Staatsstruktur und äußere Machtstellung” 351n185
 - – “Volksstaat oder verkehrter Obrigkeitsstaat?” 6, 6n21
- Pufendorf, Samuel von 565
- Radbruch, Gustav 3
- Rade, Martin 172
- Ranke, Leopold von 4, 165, 487
- Rathenau, Walther. *See also levée en masse*
 - assassination of 485, 554–558
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 283–284
 - Central European block and 283n185, 283–286, 289
 - Meinecke and 205
 - Naumann and 295n229
 - peace and 285, 516
 - revolution and 555
 - Troeltsch and 28, 516, 516n250, 522, 555–557
 - working classes and 555
 - works
 - – *Of Coming Things* 377
 - – “A Dark Day” (1918) 516, 516n250
- Rathje, Johannes 550
- Reicke, Georg 122
- Reinhardt, Max 120
- Retzlaw, Karl 460, 464–466
- Reventlow, Ernst Count zu 108, 163n247, 370
- Richthofen, Hartmann von 534
- Rickert, Heinrich 23, 244
- Riezler, Kurt 124, 219, 237–238, 248, 286, 287, 290, 297, 297n239, 306, 306n16, 314, 367
- Ritter, Gerhard 49n26, 71, 186
- Rive, Richard Robert 426
- Röhl, John C. G. 238
- Rohrbach, Paul 163–64, 249, 322–323, 359, 377, 415
 - works
 - – *The German Idea in the World* 163n249, 163–164
 - – “The Peace, Foreign Countries, and the Pan-Germans” 322–323
- Röntgen, Wilhelm 120, 126
- Rosenberg, Arthur 97, 420, 458–459, 497, 498, 529
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 565
- Rupprecht, Crown Prince of Bavaria 453, 498–499
- Salomon-Delatour, Gottfried 25
- Saunders, George 110–111
- Sayce, Archibald 101
- Schäfer, Dietrich. *See also* Royal Library Meeting (1918)
 - on annexation 520
 - covert activities of 303, 310–311
 - on defensive war 521
 - Fatherland Party and 427, 483
 - on feared Allied invasion (1918) 517
 - German government legitimacy and 518
 - Independent Committee for a German Peace and 326
 - *levée en masse* and 519
 - on peace 311
 - submarine warfare and 310–311, 313–314
 - on territorial seizures 208
 - on Wilson 521
- Scharnhorst, Gerhard von 93–94, 145
- Scheer, Reinhard 525

- Scheidemann, Philipp
- assassination attempt and 485–486
 - on democratization 416
 - January Strike (1918) and 466
 - *Labor Force in the New Germany and 217*
 - Max von Baden’s resignation and 536
 - people’s government and 365
 - on Social Democrats (1915) 234
 - “troops rid of fear” and 229
 - Wilhelm II abdication and 529–530
 - Wilhelm II on 537
 - works
 - – “On the Reorientation of Domestic Politics” 228
- Scheler, Max 103, 103n8, 104, 146
- Schëuch, Heinrich 317, 435, 517
- Schiffer, Eugen 206n121, 252
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich 61, 203, 204, 204n114, 275
- Schmidt, Gustav 334n130, 340n149, 343n156, 345n160, 432n240
- Schmidt, Robert 217
- Schmidt-Ott, Friedrich 176–79, 186, 188–89, 517
- Schmitt, Carl 2, 3, 4n11
- Schmitz, Oskar A. H. 105–112
- Schmoller, Gustav von 119, 120, 121, 321, 434n245
- Schröer, Arnold 107
- Schulze-Gaevernitz, Gerhard 159–160
- Schumacher, Hermann 176
- Schwabe, Klaus 13, 15–16, 63n67, 64n69, 135n126, 414n171
- Schwerin-Löwitz, Hans Graf von 71
- Seeberg, Reinhold 84, 208, 256
- Seeckt, Hans von 293
- Sering, Max
- on American democracy 397–400
 - on authoritarian state 396
 - on British democracy 397, 409
 - on French democracy 397–398
 - on Prussian franchise 401
 - Seeberg Address and 211
 - speeches of
 - – “German Freedom” (lecture series, Prussian House of Representatives, 1917) 385, 388
 - – “*The State and Social Structure Among the Western Powers and in Germany*” (Prussian House of Representatives, 1917) 396–402
- Shakespeare, William 108
- Siebeck, Paul 468
- Siehr, Ernst 67
- Siemens, Carl Friedrich von 252
- Simmel, Georg 22, 84, 244
- Simon, Helen 434, 434n245, 447
- Sloane, William Milligan 398
- Solf, Wilhelm. *See also* German Society 1914 (the “Club”)
- on annexation 259, 499, 500
 - on Bethmann Hollweg’s submarine policy 370
 - on colonialism 177–178, 499n172, 513
 - considered as candidate for Imperial Chancellor 498–500
 - Dernburg and 533
 - detractors of 469
 - on German democratization 439, 526
 - Ludendorff and 500, 528
 - on peace negotiations 259
 - on reorientation 370
 - speeches of
 - – on foreign policy (German Society 1914) (1915) 499–500
 - – *Rede zur Gründung der Deutschen Gesellschaft 1914* 260–262
 - Troeltsch and 499
 - Wilhelm II and 263, 530–531, 538
 - Wilson and 526, 528–529
 - works
 - – “German Colonial Politics” 177, 258
- Sombart, Werner 22, 30, 30n89, 65, 84, 184n41, 200, 200n103, 265, 266, 281
- Sösemann, Bernd 32n97, 212n51, 432n240
- Spengler, Oswald 569, 569n111
- Steffen, Gustaf 7, 7n25
- Stegmann, Dirk 283, 432n240, 439, 439n267
- Stern, Fritz 32
- Strachan, Hew 18, 18n57
- Stresemann, Gustav 421
- Stuck, Franz von 120
- Studt, Conrad von 241
- Stutz, Ulrich 554

- Sudermann, Hermann 121–122, 126
 Süskind, Hermann 99, 99n206
- Thaer, Albrecht von 495–496
 Thimme, Friedrich 186, 216–217, 217n169, 234, 434. *See also* *The Labor Force in the New Germany* (Thimme and Legien, eds.)
 Thoma, Hans 120
 Thoma, Richard 3
 Thyssen, August 286, 325
 Tirpitz, Alfred von. *See also* Royal Library Meeting (1918); Tirpitz Plan
 – on annexation 520
 – Bethmann Hollweg and 74, 76n120, 314, 463
 – ceasefire (1917) and 460
 – on defeatism 521
 – on educated elites 376
 – Erzberger on 469
 – Fatherland Party and 427, 436
 – on feared Allied invasion (1918) 517
 – Holzendorff and 309
 – as candidate for Imperial Chancellor 427, 427n224
 – Imperial Navy Office and 113
 – on invasion of Belgium 74, 76n120
 – *levée en masse* and 518–519
 – lies and 306, 306n16, 313n45
 – on military victory 304, 520–521
 – on peace negotiations 520–521
 – on Prussian franchise 520
 – resignation of 314–316, 319
 – should be shot 469
 – Solf and 469
 – submarine warfare and 304, 307–308, 313–320
 – Troeltsch and 330n119, 463–464, 522
 – M. Weber on 430
 Tönnies, Ferdinand 22, 30, 217, 276
 Tocqueville, Alexis de 39, 410
 Traub, Gottfried 167
 Treitschke, Heinrich von 34
 Treutler, Karl Georg 308
 Troeltsch, Elise (sister) 378, 422–23
 Troeltsch, Ernst. *See also* Berlin period; educated elites, German (*Bildungsbürgertum*); German culture; German democracy; German freedom; historical development and inevitability; ideas of 1914; internationalism; political ethics; *Volksheer* (People's Army) (*Volk in Waffen*)
 – character of 31–32, 88, 93, 140, 549
 – daily life of (1922) 66, 553, 556–558, 557n72
 – death of 573
 – education and career of 27–32, 171–175
 – as example postscript
 – neglect by scholars of 26–27, 52n37, 148
 – obituaries of 28, 29, 31, 550
 – personal finances and 173, 558, 572–573
 – personal losses 98–99, 99n204, 206, 132, 455, 552
 – political activities of 29–32, 53, 55n45, 235–236, 550–552
 – as polymath 21–27
 – reputation of 28–32, 171, 205, 440, 551
 – scholarly activities of 551–554
 – speeches and lectures
 – – *After the Declaration of Mobilization (Nach Erklärung der Mobilmachung)* 53n37, 53–66, 55n45, 221, 281
 – – *The Culture War (Der Kulturkrieg)* (Berlin) (1915) 191–202
 – – to Democratic Student Union of Berlin (1918) 5, 538
 – – “Ethics and Cultural Philosophy” (Berlin) (1915) 203
 – – *The German Essence (Das Wesen des Deutschen)* (Karlsruhe) (1914) 129, 138–147, 181, 182, 241, 278–279
 – – “The German Idea of Freedom” (“Die deutsche Idee von der Freiheit,”) (Vienna) (1915) 129, 129n103, 251, 251n54, 338–357, 340n149, 391, 392, 405
 – – “History of Modern Philosophy” (University of Berlin) (1922–1923) 553
 – – “The Ideas 1914” (“Die Ideen von 1914”) (German Society 1914) (1916) 251, 268n132, 268–282, 301, 341, 357, 446
 – – “The Inner Connection of Political Demands” (“Der innere Zusammenhang der politischen Forderungen” (Prussian *Landtag*) (1918) 440n271, 440–451, 441n274, 443n285, 463, 467, 470, 471–472, 473, 478, 510

- – *Natural Law and Humanity in World Politics (Naturrecht und Humanität in der Weltpolitik)* (Kiel, Berlin, Düsseldorf) 558–572, postscript
- – “The Onslaught of Western Democracy” (“Der Ansturm der westlichen Demokratie”) (Prussian House of Representatives, 1917) 402–411, 403nn111,113, 405n123, 445
- – “On the Criteria for Judging Historical Matters” (“Über Maßstäbe zur Beurteilung historischer Dinge”) (Kaiser’s birthday address) (1916) 142–143, 241–251, 341, 406
- – “Political Ethics and Christianity” (*Politische Ethik und Christentum*) (Protestant Social Congress) (1904) 32–40, 95, 276, 350, 355, 405n118, 446
- – “Private Morality and State Morality” (“Privatmoral und Staatsmoral”) (Berlin, January 1916) 251, 251n54, 378–379, 379n14
- – on Industrialists’ Petition (1915) 212, 212n51
- – “Unser Volksheer” (Mannheim) (1914) 89–98
- works
- – *The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religion (Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte)* 24, 243
- – analysis of 32n97
- – “Die Aufklärung” (“The Enlightenment”) 24n65
- – *Augustine, Christian Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Augustin, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter)* 203
- – Bethmann Hollweg’s obituary 370–372, 373
- – “Church and Religious Politics in Relation to Social Democracy” (“Die Kirchen- und Religionspolitik im Verhältnis zur Sozialdemokratie”) 229–235
- – collections of 26n74
- – *The Culture War (Der Kulturkrieg)* 191–202
- – “Denunciations of Defeatism” (“Anklagen auf Defaitismus”) 473–475, 477–481, 489
- – “The End of Militarism” (“Das Ende des Militarismus”) 545–546
- – *German Faith and German Custom (Deutscher Glaube und Deutsche Sitte)* 131, 132–138, 135n126, 139, 140, 181
- – *German Future (Deutsche Zukunft)* 251
- – *Historicism and its Problems (Der Historismus und seine Probleme)* 22, 25, 27, 35n105, 249, 482n103, 553, 572
- – *Das Historische in Kants Religionsphilosophie. Zugleich ein Beitrag zu den Untersuchungen über Kants Philosophie der Geschichte* 203n113
- – “Imperialism” (“Imperialismus”) (1915) 158–169, 201, 341
- – “The Inner Connection of Political Demands” (“Der innere Zusammenhang der politischen Forderungen”) 440nn268,271, 440–451, 443n285, 463, 467, 470
- – “Der Krieg und die Internationalität der geistigen Kultur” 87–89
- – “Meine Bücher” 24n65
- – “Moderne Geschichtsphilosophie” 204n114
- – “On Several Peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon Civilization” 405n123
- – “Politics of Courage and Politics of Sobriety” 327–334, 334n129, 422, 423
- – *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen)* 22
- – *Spectator Letters (Spektator-Briefe)* (1918–1922) 542–550
- – “The Spirit of German Culture” (“Der Geist der deutschen Kultur”) (1915) 129, 178–186, 184n41, 189–190, 198, 201, 250, 333n127, 339, 341
- – “Two Kinds of Realpolitik” (“Zweierlei Realpolitik”) (1918) 487–492
- – *Unser Volksheer* 89–98
- – “Was man vor einem Jahre in Berlin von der Revolution persönlich erleben konnte” 539n1, 539–546

- – “Why do I Pledge Myself to Democracy?” (“Warum bekenne ich mich zur Demokratie?”) (1920) 544
- Troeltsch, Ernst, Senior 98, 455
- Troeltsch, Eugenie (mother) 98, 455
- Troeltsch, Marta (wife) 172, 173, 556, 557
- Troeltsch, Wilhelmine (sister) (m. W. Weber) 99
- Trott zu Solz, August von 241

- Valentini, Rudolf von 156–157, 358, 459, 502
- Vico, Giambattista 25
- Vierkandt, Alfred 205
- Vietinghoff-Scheel, Leopold von 151
- Volkelt, Hans 470–475, 484–485, 489
- “Denunciations of Defeatism” (“Denunciations of Defeatism”) (Troeltsch) and 472–481, 489

- Wahnschaffe, Arnold 220, 360, 363–364, 416
- Waldstein, Felix 534
- Wallenstein, Albrecht von 463
- Walz, Ernst 52, 57
- Wartenburg, Heinrich Yorck von 366
- Webb, Clement 128–129
- Weber, Alfred 240, 434, 551
- Weber, Marianne 27, 172, 214
- Weber, Max
 - Below and 481
 - Delbrück-Dernburg Petition and 214
 - on democracy 543n10
 - Fatherland Party and 429–430, 431, 435
 - German College for Politics and 559
 - *Herrenvolk* and 476n86, 476–477
 - memoranda
 - – “The Intensified Submarine War” (1916) 311–313
 - National Committee for an Honorable Peace and 325
 - on Naumann 297n240
 - People’s League and 434
 - on Prussian franchise 430
 - speeches
 - – inaugural address of 1895 271
 - Tirpitz and 313n45, 315
 - Troeltsch and 22, 27, 30, 172, 442, 476–477, 543n10
 - on will of the people 346
 - works
 - – “Parliament and Government in the Reordered Germany” 5–6, 476–477
 - – *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* 30n89
 - – “Voting Rights and Democracy in Germany” 5–6
- Weber, Wilhelm 99
- Weisbach, Werner 45, 205, 206, 467, 522n268, 529, 573
- Weizsäcker, Karl von 422
- Wells, H.G. 110
- Wenck, Martin 440, 487, 487n125
- Werner, Anton von 258
- Westarp, Kuno Count von 8, 8n26, 262, 365, 366
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Tycho 485
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von 84, 120, 128n101, 171, 485
- Wile, Frederic William 51, 69, 80, 105
- Wilhelm I 46, 54
- Wilhelm II
 - abdication of XIII, 5, 529–531, 537–538, 540
 - barbarism/brutality and 78, 111
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 371, 423
 - birthday celebration of (1916) 241–251, 341, 406
 - Central European block and 283
 - change of Imperial Chancellors and 423
 - conquest and 70, 92
 - flight to front of 238–240, 538
 - German armed forces and 239–240
 - on German collapse 537
 - German democracy and 96, 494
 - German High Seas Fleet and 304–305
 - German offensive of 1918 and 494
 - German Society 1914 and 263
 - God and 91
 - Hindenburg and 421, 463
 - ideas of 1914 and 237–240
 - intellectual civil war and 71–72
 - July Crisis (1914) and 45
 - Ludendorff and 421, 463, 528
 - Manifesto of the 93 and 122
 - mental state of (August 1914) 237–238
 - military victory over democracy and 494

- “My army and My navy” and 94–95
- peace and 43, 70, 76, 84, 122, 238, 305, 358
- “people in arms” and 92
- on political elite 497
- Prussian franchise and 380–381, 381n21, 393–394
- public mood and 360, 371, 538
- *Realpolitik* and 238
- reduced role of 237–242
- *Reichstag* and 69–71, 457–458
- speeches and declarations of
 - of 1914 69–71, 92
 - declaration of mobilization (1914) 50n29, 50–51, 57
 - Easter Message (1917) 380–381, 381n21, 393, 415, 417, 506, 508
 - to mass gathering (1914) 43–44
 - “State of Imminent Danger of War” (1914) 43, 43n3
 - “State of Siege” (1914) 43
- Tirpitz on 427
- on unity 70–71
- Wilson and 526, 527, 529
- Wilson, Woodrow. *See also* Allies (Entente); Fourteen Points (Wilson); League of Nations
- democracy and 11–12, 381–402, 407, 512, 525–527
- entry into war and 373, 381–384
- Fatherland Party on 429
- on French democracy 398
- “German Freedom” (lecture series, Prussian House of Representatives, 1917) 385–402
- German *versus* British democracy and 397
- Harnack on 386–87, 414
- ignorance of Germany and its affairs 11–12, 381–384
- Ludendorff and 527–528
- *Lusitania* and 309n29
- peace and 12, 382–383, 386
- Russia and 462
- Schäfer on 521
- Sering on 397–98
- submarine warfare and 309n29, 373, 381–382, 525–526
- Troeltsch and 403, 407, 467, 508
- Wilhelm II and 527, 529
- works
 - *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* 398
- Windelband, Wilhelm 23
- Winkler, Heinrich August 1–2, 500–501
- Winning, August 217
- Wolff, Theodor. *See also* *Berliner Tageblatt* (newspaper)
 - on annexation 211, 212, 212n148
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 327, 363–364, 367, 368
 - *Burgfrieden* and 125, 362, 467
 - censorship and 80–81
 - Delbrück-Dernburg Petition and 214–215
 - on demonstrations 362
 - on destruction of Louvain 81–82
 - Deutelmoser and 375
 - on Erzberger’s address to *Reichstag* (1917) 420
 - Falkenhayn and Hindenburg and 360
 - France and 82
 - on German atrocities 81–82, 124
 - hope for Germany and (1917) 454
 - January Strike (1918) and 467
 - Manifesto of the 93 and 214
 - on peace negotiation offer 368
 - “Political Society of 1915” and 261
 - on reorientation 363–65
 - on Scharnhorst 94
 - shortages and 361
 - Troeltsch and 28
 - on Wilhelm II 360
 - works
 - “The Burning of Louvain” 81–82
 - *Der Krieg des Pontius Pilatus* 49n23, 94n190
 - *Der Marsch durch zwei Jahrzehnte* 212n148
- Wortmann, Karl 439
- Zangwill, Israel 273, 273n148
- Zechlin, Egmont 148n182, 283n185
- Zedlitz-Neukirch, Octavio Freiherr von 322
- Ziegler, Theobald 484
- Zimmermann, Arthur 187

Index of Subjects

- Africa, Central 284, 287
Alldeutsche Blätter (Pan-German League newspaper) 108, 150, 154, 167
Allies. *See* Entente and Allies
Alsace-Lorraine 54, 377, 508, 510
America (United States). *See also* Allies (Entente); Fourteen Points; *Lusitania*; Western culture; Western democracy; Western Front; Wilson, Woodrow *and other Americans*
– Bethmann Hollweg and 307, 309
– Central European block and 283, 283n182, 297
– constitution of 36, 399–400, 409–410
– democracy and 8, 160, 273, 397–401, 409–410, 508
– diplomatic relations with Germany and 373
– entry into war of 307–308, 373, 381–384, 386, 387, 402, 403–405
– French equality compared 351
– German freedom and 381–384
– *Germany and the World War* and 176
– historical development of democracy and 8
– imperialism and 160, 299, 408
– “melting pot” and 273
– Pan-German agitation and 323
– public opinion and 213
– separation of church and state and 232
– Sering on 397–401
– submarine warfare and 307–308, 309, 311–312, 335–336, 373, 381–384, 387, 403
– Troeltsch on 30, 30n89, 160, 271, 273, 350–351, 403–405, 408, 409–410
– M. Weber on 311–312
ancient world (antiquity) 22, 131, 185, 203–204, 215, 563, 564, 565
Anglo-Saxon democracy 199–200
Anglo-Saxons 143, 147
annexation, conquest and expansionism.
See also Belgium; Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*); Claß, Heinrich *and other educated elites*; Delbrück-Dernburg Petition; imperialism; Seeberg Address (“Intellectuals’ Petition”); self-determination; *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities); world domination
– Belgium and 155, 211–213, 259, 286, 511–512
– Bethmann Hollweg on 153–158, 207–208, 210, 212n150, 215, 220, 286–288, 293, 324
– Bethmann Hollweg *versus* Claß on 153–158, 207–208, 220, 286–288
– *Burgfrieden* and 151, 161, 221, 270–271
– Central European block and 287, 288, 293
– defensive war *versus* 70
– educated elites and 211–213, 212n148
– Fatherland Party and 435, 520, 522
– Industrialists’ Petition and 207–208
– Manifesto of the Three and 233
– negotiated peace and 449
– Pan-Germans and 115, 151, 215–216
– Peace Resolution and 425
– political ethics and 211
– *Realpolitik* and 492
– reorientation and 220, 414n171
– self-determination *versus* 499
– Social Democrats and 72, 234
– Troeltsch on 92, 212, 212n51, 270, 449, 511–512, 513
– working classes and 465
Anti-German Union (British Empire Union) 111
anti-Semitism 156, 501, 501n185, 548

- anti-war protests 49, 71, 102, 304, 316, 324–325, 325n106, 362, 424. *See also* January Strike (1918); revolution; strikes and mutinies
- aristocratic idea 7, 12, 38, 41, 41n127, 348, 409, 502. *See also* monarchism
- armistice of 1918 495–497, 515, 525–526, 528, 536, 542
- assassinations 43, 463, 485–486, 554–556, 571
- atrocities. *See* barbarism, brutality, and atrocities
- Austria-Hungary 46–48, 49, 55, 174, 178, 187, 289, 291, 346–347, 355, 408, 461, 470, 495. *See also* Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*); Hötzendorf, Conrad von *and other Austrians*
- Austro-Prussian war (1866) 174, 291
 - balkanization of 408
 - blamed for causing war 49
 - defeat and 495
 - defensive war and 55
 - ethnicities and 355
 - Fourteen Points and 461
 - *Germany and the World War* and 178
 - Italy and 187
 - “likened to a cadaver” 289
 - *Obrigkeitsregierung* and 346–347
 - outbreak of war and 46–48
 - strikes and 470
- authoritarian state (*Obrigkeitsstaat*). *See also* imperialism; militarism; military elites, German; patriarchy; Preuß, Hugo *and other educated elites*
- autonomy and 389
 - constitutional state and 346
 - democracy and 343, 347–350, 383, 542
 - historical development and 280
 - people’s army and 94n189
 - popular state *versus* 345–347, 538
 - Romanticism and 563
 - Troeltsch on 280, 345, 347–350, 383, 538, 563
- autonomy 183, 333, 353, 389, 564, 567. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; human rights; imperialism; self-determination; self-formation (*Selbstbildung*); individual freedom
- Troeltsch on 183, 567
- backwardness (*Zurückgebliebenheit*) of Germany 344–345, 347, 379, 389, 414
- Baden, Grand Duchy of 53, 138, 503–504, 514. *See also* Heidelberg
- Troeltsch and 29, 172, 175, 504
- Balkans 355, 461
- Baltic 456n13, 493
- barbarism, brutality, and atrocities. *See also* Battle of Verdun (1916); Belgium, invasion of (1914); civilization; Louvain (Belgium); militarism; Romanticism, German
- Allies and 474
 - annexation and 154–156
 - culture war and 139
 - economic future and 449
 - international opinion and 101
 - Manifesto of the 93 on 123
 - power and 513
 - Prince Isenburg-Birstein in Lithuania and 456n13
 - *Realpolitik* and 489
 - Romanticism and 563, 568
 - Troeltsch on 132, 139, 449, 474, 489, 513, 563, 566, 568
- Battle of Amiens (1918) 492
- Battle of Cambrai (1917) 454
- Battle of Galicia (1915–17) 96, 97
- Battle of Leipzig (1813) 59
- Battle of the Marne (1914) 90, 97, 98, 116–119, 125, 131, 154–156, 239, 288, 372, 493, 505
- Battle of the Marne, Second (1918) 483
- Battle of Peoples (*Völkerschlacht*) (Battle of Leipzig) (1813) 53, 54, 58, 59, 61, 174. *See also* spirit of 1813
- Battle of the Somme (1916) 330, 359, 453
- Battle of Verdun (1916) 330, 359
- Battle of Ypres, Third (Passchendaele) (1917) 453, 454
- Bavaria 158, 315, 360, 453, 540, 557. *See also* South Germany
- Belgium. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; Belgium, invasion of (1914); Western Front
- Central European block and 287

- as collateral 212
- Fatherland Party and 435
- Fourteen Points and 516
- *Germany and the World War* and 178
- Industrialists' Petition and 207–208
- nationalism and 355
- Pan-German agitation and 323
- Prussian House of Representatives and 212–213
- Seeburg Address and 216
- Troeltsch on 355, 511–512
- Belgium, invasion of (1914)
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 73, 74
 - British justification for war and 75, 85, 110
 - censorship and 80–81, 81n141, 118
 - Central European block and 287
 - described 66–69, 76–82
 - destruction of Louvain and 77–79, 81–82, 123
 - German censorship and 115, 119
 - international law and 73–74, 76, 110, 118, 123, 461
 - international opinion and 101, 109–110
 - killing civilians and 77–79, 124
 - Manifesto of the 93 and 120, 122, 128–129
 - reaction to 66–82
 - response to 76–80
 - Troeltsch on 139
- “Berlin Declaration” (1917) 415–416, 419, 422–423, 429, 444–445, 508
- Berliner Abend-Zeitung* (newspaper) 241
- Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* (newspaper) 416
- Berliner Tageblatt* (newspaper) 28, 81, 82, 121, 203, 325, 363, 365, 366, 467, 500, 550–551. *See also* Wolff, Theodor
- Berlin period (Troeltsch's). *See also* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); *Germany and the World War* (Hintze and Meinecke, eds.); *Realpolitik*; reorientation; walks in the Grunewald; Wednesday Evening (*Mittwochabend*) circle (H. Harnack); Wilhelm II, birthday celebration of
 - assassination of Rathenau and 554–558
 - Heidelberg compared to 74–75
 - transfer to 27–28
 - Troeltsch on 171–175
 - Troeltsch's activities and 203–205, 235–236, 551–554
- Berlin University. *See* University of Berlin
- Bildung* 28, 353
- Bildungsindividualismus* 391
- blame for causing war. *See also* defensive war; World War I, causes of
 - of America 527–528
 - of America and Germany compared 402–411
 - of Austria 49
 - of Central Powers 505
 - of France 54–55
 - of Germany 198
 - Louvain and 81–82
 - of Russia 54–55, 60, 70, 72
 - Troeltsch on 402–411
- blockade, British 131–132, 240, 251, 277, 291–292, 304, 315, 330, 361, 403. *See also* starvation and shortages
- blockades, moral 139
- Bolshevism 465, 493, 555
- bourgeoisie 7, 46, 71n65, 229–230, 363, 409, 482, 488, 516, 555. *See also* economic factors
- bourgeois liberal center 217, 226. *See also* Thimme, Friedrich
- bravery 62, 91, 229, 378
- Brest-Litovsk Treaty (1918). *See* Treaty of Brest-Litovsk 454, 493
- Britain (England). *See also* blockade, British; Entente and Allies; international opinion; naval power and freedom of the seas; Oxford University and others; propaganda; war of words (international opinion); Western culture (European and American); Western democracy; Western freedom; Western Front
 - Belgium and 78–80, 85, 223
 - blamed for causing war 106, 196–197
 - Central European block and 283, 284, 293
 - declaration of war of 66
 - Fatherland Party and 520
 - franchise and 397n81
 - freedom and democracy and 33, 80, 182, 183–185, 342, 343n155, 352–353, 390
 - German imperialism and 162, 168

- *Germany and the World War* and 178
- imperialism and 160–161, 405, 408
- individual and the state and 390
- internationalism and 82–83
- mobilization of opinion and 112–113
- national individualities and 181, 299
- Pan-German agitation and 323
- peace negotiations and 495
- political ethics and 109
- Seeburg Address and 216
- Sombart and 184n41, 200, 266, 281
- Troeltsch on 31, 55, 130, 132–133, 179, 181, 408
- world domination and 84–86, 109, 159–160, 162, 184, 185, 196, 199, 405, 508
- British Expeditionary Force 98
- British War Propaganda Bureau 112–113
- brutality. *See* barbarism, brutality, and atrocities
- Bulgaria 308, 309, 495. *See also* Central Powers
- Burgfrieden* and military censorship. *See also* Belgium invasion and other sensitive issues; Delbrück, Hans and other elites; *freiheitlich*; information; Social Democrats; war of words (international opinion)
- defensive war and 120–121
- Delbrück-Dernburg Petition and 214
- educated elites and 84, 401–402
- equality and 268
- freedom and democracy and 96
- Free Patriotic Association and 255
- *Germany and the World War* and 177, 179, 179n27
- ideas of 1914 and 268
- intellectual civil war and 149, 151, 251, 468
- internationalism and 83
- international opinion and 101, 114–115
- *Labor Force in the New Germany* and 226, 235
- Manifesto of the 93 and 125
- Manifesto of the Three and 234
- military leaders and 101, 120–121
- peace and 318
- People’s League and 436
- public opinion and 80, 115, 121
- reorientation and 219–220, 379
- Seeburg Address and 210, 211
- spirit of 1914 and 18–19, 21, 318–319
- Troeltsch and 89, 179, 327–28, 329, 332
- Troeltsch on 89, 92, 96, 201, 202, 327–328, 332, 371, 379
- weakening of 251, 252, 320
- Cambridge University 31, 82–83
- capitalism 30n89, 270, 300, 344, 405, 410. *See also* free-market theory
- casualties. *See* deaths and casualties
- Catholicism 12, 22, 566. *See also* Center Party; religion; South Germany
- censorship. *See Burgfrieden* and military censorship
- Center Party 96, 286, 419, 425–431, 436, 544. *See also* Erzberger, Matthias; Weimar Coalition
- Central Africa 284, 287
- Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*)
- Bethmann Hollweg and 283–287, 288–294, 294n225, 297n239, 297–298, 313
- ethnicities and 338–339, 354–358
- Falkenhayn and 292–294
- German dominance/leadership and 296–297, 299
- German freedom and 338–339, 341, 354–356, 357–358
- German military leadership and 293–294
- international opinion and 297
- Naumann’s book and 295–298
- obstacles to 287–292
- organizations supporting 295, 295n229
- peace and 285, 293
- political ethics and 298–299
- public opinion and 294, 297–298
- Rathenau proposal and 283–286
- reorientation and 284
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and 493
- Troeltsch on 282, 298–302, 330, 338–339, 341, 354–356, 357–358
- *Völkerindividualitäten* and 254–256, 299, 354–358
- Wilhelm II and 283
- Central Powers 186, 404, 454, 459–460, 505. *See also* Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*)

- chauvinism 14, 88, 130, 142, 315
- Christianity. *See also* God; political ethics; religion
- bankruptcy of 265–266
 - democratic ideals and 37, 399
 - European culture and 24, 180–181, 480, 564–566
 - German culture and 131
 - historical examination and 24, 243, 477
 - human rights and 472
 - idealism of freedom and 275
 - natural law and 564–565
 - political ethics and 32–41
 - reorientation and 232
 - science and history and 24
 - Troeltsch on 32–41, 472, 477, 480, 564–565
 - war and 136
- The Christian World* (journal) 172
- civilians at home. *See also* the people (the masses) (*das Volk*); starvation and shortages
- freedom and 274, 438
 - *levée en masse* and 524–525
 - mobilization and 66–67
 - morale and 117
 - People's League and 472
 - political status and 331
 - unity (1918) and 493
 - Volkelt on 470
- civilization 14, 101, 104, 104n9, 111, 123, 129, 140, 343n155, 559
- civil war 556. *See also* intellectual civil war
- class interests. *See also* aristocratic idea; educated elites; elites; military elites; political elites; power elites; Prussian franchise; working classes
- British blockade and 361
 - conservatives and 224–225
 - electoral reform and 224–225
 - fatherland and 522
 - Fatherland Party and 437, 442–443, 463
 - German culture and 181
 - German government and 491
 - Meinecke on 393
 - militarism and 545
 - overcoming of 64
 - peace and 545–546
 - political parties and 34
 - political representation and 224
 - Prussian franchise and 381
 - rights and 546
 - Troeltsch on 276, 347, 491
 - war aims and 166
- class warfare 36, 220
- the “Club.” *See* German Society 1914
- colonialism 37, 161, 284, 461, 499n172, 513, 516. *See also* imperialism
- communication 114, 160, 174
- Communist Party of Germany 525
- community spirit (*Gemeinsinn*) 351
- compassion 513–514
- compromise. *See* *Realpolitik*
- conquest. *See* annexation, conquest and expansionism
- conscription, general or universal 11, 54, 94n189, 515
- Conservative Party 365, 367, 417, 421–422, 425, 438, 507, 508
- “conservative revolution” 566
- conservatives and conservatism. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; industrialists; Junkers; military power/victory; nationalism; Pan-German League; Schäfer, Dietrich *and other conservatives*; Seeberg Address (“Intellectuals’ Petition”) *and its organizers*; *Die Tägliche Rundschau* and other newspapers
- abstract ideas and 37–38
 - anti-Semitism and 548
 - Bethmann Hollweg and reorientation and 380
 - class interests and 224–225
 - conservative theologians 24, 188, 208, 232
 - democracy and 35–41, 41n127, 95–96, 563–564, 568–569
 - Easter Message (1917) and 415–416, 506
 - German democracy and 8, 38–41, 41n127, 416–417
 - history and 24, 38
 - history of 8
 - inequality and 37–38
 - *Labor Force in the New Germany* and 48, 226–227, 257, 370, 376, 517–518

- moderate 436
- natural law and 564
- reorientation and 220, 380
- Romanticism and 566–567
- Social Democrats and 218
- Tirpitz resignation and 316–317
- Troeltsch on 36–41, 41n127, 95–96, 186, 556–557, 568
- constitutional state 346
- Construction Workers Union 226
- cosmopolitanism. *See also* internationalism; liberalism and liberals
 - *Bildung* and 353
 - democracy and 37
 - German historical development and 86
 - independence of others and 166
 - liberalism and 166
 - national ideal *versus* 266
 - national loyalty *versus* 234
 - peace and 154
 - World War I and 265
- counterrevolution 547–549
- courage 61–63, 327, 332
- Court of Arbitration in The Hague 510
- crucible (*Schmelztiegel*) 21, 97, 272–273, 550
- “crusade against the German spirit” 139–140
- cultural disarmament (demobilization of minds) 470–473, 471n68, 534. *See also* mobilization of minds; Volkelt, Hans
 - Troeltsch on 449–450, 472–481, 485–486, 489
- culture 86, 138, 140–142, 245–246, 549, postscript. *See also* civilization; culture, unified theory of (*Kultursynthese*); German culture; human (common) culture; liberalism; relativism, cultural; *Sonderart* (“special nature”); *Sonderbildung*; *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities); Western culture
- culture, unified theory of (*Kultursynthese*) 23n64, 23–25, 27, 29, 41, 96, 245–246, 276, 344, 569. *See also* historical development; relativism, cultural; *Völkerindividualitäten*
- culture war (*Kulturkrieg*). *See also* barbarism, brutality, and atrocities; German culture; German freedom; ideas of 1914; militarism; nationalism; self-examination (introspection); spirit of 1914; war of words (international opinion); Western freedom; world domination
 - British propaganda and 86, 104, 110, 115, 115n57, 139–140, 178, 192–193, 196–199, 278n170, 278–281, 405
 - German self-examination and 139–140, 274, 278–281
 - illusory common culture and 140–141
 - overview 21, 98, 180–181
 - political ethics and 559–561
 - political factors and 191–202, 278n170, 340, 343
 - scholarship and 12–16, 58–60
 - Troeltsch on 12, 57–58, 98, 128–129, 139–141, 178, 180–181, 186, 189, 191–202, 272, 274, 278–281, 340, 343, 404, 405, 481, 504, 559–569
 - unwinnable 189
- customs union 222–223. *See also* Central European block (*Mitteuropa*)
- deaths and casualties. *See also* Battle of the Marne and other battles; *Volksheer* (People’s Army)
 - American 373
 - annexationist propaganda and 92–93, 211
 - British 98, 453–454
 - Central European block and 292–293
 - fall 1917 453, 455
 - French 98, 292, 453–454
 - German 97–98, 127, 453–454, 494–495
 - government lies and 126–127
 - ideas of 1914 and 251–252
 - 1914 to 1916 359, 412
 - 1917 455
 - popular mood and 240
 - reason and logic and 189–190
 - shortages and 362
 - submarine warfare and 373
 - Western Front (1914–1915) and 98, 98n200, 235
 - World War I and 536
- “Declaration of University Professors of the German Empire” 128n101
- declaration of war. *See* World War I

- defeatism, accusations of. *See also* demobilization of minds (cultural disarmament)
- Below on 484–485
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 157, 469
 - H. Delbrück and 153
 - demobilization of minds and 471–472
 - German government and 521
 - Harnack on 322
 - Independent Committee for a German Peace and 326
 - People’s League and 471
 - submarine warfare opponents and 321
 - Troeltsch and 471–472, 484
 - Troeltsch on 473–475, 480
- defensive war. *See also* Belgium, invasion of (1914); Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von and other elites; blame for causing war; culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); Manifesto of the 93
- censorship and 120–121
 - Central European block and 292–293
 - Delbrück-Dernburg Petition and 214
 - democratic ethics and 195–198
 - German culture and 209
 - German democracy and 196–198
 - German unity and 198, 209, 260, 281
 - Germany’s “innocence” and 60, 60n57
 - human culture and 56, 65, 169
 - ideas of 1813 and 53
 - ideas of 1914 *versus* 14, 281
 - peace and 194, 420
 - the people and the state and 394
 - Social Democrats and 72, 74
 - Troeltsch on 53, 55–56, 59–60, 65, 92, 131, 136, 137, 169, 194, 379, 516
- Delbrück-Dernburg Petition 213–215, 214n159, 216, 252, 288, 396
- demobilization of minds (cultural disarmament) (intellectual armistice) 471n68, 534. *See also* mobilization of opinion; Royal Library Meeting (1918)
- Troeltsch on 449–451, 471–481, 485–486, 489
- democracy, idea of. *See also* equality; freedom, idea of; German democracy; liberalism; mass culture, democratic; peace; *Völkerindividualitäten* (national individualities; Western democracy; will of the people)
- authoritarian state and 343, 347–350, 383, 542
 - conservatism and 35–41, 41n127, 95–96, 563–564, 568–569
 - democratic principles and 34–41, 546
 - German democracy and XIV–XV, 2–5, 7, 21, 334, 348, 546
 - historical development of XIII, 3, 5, 8, 36–37, 331, 408–409, 410, 445, 446, 543n10, 565–566
 - ideals and idealism and 225–226, 228, 337–338, 405
 - peace and 38, 194, 217, 219, 220, 383, 385, 388, 439
 - political ethics and 32–38
 - power and 194–196
 - Troeltsch on XIV, 5, 29, 32–38, 193–194, 196, 333n127, 334, 348, 451, 546
 - world 404
- “democracy of beggars” 411
- Democratic People’s League (1918) 555
- Democratic People’s Party 29, 70–71
- Denmark 286, 287
- Der Tag* (newspaper) 486–487
- Deutscher Kurier* (newspaper) 466–467
- Deutsche Tageszeitung* (newspaper) 466–467
- dictatorship of the proletariat 537
- dies nefastus* 317, 317n63
- dignity
- cultural synthesis and 246
 - European culture and 567
 - Germans and 281, 353
 - German science and 88
 - ideas of 1914 and 281
 - individual and state and 137, 225, 301, 351, 391, 478
 - internationalism and 450
 - Pan-Germans and 149
 - popular sovereignty and 447
 - *Realpolitik* and 40
 - Romanticism and 567
 - *Sonderweg* and 570
 - Troeltsch on 40, 55, 447, 450, 478, 481, 564, 567, 570
 - universal 481, 564

- as war aim 55, 281, 301
- direct ballot 225. *See also* franchise, equal; Prussian franchise
- discipline, order and organization 35, 94, 96, 119, 121, 145, 229, 264–265, 277–278, 280, 332, 346, 502. *See also* militarism
- Troeltsch on 64
- diseases 361
- diversity, individual. *See also* relativism, cultural; individual freedom; pluralism
- Christian natural law and 564–565
- cultures and 141–142
- decrease of 276
- fatherland and 260
- German freedom and 147
- inequality and 567
- monarchy and 145
- right to 142
- unity and 145, 260–261
- *Völkshær* (People’s Army) and 96–97, 145
- diversity of peoples (cultures). *See* *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities)
- division of labor and 277–278
- domestic crisis of 1916–1917. *See also* Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von *and other elites*
- American entry into war and 307–313
- Central European block and
- constitutional reform and 335–338
- German idea of freedom and 338–357
- National Committee for an Honorable Peace and 324–335
- submarine warfare and 304–320
- Troeltsch on 321, 326–358
- Donau monarchy 46
- Dreyfus Affair 82
- duty 351, 352–353

- Eastern Europe 208, 493, 499
- Eastern Front 49, 51, 90, 98, 124, 235, 239, 308, 460, 490, 492–493, 515. *See also* deaths and casualties; Russia; Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
- “economic dictator” 319–320
- economic factors. *See also* Central European block (*Mittleuropa*); class interests; imperialism; industrialists; naval power; Plenge, Johann; starvation and shortages; working classes
- abstract *versus* practical 277–278
- Anglo-Saxon freedom and 143
- as cause of war 45, 46, 561
- Central European block and 283
- consequences of war and 536–537
- democracy and 193
- European liberalism and 35
- Fatherland Party and 513
- Fourteen Points and 460–461
- ideas of 1914 and 277
- Industrialists’ Petition and 207–208
- military victory and 479–480
- peace and 55–56, 448–449, 516
- Troeltsch on 135, 277–278, 405, 448–449, 478, 513
- unification and 145–146, 344
- Weimar Constitution and 448n298
- Western franchise and 397n81
- WWI and 45, 46
- educated elites, German (*Bildungsbürger-tum*). *See also* culture war; Delbrück Hans *and other educated elites*; “German Freedom” lectures *and other public statements*; German Society 1914 *and other organizations*; *Germany and the World War* (Hintze and Meinecke, eds.) *and other publications*; ideas of 1914; intellectual civil war; Royal Library Meeting (1918); *Wissenschaft*
- assassination and 485–486
- courage of 402
- future of 552
- internationalism and 82–89
- public opinion and 61–62, 192–193
- spirit of 1914 and 20–21
- Tirpitz on 376
- Troeltsch on 22–26, 27–28, 30–31, 62, 175, 179, 190–202, 491–492, 550, 556–557, 559
- war of words and 100–105, 120–129
- educated elites, international 139, 180. *See also* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); internationalism
- education and cultivation (*Bildung*) 183, 193, 353, 552. *See also* *Sonderbildung*

- elites. *See* educated elites; military elites; political elites
- emotions (passions). *See also* militarism; spirit of 1913; spirit of 1914
- culture war and 65, 65n71, 138–139, 192–193
 - Fatherland Party and 442
 - *Germany and the World War* and 176
 - nationalists and 488
 - reason *versus* 55n45, 56, 142
 - Troeltsch on 55n45, 56, 65, 65n71, 139–140, 146, 564
- Enlightenment 11, 24, 86, 208, 267, 281, 472, 473, 478, 565, 567
- Entente and Allies. *See also* America (United States); Britain (England); culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); deaths and casualties; Eastern Front; France; peace; Russia; war of words (international opinion); Western culture; Western freedom; Western Front
- blamed for causing war 527–528
 - censorship and 386–387
 - freedom and democracy and 386, 436
 - “German Freedom” lectures and (1917) and 388
 - German militarism and 145
 - *Germany and the World War* and 187
 - feared invasion (1918) and 494, 517
 - peace and 386, 387, 404, 407–408, 464
 - propaganda and 133–134
 - Prussian franchise and 444–445
 - Seeberg Address and 211
 - Troeltsch on 407
 - view of Germany of 279–280
 - Western Front initiative (1918) 515
- envy 43, 57, 57n50, 84, 102–103
- equality. *See also* dignity; equal rights; franchise, equal; German army; inequality; League of Nations; natural law; individual freedom
- abstract 446, 566
 - American *versus* French 351
 - *Burgfrieden* and 268
 - Central European block and 287, 293
 - Christianity and 143
 - democracy and 143, 332, 546–547, 565
 - democracy *versus* conservatism and 37–38
 - French idea of freedom and 143, 182, 351
 - gender 447
 - “German Freedom” lectures and 402
 - German state and 219, 348
 - individual personalities and 36, 143
 - justice *versus* 267
 - new Germany and 265
 - of opportunity 409–410
 - of other particularities 185, 249–250
 - public power and 396–397
 - social democracy and 546
 - among states 85, 185, 347, 450–451
 - Troeltsch on 36, 37, 63–64, 250, 276, 347, 348, 446, 447, 450–451, 546–547, 565, 566
- equal rights. *See* Prussian franchise; rights *Ernst-Troeltsch-Gesellschaft* 26
- Estonians 493
- ethics. *See* political ethics (morality) (values)
- ethnicities 40, 165–166, 184, 198–199, 338–339, 351, 354–355. *See also* Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*); *Völker-individualitäten* (nationalities)
- European culture. *See* Western culture (European and American)
- Evening Post* (British newspaper) 314
- existence of Germany 55. *See also* defensive war
- expansionism. *See* annexation, conquest and expansionism
- experience *versus* abstract laws 24. *See also* *Realpolitik*
- farmers 45, 289, 363, 410, 416–417, 434n243, 436, 523
- fascism (“Faszistentum”) 549n36, 556, 556n62
- fatherland 260–261, 522
- Troeltsch on 442, 556
- Fatherland Party, German (*Deutsche Vaterlandspartei*). *See also* intellectual civil war
- Below and 483
 - critics of 431–432
 - on feared Allied invasion (1918) 517
 - German democracy and 423–430, 435–436

- German government legitimacy and 518
- German state and 437, 444
- Herre on 486–487
- *levée en masse* and 513, 517–520
- Ludendorff and 428n228, 463
- manipulation of the masses and 479
- membership statistics 433n242
- Michaelis and 511
- the people and 472
- People’s League *versus* 432n240, 435–439, 439n239, 443n285, 443–445, 446, 447n297, 487–492, 513, 517–519, 523
- public opinion and 535
- reorientation and 430, 435–436
- Solf and 469
- Troeltsch on 326, 442–444, 443n285, 445, 448, 463, 467–468, 472, 511
- Max Weber on 429–30, 442
- Wilhelm II abdication and 530–531
- Federal Republic of Germany 447
- feminism 12, 434n245, 447
- Finland 493
- Flanders 453, 496
- food. *See* blockade, British; starvation and shortages
- Fourteen Points (Wilson) 460–462, 463, 514, 516, 533–534. *See also* Wilson, Woodrow
- France. *See also* Battle of the Marne (1914); Entente and Allies; Franco-Prussian War (1870); French Revolution (1789); Heidelberg; Napoleon; Western culture; Western culture (European and American); Western democracy; Western freedom; Western Front
 - American equality compared 351
 - Belgium annexation and 223
 - blamed for causing war 54–55
 - Central European block and 286, 287
 - constitution of 36
 - culture war and 104
 - declaration of war on 66
 - Fourteen Points and 461
 - freedom and democracy and 57, 64, 80, 143, 182, 183–185, 266–267, 342, 343, 343n155, 351, 352–353, 390, 397–400
 - German hatred and 106
 - *Germany and the World War* and 178
 - historical ideas and 300
 - individual and the state and 390
 - Industrialists’ Petition and 208
 - Louvain compared 82
 - national anthem of 59
 - National Guard militia 95
 - national individuality and 181
 - occupation of Germany (1923) and 573
 - peace negotiations and 368, 495
 - Schlieffen plan and 49, 68, 493
 - Seeberg Address and 209
 - social democracy and 400
 - Troeltsch on 54–55, 55n45, 57, 64, 90, 133, 179, 181
 - war aims and 162
 - War of the Palatinate Succession (1689–1697) and 56
 - wars with Germany and 56–57
- franchise, equal. *See also* parliamentary democracy; Prussian franchise; reorientation
 - Anschütz on 227–228
 - democracy and 445–448
 - established 526, 528
 - German freedom and 184
 - Harnack on 336–338
 - historical development and 417, 567
 - public opinion and 363, 364
 - Troeltsch on 445–448, 567
 - Western *versus* German 396–397, 397n81
- Franco-Prussian War (1870). *See also* Alsace-Lorraine
 - Belgian invasion and 69, 82
 - British blockade and 131–132
 - “defeatism” and 474
 - Fatherland Party and 426
 - as heroic 174, 291
 - historical necessity and 57, 82
 - 1914 compared 54, 69, 91
 - spirit of 1914 and 52
 - Troeltsch on 174
- freedom, idea of. *See also* democracy; German freedom; the individual; liberalism; nationalism; rights; individual freedom
 - abstract *versus* exercise of 274–276
 - historical development and 183–184, 350, 405–407

- political ethics and 35–36, 298
- Troeltsch on 35, 274–276, 338–357, 411
- freedom of ideas or opinion 474
- freedom of the press 218–219, 466–467.
 - See also Burgfrieden* and military censorship
- freedom of speech and assembly 465, 466–467
- freedom of spirit 546–547
- freedom of the seas. *See* naval power and freedom of the seas
- free-market theory 320. *See also* capitalism
- Free Patriotic Association 252–257, 325, 433, 435
- Free Trade Unions 470–471
- freiheitlich* 438n263, 438–439, 444, 512, 514
- “frei von Menschen”* (“free of people”) 155
- French Revolution (1789) 11, 93–94, 94n189, 265–266, 409, 438n263, 565.
 - See also Levée en masse*
- Führerpersönlichkeiten/Führer-demokratie* 476
- future Imperial Chancellor 434
- future of Germany (new Germany). *See also* German democracy; The Labor Force in the New Germany (Thimme and Legien, eds.); *The Labor Force in the New Germany* (Thimme and Legien, eds.); peace; reorientation; war aims
 - cultural differences and 249–250, 559–560
 - educated elite on 377
 - German College for Politics and 559
 - German freedom and 300
 - historical thinking and 545
 - ideas of 1914 and 265
 - the people and 546
 - People’s League and 534
 - Solf on 260
 - Troeltsch on 62–63, 249–250, 276–277, 282, 300–301, 377–378, 490–491, 521, 552, 556–557, 559–560
- Gemeinsinn* (community spirit) 351
- Gemeinwesen* (commonwealth) 347
- gender equality 447
- General Commission of German Trade Unions 217
- geographical situation 344–345, 390
- German army. *See also* Battle of the Marne (1914) and other battles; Belgium, invasion of (1914); deaths and casualties; Eastern Front; military elites, German; military power/victory; Prussian army; strikes and mutinies; *Volksherr* (People’s Army) (*Volk in Waffen*); Western Front
 - “black day” (August 8, 1918) 492
 - crumbling from within (1918) 495
 - duty and 353
 - equality and 63–64, 362
 - equal rights and 218–219
 - future of the people and 331
 - German navy and 305
 - German prisoners voluntarily taken (1918) 495
 - German unity and 145
 - idea of freedom and 274
 - mood of 218–219, 362, 362n232
 - Prussian franchise and 337
 - rights and 97, 519
 - reputation of 79
 - submarine warfare and 372n284
 - surrender of (1918) 495
 - Troeltsch on 61, 64n69
 - Wilhelm II and 94–95, 239
 - words and 61
- German College for Politics 559
- German culture. *See also* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); German democracy; German freedom; historical development; ideals and idealism; militarism and other distortions; political ethics (morality) (values); self-examination (introspection); *Sonderart* (“special nature”)
 - essence of 140–147, 168
 - *Germany and the World War* and 178, 179–190
 - human (common) culture and 48, 65, 86, 131, 562, 567, 570–571, postscript
 - scholars on 58
 - Troeltsch on 35, 65, 129–138, 140–147, 168, 179–182, 245, 480, 560–572
 - war of words 129–137
 - Weimar Republic and 2

- Western culture and 35, 65, 86, 107, 131, 140, 142, 168, 179–182, 245, 279–280, 450–451, 475, 480, 560–572
- German democracy. *See also*; Claß, Heinrich *and other opponents of democracy*; culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); democracy, idea of; German freedom; historical development; Meinecke, Friedrich *and other supporters*; monarchism; parliamentary democracy; the people (the masses) (*das Volk*); People’s League for Freedom and Fatherland *and other organizations*; political ethics; reorientation (reform); revolution; social democracy; trust; *Volksheer* (People’s Army) (*Volk in Waffen*); Weimar Republic
 - argument for XIII–XV
 - culture war and XIV, 12–16, 193–194, 197–200, 279–280, 403–406
 - ideas of 1914 *versus* spirit of 1914 and 16–21
 - opponents of XIII, XV, 1–4, 8–9
 - peace and 11–12, 382, 386, 387, 404–405, 407
 - possibility of 452
 - principles of democracy and 546–547
 - supporters of XIII–XV, 4–7
 - Troeltsch on XIII–XV, 5, 21, 32–41, 58–60, 64, 183–184, 193–194, 197–200, 254–256, 279–280, 334, 348–349, 353–354, 383, 402–411, 451, 452, 478, 507–511, 538, 543n10, 543–544, 546–547, 550–555
 - Western democracy compared 93–94, 143–147, 279–280, 348, 396–411
 - Wilson, Woodrow and 11–12, 381–402, 525–527
 - World War I and 1, 4–5, 95–96
 - as World War I cause 80
- German Democratic Party 29, 534, 544, 545, 550, 551, 555. *See also* Weimar Coalition
- German Empire. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; Hintze, Otto; Hohenzollern dynasty; World War I
 - fall of 1, 535–536, 545
 - founding (unification) of 9, 54, 55–57, 184, 230, 260, 344, 451–452
 - national anthem of 44
 - peace and 52
 - Troeltsch on 64–65, 535–536
- German essence. *See* German culture
- German exceptionalism 568
- German Fatherland Party (*Deutsche Vaterlandspartei*). *See* Fatherland Party
- German freedom. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; Below, Georg von *and other critics*; domestic crisis of 1916–1917; freedom; *freiheitlich*; German democracy; “German Freedom” lectures (Prussian House of Representatives) (1917); historical development; ideas of 1914; Preuß, Hugo *and other supporters*; rights; spirit of 1813; spirit of 1913; spirit of 1914
 - culture war and 279–281, 340
 - German democracy and 385–402
 - ideas of 1914 and 280–282
 - power and 336, 394
 - the state *versus* education and 182–183
 - Troeltsch on 55, 59, 64, 129, 129n103, 149, 182–186, 251, 251n54, 338–357, 339n149, 340n340, 345n160, 391, 392, 405, 410, 446, 447
 - as war aim 55, 59
 - Western freedom compared 147, 182–186, 200, 279, 280–281, 340, 340n149, 344, 350, 352–354, 390–393, 405–411
 - “German Freedom” lectures (Prussian House of Representatives) (1917) 385–412, 412n161, 416, 429
- German government. *See also* defeatism; future of Germany (new Germany); military elites, German; monarchism; political elites; *Reichstag*; reorientation (reform); “republic”
 - constitution of 222, 239, 335–338, 457, 526–527, 532
 - teetering 215–216, 445–446, 525
 - Troeltsch and 179, 282, 332–333, 378, 545
- German idealism 166, 182, 391
- German identity 199
- German literature, art, and music 182
- German military dictatorship 459–460

- German National Union (1860s) 451–452
 German navy 105, 304–305, 525. *See also*
 Imperial Naval Cabinet; Imperial Naval
 Office; military elites, German; naval
 power and freedom of the seas; submarine
 (U-boat) warfare; Tirpitz, Alfred von *and*
 other naval elites
 German-Prussian Imperial constitution 545
 German Revolution. *See* November
 Revolution (1918)
 German Social Democratic Party 7–8
 German Society 1914 (the “Club”) 257–
 264, 268, 269, 301, 330, 370, 440, 455,
 498–500, 555, 556. *See also* Solf,
 Wilhelm *and other members*
 – Troeltsch’s address to (1916) 263–282,
 301, 342
 German state 3, 6, 9, 39, 89, 131, 137, 182,
 197, 231, 249, 265, 276, 331, 337, 345,
 376, 383, 386, 401, 448, 527. *See also*
 authoritarian (autocratic) state (*Obrig-*
 keitsstaat); German democracy; German
 freedom; German government; popular
 state (*Volksstaat*)
Germany and the World War (Hintze and
 Meinecke, eds.) 176–190, 186n53, 189,
 198, 258, 339
Gleichberechtigung 347
 goal of history 242–243, 247
 God 43, 59, 64–65, 70, 91, 140, 157,
 390–391
 “God punish England” (*Gott strafe*
 England) 105, 108
 “God Save the Queen” (British national
 anthem) 44
 good will 221
 Graeca association 204, 204n114
 great men 476–477, 567–568, 571,
 postscript
 Greece 292
Großes Hauptquartier (General Headquar-
 ters) 132, 239–242, 263, 309, 310, 317,
 369, 377, 421, 494, 495, 496, 497, 530
 guerrilla war 139

 Hamburg 464
 Heidelberg 56–57, 82, 91, 172–173
 Heidelberg period (Troeltsch’s
 – Berlin compared to 74–75
 – Heidelberg University public gathering
 (1914) 52–66
 Heidelberg University. *See* University of
 Heidelberg
 “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” (Hail to Thee
 in Victor’s Wreath) (German national
 anthem) 44, 44n4
 Heligoland clashes 305
Herrenvolk (sovereign people) 476n86,
 476–477
Herrschaftsstaat 347
 historical development. *See also* ancient
 world (antiquity); backwardness
 (*Zurückgebliebenheit*); Christianity;
 culture; culture, unified theory of
 (*Kultursynthese*); ideas of 1914; Middle
 Ages; natural law; progress; relativism,
 cultural; Roman Empire; Romanticism,
 German; spirit of 1914; universality;
 words into deeds; individual spirit
 – authoritarian state and 280
 – class interests and 546
 – culture and 245, 264
 – defeat and 377
 – democracy and XIII, 3, 5, 8, 36–37, 331,
 408–409, 410, 445, 446, 543n10, 565–566
 – economic factors 277–278
 – equal franchise and 417
 – experience and 24
 – freedom and 183–184, 350, 405–407, 439
 – French-German wars and 56–57
 – the future and 545
 – German democracy and XIII, 5, 7, 8–11,
 332–334, 353, 394, 396, 408–411,
 509–510, 542, 543n10, 545
 – German freedom and 183–185, 344–346,
 352–353, 388–391
 – German objectivity and 146
 – goal of 242–243, 247
 – historical contingency and 278–279,
 341–342, 543, 560
 – ideas of 1914 and 273–274
 – individual freedom and 342–344
 – mobilization of 558
 – monarchism and 144–145
 – normative values and 23–24, 341
 – peace and 55–57, 134–135

- political ethics and 23, 35–38, 244, 341
- progress *versus* 567
- Troeltsch on 1, 23–24, 35–38, 182, 242–243, 244–245, 278–279, 331, 445, 446, 540–543, 558, 560, 566
- universality and 242–243, 244–245, 278–279, 341–342, 439, 566
- *Völkerindividualitäten* and 341
- *Völkshcer* (People's Army) and 93–94
- Western and German compared 410–411, 560–572
- Western freedom and 342–343
- historicism 345n160
- Historische Zeitschrift* (journal) 11, 87
- hoarding 48–49. *See also* rationing; starvation and shortages
- Hohenzollern dynasty 97, 174–175, 240, 505, 529–538. *See also* German Empire; Wilhelm II; Wilhelm II *and other emperors*
- Braun on 536
- Troeltsch on collapse of 535–536
- Holland 31, 68, 118, 286, 287, 538, 540. *See also* Western Front
- honor 372n284, 446–447, 518–519, 547
- human (common) culture. *See also* civilization; cosmopolitanism; culture; freedom, idea of; humanity; internationalism; relativism, cultural; Western culture (European and American)
- annexation and 499
- defensive war and 56, 65, 169
- democracy and 279–280
- domination and 567, postscript
- foreign nationalities and 86
- German culture and 48, 65, 86, 131, 562, 567, 570–571, postscript
- historical development and 86, 244–247, 341–343, 564
- illusory 137, 140–141
- Troeltsch on 35, 56, 65, 169
- humanitarianism 244, 480, 513–514
- humanity. *See also* barbarism, brutality, and atrocities; emotions (passions); human rights; the people (the masses) (*das Volk*); reason and rationality
- annexation and 208
- common culture and 86, 155, 279, 342
- enemies of 382
- essence of 246–247
- individual freedom and 567
- natural law and 562–563, 565
- *Realpolitik* and 489–490
- Troeltsch on 146, 246–247, 342, 451, 562–563, 567
- unity of 567
- World War I and 561
- human rights
- Troeltsch on 35n109, 36–37, 40, 64, 161, 352, 473, 564–565, 567, 570
- Idealpolitik* 166
- ideals and idealism. *See also* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); Enlightenment; freedom, idea of *and other ideals*; political ethics; *Realpolitik*; Romanticism, German
- democracy and conservatism and 36–37, 38–41
- German culture and 107, 145, 184
- Troeltsch and 1, 32, 66, 84, 137, 195–196, 231–233, 245, 247, 274, 352, 451, 472, 480–481, 554
- ideas of 1813 53, 174
- ideas of 1914. *See also* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); democracy; equality; freedom; self-examination (introspection); self-examination, German; *Sonderweg*; spirit of 1914
- Central European block and 282–302
- defensive war *versus* 14, 281
- feelings and 275
- Free Patriotic Association and 252–257
- German freedom and 280–282
- German Society 1914 and 257–264
- historical thinking and 273–274
- intellectual civil war and 251–255, 265, 273–274, 278–281
- as justification of war death and suffering 251–252
- Kjellén and 266–267
- militarism and 14, 280
- National Socialism and 15–16
- partisan friction and 251–255
- peace and 420
- Plenge and 103n7, 265–266, 267–269

- political awakening of the people and 275–276, 524
- relativism, cultural and 242–251, 279
- scholarly misinterpretation of 13–19
- spirit of 1914 *versus* 13–21, 90, 301–302
- Troeltsch on 20, 242–251, 268n132, 268–302, 341, 357, 446, 524
- ideological purity 230–233
- imperialism. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; Central Africa; colonialism; self-determination; world domination
 - Allies and 407
 - American 160, 270
 - annexation *versus* 270–271
 - British 159–160, 185, 270, 271, 405
 - as cause of war 269–270
 - Central European block and 298
 - Claß on 270–271
 - democracy and 407–408, 411
 - ethics and 165–166, 168
 - French 270, 271
 - German 159n230, 160–169
 - German culture and 163, 164–167
 - O. Hintze on 185
 - Japanese 270
 - liberal or cultural 162–166
 - nationalism and 411
 - peace and 162–164
 - “place in the sun” and 301
 - political ethics and 168–169
 - *Realpolitik* and 166, 488
 - Romanticism and 568
 - Troeltsch on 95n194, 158–170, 181, 270–272, 301, 329, 407–408, 568
- Imperial Naval Cabinet 237
- Imperial Naval Office 113, 306, 314
- independence. *See* the individual; individual freedom
- independence of others 166
- Independent Committee for a German Peace 326, 517, 519–520
- Independent Socialist Democratic Party 227, 264, 462, 525
- the individual. *See also* diversity, individual; the people (the masses) (*das Volk*)
 - decline of West and 569
 - historical development and 22
 - the state and 137, 147, 182, 301, 351–355, 357, 390–391, 409, 446–447, 478
- individual freedom. *See also* autonomy; equality; France; human rights; liberalism and liberals; rights; Romanticism, German; will of the people
 - collective freedom and 167, 406–407
 - common culture and 571
 - German constitutional monarchy and 401
 - German essence and 145
 - historical thinking and 342–344
- individuality. *See also* *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities), 14, 37, 183, 184, 242, 244, 278–279, 353, 569
- industrialists 211, 220, 289, 325, 416–417, 433, 463, 466, 488, 507, 545–546. *See also* AEG and others; Rathenau, Walther and others
- Industrialists’ Petition 207–208, 213, 233
- industrial workers 184, 230–231, 364, 464
- industriousness 145–146
- inequality. *See also* great men; Prussian franchise; world domination
 - conservatism and 37–38
 - Troeltsch on 38, 564, 567
- information 17–18, 50, 175, 267. *See also* *Burgfrieden* and military censorship; mobilization of opinion; propaganda
- inner life 56, 185, 390. *See also* self-examination (introspection)
- “inner victory” 64
- intellectual civil war (partisanship and polarization). *See also* “Berlin Declaration” (1917); culture war (*Kulturkrieg*) and other causes; demobilization of minds (cultural disarmament) (intellectual armistice); Fatherland Party and other participants; future of Germany (new Germany); peace; reorientation (reform); Volkelt, Hans and other polarizers; war aims; war of words (international opinion); Weimar Republic
 - *Burgfrieden* and 149, 151, 251, 468
 - culture war and 190–191, 481, 561–562
 - future of Germany and 571
 - ideas of 1914 and 251–255, 265, 273–274, 278–281

- as irresolvable 201–202
- morality and 560
- overview 12–13
- as product of economic/political struggles 272
- reorientation and 415–418
- Royal Library Meeting (1918) and 517–522
- scholarship and 13
- Troeltsch on 12, 179–186, 191–202, 343, 406, 441, 449–450, 462–471, 478–479, 481, 486, 560–572
- winter of 1915 and 254–255
- World War I and 104, 561
- intellectual culture (*geistige Kultur*) 65
- intellectual elites. *See* educated elites, German (*Bildungsbürgertum*)
- intellectual fairness 10
- intellectual and spiritual life 34, 138
- Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 83–97, 101, 186
- internationalism. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; cosmopolitanism; League of Nations; war of words (international opinion)
 - British 82–83
 - culture war and 189–190
 - death of 82–89
 - German culture and 82–83, 85–86, 179–185
 - German freedom and 168, 438
 - German pacifists and 561
 - peace and 322
 - sciences and 87–97
 - Solf on 259
 - Troeltsch on 37, 84, 87–97, 168, 182, 188–189, 202, 450, 489
- international law 74n114, 74–76, 123, 304, 403, 461, 510. *See also* Peace Resolution (*Friedensresolution*) (Erzberger) (1917)
- international opinion. *See* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); war of words
- intolerance/tolerance 146–147, 232, 300
- Italy 46, 47, 160, 178, 187, 188, 287, 323, 474
- January Strike (1918) 464–467, 465n46, 468, 469–470, 493, 524
- Japan 69, 270
- Jewish state 156
- Jews 548. *See also* anti-Semitism
- John Bull* (British journal) 111
- jubilee festivities in 1913 135
- July Crisis (1914) 44–45, 90
- July Crisis, second (1917) 411–423, 508
- June Club 376
- Junkers 392–393, 427n224, 548. *See also* Beerfelde, Hans-Georg von
- justifications for war. *See* defensive war; World War I, causes of
- just wars 52, 134–135
- Kaisergeburtstagsrede* 241–251
- Kieler Neueste Nachrichten* (newspaper) 559
- Kiel uprisings 464, 465, 525, 532, 536, 540, 558. *See also* strikes and mutinies
- Kriegspublizistik* (intellectual war journalism) 16
- Kulturkrieg*. *See* culture war
- Kulturwissenschaften* (cultural sciences) 25
- Der Kunstwart* (journal) 543, 547
- labor. *See* working classes
- The Labor Force in the New Germany* (Thimme and Legien, eds.) 216–218, 217n169, 221n186, 221–236, 330, 333, 482, 482n103
- Troeltsch on 234–235
- Lake Starnberg 557–558
- “La Marseillaise” (French national anthem) 59
- Latvians 493
- League of Nations 36–37, 40, 397, 461, 533n317, 561
- “League of Nations and Peace” (People’s League public meeting, 1918) 532–538, 535n126
- Le Figaro* (French newspaper) 126
- Leipziger Volkszeitung* (newspaper) 49, 233, 502
- Le Temps* (French newspaper) 368
- levée en masse* (1918) 514–525, 522n268, 555
- liberalism and liberals. *See also* cosmopolitanism; Delbrück, Hans and *other*

- liberals*; German Democratic Party and other parties; German Society 1914 and other organizations; *The Labor Force in the New Germany* (Thimme and Legien, eds.); reorientation (reform); *Vösische Zeitung* (newspaper); Western freedom
- German democracy and 3, 565
 - imperialism and 159–160, 162–166
 - *Labor Force in the New Germany* and 217
 - Max von Baden and 29
 - national 324, 367
 - *Realpolitik* and 39–40, 269n132, 490, 544
 - reorientation and 219, 438
 - social 163, 163n247
 - the state and 35, 329
 - Troeltsch on 35, 39–40, 147, 269n132, 490, 544, 565
 - unification and 344
- Liberal Party (Britain) 111
- Liège (Belgium) 68–69, 81, 81n141
- lies 126–127, 278, 278n170, 306, 306n16, 430
- “light” (of reason, hope, life) 546
- Lincé (Belgium) 81n141
- Lithuania and Lithuanians 456n13, 493
- London Society for the Study of Religion 31
- Louvain (Belgium) 77–79, 81–82, 123
- loyalty. *See* patriotism and loyalty
- RMS *Lusitania* 188, 190, 307–308, 309, 309n29
- “Luxembourgization” 222–223, 417
- Manifesto of the 93 (To the Civilized World!) (*An die Kulturwelt!*) 120–129, 126n96, 177, 214
- Troeltsch and 128n101, 128–129, 132
- Manifesto of the Three (“The Imperative of the Hour”) 233–234
- Marburg School 23
- Marxism 264, 265. *See also* Bernstein, Eduard
- mass culture, democratic 331
- the masses. *See* the people (the masses) (*das Volk*)
- mass events. *See also* anti-war protests; strikes and mutinies
 - Berlin (1914) 46–47
 - British declaration of war and 105
 - against international opinion 102
 - invasion of Belgium and 67
 - mobilization and 51–52
 - songs and 58
 - spirit of 1914 origins and 48–51
 - Wilhelm II’s addresses (Berlin) (1914) 43–44, 50–51
 - “master race.” *See Herrenvolk*
 - “melting pot” 272–273
 - Middle Ages 564, 566
 - middle classes 216, 316, 363, 465–466, 547
 - milieu theory (Balzac) 551
 - militarism. *See also* barbarism, brutality, and atrocities; discipline, order and organization; imperialism; military power/victory; police state; violence and destruction; world domination
 - class interests and 545–546
 - Fatherland Party and 438
 - geopolitical necessity and 390
 - ideas of 1914 and 14, 16, 280
 - Meinecke on 390, 392–393
 - political moderation and 152–153
 - Troeltsch on 58, 64n69, 130, 132, 134–135, 146, 545–546
 - Western powers and Germany compared 279
 - words into deeds and 61–62
- military elites, German. *See also* authoritarian state (*Obrigkeitsstaat*); censorship; Falkenhayn, Erich von and other military elites; military power/victory; Prussian army
- Battle of the Marne and 117
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 358–360, 372–373
 - civilian authority over 528
 - class interests and 491
 - H. Delbrück on 359–360
 - Fatherland Party and 433
 - German democratization and 417
 - January Strike (1918) and 466, 467
 - *levée en masse* and 524–525
 - lies and 126–127

- People’s League and 433, 459
- public opinion (1918) and 523
- *Realpolitik* and 488, 492
- submarine warfare and 358, 369, 372–373, 417–418
- Wilson on 527
- military honor 372n284
- military power/victory. *See also* German army; German navy; militarism; military elites, German; naval power and freedom of the seas; Schlieffen plan; Seeberg Address (“Intellectuals’ Petition”) and its organizers; submarine (U-boat) warfare
 - armistice (1918) and 542
 - as cause of war 561
 - defeat and revolt *versus* 327
 - economic factors and 479–480
 - Fatherland Party and 435, 463
 - peace and 43, 70, 76, 156–157, 164, 207, 209, 210, 222, 258–259, 280, 303, 310, 311, 358, 368, 413, 418–423, 435, 456, 493–494
 - Troeltsch on 332, 377–378, 411, 448–449, 454, 463, 470, 475, 479–480, 520
- militia 95, 97, 139
- Mittleuropa*. *See* Central European block
- Mittwochabend* (Wednesday Evening circle) (H. Delbrück) 206–207, 211, 252, 324, 377, 396, 433, 434, 459, 503, 504, 504, 541, 541, 550. *See also* Delbrück-Dernburg Petition
- mobilization of minds 12, 191. *See also* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); demobilization of minds; intellectual civil war (partisanship and polarization)
- mobilization of opinion 14, 112–115, 115n57, 133, 192–193, 199–200, 558. *See also* propaganda
- monarchism. *See also* aristocratic idea; German government; patriarchy; Wilhelm II
 - end of 526, 528–530
 - German army and 64n69, 95, 97
 - German democracy and 1, 2, 3–4, 7, 219, 226, 227, 277, 279, 333, 365, 366, 413, 494, 508–511
 - historical development and 144–145, 146
 - parliamentary democracy and 145, 365
 - peace and 395, 404, 411
 - Prussian 3, 9, 9n32
 - Russian 143
 - social 277, 346 346, 387, 395, 401, 413
 - social democracy and 277, 413
 - Social Democrats and 219
 - socialists and 227, 387, 413
 - Troeltsch on 39, 95, 97, 144–145, 146, 195, 277, 279, 404, 411, 508–510
- money 48, 133, 200, 275, 305, 360, 387, 399, 463, 465, 522, 557
- morality. *See* political ethics (morality) (values)
- Moroccan Crisis, second 149
- most-favored-nations treaties 289
- “mother earth” 38
- ““My army and My navy”” 94–95
- National Committee for an Honorable Peace 324–35, 363
- national individualities. *See* *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities)
- nationalism. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; Central European Block (*Mittleuropa*); culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); imperialism; militarism; Pan-German League and other organizations; patriotism and loyalty; Seeberg Address (“Intellectuals’ Petition”) and its organizers; unity, German; *Weltmacht* (world power)
 - anti-Semitism and 548
 - Britain and 107
 - educated elite and 552, 554
 - German national anthem and 44n4
 - German democracy and 227–228, 254–256, 355, 416–417
 - ideas of 1914 and 14–15
 - *Tägliche Rundschau* and 48
 - Troeltsch on 32, 35, 95n194, 130, 135n126, 142, 355, 480, 488
- nationalities. *See* *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities)
- National Liberal Party 206n121, 212, 252, 421, 425. *See also* Schiffer, Eugen and others

- National Socialism (Nazism) (rise of Hitler) (swastika-ism) 11, 14–16, 427, 473n75, 549
- “national will to power” 210
- natural law 558n74, 558–573. *See also* historical development
- naval power and freedom of the seas. *See also* blockade, British; German navy; military power/victory; Royal Navy (Britain); submarine warfare
- Britain and 196, 284
 - Central European block and 284, 290
 - competition between powers and 105, 146, 156, 418
 - imperialism/world domination and 84, 160–162, 164–165
 - Troeltsch on 133, 167–168, 198–199
- Nazism. *See* National Socialism
- Near East 461
- Neo-Kantianism 22–23
- Die neue Rundschau* (journal) 67, 147–159, 210, 251n54, 267n127, 269, 338, 405n123
- Neue Zürcher Nachrichten* (Swiss newspaper) 499
- neutrality and neutral countries 74n114, 75, 178, 187, 292, 307, 309. *See also* Belgium
- new Germany. *See* future of Germany
- News Bureau of the Imperial Navy Office 113
- newspapers and journalism, American 304, 314
- newspapers and journalism, German. *See also* *Berliner Tageblatt* and other newspapers; censorship; freedom of the press
- agitating 57
 - Beerfelde and 507
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 422
 - Bethmann Hollweg on submarine warfare and 313
 - Bethmann Hollweg’s peace negotiation offer (1917) and 368
 - on democratic revolution 540
 - demonstrations and work stoppages and 362
 - hatred of Germany and 478
 - international opinion and 414
 - public response to WWI and 44
 - shortages and 362n233
 - Troeltsch on 30, 468, 478
 - on Troeltsch’s address on Kaiser’s birthday 248
 - words into deeds and 61
- “Nine Upstanding Men” 416
- nonpartisanship 41, 144, 188, 252–253, 412. *See also* Free Patriotic Association
- November Revolution (1918) XIII, 432n239, 452, 462, 539–546, 549
- as Troeltsch experienced it 539n1, 539–546
- objectivity 24–25, 140, 146–147, 154, 180, 201, 388, 470. *See also* *Realpolitik*; *Wissenschaft*
- order. *See* discipline, order and organization
- original sin 564, 565
- The Oxford Magazine* 128–129
- Oxford University 31, 82–83, 110. *See also* Sayce, Archibald
- Palais Pringsheim 257–258, 259, 269, 440
- Pan-German League. *See also* *Alldeutsche Blätter*; Claß, Heinrich; Reventlow, Ernst Count zu; Seeberg Address (“Intellectuals’ Petition”) and its organizers
- annexation and 115, 151, 215–216
 - Beerfelde compared 505
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 150, 158, 158n227, 163n247, 210–211, 215–216, 323–324, 326, 370
 - Central European block and 288
 - counterrevolution and 548–549
 - Easter Message (1917) and 508
 - Erzberger on 419–420
 - *Germany and the World War* and 186
 - Hitler and 427
 - January Strike (1918) and 466
 - obscurity of 149n186
 - peace and 322–323
 - public opinion and 487n125
 - Schäfer and 208
 - Solf and 500
 - submarine warfare and 370
 - Tirpitz resignation and 316–317
 - Troeltsch on 159, 167, 168, 202
 - war aims and 150–151, 152, 153, 154

- Paris Commune of 1871 95
- parliamentary democracy. *See also* German democracy; Hintze, Otto *and other elites*; reorientation (reform); Weimar Republic
- American democracy *versus* 398
 - H. Delbrück on 349–50
 - established XIV, 525–532
 - French 409
 - German freedom and 11n38, 184
 - history of 3
 - idea of democracy and 348–350
 - monarchy and 145, 365
 - *Realpolitik* and 490
 - revolution and 537, 542
 - Troeltsch on 145, 184, 340n149, 350, 350n180, 432n240, 463, 475–478, 511
 - Weber on 476–477
 - Wolff on 365
 - working classes and 409, 463
- particular character (*Sondercharakter*) 247, 249–250. *See also* historical development; *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities)
- particularism (*Kleinstaaterei*) 401
- partisanship. *See* ideas of 1914; intellectual civil war; reason and rationality; reorientation; unity, German
- Passchendaele (Third Battle of Ypres) (1917) 453, 454
- paternalism 267
- patriarchy 36, 345, 389, 391
- patriotism and loyalty 20–21, 86, 92, 93, 216, 261, 437. *See also* defeatism, accusations of; fatherland; mass events; Social Democrats; spirit of 1813; spirit of 1914; unity, German
- Troeltsch on 35, 552, 553
- peace. *See also* anti-war protests; Berlin Declaration; Delbrück-Dernburg Petition *and other petitions and declarations*; demobilization of minds (cultural disarmament); Erzberger, Matthias *and other elites*; People's League for Freedom and Fatherland *and other organizations*; Treaty of Versailles (1919) *and other treaties*; world domination
- democracy and 194, 217, 219, 220, 385, 388, 439
 - economic factors and 55–56, 448–449, 516
 - freedom and 382–383
 - German democracy and 11–12, 382–383, 385, 386, 387, 404–405, 407, 411, 507
 - ideas of 1914 and 420
 - military power/victory and 70, 76, 156–157, 164, 207, 209, 210, 222, 258–259, 280, 303, 310, 311, 358, 368, 413, 414, 418–423, 435, 456, 493–494
 - Russia and 454, 490, 493, 505
 - Troeltsch on XV, 36–38, 55–57, 65, 128n101, 134–135, 140, 161–164, 169, 185, 194, 280, 335, 404, 407–408, 411, 423, 450, 455, 477, 479, 510–511, 521, 522
 - *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities) and 185, 194
 - working classes and 459–460
- peace agreements. *See* armistice of 1918; demobilization of minds (cultural disarmament); Fourteen Points (Wilson); Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; Treaty of Versailles (1919)
- Peace Resolution (*Friedensresolution*) (Erzberger) (1917) 424–426, 428–430, 433, 448, 453, 456, 483, 490, 500–501. *See also* Erzberger, Matthias; intellectual civil war
- the people (the masses) (*das Volk*). *See also* civilians at home; franchise, equal; the individual; January Strike (1918); *levée en masse*; popular state (*Volksstaat*); public opinion and mood, German; revolution; rights; *Volksheer* (People's Army); will of the people; working classes
- American democracy and 398–400
 - fatherland and 522
 - Fatherland Party and 444
 - German freedom and 64, 394
 - German state and 182–183, 329–330, 331–332, 386, 394–396
 - individual personalities and 36, 147
 - Meinecke on 393, 395–396
 - peace and 134–135, 448, 522
 - People's League and 433, 436, 439, 444, 479, 490–491, 513–514

- political awakening of 275–276, 524
- principles (ideologies) and 232–233
- reorientation and 229, 526
- say in peace and 448
- the state and 351, 443–444, 534–535, 565
- Troeltsch on 64, 64n69, 134–135, 275–276, 331, 448, 479–480, 522, 536, 560, 571–572
- unity and 275
- Volkelt on 472, 479–480
- Wilson and 382
- “people’s army.” *See Volksheer* (People’s Army) (*Volk in Waffen*)
- People’s League for Freedom and Fatherland (*Volksbund für Freiheit und Vaterland*). *See also* the people (the masses) (*das Volk*)
- criticism of 439, 439n267, 471–472
- demise of 490–492, 555
- educated elites and 431n218, 431–435
- Fatherland Party *versus* 432n240, 435–439, 443n285, 443–445, 446, 447n297, 487–492, 513, 517–520, 523
- on feared Allied invasion (1918) 517
- Fourteen Points and 461
- German democracy and 431–439, 451–452, 459, 489–491
- “League of Nations and Peace” (public meeting) (1918) 532–535
- *levée en masse* and 517–519, 522–523
- membership statistics 433n241
- military elite and 433, 459
- November Revolution and 432n239
- peace and 533–535
- Prussian franchise and 444–445, 490
- Troeltsch and 29, 431, 431n218, 432, 439–451, 443n285, 452, 462–463, 467–468, 472–476, 486–487, 489–492, 510, 513, 517–520, 535–536
- workers’ groups and 434, 434n243, 465, 470–471, 523
- “people” *versus* “sword” 50n29
- personal responsibility 39, 570
- philosophical faculty (University of Berlin) 172, 173
- philosophy of history 25, 141, 244. *See also* historical development; relativism, cultural
- “place in the sun” 238, 301
- pluralism 246, 255–256, 340–341. *See also* diversity, individual; relativism, cultural
- pluralism, cultural 349–350, 354
- plutocracy 145, 409–410
- Poland 212n150, 287, 313, 461, 493
- police 303, 464, 466, 536
- police state 345, 389, 401
- political elites. *See also* Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von *and other political elites*; German government; Wednesday Evening (*Mittwochabend*) circle (H. Delbrück)
- American democracy and 398–399
- blaming Central Powers for war 505
- democracy and 194–196
- German Society 1914 and 263
- “Imperialism” (Troeltsch) and 148
- inequality and 567–568
- *levée en masse* and 516–517
- parliamentarianism and 395
- peace offers and 464
- public opinion and 195–196
- reorientation and 220
- Troeltsch on 165, 202, 540, 559
- Wilhelm II on 497
- will of the people and 346
- political ethics (morality) (values). *See also* Christianity; democracy, idea of; equality *and other values*; freedom; historical development; humanity; imperialism; Kant, Immanuel; peace; propaganda *and other issues*; *Realpolitik*; relativism, cultural
- “anarchy of” 203, 203n113
- German democracy and 36–37, 143–147
- German freedom and 280–281, 356, 439–440
- Greek culture and 203
- help for enemies and 154
- peace and 36, 37, 404, 449–450
- “place in the sun” and 301
- power elites and 195–196
- principles (ideologies) of 35n104, 232–233
- private *versus* state 168, 195, 231, 251, 251n54, 378–379, 543
- specter of civil war and 462–463
- Troeltsch on 33–40, 92–93, 142, 233, 439–451, 462–463, 463n37, 479,

- 512–514, 551, 552, 559–561, 570,
 postscript
 – World War I and 508, 512–514
 political parties 34, 39, 70–71, 222,
 253–254, 410. *See* Social Democratic
 Party and other parties
 political representation 97, 97n199, 221,
 222, 223–224, 226, 255. *See also* Prussian
 franchise
 Political Society of 1915 261
 popular state (*Volksstaat*) 345, 346–347.
See also the people (the masses)
 (*das Volk*); *Volksheer* (People's Army)
 (*Volk in Waffen*)
 population growth 34
 Potsdam regiments 97
 power 14, 225, 394, 450. *See also*
 capitalism; imperialism; militarism;
 military power/victory; political elites;
 power elites; *Realpolitik* (pragmatism)
 (compromise); the state
 – Troeltsch on 370, 513, 561
 – as World War I cause 404–405, 561
 power elites. *See* class interests; great men;
 industrialists; military elites, German;
 political elites; *Realpolitik*
 practical idealism 233
 practical politics 39, 40
 Praetorian Guard 548
 pragmatism. *See* *Realpolitik*
Preußische Jahrbücher (journal) 152, 186,
 214, 226, 255–256, 335, 376, 415–416,
 419. *See also* Delbrück, Hans
Preußische Zeitung (newspaper) 241, 249,
 257
 price gouging 49, 63
 progress 247, 280, 342, 567. *See also*
 historical development
 Progressive People's Party 425, 457, 498.
See also Haußmann, Conrad
 proletarianization 552
 propaganda. *See also* censorship; informa-
 tion; mobilization of opinion
 – Allied 129, 133, 197, 200
 – British 86, 104, 110, 115, 115n57,
 139–140, 178, 192–193, 196–199,
 278n170, 278–281, 405
 – German 115n57, 200
 – on German naval expansion 288–290
 – political ethics and 133, 197, 560–561
 – Troeltsch on 129, 200, 559–560
 property ownership 223, 397n81
 Protestants and Protestantism 12, 22, 40–41,
 64, 182, 391. *See also* Barth, Karl;
 Reformation; religion
 Protestant Social Congress 32–40, 95, 105,
 161, 167, 276, 350, 404–05n118, 558.
See also Baumgarten, Otto
 protests. *See also* anti-war protests; strikes
 and mutinies
 – against Prussian unequal franchise 46–47
 Prussia 57, 93–96, 144–145, 174–175, 182,
 284, 368. *See also* Franco-Prussian War
 (1870); Hohenzollern dynasty; monarch-
 ism; Prussian franchise
 Prussian Academy of Sciences 171–172
 Prussian army 54, 93–94, 94n189, 97–98.
See also universal conscription
 Prussian franchise. *See also* Anschütz,
 Gerhard and other educated elites; Berlin
 Declaration (1917); German army;
 German democracy; reorientation
 (reform); working classes
 – accomplished 458–459
 – “Berlin Declaration” and 415–416
 – Fatherland Party and other opponents of
 reform 416–417, 444, 519
 – German freedom and 228, 385
 – overview 223–225
 – protests and 46–47, 362
 – response to Wilson and 526, 528
 – Troeltsch on 337–338, 444–445, 448,
 463, 490, 551
 Prussian Guard 96
 Prussian House of Lords 217, 223, 366,
 380, 426, 514
 Prussian House of Representatives
 (*Landtag*) (*Abgeordnetenhaus*)
 – annexation and 211–212
 – Bethmann Hollweg's speech to
 (1917) 366–367
 – class interests and 224–225
 – “German Freedom” lectures 385–412,
 412n161, 416, 429
 – People's League speeches (1917)
 and 432, 440–451

- Social Democrats and 217, 225
- Troeltsch and 551
- Prussian Ministry of Culture 551–552
- Prussian Ministry of Religious and Educational Affairs 29
- public celebrations 240, 536–537. *See also* spirit of 1913
- public opinion, American 410, 418–419, 443
- public opinion and mood, German. *See also* Heidelberg University public gathering (1914) *and other reactions*; intellectual civil war (partisanship and polarization); mass events; newspapers; newspapers and journalism, German; Pan-German League; the people (the masses); trust
- Bethmann Hollweg and 210–211, 317–318, 369, 371
- *Burgfrieden* and 80, 115, 121
- Central European block and 294, 297–298
- deaths and causalities and 240
- democratic ethics and 195
- educated elite and 192–193
- equal franchise and 363, 364
- Erzberger's address before *Reichstag* (1917) and 420
- Falkenhayn on 117
- Fatherland Party and 535
- Fourteen Points and 461–462
- German democracy and XIII, XIV–XV, 416, 490
- *Germany and the World War* and 188
- Hindenburg and 358, 359
- League of Nations and 533
- *levée en masse* (1918) and 523
- management of 278n170
- Moltke on 176
- 1916 shortages and 361–362
- outbreak of war and 43–51
- Pan-German League and 487n125
- Peace Resolution (1917) and 428, 429–430
- power elites and 195–196
- reforms and 471
- scholars and 13–16, 60, 60n57
- the state and 410n148
- submarine warfare and 304, 306, 310–311, 312, 418–419, 424–425, 430
- Treaty of Versailles (1919) and 547
- Weimar and 2
- Wilhelm II abdication and 530, 538
- World War I and 12–13, 16–20
- racial identity 135–136, 571
- rational democrat (*Vernunftdemokrat*) 543–544. *See also* *Realpolitik* (pragmatism) (compromise)
- rational republicans (*Vernunftrepublikaner*) 1n2, 1–2
- rationing 132, 274. *See also* hoarding; starvation and shortages
- Realpolitik* (pragmatism) (compromise). *See also* economic factors; sober calculation
- German democracy and 490–491, 507–514, 543–544
- idealism and 195–196, 231–233, 479, 489, 554
- ideological purity and 230–233
- *Labor Force in the New Germany* and 235
- liberals and 39–40, 269n132, 490
- Max von Baden's candidacy and 502
- peace and 479
- People's League and 474–475, 487–492
- political ethics and 34, 40, 449, 488–492, 510–511, 543–544, 570
- Troeltsch on 39–40, 166, 195–196, 230–233, 269n132, 329–330, 442, 443, 479, 490, 507–514, 554
- reason and rationality 14, 184, 254–255, 259, 370, 372n284, 546, 564, 565. *See also* emotions (passions); natural law; “rational democrat”; “rational republicans”
- Red Cross 53
- reform. *See* reorientation
- Reform Act of 1832 (Britain) 397n81
- Reformation 24
- Der Reichsbote* (newspaper) 466–467
- Reichstag*. *See also* Noske, Gustav *and other representatives*; Peace Resolution (1917)
- appointment of Vice-Chancellors and 457, 478
- Claß and 157
- equal franchise 526, 528
- Free Patriotic Association and 252

- Imperial Chancellor (1918) and 528
- mass demonstrations and 46
- mass religious service and 51
- Max von Baden and 532
- meeting of August 4, 1914 69–76
- meeting of July 6, 1917 419
- People’s League and 433
- People’s League speeches (1917) and 437–438
- Prussian franchise and 366
- recess of (1918) 532
- Social Democrats and 225
- Troeltsch on 509, 551
- Wilhelm II and 69–71, 457–458
- relativism, cultural 24, 203n113, 242–251, 278–279, 406. *See also* historical development; human (common) culture; pluralism; *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities)
- religion. *See also* Christianity; God; Protestants and Protestantism
 - “Americanism” *versus* 271
 - democratic principle and 37
 - differences in 48
 - German contributions to 182
 - German freedom and 280–281
 - political ethics and 450
 - *Realpolitik* and 231–232
 - Social Democrats and 33, 229, 232
 - Troeltsch on 64–65, 450
- Renaissance 77, 565
- reorientation (reform). *See also* annexation and other issues; Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von and other elites; future of Germany (new Germany); *The Labor Force in the New Germany* (Thimme and Legien, eds.); parliamentary democracy; the people (the masses) (*das Volk*); People’s League for Freedom and Fatherland and other groups; Prussian franchise; *Realpolitik*
 - annexation and 220, 414n171
 - educated elite and 333, 335–338, 401–402
 - inner 414, 430
 - international opinion and 413–414
 - military power/victory and 456
 - partisan positions on 415–418
 - public opinion (1918) and 471
 - *Realpolitik* and 231–232
 - revolution *versus* 537
 - submarine warfare and 335–338, 414–415
 - Troeltsch on 232–233, 277–278, 373–374, 378–379
 - war outcomes and 97n199, 378–381, 438
 - reparations 155, 449, 463, 465, 516, 547, 573
 - republic 1–2, 518
 - revolution. *See also* January Strike (1918); Kiel uprisings; *levée en masse*; November Revolution (1918); *Umwälzung* (revolution); *Volksheer* (People’s Army) (*Volk in Waffen*)
 - from above 459, 463, 525, 547
 - from below 464, 547
 - German democratization and 417, 529, 537, 542, 547
 - parliamentary democracy and 537, 542
 - peace and 448, 521, 522, 529
 - Prussian franchise and 336
 - reorientation *versus* 537
 - right to 564–565
 - Seeberg Address and 216–217
 - Troeltsch on 95, 521, 539, 550, 552, 555, 566–567
 - Rheinische Zeitung* (newspaper) 67
 - Right National Liberals 367, 425
 - rights. *See also* feminism; franchise, equal; freedom of the press; German army; human rights; *The Labor Force in the New Germany* (Thimme and Legien, eds.); Ludendorff, Erich von and other elites; property ownership; self-determination; the state, the individual and; individual freedom
 - annexation *versus* 220, 425
 - Christian 473, 564
 - class interests and 546
 - German freedom and 184, 342, 351, 352, 395–396
 - of nations 382, 384
 - natural law and 564–565
 - Peoples’ League and 432, 437, 446
 - Troeltsch on 64n69, 97, 161, 331, 342, 351, 352, 446, 546, 564–565, 567
 - Roman Empire 152, 155, 317n63, 408, 564

- Romania 308, 339
- Romanticism, German 184, 563–564, 566–568, 571, 572
- Royal Library Meeting (1918) 517–523
- Royal Navy (Britain) 113, 131. *See also* naval power
- rule of law *versus* *raison d'état* 110
- Russia. *See also* Entente and Allies; Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
- annexations and 286
 - blamed for causing war 54–55, 60, 70, 72
 - Britain compared 106
 - casualties and 98
 - Central Powers (1917) and 454
 - Claß's war aims and 155–156
 - democracy and 404
 - Fourteen Points and 461
 - freedom and 143
 - German imperialism and 160
 - German public opinion and 54–55, 105
 - *Germany and the World War* and 178
 - mobilization of 43
 - monarchism and 143
 - national individualities and 181, 185, 299
 - nationalism and 355
 - October Revolution and 454
 - Pan-German agitation and 323
 - peace and 454, 490, 493, 505
 - Serbia and 46
 - Solf on 499
 - Troeltsch on 54–55, 60, 65, 179, 181
 - ultimatum to 49
 - world domination and 185
- Russian Revolution 362, 366, 379–380, 417, 460, 462, 465
- “Schlachtgesang” (Battle Hymn) (Arndt) 58–60
- Schlieffen plan 49n26, 49–50, 68, 116, 493
- science. *See* *Wissenschaft*
- “scrap of paper” 75–76
- secret ballot 225. *See also* franchise, equal; Prussian franchise
- Seeberg Address (“Intellectuals’ Petition”) and its organizers
- Bethmann Hollweg and 209, 215–216, 303–304, 321
 - *Burgfrieden* and 234, 303–304
 - Delbrück-Dernburg Petition compared to 214
 - overview 208–211
 - submarine warfare and 303, 321
 - on threatening revolution 215–216
- self-determination. *See also* autonomy; franchise, equal; imperialism; will of the people
- annexation *versus* 499
 - conservative principles and 38–39
 - historical thinking and 387, 391
 - ideas of 1914 and 274–275, 280
 - nationalism and democracy and 227, 355
 - wars of aggression and 194
 - Wilson and 12, 462
- self-examination (introspection). *See also* German culture; historical development; inner life; intellectual civil war; relativism, cultural; *Sonderweg*
- culture war and 102–105, 139–140, 274, 278–281
 - German culture and 147
 - Harnack and 190
 - Troeltsch and 103, 140–141, 144, 147, 192, 199–200, 250, 408, 569, 571–572
 - after the war 104n10
 - war of words and 103n7, 103–105
- self-formation (*Selbstbildung*) 353
- separation of church and state 232
- September Program 283n182, 287–288
- Serbia 46, 47, 53, 66, 178
- Seven Years’ War 56–57
- Siegfried Line 395, 395n74
- Silver Jubilee of Wilhelm II’s reign (1913) 46, 135, 253
- “Slavic malice” 54, 55n45
- sober calculation 312, 324, 327, 329, 508, 513
- social classes 40, 357. *See also* working classes *and other classes*
- social democracy. *See also* German democracy; Meinecke, Friedrich *and other proponents*; socialism and socialists
- France and 400
 - German unity and 217, 264–265
 - monarchism and 277, 346, 346 346, 387, 395, 401, 413
 - Troeltsch on 277, 344, 546

- war of conquest and 234
- Western freedom/democracy and 344, 347, 400–401
- Social Democrats. *See also*; Legien, Carl *and other party members*; Weimar Coalition
 - annexation and 234
 - anti-war protests (1914) and 49, 49n22
 - Bethmann Hollweg and 74, 316, 321, 330–331, 379–380
 - bourgeois bedfellows and 230
 - *Burgfrieden* and 228–229, 365
 - compromise and 230–231, 233
 - culture war and 12
 - defensive war and 72, 74
 - demonstration strike and 462
 - equal rights and 402
 - financing of war and 71, 72, 218
 - German Democratic Party *versus* 544
 - German Society 1914 and 262, 263
 - Independents and 464
 - on invasion of Belgium 74
 - Jews and 501
 - *Labor Force in the New Germany* and 217–218, 226, 234–235
 - loyalty of 71n99, 71–72, 72n103, 234
 - Max von Baden’s resignation and 536
 - monarchism and 219
 - Pan-German League compared 149
 - patriotism and 71n99, 71–72, 72n103, 218, 231, 234
 - peace and 72, 425
 - People’s League and 436
 - power and 219
 - on Prussian electoral law 333
 - Prussian franchise and 458
 - Prussian House of Representatives and 225
 - reform demands of 365
 - religion and 33, 38–39, 229, 232
 - reorientation and 218–220, 223, 365, 379–380
 - submarine warfare and 316, 321
 - Troeltsch on 229–230, 234–235, 330–331, 440n271
- socialism and socialists. *See also* monarchism; social democracy; Social Democrats
 - America and 30n89
 - German freedom/democracy and 391, 545
 - German soldiers and (1918) 495
 - individual cultivation and 353
 - Kapp on Bethmann Hollweg and 319–320
 - monarchy and 227, 387, 413
 - Plenge on 264–265
 - Russian monarchism and 143
 - Socialist law of 1878 and 33
 - Troeltsch on 344, 353, 354, 391, 546
- Socialist Party 353
- social liberalism 163, 163n247
- social or welfare policy 400–01, 410
- social security 223
- Society for Social Reform 226
- Sonderart* (“special nature”) 141–143, 198–199. *See also* *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities)
- Sonderbildung* 142, 247
- Sondercharakter* 247, 249–250. *See also* historical development; *Sonderart* (“special nature”); *Völkerindividualitäten* (nationalities)
- Sondereigentümlichkeiten* (special characteristics) 141–142
- Sondersein* (individual special beings) 142
- Sonderweg* 15–16, 141, 400, 570
- songs and anthems 44, 50, 58, 59, 61, 67
- South Germany 360, 362, 523, 540. *See also* Bavaria
- Southwest School 23
- Spanish flu 524
- Spartacus League 525
- special formation (*Sonderbildung*) 142
- spirit of 1813 46, 54, 58, 60, 61, 91, 147. *See also* Battle of Peoples (*Völkerschlacht*) (Battle of Leipzig) (1813)
- spirit of 1913 253–254
- spirit of 1914. *See also* mass events; militarism; nationalism; patriotism; unity; war enthusiasm
- *Burgfrieden* and 18–19, 21, 318–319
- demise of 375–377, 442
- educated elite and 20–21, 86
- Franco-Prussian War and 52
- Free Patriotic Association and 254
- German freedom and 375–377

- ideas of 1914 *versus* 13–21, 90, 301–302
- *levée en masse* and 518, 519–520
- mass events and 48–51
- Moltke on 260
- political parties and 253–254
- Solf and 260, 261–262
- Troeltsch on 201
- unity and 18–19, 48, 201, 254–255, 256
- Srocko (Eastern Front) 124
- starvation and shortages. *See also* blockade, British; hoarding; rationing
- British blockade and 132, 139, 277, 361
- Central European block and 295
- civilians at home and 139, 552
- Giesberts on 436
- Hampe on 455
- Harnack on 387
- Kapp on 319–320
- 1917–1918 455n9, 455–456
- people’s money and 48–49
- profiteering and 62–63
- public holidays and 20, 240
- public mood and 361–362
- revolution and 552
- scholarly disquisitions and 402
- submarine warfare and 304, 315–316, 368–369
- Troeltsch on 62–63, 139, 277, 552
- unity and 235, 436
- Wolff on 361
- work stoppages and riots and 362, 463
- the state. *See also* authoritarian state (*Obrigkeitsstaat*); democracy, idea of; freedom; the individual; liberalism; nationalism; political ethics; popular state (*Volksstaat*)
- human rights and 570
- the individual and 137, 147, 182, 301, 351–355, 357, 390–391, 409, 446–447, 478
- interests of 7
- power and 34
- public opinion and 410n148
- separation of church and 232
- Troeltsch on 34–35, 166, 405n118, 411, 543
- Western and German compared 346, 401
- state parliaments (*Ständehaus*) 401
- states, European system of 85, 89, 185
- St. Louis World’s Fair (1904) 30, 30n89
- strikes and mutinies 316, 362, 412, 462, 464, 465, 470, 495, 525, 540. *See also* January Strike (1918); Kiel uprisings; revolution, from below
- submarine (U-boat) warfare. *See also* military power/victory
- America and 307–308, 309, 311–312, 335–336, 373, 381–384, 387, 403
- Beerfelde’s conferences and 507
- Bethmann Hollweg and 306–307, 313–314, 315–316, 368n260, 368–369, 372n284, 372–373
- Britain and 308, 312
- *Burgfrieden* and 313, 320
- economic future and 449
- Erzberger on 418–420
- Harnack on 414–415
- July Crisis, second (1917) and 417–418
- Kapp and 319–320
- Meinecke on 372
- National Committee for an Honorable Peace and 325
- negotiated peace and 335–338
- *Preußische Jahrbücher* and 335
- public opinion and 418–419, 430
- reorientation *versus* 414–415
- Schäfer on 310–11
- shortages and 361
- Solf and 469
- support for Bethmann Hollweg and 320–326
- Tirpitz and 427
- tonnage sunk by 418
- Troeltsch on 377, 403, 403n113, 422–423, 449
- M. Weber on 310–11
- Wilson and 309n29, 373, 381–382, 525–526
- Sweden 83, 287, 292
- Switzerland 31, 205, 284, 286, 292, 368
- syntheses. *See* culture, unified theory of (*Kultursynthese*)
- Die Tägliche Rundschau* (newspaper) 48, 67, 210
- tanks 454

- Tannenberg victory 90, 359
 taxes 216, 223–224, 395, 463
 The Hague 31
 Thirty Years War 56, 463
The Times (London newspaper) 78, 80, 82, 101, 110–111, 314
 Tirpitz Plan 113, 305, 310
 “To arms! To arms!” – *Zu den Waffen!*
 Zu den Waffen!” 58–60
 tolerance/intolerance 146–147, 232, 300
 To the Civilized World! (*An die Kulturwelt!*)
 (Manifesto of the 93) 120–129, 126n96, 177, 214
 trade war 405, 408
 Transcaucasia 493
 transportation 160
 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk 454, 490, 493, 499
 Treaty of Versailles (1919) 547, 548, 573
 trench warfare 228, 229, 235, 274, 362, 422, 494
 trust 127, 225, 255, 322, 450, 510
 truth and honesty 62, 122, 243, 278, 278n170, 406, 480, 542. *See also*
 relativism, cultural
 Turkey 178, 408, 461, 495
- U-boats. *See* submarine (U-boat) warfare
 Ukraine 155, 493
Umwälzung (revolution) 491–492
 unions 49, 217–219, 231, 330, 352, 400–401, 434, 434n243, 465. *See also*
 Giesberts, Johannes
- United States. *See* America
 unity, Central European 298–299
 unity, German. *See also* *Burgfrieden*;
 nationalism; spirit of 1913
 – Bethmann-Hollweg and 219
 – Central European block and 290–291
 – civilians at home (1918) and 493
 – cooperation and 450
 – defensive war and 198, 260, 281
 – Delbrück-Dernburg Petition and 214
 – diversity and 96–97, 145
 – Frederick the Great’s army and 93
 – freedom and 62–63
 – Free Patriotic Association and 253–254
 – geographical situation and 390
 – German army/German essence and 145
 – German democracy and 194, 226, 475–476
 – internationalism and 89
 – *Labor Force in the New Germany*
 and 217–218, 233
 – nationalism and democracy and 227–228
 – Oncken on 53
 – outbreak of war and 46–51, 275
 – partisan friction and 251–252
 – political ethics and 95
 – public debate and 211
 – socialistic organization and 217, 264–265
 – Solf on 260–261
 – spirit of 1913 and 253
 – spirit of 1914 and 18–19, 48, 201, 254–255, 256
 – Troeltsch on 201, 202, 281, 478–479, 524
 – unification (1871) and 230
 – *Volksheer* (People’s Army) and 92
 – *Vorwärts* and 219
 – Walz on 52
 – Wilhelm II and 70–71
 – *Wissenschaft* and 83
 universal conscription 11, 54, 94n189, 515
 universality. *See also* cosmopolitanism;
 culture, unified theory of (*Kultursyn-
 these*); franchise, equal; human (common)
 culture; humanity; natural law; Prussian
 franchise; relativism, cultural; *Wissen-
 schaft* (science)
 – German culture and 164
 – German idea of freedom and 356, 392
 – historical heterogeneity and 242, 243, 341–342
 – particular expression of 247
 – political ethics and 32, 166, 168, 489
 – Troeltsch and 142, 205, 392, 446
- University of Basel 31
 University of Berlin 27, 45, 87, 106, 119, 151, 171, 176, 208, 241 252, 504, 551, 552, 553, 557
 University of Cologne 107
 University of Frankfurt 25
 University of Freiburg 481
 University of Heidelberg XIII, 12, 27, 29, 52, 61, 172–173, 175, 504
 University of Kiel 105, 558
 University of Leipzig 486

- University of London 556
 University of Manchester 11
 University of Marburg 172
 University of Münster 264
unser Kaiser (our Kaiser) 95, 238
Untertan 389, 391, 429, 476
- values. *See* political ethics (morality) (values)
Vaterland. *See* Fatherland Party; Free Patriotic Association; People's League for Freedom and Fatherland
 Versailles Treaty (1919). *See* Treaty of Versailles
 violence and destruction. *See also* assassinations; barbarism, brutality, and atrocities; Belgium, invasion of (1914); deaths and casualties; militarism; Rathenau, Walther, assassination of
 – abstract ideas and 560
 – culture of 480
 – Germany and 181
 – human character and 56
 – January Strike and 469–470
 – *Realpolitik* and 488
 – relinquishing 450
 – Romanticism and 568
 – Troeltsch on 56
Volk. *See* the people
Völkerindividualitäten (nationalities).
See also annexation, conquest and expansionism; Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*); democracy, idea of; freedom, idea of; *Herrenvolk* (sovereign people); historical development; human (common) culture; imperialism; individuality; nationalism; relativism, cultural; *Sonderart* (“special nature”); *Sonderweg*
 – Central European block and 254–256, 299, 354–357
 – common humanity and 247, 260
 – culture war and 279
 – decrease of 276
 – democracy and 143, 184, 193–194
 – France and 181
 – freedom and 282, 342
 – future of Germany and 249–250
 – German culture and 42, 146–147, 354
 – nationalism and 254–256, 354–355
 – peace and 185, 194
Volksheer (People's Army) (*Volk in Waffen*).
See also German army; the people (the masses) (*das Volk*)
 – fatherland and 261
 – French democracy and 93–94
 – German democratization and 94–98
 – German essence and 145
 – outbreak of war and 89–99
 – the people and 91–92, 261
 – political participation and 333
 – popular sovereignty and 95
 – Prussian elite deaths and 97–98
 – Prussian unity and 92, 93, 94n189
 – reform and 97
 – revolution and 95, 523
 – rights and 519
 – Social Democrats and 231, 519
 – Troeltsch on 54, 91–99
 – unity in diversity and 95–97
 – war aims and 92–93, 96–97
 – Wilhelm II and 94–95
Volkskriege (people's wars) 194
Volksstaat (popular state) 223–225, 439
Vorwärts (Social Democratic Party newspaper) 217–219, 379–380, 416, 466–467, 499
Vossische Zeitung (newspaper) 74, 249, 516
- walks in the Grunewald 204–205, 378
 war. *See also* World War I
 – Christianity and 136
 – glorification of 16
 – just 134–135, 194
 – laws of 69
 – rules of 76–77
 – Troeltsch on 134–135, 194
 – working classes and 135–136
 war aims. *See also* annexation; *Burgfrieden* and military censorship; Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*); Claß, Heinrich; dignity; German freedom; imperialism; nationalism; peace; reorientation (reform); *Sonderweg*
 – American 382–384, 388
 – Bethmann Hollweg on 313

- declaration of war and 50
- dread *versus* 44
- economic factors and 478
- educated elite and 14
- Erzberger and 321
- external *versus* internal 335–338
- Fatherland Party and 437
- ideas and 251–252
- Meinecke and 378
- Pan-German movement and 207
- political ethics and 92–93
- power elites and 148–149
- public debate and 210–211
- scholars and 148
- Troeltsch on 58, 59–60, 62–63, 147–158, 166, 202, 282
- *Volksheer* (People’s Army) and 92–93, 96–97
- war enthusiasm 14, 16–19, 17n56, 18n57, 44, 44n4, 50, 96, 254, 261
- Troeltsch on 58–59, 62–63, 135n126, 348n171
- War of the Palatinate Succession (1689–1697) 56
- war of words (international opinion). *See also* Belgium, invasion of (1914) and other issues; *Burgfrieden* and military censorship; educated elites, German; German culture; intellectual civil war (partisanship and polarization); internationalism; militarism and other distortions; mobilization of opinion; propaganda; Wilson, Woodrow
- British betrayal and 83, 105–112
- as cause of war 69–76, 98, 561
- reorientation and 413–414
- Troeltsch on 61–62, 144, 406
- “war psychosis” 13
- wars of 1813 and 1815 174. *See also* Battle of Peoples (*Völkerschlacht*); Napoleon
- Wednesday Evening (*Mittwochabend*) circle (H. Delbrück’) 205–207, 206n121, 211, 252, 324, 377, 396, 433, 434, 459, 503, 504, 541, 550. *See also* Delbrück-Dernburg Petition
- Weimar Coalition 452
- Weimar National Assembly 4n12
- Weimar Republic. *See also* German democracy
 - accomplished 1, 528
 - collapse of 2
 - constitution of 6, 346, 448n298
 - German democracy and XV
 - historians and 4, 4n14
 - legitimacy and 1–2, 3, 3n8
 - parliamentary democracy and 537
 - *Realpolitik* and 1n2, 1–2
 - Troeltsch on 5, 348n171, 543, 552
- Weltmacht* (world power) 14, 271, 286, 336. *See also* world domination
- Weltmachtstellung* (world power posture) 286
- Weltpolitik* (world politics) 14, 84, 105, 136, 163, 164, 238, 271, 296, 304–305. *See also* world domination
- Western culture (European and American). *See also* Christianity; culture war (*Kulturkrieg*); human (common) culture; *Völkerindividualitäten* (national individualities); Western freedom
 - Central European *versus* 560–561
 - crisis of 249
 - educated elites and 376
 - German culture and 35, 65, 86, 107, 131, 140, 142, 168, 179–182, 245, 279–280, 450–451, 475, 480, 560–572
 - natural law and 564–565
 - Troeltsch on 22–23, 130–131, 140, 142, 168–169, 180–181, 480, 560–561, 568
 - unity and 140
 - universality of 142–143
 - war aims and 169
- Western democracy. *See also* France and other countries; Western freedom; Wilson, Woodrow
 - conduct of war and 85
 - German democracy compared 143–147, 279–280, 348, 396–411
 - People’s League and 439
 - Troeltsch on 333n127, 402–411
 - Volkelt and 475
 - as World War I cause 80
- Western franchise 397n81
- Western freedom. *See also* liberalism and liberals; Western democracy; individual freedom

- German freedom compared 147, 182–186, 200, 279, 280–281, 340, 340n149, 344, 350, 352–354, 390–393, 405–411
- historical development and 342–343
- social democracy and 344
- Western Front. *See also* Battle of the Marne and *other Battles*; Belgium, invasion of; deaths and casualties; Schlieffen plan; Siegfried Line; submarine warfare
 - 1914–1915 winter and 251
 - Central European block and 292
 - Eastern Front peace and 460
 - German offensive of 1918 and 460, 493–495
 - January Strike (1918) and 467
 - military build-up (1918) 467
 - 1915 and 235, 258, 308
 - 1917–1918 453–455
 - offensive of 1918 and 490
 - spring offensive (1918) 493
- Westphalian Political News* (news-paper) 255–256
- Why We are at War: Great Britain's Case* (Members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History) 110
- will of the people. *See also* the people (the masses) (*das Volk*); political representation; individual and collective freedom; individual and the state
 - commitment to 526
 - Fatherland Party and 442
 - Fourteen Points and 462
 - German freedom and 357, 401
 - Ludendorff and 514
 - political elites and 346, 349
 - social monarchy and 395
 - Troeltsch on 349, 446
 - will of government and 351, 382, 406–411
 - Wilson on 526–527
- will to power 210, 271, 297n239
- Wissenschaft* (science). *See also* culture, unified theory of (*Kultursynthese*); educated elites, German (*Bildungsbürgertum*); Enlightenment; historical development; objectivity; reason and rationality; universality; *Wissenschaft*
 - *Berlin and the World War* and 177, 178
 - facts and evidence and 24
 - French equality and 143
 - German culture and 145, 182, 563, 566
 - German freedom and 184
 - internationalism and 83
 - international opinion and 83, 84, 87–89, 101, 102, 106, 121, 126
 - Protestant Social Congress and 33
 - “Scholars’ Protest against War with Germany” and 83
 - Sering and 401
 - St. Louis World’s Fair (1904) and 30, 30n89
 - Troeltsch on 23, 29, 56, 87–89, 145, 551, 563
 - women 36, 40, 52, 60, 66, 77, 79, 90, 123, 124, 188, 274, 307, 316, 320, 331, 447, 447n297, 459, 465, 533, 554. *See also* civilians at home; feminism
 - words into deeds 29, 61–62, 334n129, 367, 552. *See also* war of words (international opinion)
 - working classes. *See also* farmers; industrial workers; January Strike (1918); *The Labor Force in the New Germany* (Thimme and Legien, eds.); *levée en masse*; the people; revolution; Social Democrats; strikes and mutinies; unions; *Volksheer* (People’s Army)
 - anti-war protests and 49, 71
 - cause of WW I and 146
 - defensive war and 72
 - equal rights and 402
 - Fatherland Party and 479–480, 523
 - France and 409
 - German essence and 145–146
 - German state and 202, 331
 - *levée en masse* and 519, 522–523
 - Oncken and 222
 - parliamentarianism and 395
 - peace and 459–460
 - People’s League and 434, 434n243, 465, 470–471, 523
 - Prussian franchise and 463, 465
 - Rathenau and 555
 - rebellion and (1918) 463
 - rights and 402, 519

- Solf and 499
- Troeltsch on 463, 464
- war and 135–136
- world domination. *See also* annexation, conquest and expansionism; Central European block (*Mitteleuropa*); *Herrenvolk* (sovereign people); imperialism; *Weltmacht* (world power)
- Britain and 84–86, 109, 159–160, 162, 184, 185, 196, 199
- coexistence of free peoples *versus* 185
- culture war and 343
- German leadership *versus* 299–300
- Germany and 84–86, 121, 157, 164, 184–185
- historical development of freedom and 406, 567
- peace and 152–153, 157, 169, 311, 411
- political ethics and 298
- Russia and 185
- world economic war (*Weltwirtschaftskrieg*) 269–270
- world mission (*Weltaufgabe*) 136, 160
- world politics (*Weltpolitik*). *See Weltpolitik*
- world trade war 159n230, 479
- World War I. *See also* deaths and casualties; Eastern Front; German army; German democracy; ideas of 1914; international law; public opinion, German; submarine warfare; war; war aims; Western Front; World War I, causes of; World War I, outbreak of (1914); World War I, outcomes of
 - ceasefire (1918) 515
 - complexity of 138–139
 - declaration of mobilization (August 1, 1914) 70, 71, 72
 - financing of 71, 72, 218
 - internationalism and 82–89
 - mobilization and 50–52, 66–67, 218
 - modernity and 193–194
 - new ideas and 300–301
 - social transformation and 4, 91
 - Troeltsch on 53–66, 138–139, 300–301
 - Troeltsch’s activities and character and 30–32
 - World War I, causes of. *See also* blame for causing war; culture war (*Kulturkrieg*) and other causes; defensive war; economic factors; envy; mobilization of opinion; rule of law *versus* *raison d’état*; *Sonderweg*; spirit of 1914; war enthusiasm
 - Troeltsch on 54–55, 57–58, 61–65, 98, 140, 196–197, 273–274
 - war of words as 69–76, 98, 561
 - World War I, outbreak of (1914) 43–51. *See also* Belgium, invasion of (1914); ideas of 1914; July Crisis (1914); spirit of 1914
 - internationalism and 82–89
 - mobilization and 49–56, 218
 - public reaction and 16–20, 43–51
 - spirit of 1914 and 46–51
 - Troeltsch on 53–66, 89–99
 - unity and 46–51, 275
 - *Volksheer* (People’s Army) and 89–99
 - war of words and 69–76
 - Wilhelm II speech and 442
 - World War I, outcomes of. *See also* culture war (*Kulturkrieg*) and other causes; future of Germany (new Germany); intellectual civil war and other outcomes; peace; reorientation (reform); war aims; Weimar Republic
 - democracy and 382
 - German freedom as 62–63
 - the people’s say in 448
 - Troeltsch on 55, 63–64, 88–89, 141, 377–378, 448
 - “world wars, era of” 85, 86
 - “world war, second” 438, 513
 - Ypres, Third Battle of (Passchendaele) (1917) 453, 454
 - Zeppelin airships 304