6-1-1964

The early years of Friedrich Naumann, 1860-1896: German Protestant reform and Christian socialism as seen in his works

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THE EARLY YEARS OF FRIEDRICH NAUMANN
1860-1896:
GERMAN PROTESTANT REFORM AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM
AS SEEN IN HIS WORKS

by

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A Thesis

Presented to

the Graduate Faculty of the Department of History

University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

June 1964

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Friedrich Naumann im Jahre 1899

Taken from Martin Wenck, Friedrich Naumann (Berlin: Buch Verlag der "Hilfe", 1920).

PREFACE

Though long interested in German studies, I must admit that until April of 1963 I had never heard of Friedrich Naumann. The subject of his career was assigned to me as a term paper by Dr. Raymond Smith,Jr. I am most grateful to Dr. Smith for introducing me to the topic. Yet, it was Dr. A. Stanley Trickett who guided me through the long arduous task of research and writing of the thesis and his sure hand made the completion of my goal possible. I would note, however, that he is not to be associated with the imperfections to be found.

I should also thank the entire history faculty at the University of Omaha because at one time or another I bothered all of them with a continual barrage of questions. Finally, I must thank the Library staff, and especially Miss Dougherty for her help in acquiring so many of my books from libraries all over the country. I am afraid I often taxed their facilities with my voluminous requests for obscure books.

As for my wife, Mary Jane, and my daughter, Justine, I am sure that like myself they are happy it is finished at last!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Controversies are not uncommon among scholars. The controversies about Friedrich Naumann's life and work are many. Interpretations of these themes have been presented by a great host of historians. Unfortunately, most of the views disagree. Any number of interpretations, chosen at random, would provide a like number of distinct and separate portraits of the man. The varied nature of Naumann's interests is the major factor which contributes to this dilemma.

Naumann was born in 1860. Coming from a religious background, he entered the clergy and became a German Protestant pastor during the Second Empire. The "social question" aroused Naumann's interest and it was not long before he was fascinated by Christian-Socialist doctrines. The unsuccessful struggle to reform the attitude of church convinced him that he should leave the clergy, which he did in 1897. He formed his own political party based on Christian-Socialist principles, but his solutions to the problems of his day had no appeal at the polls. He and his party's candidates were soundly defeated at the ballot box in 1903, Naumann, then forty-three years of age, felt that there was little hope for the ultimate achievement of his goals.

Travel throughout Europe and Asia and painting, his

beloved hobby, occupied the next three years of his life. These leisurely pursuits did not lessen his desire for an active part in the political arena. In 1907 he became a member of a "left-liberal" party and from that date until his death in 1919, except for a short period in 1912, he was a prominent member of the Reichstag. During the war years he wrote a most controversial book entitled Mitteleuropa (1915). It advocated a great state (Germany, Austria, Holland, etc.) in the heartland of Europe to stand as a "neutral" power between the two great giants, the United States and Russia. The book was quickly converted into an allied propaganda tool and as a result deliberately misinterpreted.

The last months of his life saw him reaching the peak of political prominence. Elected to the chairmanship of the newly formed German Democratic Party at the Weimar constitutional convention in 1919, he took an active part in the writing of the new constitution, a work terminated by his sudden death.

This review of his life, cursory as it might be, nonetheless should point out the problem Naumann has presented to the historian. His career was not one singularly devoted to one idea. He held no single, unchanging philosophy of life, nor did one specific philosophy dominate his thinking. Unfortunately, historians have tended to "chop" Naumann's life into its various segments, avoiding the existence of the "whole" man.

Few examples would be needed to prove how varied is the emphasis historians have placed on Naumann's standing in the history of Wilhelmian Germany. Erich Eyck, a prominent figure in contemporary German scholarship, has spoken of Naumann as "A Great German Liberal".[1] Another German historian, Friedrich C. Sell, describes Naumann as "the most humanly attractive figure in the history of German liberalism."[2] Other scholars are not so impressed with Naumann. A. L. Drummond in his work, German Protestantism Since Luther, describes him as a "radical apostle of the 'Social Gospel.'" His ideas in Mitteleuropa, Drummond says, advocated "enslavement and transportation of conquered populations."[3] It is too bad, Drummond continues, that Naumann became "an unbalanced preacher of conquest and hatred."[4]

A much more rational view is that of Professor William O. Shanahan. In one journal article, Shanahan claimed that Naumann's views on nationalism "were represent-

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[1]Erich Eyck, "A Great German Liberal", The Contemporary Review, CLV (London: The Contemporary Limited, January-June 1939), 320-27.

[2]"Naumann ist menschlich die anziehendste Gestalt in der Geschichte des deutschen Liberalismus," cited from Friedrich C. Sell, Die Tragödie des Deutschen Liberalismus, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag-Anstalt, 1953), p. 290.

[3]A. L. Drummond, German Protestantism Since Luther (London: The Epworth Press, 1951), p. 266.

[4]Ibid., p. 228.

ation of the Wilhelmian intelligentsia."[5] In a later essay, he pictured Naumann as the great German nationalist, "A Mirror of Wilhelmian Germany."[6] Shanahan, like many scholars, has made a mistake in exposing but one side of Naumann's character and interests. Naumann may have held some strong views concerning the German state, and he was definitely an advocate of German nationalism. But he was more than just a nationalist. Shanahan's interpretation could be contrasted with an approach taken by the German historian, Heinrich Heffter, who wrote that Naumann was a "representative personality of democratic idealism" ("repräsentative Persönlichkeit des demokratischen Idealismus").[7]

Naumann added further confusion in some of his own writings. "I am a Christian, a Darwinist, and an Imperialist at the same time," he once wrote.[8] One author has caught

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[5]William O. Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A German View of Power and Nationalism", Nationalism and Internationalism, ed. Edward Meade Earle, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 352.

[6]William O. Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A Mirror of Wilhelmian Germany", The Review of Politics, 13 (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, July, 1951), pp. 267-301.

[7]Heinrich Heffter, Die Deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert Geschichte der Ideen und Institutionen (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1950), p. 750.

[8]Naumann as quoted in Friedrich C. Sell, "Intellectual Liberalism in Germany about 1900", The Journal of Modern History, XV, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, September 1943), p. 231.

something of this feeling of Naumann. He wrote in the Historische Zeitschrift:

> Imperialism, Socialism, and Christianity, the conservative idea of a state and the modern democratic industrial state, national power politics and Christian ethics, the powers of the Prussian-German tradition, the liberal-democratic evolution and social revolutionary tendencies, are all ideas which existed in Naumann's thoughts about the picture of Germany's future.[9]

In this case the author recognizes the scholar's problem and acknowledges a few of the many ideas Naumann held. Yet he makes no sound or meaningful suggestions regarding the importance of what Naumann stood for and why Naumann believed as he did.

Only one major significant biographical study of Naumann has been written.[10] Theodor Heuss, a man with a distinguished career in German politics and literature, was the author. After World War II and the end of the Nazi era, Heuss became the first president of the new German Federal Republic. His biography, though in some ways definitive,

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[9]"Imperialismus, Sozialismus und Christentum, Konservative Staatsidee und moderner demokratischer Industrie staat, nationale Machtpolitik und christliche Ethik, die Kräfte der preussisch-deutschen Tradition, der liberal-demokratischen Evolution und die sozialrevolutionären Tendenzen ringen in Naumanns Gedanken-welt miteinander um die Gestaltung des Bildes der deutschen Zukunft." As cited in Richard Nürnberger, "Imperialismus, Sozialismus und Christentum bei Friedrich Naumann", Historische Zeitschrift, Band 170, (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1950), p. 547.

[10]Theodor Heuss, Friedrich Naumann Der Mann, Das Werk, Die Zeit, (Stuttgart: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage, 1949).

suffers from an over-familiarity with the subject. Heuss was a member of Naumann's political party and a life-long friend of the Naumann family. These connections cannot be disregarded. Heuss believed in all the things that Naumann did. Though the historical facts in the biography are accurate, in the minutest detail, Heuss was too much involved in Naumann's circle and the political problems of Wilhelmian Germany to be fully objective.

Historians have evidently not found the key to an understanding of this major figure of Wilhelmian Germany. Scholars have mistakeningly taken a very narrow view of a man who was much more than <u>just</u> a "nationalist" or <u>just</u> a "liberal". Naumann stood for many things. This thesis will discuss Naumann's early years, his career up to the moment he left the church. The research necessary for such a discussion has shown that historians have neglected Naumann's early writings and activities. Since Naumann is widely recognized as an important figure in the Wilhelmian period, it is clear that so important a period of his life cannot be ignored if he and his times are to be understood.

CHAPTER I

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN:
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE EARLY YEARS

The story of Naumann's life began in the Kingdom of Saxony in 1860. After the Napoleonic debacle and the Restoration, Saxony was a part of that most interesting of political organizations, the German Confederation. By comparative standards Saxony was only a middle sized state at best. Geographically, she was smaller than Prussia or Bavaria but her relative position would improve with the coming of the industrial revolution. Prior to industrial revolution she had only one important city, Leipzig. Most of her other towns and villages were not known beyond her borders. The little village of Störmthal belonged to that group. It was an obscure village not yet touched by the radical changes that would come with national unity and a rapid industrialization. The church as it had been for many centuries past was the most important element in the community. It was a Protestant congregation.

Many old Christian practices and institutions prevailed, and, as for long centuries, the parish record-book remained the place where all local events were recorded. The parish pastor, in 1860, entered the following notice of

birth in Störmthal's record-book: "Joseph Friedrich /Naumann/, second child, first son of Friedrich Hugo Naumann, Pastor here, and Agathe Marie, *née* Ahlfeld of Leipzig. Born in the afternoon, ten minutes before three, on the twenty-fifth day of March, the day of the Annunciation of Mary."[1]

1860 was an extremely interesting year in which to be born, being exactly mid-way between the revolution of 1848-49 and the national unification of Germany under Prussia would come. The latter event coincided with the fact that Germany in 1871 was on the threshold of the great industrial changes that had convulsed England a few decades earlier. Was Friedrich Naumann a product of his age? Who knows really, but these were the events that would shape the basic structure of his future.

THE FAMILY BACKGROUND

Friedrich Naumann (Friedrich was always used, his first name, Joseph, was all but dropped) was the second child for the Friedrich Hugo Naumann family. The first was a girl who had died shortly after birth. Many children followed; four died before the age of one year, eight grew to adult life.[2]

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[1] Martin Wenck, Friedrich Naumann, (Berlin: Buch Verlag der "Hilfe", 1920), p. 12.

[2] Theodor Heuss, Friedrich Naumann: Der Mann, Das Werk, die Zeit, (Stuttgart: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage, 1949), p. 11.

Contrary to common belief, Naumann did not stem from a long line of German clergymen. His paternal grandfather and great-grandfather had been physicians in an area not far distant from Leipzig.[3] Naumann's father entered the clergy because of a vivid religious experience he had undergone while attending the Fürstenschule in Grimma.[4] Though Naumann's mother was the daughter of the then famous Friedrich Ahlfeld, a prominent preacher at St. Nikolai's church in Leipzig, the Ahlfeld family was not clerically orientated by tradition.[5] One branch of the family left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The famous painter, Hans von Marees, was a part of that branch of the family.[6]

Naumann's father established his Störmthal household in 1858 at the church parish house. He was the perfect stereotype of strict orthodoxy. He held strictly to "custom and order, to preservation of the temporal and spiritual authority."[7] He was, in fact, strongly inclined toward having his children educated in the same spirit.[8] One of

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[3]Wenck, p. 7.

[4]Ibid. As to the term Fürstenschule, it is most difficult to translate. These schools were usually the best in Germany, much on the English Eton or Harrow pattern. Attendance at a Fürstenschule usually meant that a student then went on for further study at the University.

[5]Heuss, p. 13.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Wenck, p. 8.

[8]Ibid.

Naumann's sisters described their father thusly:

> There was much held secret from our parents. Our father was to be sure happy with his children, he had a sense of humor and liked to tease. But if he punished he could be very strict.[9]

Here was a man very dedicated to his pastoral duties. He had no willingness or desire to take an active part in the "lighter" aspects of life. The pastor was interested only in theological and political questions. At the dinner table, for example, "he ruled like a patriarch."[10] As he vividly discussed the daily events which revolved around his pastoral duties, his wife and the children were to sit quietly by and listen.[11]

Naumann's mother, though she was quite happy with her husband, had interests radically different from those he held.[12] Though she played the part expected of a pastor's wife, her heart was probably never really in it. But then this was not her world, she was more interested in cultural things. She always found time either to study history, read

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[9]Margarete Naumann, "Von Friedrich Naumanns Kindheit und Jugend 2. Lichtenstein", Die Christliche Welt, 41. Jahrgang (20. Januar 1927), p. 75. This article was a part of a series of five articles written by Naumann's sister, Margarete. The articles were all published in 1927 in Die Christliche Welt and then were later put together for a book published in 1928, Margarete Naumann, Friedrich Naumann's Kindheit und Jugend, (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1928), pp. 128.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. 71.

English literature (Shakespeare especially), or cultivate her favorite pastime, botany.[13] All of these things came, of course, after her household duties and the care of the children.[14]

The first eight years of Naumann's youth were spent in the parish house in Störmthal. They were assuredly the happiest years of his youth. He attended the village elementary school and spent much of his time in play with Hans, his favorite brother.[15]

The Naumann family was widely respected by the community and Naumann's father had very good relations with the local ruling nobleman.[16] The house in which the family lived was pleasant, and the vegtable garden and chickens made it seem very close to nature.[17] Naumann later looked back upon the years spent in that house as a most beloved and wonderful time.

In 1868 after having preached for many pleasant years at Störmthal, Naumann's father was transferred to the town of Lichtenstein. Störmthal was an obscure village never to be touched by the railroad and its isolation had preserved the

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[13]Wenck, p. 11.

[14]Margarete Naumann, p. 71

[15]Wenck, p. 17.

[16]Margarete Naumann, "Von Friedrich Naumanns Kindheit und Jugend 1. Störmthal," Die Christliche Welt, 41. Jahrgang (6. Januar 1927), pp. 30-31.

[17]Ibid.

"old ways". Conversely, Lichtenstein was in the heart of that section of Saxony that was rapidly becoming a part of the new industrial complex. At Lichtenstein the Naumann family could expect a rather dismal existence. There were many reasons why this was the situation.

Pastor Naumann's call to the new parish did not result from a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm by an excited congregation. He was welcomed by a very small minority.[18] The local prince, Fürst von Schönburg-Waldenburg, still controlled clerical positions by patronage and, in open opposition to the wishes of the community, he appointed Pastor Naumann. The Prince wanted a man of "strong orthodox-pietistic leanings."[19] The situation proved unfortunate from the very beginning. The parishioners were openly hostile and sought constantly to remove Naumann from his post.[20]

Part of the Pastor's problem stemmed from the urban class structure of his parish. The entire area was a "hotbed" of social democratic agitation. August Bebel, the famous Marxist and Social Democrat, was first elected to the Reichstag in 1867 from the electoral district which made up the Lichtenstein parish. Pastor Naumann with his Lutheran

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[18]Margarete Naumann, CW, No. 2, p. 70. (To conserve space the initials CW will henceforth be used for Christliche Welt and once a complete reference has been cited, just CW, the article number and the page will be listed.)

[19]Ibid. [20]Ibid.

Orthodoxy and political conservatism was far out of touch with the people about him. In fact, he was an "ideal illustration" of the old phrase which so adequately characterized the close relationship between the church and the political conservatism of the monarchical state; "von Schloss und Altar" as the relationship was known.[21] Rapidly growing industrial towns like Lichtenstein were frequently the scene of the fierce battles between the church and socialism. The inflexibility of the church did not stand up well against the vibrant new doctrine and the church tended, most often, to lose the struggle.

The new parish house was equally dismal. The house itself was lacking in charm, which, added to the new conditions which the family had to face, made the situation unpleasant at best.[22] The household had been strict before and now that things were not going well at the church and with the Pastor ill at times, the house took on an added severity. In Störmthal with a friendly congregation, young Friedrich heard many happy voices about the parish house. The family now in a situation marked by strife, found their circle of acquaintances rather narrow. Such conditions had their effects on the young boy. This was especially true as the Lichtenstein household took on a new characteristic.

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[21]Margarete Naumann, CW, No. 1, pp. 30-31. "Schloss und Altar" might best be translated as "throne and altar".

[22]Margarete Naumann, CW, No. 2, p. 70.

The parents sought to "protect" their children from what they thought to be any evil outside influence. Naumann's sister, Margarete, wrote about the family situation in these words:

> Our parents wanted to keep us away from all superficial and trite things. They built an invisible wall about us and we knew little about the thoughts and ways of other people.[23]

The family lived under the domination of a puritan spirit.[24] The Naumann children were to go out into the world "with an ignorance of the world on the one hand, and a passionate hunger for life on the other".[25] Years later, as an adult, Naumann regretted that his youth had been so sheltered and narrow.

THE SCHOOL YEARS

Young Friedrich's first important academic studies began at the Nikolaischule in Leipzig. Naumann was fourteen years of age and he left now the narrow atmosphere of the family home. In Leipzig he lived with his Grandfather Ahlfeld. Though Ahlfeld was also a clergyman, Naumann found himself under an entirely new and different influence. Most important was his grandfather's many-sided interests and his "zest" for life.[26] While Naumann's father was a paragon

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[23] Ibid., p. 76. [24] Heuss, pp. 14-15.

[25] Margarete Naumann, CW, No. 2, p. 76.

[26] Wenck, pp. 10-11.

of Calvinism, his grandfather, though a very dedicated man of the church, was more dedicated to culture. He was at one and the same time both an ecclesiastic and a humanist. Frequently he had a humorous tale to tell. Other times he sought in example, or pleasant discussion, to point up the beauty and marvels of the church and life itself.[27]

It was in such an atmosphere that Naumann became, in a general way, familiar with the wealth of knowledge to be found in literature. Ahlfeld had not only collected the great works of the German masters but the master pieces of English literature as well. The volumes of Shakespeare and Milton which graced his shelves were eventually to be found in his grandson's own library.[28] Though subtle the influence must have been, since Naumann was still but a young man at the time, some of his great literary ability may well have stemmed from the training and stimulation received from his grandfather.

After two years with the Ahlfeld family, Naumann was sent to continue his education at one of the finest German preparatory schools of the time, St. Afra's (a Fürstenschule) at Meissen. He arrived in Meissen, a town near Dresden, shortly after Easter, in 1876. There the study of the classics and mathematics occupied much of his time. He dearly

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[27]Margarete Naumann, "Von Friedrich Naumanns Kindheit und Jugend 3. Leipzig (Nikolaischule 1874-76)," Die Christliche Welt, 41. Jahrgang (3. Februar 1927), p. 113.

[28]Ibid.

loved mathematics and excelled in that subject. His struggle to master Greek and Latin was almost his undoing.[29] "I will be happy," he once wrote, "when I no longer need to write Greek and Latin."[30] He likewise had some contact with historical studies. A certain Professor Flathe stood out in Naumann's memory. "Half blind he sat before the class and appeared to the students as the very embodiment of history."[31] Most interesting was the fact that this class was Naumann's first contact with the works of the historian Treitschke, an avid German nationalist. Flathe read Treitschke's German History to the class as soon as it came off the presses.[32]

As a student, Naumann found many extracurricular activities appealing. In the good German tradition he was a very enthusiastic Wanderer.[33] He spent many hours in that pursuit as a young man and was to continue the pastime throughout his life. He was fond of gymnastics but at best he was uncoordinated. He liked singing but he had little musical ability.[34] His favorite reading was the works of Schiller and on his birthday or at Christmas he usually re-

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[29]Heuss, p. 18. [30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid. [32]Ibid.

[33]Wenck, p. 14. The term Wanderer can of course be translated as hiker but the word in German has a much wider connotation than this English translation.

[34]Heuss, pp. 19-20.

quested additions to his collection of Schiller's works.[35] Drawing and painting, a hobby he cultivated at Meissen, proved to be a life long delight. Whenever he hiked or traveled and in his lifetime he was to see much of Europe and Asia - he carried his sketch book with him.[36] His interest in art was such that he published in 1909 a collection of essays entitled Form und Farbe and in 1907 he helped form the Werkbund, a conscious adaption of the English Arts and Crafts Society.[37] The imprint of the Ahlfeld family was clearly established in Naumann.

In the summer of 1877 while on a holiday from school, Naumann was hiking in the Fichtelgebirge, a small mountain chain in upper Bavaria when he suffered an attack of Asthma.[38] The disease plagued him his entire life. On a number of occassions it nearly brought his death, and much to his disappointment, it prevented him from serving in the Army.[39] He had been excited about the prospect of going into

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[35]Margarete Naumann, CW, No. 3, p. 114.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Form und Farbe. Gesammelte Aufsätze. (Berlin-Schöneberg: Buchverlag der "Hilfe", 1909), pp. 217. For the Werkbund, see for example Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 174-75.

[38]Margarete Naumann, "Von Friedrich Naumanns Kindheit und Jugend 4. Meissen (Fürstenschule 1876-1879)", Die Christliche Welt, 41. Jahrgang (3. März 1927), p. 219.

[39]Heuss, p. 20.

the military service before entering the University. He managed to enlist at Leipzig in 1879, but he was quickly rejected a few days later when he suffered an asthma attack.[40]

In 1879 Naumann took his final examination at St. Afra's and was ready to begin his university studies. Like so many students at that point in their education, he was confronted with the problem of deciding on his major field of study. He preferred mathematics, but due to family pressures he matriculated as a student of theology. Later he explained his decision:

> My youth was devoted to the study of mathematics, and I was close to choosing it as my field. The desire and tradition of the family and the living images I had before my eyes, brought me to theological studies.[41]

Perhaps these "living images" before his eyes were pictures that had been painted while he was at the Ahlfeld household.

It was common in the nineteenth century (as is still the custom in the twentieth) for students at German Universities to transfer from one school to another in pursuit of good lecturers. Naumann followed the same practice. He studied at Leipzig University from Easter of 1879 to Michaelmas of 1881. Then he spent two semesters at Erlangen University. From Michaelmas of 1882 to Easter of 1883 he was

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[40]Wenck, p. 18.

[41]Margarete Naumann, "Von Friedrich Naumanns Kindheit und Jugend 4. Meissen (Fürstenschule 1876-1879)," No. 6, Die Christliche Welt, 41. Jahrgang (17. März 1927), p. 276.

again at Leipzig where he took his first theological examination.[42]

Little is known of Naumann's university years. In later years he spoke sparingly of this period of his life. However, some information has come down regarding his most important professors enabling the historian to infer what influence they might have had on Naumann.[43] In 1879, the Leipzig faculty, as in his father's time, was predominantly orientated in a "confessional Lutheran direction."[44] Essentially this meant a very dogmatic "old-line" Lutheranism. In control of this strict or narrow view was Professor Luthardt who had held a tight reign since he came to the University in 1856.[45] At Leipzig Naumann read "New Testament from Fricke, church history from Canis and old Testament from Delitzsch."[46] He also heard lectures from the Philosophischem FakultÄt where he came in contact with Wundt in psychology, Ziller in educational theory and Roscher in national economics.[47]

Prominent though the Leipzig faculty was, the greatest

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[42]Wenck, p. 18.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid., pp. 18-19. The expression Philosophischen FakultÄt dates back to medieval times and by this modern point in its evolution it has a much broader meaning than just the idea of philosophy. In American usage it would be Arts and Sciences Faculty.

influence on Naumann came from the men with whom he studied at Erlangen.[48] He learned church dogma from the liberal theologian, Frank, and another teacher, Zezschwitz, taught a practical form of Christianity.[49] Frank "taught Naumann to bring personal faith into the middle of religious experience by supplanting the austerities of rational theology with a mystical acknowledgment of God". Zezschwitz who was somewhat less interested in teaching theology taught Naumann to be aware of "social questions".[50]

Naumann made one very important acquaintance during these university years. On August 6, 1881, the Kyffhäusertag or the day which commerated the myth of the return of Frederick Barbarossa, Adolf Stöcker, court chaplain and the leading Christian Socialist, came to Leipzig with a great burst of nationalistic zeal. Stöcker not only wanted to lead the masses back to Christianity through the medium of Christian Socialism, but sought to guide this revival towards political conservatism. A monarchist as well, Stöcker came to Leipzig to help in the founding of the Verein deutscher Studenten, a student organization which was basically nation-

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[48]Heuss, p. 21.

[49]William O. Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A German View of Power and Nationalism", Nationalism and Internalism, ed. Edward Meade Earle, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 352-53.

[50]Ibid.

alistic and anti-semitic in nature.[51] Naumann, active in the group, made his first contact with Stöcker. More important for this moment at least was the fact that Naumann was temporarily swayed by anti-semitism and the nationalistic urge. Naumann eventually educated himself out of anti-semitism, but the strong love of Fatherland and Kaiser long remained part of his consciousness.

Naumann passed the examination in 1883 which was the first major step towards entry to the clergy. After serving an apprenticeship he could take the final examination. Much to the consternation of his father, Naumann had not focused on a particular point of view or system of theology. Yet unsure of himself, he knew he wanted to devote his time to a practical form of Christianity, and decided to do charitable work.[52] The decision brought him to Hamburg, the Rauhes Haus, and the Inner Missions work there. This opportunity would provide a sufficient opportunity for him to see at first hand (and really for the first time) how the Gospel could be practiced and might be taught.

RAUHES HAUS

Naumann received the call to come to Hamburg and the Rauhes Haus from Johannes Wichern, the son of the founder of

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[51]Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 281. The Verein deutscher Studenten could translate as German Students' Organization.

[52]Shanahan, p. 353.

that institution. In his work at the Inner Missions[53] Naumann experienced his first contact with practical Christianity outside the textbook. He was yet a student but he could readily see before his own eyes the problems that faced the church and more important, some of the individual problems that confronted all clergymen.

Just what was the function of the Rauhes Haus and more significantly the Innere Mission? In both cases the important individual in their development was Johan Hinrich Wichern (1808-1881). Wichern, a pupil of two of the great early nineteenth century theologians, Schleiermacher and Tholuck, had founded the Rauhes Haus in the 1830's. Essentially it began simply as a Hamburg orphanage dedicated to the care and education of wayward children. Eventually its popularity led it to a wider service which included nurseries, reformatories, Sunday-schools, savings-banks for the poor, and even Y.M.C.A.'s.[54] In the tumult of 1848, when the clergy of the German Protestant churches met in somewhat of an extraordinary session, Wichern played an important role. (It was supposedly a moment of national "regeneration" when Wichern in-

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[53]The Innere Mission could literally be translated as Inner Missions or perhaps Home Missions but the term really has a much broader connotation than that. The organization handled social questions and preached the Gospel.

[54]Andren L. Drummond, German Protestantism Since Luther, (London: The Epworth Press, 1951), p. 217.

augurated the movement at Luther's grave in Wittenberg.)[55] Wichern became famous through his association with social problems and thus he was able at that meeting to make a number of proposals which were eventually accepted. First, he convinced the clergy that they should meet voluntarily every year to discuss the problems of the church. This proposal grew into the Kirchentag, or church conference, which met fairly regularly from 1848 to 1871.[56] Secondly, he was successful in convincing his fellow churchmen of the need for a "Rauhes Haus" like institution throughout the country. This latter recommendation became the basis for the formation of the Innere Mission. Thus focus of the missionary and social gospel would be turned inward. The church (on a strictly voluntary basis) through the Innere Mission would struggle with the spiritual poverty of the uneducated masses. Slow in its initial acceptance, by the time Naumann arrived at Hamburg to work with the founder's son, the Rauhes Haus represented but one small part of the much larger network of like institutions dedicated to the care and training of the less fortunate. As Naumann himself described the achievements of the Innere Mission in a letter home to his parents, Dr. Wichern's method provided the only acceptable approach to problems that could be solved by practical Christianity.[57]

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[55] Ibid., p. 214. [56] Ibid., p. 216.

[57] Naumann as quoted in Heuss, p. 520.

This "practical Christianity", as Naumann referred to it, was rapidly becoming the driving force that would be the significant factor in Naumann's ideas and ideals from this moment in his career until he left the church in 1897. His experiences and training in Hamburg helped to fix Naumann's theological views at last. The child of the narrow, strict upbringing was confronted with the stark ugliness of the modern world, and he found that pious platitudes were not sufficient to solve these problems.

In Hamburg, Naumann held two posts acting as one of the Oberhilfer and as private secretary and advisor to Johannes Wichern.[58] As an Oberhilfer he was mainly concerned with teaching. In this pursuit his training at St. Afra's was most useful. He taught religion, the German language, history, and mathematics.[59] As private secretary to Wichern he became deeply enmeshed in the administrative problems that made up such a social welfare organization.

Naumann had a pleasant relationship with Wichern and like Naumann's professors at Erlangen, Wichern held to no strict system of theology.[60] "Questions of theology were seldom topics of conversation," wrote Naumann to his father,

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[58] Ibid., p. 34. As to the term Oberhilfer, this is another example of a term which when literally translated loses much of its wider meaning. An Oberhilfer might be translated as assistant or chief-assistant but in actuallity it meant a person who was pastor and teacher usually at the institution.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., p. 35.

and "the spirit of practical Christianity did not foster confessional arguments."[61] A similiar comment written home at another time probably brought an equal amount of dismay to the orthodox father:

> The simple problems of life, obligations, punishments, sins, the savior, aid, protection, consolation, and hope are just as certain with a system as without.[62]

LANGENBERG: THE FIRST PASTORATE

In 1885 Naumann took and passed his second theological examination. Now prepared as a clergyman in his own right, he hoped to begin his work in church government, but, upon learning that the pastorate at his beloved Störmthal was vacant, he sought that appointment.[63] He traveled there to deliver a Probepredigt, trial sermon. The congregation was less than enthusiastic with the young candidate. He had not yet developed the great oratorical style which one day would be renowned in the Reichstag and throughout the nation. This first sermon fell on unappreciative ears. Not only that they rejected him because of his "pale appearance".[64] While extremely disappointed, he continued to seek a parish of his own. In 1886 his patience was rewarded with a call to Langenberg.

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[61]Naumann as quoted in Heuss, p. 35.

[62]Naumann as quoted in Heuss, p. 36.

[63]Wenck, p. 27.

[64]Ibid.

Langenberg was a small community of some one thousand souls situated in the heart of the rapidly changing industrial area of Saxony. Not far from his father's parish at Lichtenstein, it bordered upon such booming industrial centers as Chemnitz and Zwickau. Communities which for centuries had been rural and agrarian in nature, were now dingy, poverty-stricken factory districts "where there were only chimneys and chimneys; where the people walked with crooked backs through narrow, smoky streets."[65] Langenberg itself was still somewhat of a farming community but many of her citizens journeyed to nearby Limbach, a city of about twelve thousand, where jobs in stocking, cardboard, glove, dye, and fabric finishing factories were readily available.[66] The task Naumann faced in this parish was not to be an easy burden. Friedrich C. Sell in his recent volume Die Tragödie des Deutschen Liberalismus, has very clearly stated Naumann's challenge at this point in his career:

> Early activity in the Rauhes Haus and in the Inner Mission made him [Naumann] put his confidence in social work. As a pastor in a mining town in Saxony, he was able to experience the life of the proletariat. He understood the desperate hope which drove men to the new evangelism of Marxist teaching.[67]

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[65]Eric Dombrowski, German Leaders of Yesterday and To-day, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1920), p. 47.

[66]Wenck, p. 28.

[67]Friedrich C. Sell, Die Tragödie des Deutschen Liberalismus, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1953), pp. 290-91.

Naumann was very aware of how rapidly industrial development was transforming the area and became deeply concerned with the problem of religious erosion brought on by rapidly changing social conditions.[68] He talked endlessly with the poor who were the principal members of his flock, learning at first hand their daily problems. It was not long before he became affectionately known as the "pastor of the poor people."[69] But the door to the parish house always stood open and he did not limit his "concern for souls" to the poor alone; he preached to both young and old, rich and poor.[70]

As time passed the young pastor became increasingly intrigued with the Arbeiterfrage, the worker question.[71] As a "conscientious parish clergyman" he hated the lack of understanding exhibited by many people toward the industrial population in and around Langenberg.[72] He realized that though ignored by the church, the promises of socialism filled a void left by the loss of religion. A study of living conditions, the mental attitudes and the outlook of the working classes soon proved insufficient for a total view of the

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[68]Shanahan, see pp. 353-55.

[69]Oskar Klein-Hattigen, Geschichte des Deutschen Liberalismus, (Berlin-Schöneberg: Fortschritt Buch verlag der "Hilfe" G.M.B.H., 1912), pp. 616-617.

[70]Wenck, p. 28. [71]Ibid.

[72]Ibid.

situation. Naumann's lively interest in the social question further manifested itself with his examination of socialist and Marxist literature. He was concerned by the fact that the great majority of the proletariat were being alienated from the Protestant church by these new socialist theories.

Naumann's studies of socialist literature was far from cursory. He carefully read Marx and Engels, as well as Bebel, Liebknecht, and Lassalle.[73] He also delved deeply into the literature of the Social Democratic party, der SPD. Marxism, Naumann felt, had begun to take form as an historical and secularistic tendency. In a speech before the Congress of the Innere Mission in Nürnberg in 1890, he went so far as to claim that this tendency was the "first great heresy of the Evangelical church."[74] Naumann, nonetheless, held the belief that Marxism should be studied objectively as it was a true embodiment of the Volksleben and thus there was historical legitimacy in the movement.[75] Moreover, Naumann felt that a thorough study of Marxism would prove it susceptible to attack by modern practical Christianity. He believed that Marxism neglected the most important social

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[73]Heuss, p. 49.

[74]Naumann as quoted in Shanahan, pp. 357-58.

[75]Ibid. As to the term Volksleben, it might best be translated as the life or the spirit of the people.

task, namely, the transformation of the masses into men.[76] This was Christianity's challenge.

AT FRANKFURT AM MAIN

In 1890 Naumann left his post at Langenberg to answer a call to come to Frankfurt a. M. in order to serve the Innere Mission again. In this city Naumann met an entirely new set of circumstances. For many centuries Frankfurt had been a free city and though she had lost that status by 1890 she was nevertheless a vibrant, exciting, cosmopolitan place. Frankfurt would offer Naumann the opportunity to meet and talk with "intellectuals" in the church and in politics. In fact in many ways the early years in Frankfurt were the final "frosting put on the cake". Naumann learned to move easily and gracefully among the most important of men.

When Naumann went to Frankfurt he took with him, as his bride, Magdalena Zimmerman, the daughter of an established clerical and military family of Saxony.[77] The new household was barely settled when asthma struck once more. This attack developed into the most serious Naumann had ever suffered. His cure was very long in coming. At Christmas time 1890 he was so ill he could not work and he decided to travel south.[78] Months in Italy brought no cure

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[76]Friedrich C. Sell, "Intellectual Liberalism in Germany about 1900," The Journal of Modern History, Vol XV. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, September 1943), p. 230.

[77]Heuss, p. 205.

[78]Ibid., p. 66.

and he returned to Frankfurt where the illness grew worse. His doctors sent him to Switzerland. More months passed and new doctors were unsuccessful in effecting a cure. Finally, upon the advice of an old woman, he took to drinking the "waters" and his health was slowly restored. The seven or eight months almost cost him his job and his life, and the "strange" cure was to forever turn him against physicians.[79]

His work for the Innere Mission, once it was underway, entailed preaching and working with the poor.[80] Contact with welfare authorities, numerous lectures and Bible hours sent him hurrying about the city.[81] This constant contact with the Soziale Frage, or the Social Question as the Germans have referred to problems of the poor, brought all of his previous activities into final focus. He soon dedicated himself to Christian Socialism. His disregard for any religious orthodoxy, and his "strong sympathy for the modern world" brought him to the realization that a new form of practical Christianity was needed to fulfill the needs of the German people.[82] He had had much contact with Adolf Stöcker and the Christian Socialist party and he was much

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[79]Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[80]Wenck, pp. 50-51.

[81]Ibid.

[82]William O. Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A Mirror of Wilhelmian Germany," The Review of Politics, Vol 13, No. 3. (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, July, 1951), pp. 272-73.

impressed. Stöcker, working in Berlin, had founded the party in the late 1870's and Naumann saw him as "one who can speak of eternal salvation to the masses of Berlin, and who is being heard."[83] Stöcker, however, had sought to link his brand of Christian Socialism with the ultra-conservative court party and anti-semitism. These views Naumann could not accept. His activities in Frankfurt brought him into contact with two elements that changed his outlook, namely, "liberals" and Jews. Though many years passed before Naumann became a member of a "liberal" group he respected their views. Secondly, the many Jews he met in Frankfurt destroyed all his pre-conceived notions of those people, and he realized that he could not support an anti-semitism.

The development of Naumann's social philosophy coincided with an ever growing awareness of the political scene. He believed that social reform was a necessity, and his Frankfurt activities proved to him that political agitation was the only viable solution to his problem.[84] In 1891 he had taken part in the founding of a "evangelischen Arbeitervereine" (an evangelical worker's union) and his continuel contact with this group had brought Naumann into frequent conflict with the church authorities. In 1896 his par-

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[83]Erich Eyck, "A Great German Liberal", The Contemporary Review, CLV. (London: The Contemporary Limited, January-June, 1939), p. 321.

[84]Friedrich Meinecke, The German Catastrophe, Translated by Sidney B. Fay, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 18.

ty, the National Sozial Verein (the National Social Union), was formed and in 1897 he left the church.

The well-respected German historian, Friedrich Meinecke, perhaps better than any other, has described the goal of Naumann's party:

> Naumann's national socialism, looked at from a purely rational and cultural point of view, was a wonderful attempt to bring together in an exceeding rich synthesis both the most spiritual and the most practical and realistic elements in the German people. Christianity and German idealism, the classical ideal of humanity and modern social empiricism, democracy and empire, the modern feeling of the need for art, for a people's system of national defense, for economic expansion. . . .[85]

Thus Naumann sought to fuse socialism and imperialism with the "warmth of the social doctrine" and he chose a difficult task in the face of existing conditions in Wilhelmian Germany.[86]

Naumann's education was broadened by the contacts he made with prominent individuals. His new friendships included such intellectual figures as Meinecke and Troeltsch, the historians Delbrück and Goetz, and the economists Brentano, Sombart and Schulze-Gävernity.[87] "Here were significant sources of his continuing education."[88] Then, too,

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[85] Ibid., p. 19.

[86] Henry Cord Meyer, Mitteleuropa in German Thought and Action 1815-1945, (The Hague: Martinus Nijoff, 1955), pp. 88-89.

[87] Ibid., p. 91.

[88] Ibid.

the majority of the people who urged the formation of his party were Protestant pastors, teachers, a scattering of university professors, and other intellectuals.[89] As someone has written, "Friedrich Naumann emerged as a major personality on the 'Wilhelmian scene."[90]

NAUMANN, THE WRITER

The most important factor which helped to bring Naumann prominence, first in the church, and later in the political arena, was his prolific journalistic activity. Alfred Milatz, in a recently published bibliographical study of Naumann, sought merely to list all the books, articles, and speeches by and about Naumann. His works required eighty-six pages and twenty-one hundred references to list the items Naumann wrote.[91] Fortunately for the student of history, Naumann's literary style did not follow the general pattern established by his German contemporaries. His works are distinguished by complete clarity, word economy, and an impressive method of logical argument. So skillful was he, in fact, that the reader is often led to accept an idea before he realizes the full significance of what is being presented. His skill was based on sound scholarship and an awareness of prevailing intellectual currents. His style was remarkably

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[89]Eyck, p. 322.

[90]Meyer, p. 80.

[91]Alfred Milatz, Friedrich - Naumann - Bibliographie, (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1957), pp. 177.

"free", not stiff and turgid, with a strong tendency towards traditional in late nineteenth century German prose style.[92] "These gifts . . . made Naumann one of the great modern writers on problems of social welfare and politics."[93]

Naumann's first opportunity to write came when he was first active in the Verein deutscher Studenten. As a propagandist for that group he received his first experience. In Hamburg at the Rauhes Haus, under the guidance of Johannes Wichern, he wrote articles for the Fliegende Blätter, an organ of the Innere Mission.[94] During these years, the period before his second theological examination, he wrote for the Allgemeine Konservative Monatschrift as well.

After 1887 Naumann, writing for the Christliche Welt, found a vast audience opening to him. A young pastor, Martin Rade, had founded this periodical in 1886. Around him he gathered a number of newly ordained clergymen and some theological candidates, all of whom believed that "an industrial world required a specific Christian social teaching."[95] Naumann, as an author of many articles and a collaborator with

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[92]Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A German View of Power and Nationalism", pp. 355-57. The total bibliography for this thesis shall list three different works by Shanahan and thus the titles henceforth referred to must be cited in at least short form.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Heuss, pp. 50-51.

[95]Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A Mirror of Wilhelmian Germany", pp. 274-75.

the group, represented as they did a "liberal theological movement" dedicated to Protestant social reform.[96] The weekly periodical, which carried the subtitle, "für die gebildeten Glieder der evangelischen Kirchen" (for the educated members of the evangelical churches), "offered Naumann an effective forum to display his literary talent."[97] The wide following that Naumann won in the following years placed him in a position of leadership which challenged the standing of Adolf Stöcker.

From 1889 onward Naumann (though he still continued to write many articles) often produced one or more major works a year. This first year was marked by publication of Arbeiterkatechismus oder der wahre Socialismus, Christspiel, and Was tun wir gegen die glaubenslose Sozialdemokratie? In the years that followed some of the more significant works were: 1891, Das soziale Programm der evangelischen Kirche; 1894, Jesus als Volksmann and Was heisst Christlich-Sozial? Vol. I; 1895, Soziale Briefe an reiche Leute, and Zum sozialdemokratischen Landprogramm; 1896; Was heisst Christlich-Sozial, Vol. II, and Einige Gedanken über die Gründung christlich sozialer Vereine.[98]

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] For a complete bibliographical listing see Alfred Milatz. The bibliography of this thesis also contains a bibliographical note for the books by Naumann used by this author for this thesis.

During the Frankfurt period he also wrote a number of articles for the Zukunft, a periodical published by Maximillian Harden, the political polemicist and satirist. In 1895 Naumann founded his own publishing house and began the publication of Die Hilfe. This publication was a weekly journal with the subtitle, "Gotteshilfe, Selbsthilfe, Staatshilfe, Bruderhilfe," which serves to define the position he maintained.[99] For the historian, the pages of Die Hilfe offer the most characteristic expression of Naumann's political judgment, and the early years of the publication clearly document his transition from a concern for a Christian program, to an almost exclusive interest in national and liberal parties.[100]

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[99]"God's-help, self-help, state-help, brotherly-help", would be a literal translation.

[100]Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A Mirror of Wilhelmian Germany", p. 277.

CHAPTER II

THE GERMAN PROTESTANT CHURCH AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: THE CHALLENGE OF THE MODERN WORLD

Before any attempt can be made to define the position Naumann took on the issues of his day, it is necessary to understand the problems that beset the world in which he lived. What were the strengths or weaknesses of the German Protestant church late in the nineteenth century? What effects were felt in the church as a result of the industrial revolution? What changes had taken place in the social structure of the nation which effected the relationship between the new society and the Christian church?

In this chapter answers to these and other similar questions will be sought. Naumann and other reformers with a fervid crusading zeal would never have appeared on the scene had there not been a major crisis facing the church. For time immemorial the church in Germany had been an important factor in meeting the needs of a man's spiritual life on this earth. Suddenly rapid changes take place in the structure of society and the church is no longer able to fulfill this function. Naumann and his counterparts sought to revive and reform the church in order that it might attain its form-

er status. The major question for them was the meaningfulness of the "witness" of the church in an ever-increasingly materialistic society.

THE CHURCH 1815-1870

There were many political ramifications of Napoleon's "marching about" the hodgepodge of German States within the defunct Holy Roman Empire. Developments in the German Protestant church were affected by these cataclysmic events as well. Napoleon, while he did much to break down the old political frontiers between the many German States, aroused, at the same time, a new sense of German nationalism. This in turn brought an interest in national unity. As Germans turned to face the French menace, a new spirit arose. The same people who hoped to bring national unity also looked forward to a national church. The greatest clergyman of his age, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), preached in the following terms from his pulpit:

> How little worthy of respect is the man who roams hither and thither without the anchor of national ideal and love of fatherland; how dull is the friendship that rests merely upon personal similarities in disposition and tendencies, and not upon the feeling of a greater common unity for whose sake one can offer up his life.[1]

Whatever may have been the other results of the Napoleonic era, it did provide the necessary atmosphere for

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[1]Koppel S. Pinson, Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism, (New York: Columbia Press, 1934), p. 199.

Friedrich Wilhelm III of Hohenzollern to bring about the unity of the Prussian Lutheran and Reformed churches in 1817. The Lutheran and the Calvinist congregations were forced into the new "Evangelical" church. Unfortunately all of this was to prove very detrimental to the new church. The state dictated to the church its new organization and the result was the loss of the church's vitality.[2] The revival of feeling which had helped to destroy the power of Napoleon was now submerged in the conservative reaction of the Restoration. The church, like the political structure of which it was a vital part, was in a general state of decline. The period from 1815 to 1848 in Prussia Germany (the Vormärz or Biedermeierzeit in Germany as it was known) was a time of gradual change, but also one of general stagnation. In many ways vastly different, it was very similar to that in England from the settlement of 1688-89 to about 1760.

Yet, unlike the development in England, there was no great spirit of reform, no "revolution in sentiment" in Germany such as that which developed in England toward the end of the late eighteenth century. For Germany there was only further crisis on the political scene; i.e. the revolution of 1848-49. The German Protestant church was placed in an even more unenviable postion. Though the church had been challenged in the eighteenth century by the cold intellectu-

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[2]A. L. Drummond, German Protestantism Since Luther, (London: The Epworth Press, 1951), pp. 194-95.

alism of the enlightenment, it was also buoyed up by the emotional spirit of Pietism. But 1819 the enthusiasm of the Freiheitskriege had died. Prussian and German monarchs had brought the union of the large Protestant bodies, and these churches became ever more subservient to the needs of the state.[3]

Lutheran doctrines had always advocated a church organization closely aligned with the state, but the church in Germany after 1815 became completely dominated by the precepts of the state. It was the alliance of orthodoxy and monarchy.[4] This situation was more evident after the years of revolution. The decade of the eighteen-fifties was the most reactionary political era of all. The middle and upper classes were frightened by the revolution and they "rallied to Throne and Altar."[5] The reactionaries won tighter control over education and the Lutheran clergy threw their support to this poltical philosophy to which their church so strongly adhered.[6] "Teachers, civil servants, tradesmen, and employees discovered that 'it paid to be pious.'"[7]

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[4]See for example, Walter Frank, Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker und die Christlichsoziale Bewegung, (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1928), p. 18 or Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany 1648-1840, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 487.

[5]Drummond, p. 216.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

Strangely enough as the political and religious groups in power moved to the right, society (if one may use political terminology), was progressing to the left. In the eighteen-fifties the first movement of the change from an aristocratic and agrarian society to an urban industrial nation could be detected. At this "decisive moment, German Protestantism had cast its lot with the authoritarian and the agrarian traditions of European life, openly scorning the urban-industrial and liberal world that was coming into being."[8] The church thereby risked the loss of the common man's loyalty because with the church on the side of "monarchical authority, Protestantism could not take the side of the people."[9] From this point, anti-clericalism which was associated generally with Roman Catholic nations, could be discovered in the Protestant areas of Germany.[10] When the industrial revolution in Germany reached the floodtide after 1870, the Protestant church failed to keep pace with the changes. It had chosen to support the one group in society that was out of tune with the changes that were taking place. The obvious result was that the church, too, became incompatible with the times. "German Protestantism lost an opportunity to befriend the masses."[11]

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[8]Shanahan, German Protestants Face the Social Question, p. 301., hereafter cited as German Protestants.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Drummond, p. 216.

[11]Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 154-55.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

An adequate description of the church after 1870 would need be preceeded by a view of the changes that took place in society as a result of the industrial revolution. The story of this revolution has, of course, been told often, but in the process of the telling, the massiveness of the alteration of society has frequently been clouded in socio-economic terms. An attempt will be made to briefly view the changes through a consideration of the most obvious high-points.

In an amazingly short period of time all the elements necessary for an industrial revolution had come together in Germany.[12] A financial foundation was built with the Zollverein (the Customs Union), and the formation of investment banks and corporations for the buying and selling of stocks and bonds. The first railroad line in Germany was built in 1835 between Nürnberg and Fürth. Rapid developments followed. These rail lines and the canals that had been constructed at almost the same time made possible the transportation of the goods that would one day be produced. Germany's population growth was beginning to become significant and would rapidly increase in the decades after 1860. This was also the time of the first discernible rural-urban shift which, with the

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[12] J. H. Clapham, The Economic Development of France and Germany 1815-1914, (Cambridge At the University Press, Fourth Edition, 1936), pp. 279-80.

population growth, produced the necessary labor force for the new factories. Finally, the Germans were able to take advantage of the British technical "knowhow". These ideas, "borrowed" from an idustrial complex already long in existence, plus the new machines and industrial processes constantly being created, made production boom.

Events of the twenty-five or so years before 1870 made the industrial revolution possible in Germany. The first twenty-five years after 1870 saw the fruition of these earlier occurrences. Existence of the political unity of the national state probably contributed to the rapid acceleration. (It would of course be very difficult to estimate what effect this had on the course of the industrial changes but it certainly must have had a major role in the acceleration that took place.) The active part played by the government was significant as well. As a prominent German economic historian has maintained, "it was a marriage prompted by reason." He believed further that, "the State thought itself compelled to ally itself with a new force in order to have a freer hand for what it believed to be its main political aims."[13]

Likewise, the appearance of the heartland of Europe was rapidly being altered in the last three decades of the

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[13]W. F. Bruck, Social and Economic History of Germany from William II to Hitler 1888-1938. (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1962), p. 125.

nineteenth century. A look at population figures helped to explain this phenomenon. In 1865 the estimated population of Germany (Germany as it came to be in size after 1871) was 39,548,000 - a figure of 9.4% higher than that of the previous decade.[14] In 1875 the population stood at 42,518,000, or an increase of 7.5% over the figure of 1865. By 1885 it rose to 46,707,000, marking another growth of 9.9%. In 1895 the figures recorded were 52,001,000, an increase of 11.3%.[15] To complete the picture, the population of Germany in 1914, on the eve of the Great War, was 67,790,000. These increases, in a country with about 24,000,000 people in 1800, were achieved despite an annual average of some 70,000 emigrants leaving for the new world.[16]

Along with the growth of population there was a marked rural-urban shift in population of people during the nineteenth century. "after 1835 industry began to show new life, but even as late as 1850, the German states maintained their distinctly agricultural character."[17] In 1850 approximately 2.8% of the German population lived in cities which contained

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[14]The population figures here cited are to be found in Gustav Stolper, German Economy 1870-1940 Issues and Trends, (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940), p. 38.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Louis L. Snyder, Basic History of Modern Germany, (New York: Van Nostrand, An Anvil Original, 1957), p. 56.

[17]S. R. Tirrell, German Agrarian Politics After Bismarck's Fall, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 11.

over 100,000 people.[18] The rural population of Germany between 1850 and 1910 increased by one or two million. In that same period forty million additional people came to live in the cities.[19] As the table below will indicate, the rural population was still over sixty percent in 1871, but the next forty years brought many changes:

RURAL-URBAN SHIFT IN POPULATION[20]

	Total Population	Rural Percentage	Urban Percentage
1871	41,059,000	63.9	36.1
1880	45,234,000	58.6	41.4
1890	49,428,000	57.5	42.5
1900	56,367,000	45.6	54.4
1910	64,926,000	40.0	60.0

The changes in the population of larger cities between 1870 and 1900 further illustrates the shift of population:

POPULATION CHANGES IN MAJOR CITIES[21]

City	1870	1900
Berlin	774,498	1,888,313
Breslau	207,997	428,517
Cologne	200,312	464,272
Essen	99,687	290,208
Frankfurt a.M.	126,095	314,026
Hamburg	308,446	721,744
Leipzig	177,818	519,726
Munich	440,886	659,392

Recalling that Naumann lived in Frankfurt a.M. after 1890,

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[18] Snyder, p. 56.

[19] Clapham, p. 179.

[20] Ibid., p. 278.

[21] Pinson, Modern Germany, p. 221.

it is interesting to note that the city's population increased over 250 percent in three decades!

The increase of Germany's commercial and business activities was equally sharp after 1870. In 1875 there was 27,930 kilometers of railroad lines in operation. In 1885 there were 37,650, and in 1895 the figure had reached 46,560 kilometers. An increase of 18,560 kilometers in twenty years was no small sum.[22] Most of these railroad lines were state controlled by 1895, as, since his very first days in office, Bismarck had sought to buy up all the lines from their private owners.

German production of coal and lignite in 1871 was less than thirty-eight million tons; compared to 118 million tons for Great Britain.[23] By 1913 Germany produced 279 million tons with Great Britain producing 292 million tons.[24] The increase in output of German pig iron and steel followed much the same course:

IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTION[25]

Output in metric tons

1880	2,729,000 (pig iron)	1,548,000 (steel)
1890	4,658,500	3,164,000
1900	8,521,000	7,372,000
1910	14,794,000	13,149,000

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[22]Stolper, p. 71.

[23]E. J. Passant (Economic sections by W. C. Henderson), A Short History of Germany 1815-1945, (Cambridge At the University Press, 1962), p. 105.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

It was no wonder that Germany's "national wealth stood at 200 billion marks in 1895" (by 1912 it was 300 billion).[26]

Germany's mercantile fleet expanded over "fity-fold in tonnage between 1870 and 1914, until it was three times as large as that of France."[27] Between 1873 and World War I the total of Germany's export trade had quadrupled, while manufactured goods produced in her factories grew sevenfold.[28] In this same period imports increased two-and-a-half times and the raw material for industry by three-and-a-half times.[29] More important perhaps was the value of this import-export trade:

GERMAN VALUE OF IMPORT-EXPORT TRADE[30]

	Exports	Imports (in Marks)
1860	70,000,000	54,750,000
1872	124,600,000	173,250,000
1880	148,850,000	142,200,000
1890	170,500,000	213,650,000
1900	237,650,000	302,150,000
1910	373,735,000	446,705,000
1913	504,825,000	538,515,000

From her low position in 1860, Germany, in less than forty years, had come to rival the great industrial nations of the world as a manufacturing power.

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[26]William Maehl, "The Triumph of Nationalism in the German Socialist Party on the Eve of the First World War," The Journal of Modern History, XXIV, (March, 1952), 27.

[27]Ralph Flenley, Modern German History, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1953), p. 302.

[28]Bruck, p. 111. [29]Ibid.

[30]Passant, p. 112.

CRISIS IN THE CHURCH

The very basic structure of society was in constant flux during the three decades from 1870 to 1900. In the agrarian, autocratic society that existed before industrialization, there had at least been some security for even the lowest classes. Obviously one could have readily found individual cases of either cruelty on the part of the local aristocracy, or conditions on small farms, or in little towns where life was not pleasant or meaningful for the people concerned. These exceptions, however, no way compared to the abominable conditions that generally prevailed in the gigantic new cities that developed as industrialization took place.

The lower classes now faced a myriad of problems. They were at the mercy of a "new" autocratic class, the factory owners. The worker had no means of providing the basic necessities of life for himself or his family. The rural life had offered a reasonable opportunity to provide food and a shelter of sorts. The industrial slum provided no such opportunity. The factory worker, his wife and his children could work from dawn to sundown and still face the possibility of starvation. Unemployment could be brought on by the whims of economic fluctuations or the factory owner himself. Life was indeed hard, insecure, unpleasant, and at best, unrewarding.

But did the old system offer a better solution? Probably not, <u>but</u> hope and salvation had been offered to

agrarian society through the church. The church stood in the center of the community; it was the very heart of parish activity. If nothing else, it fulfilled the spiritual needs of a people who looked for the realization of their dreams in the next world. In the new, unsteady atmosphere of the industrial community, there was less chance of receiving adequate pastoral care.[31]

> For industry had so stimulated the growth of cities that a deep attachment to the traditional religious community--the parish--could no longer be maintained. The life of religion withered at the roots, leaving an industrial proletariat alone and unattended in a wasteland of man's own making.[32]

Such was the crisis that challenged the German Protestant church after 1870.

The population of Berlin in 1880 was over 800,000, but its churches could only hold 25,000.[33] Berlin, as one author has claimed, was a "spiritual graveyard".[34] A pastor, Winckler of Hamburg, had bitterly complained in 1688 because of the extremely unusual situation with which he was confronted. He was the "true pastor of 30,000 souls."[35] In any large city of Germany in the latter part of the nineteenth century, this was the rule rather than the exception.

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[31]Shanahan, German Protestants, p. 1.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Drummond, pp. 220-21.

[34]Shanahan, German Protestants, p. 354.

[35]Drummond, pp. 220-21.

The parish of St. George in Berlin had over 80,000 parishioners.[36] St. Sophie's in that same city had over 50,000, and "there were five or six others, each with 20-30,000."[37] In the eighteen-eighties reports indicate that parishes which contained 100,000, or 140,000 souls were not especially uncommon.[38]

Obviously a number of problems would result from such a situation. What loyalty to the church that had existed among the adults was rapidly disappearing. Lacking continual cultivation existing morals and beliefs were inadvertently destroyed by the realism of day-to-day living. More important perhaps was the "ommission of proper religious instruction."[39] Children grew up uneducated in the tradition of the church and with no facilities available to them, they were reasonably certain of reaching maturity outside the fold. Many of the old adherents were thus leaving the church and few new members were replacing them. The following situation was reported in Berlin in 1880; "In that year twenty-six percent of the children were unbaptized, fifty-eight percent of the marriages were civil, and eighty percent of the funerals were without religious rites."[40] Though not shocking to the twentieth century man, these figures indicated a situation that

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[36]Shanahan, German Protestants, p. 354.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Drummond, pp. 220-21.

had not existed in Germany during the previous one thousand years.

The industrial worker, bewildered in his new surroundings, alienated from the Christian tradition, and confronted by the loss of "his social identity," sought to compensate for his "extreme loneliness" by seeking consolation in secular movements.[41] In essence he was indeed:

> pathetically eager to accept new loyalties to associations which bear upon his economic needs, to join political movements which afford some measure of social solidarity, and to accept without prejudice a mystique of national unity.[42]

A solution was found which seemed to supply all of these needs, namely, socialism!

Unaware of its subtle inadequacies, the proletariat were quickly convinced by the clever propaganda and they flocked to the new creed. By offering security in place of life's uncertainties, socialism tended to provide an "urban community where none had existed, a community strongly resembling the Christian parish."[43] By supporting the Social Democratic Party (the only large significant Socialist organization), the worker could hope for the possible realization of his political and economic goals. Since the quasi-parliamentary structure of the Second Reich allowed the worker little voice in the government, his support of a Socialist

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[41] Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 34-36.

[42] Ibid., p. 36. [43] Ibid., p. 350.

party, he hoped, might eventually lead to a reversal of that situation. Through labor union agitation the worker could strive for the amelioration of his economic situation. Job security, higher wages, shorter working hours, improved housing, and other reforms were all in the crystal ball of the socialists. It was better than the second coming!

The new doctrine likewise proclaimed itself an arbiter of man's spiritual affairs. The good life, it argued, was not something hoped for in the next world, but rather it was to be found and enjoyed here in this world. In place of the pleasant platitudes which the Christian church offered those who suffered the plight of a miserable existence, Socialism promised immediate materialistic rewards. By clarifying human life, "Socialism entered the proletarian consciousness, not as the winner of a sharp debate over Christian precepts, but as the sly usurper of rights formerly exercised by Christianity."[44]

In summation of the crisis that challenged the existence of the Protestant church in Germany, a number of factors were in operation. The strong church-state relationship in a state controlled by a well-established conservatively orientated political minority made spiritual reform from within relatively impossible. After all, if the conservative element was to maintain its position, it could not recognize

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[44] Ibid., pp. 348-49.

the spiritual shortcomings of the church. If it did, and if it sought an improvement or a reform of the church, might this not also lead to a change in the political structure? A democratic church might well lead to conflict with the strongly held concept of "throne and altar". Secondly, the middle-class, the class which outwardly adhered to its church beliefs, "looked to science and the arts to gain a higher content for their lives."[45] They stayed with the church because they feared the onslaught that the proletariat and the revolution might bring. A revolution, they believed, would destroy the basis for their existence. A third group, the liberal Protestants and the intellectuals, simply "kept aloof".[46] Uninterested as they were in the problems of the masses, they saw no reason for a reform of the church, and thus, remained indifferent. Finally, the lower classes were alienated from the church by the nature of their existence and by the scope of their goals. The combination of all these factors, the disinterest, the unwillingness to change, the lack of crusading zeal, the open hostility; the nature of the class structure, and the complex problems posed by a rapid industrialization of the state confronted the church with a problem to which there seemed to be no real solution.

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[45]Holborn, pp. 493-94.

[46]Sell, "Intellectual Liberalism," p. 230.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION

The term the "social question", or *die soziale Frage*, as it was known in German, might be best described as a "catch-all" phrase used to cover discussion which concerned the possible ways in which the church might alleviate or master this challenge of the modern world. This would indicate the existence of a body of individuals who were dedicated to a reawakening within the church. Because this interest and dedication was essentially of an individual nature, the answer to the "social question" was many things to many people. To some it meant a complete alteration of church structure and dogma to meet the new challenge. To others the "social question" was merely the problem of what to do with the awkward social conditions created by the industrial revolution. Still others saw it as a need for a more charitable Christianity. They had a sincere desire to win converts back to the church (as long as the church structure did not change). Finally, there were those who simply sought social reform through legislation. They wanted to correct problems and situations which did not deal directly with the church but more generally with the labor force and the question of the lower classes.

The Bismarckian settlement tended to solve the enigma of the labor force and the "poverty-stricken" masses. Through his various attempts to stem the tide of social upheaval, he forced through the *Reichstag* the different insurance laws.

By offering the worker accident insurance, old-age and other pension type security, many historians have claimed he solved the dilemma which challenged the conservative monarchy. He "stole" the platform of the Social Democrats and thus was subtly able to preserve the nation from a shift to the left.

Such programs of social legislation had little effect on the much more precarious situation in which the church found itself. Only in the hearts of a few dedicated people was the spirit of reform strong. At best they were few and far between. The materialistic urge which was a definite aspect of Germany's history after 1870 presented a challenge too great for the church to overcome. There was little in the nineteenth century to compare with the warm-hearted spirit of the pietism of the eighteenth century, and the zeal of the reformation that was evident in the Germany of the sixteenth century.

Part of this situation could possibly be explained by a brief look at Lutheran doctrines. Christian charity was naturally a major part of the dogma of the church, but the modern age called for more than voluntary charity could provide. As one author has said, the Lutherans tended to repeat over and over the "old doctrine of the inwardness of the Church and of the duty of leaving all external matters of legislation and social welfare to the State."[47] Many of the

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[47]Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans Olive Wyon, Vol. II, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1931), p. 568.

reformers and specifically the Christian Socialists (which included Naumann) sought to reverse that tendency and hoped to face the church to recognize the "general political, economic, and social foundations of the present-day Society."[48]

Reformers grew in number after 1870. There were a number of reasons for this. When Wichern had clamored in 1840-49 for realization of the social ills, few were really aware of any problem confronting the church.[49] When no one followed in his footsteps, the crusade was taken up by socialists of the stature of Ferdinand Lassalle and August Bebel. By 1870 there were a few wise men in the church who realized that the loss of the masses could easily destroy the church.[50] This trend coincided with a strong reform movement within the Catholic church in southern Germany, led by the able Bishop Ketteler. Many Protestants were fright-

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Wichern really did not take a position contrary to the standard Lutheran view of clarity. He saw the social ills and the poverty of the proletariat class and he sought to relieve them of their misery. But as Professor Shanahan has said, Wichern's faith was based on the "romantic preoccupation of his age with the church of St. John the Evangelist, based on a positive expression of Christian love, rather than Petrine discipline, or Pauline faith." Faith and existing institutions Wichern felt could meet the challenge of the age. For more of this see, Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 38-92 especially.

[50] Theobald Ziegler, Die Geistigen und Sozialen Strömungen Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1911), p. 506.

ened into activity.[51]

The response came to be known as the evangelical-social movement. The movement has been described as the "attempts to develop a modern social ethic in terms of the Protestant understanding of man, society, and politics."[52] One typical example of the movement was the Verein für Social Politik. Nicknamed the Kathedersozialisten, or the socialists of the chair, this group was strongly politically orientated but nonetheless consistent with the group as the whole.[53] They did little to effect reform and their neglect of practical measures doomed their program as one with little chance of success.[54] As with so many reformers in nineteenth century Germany, these men were intellectuals who were completely unsuccessful in their attempts to make any contact with the working classes. The battle for the support of the masses had been won by the class conscious Marxists.[55]

There were further attempts to propagate the movement in the eighteen-eighties and eighteen-nineties. Action of this nature was centered in three general areas.[56] First

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 2-3.

[53] Bruck, p. 131.

[54] Shanahan, German Protestants, p. 413.

[55] Ibid., p. 379.

[56] Michael P. Fogarty, Christian Democracy in Western Europe 1820-1953, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957), p. 179.

there was a demand for Protestant political action. Secondly, there was an "Evangelical workers' movement" which tended to ally itself with the Christian labor unions.[57] Unfortunately, these unions were never large as compared with other socialist groups and only in the Catholic areas of Germany did they have any particular influence. Thirdly, there was some attempt to make the Protestant church independent of state control.[58] This goal was not accomplished until the collapse of the monarchy in 1918. The very nature of the church-state relationship prevented the church from taking an officially active role in the social question. To repeat a point made much earlier, "in the last analysis, the Germany theology and history must be ascribed to individuals."[59]

The increased activity of those who sought to solve the dilemma of the church only succeeded in encouraging a new force to attack the would-be reformers. It has been shown how the church-state relationship, the industrial revolution, the socialists, the existing class structure and other factors all contributed to the demise of the church; now an additional enemy made itself known, namely, the great industrialist.[60] Wealthy as a result of their growing industrial

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[57] Ibid. See also Bruck, p. 130, for figures showing the strength of the various labor unions.

[58] Fogarty, p. 179.

[59] Shanahan, German Protestants, pp. 4-5.

[60] Bruck, p. 131.

activities, this group joined in support of the government against any elements which might endanger the established order. If the reformers were victorious in establishing their liberal ideas in the church or among the lower classes, they would, it was felt, pose a significant threat to the existing social structure of society.

Leading the attack on reform among the industrial magnates was Baron von Stumm.[61] As a prominent advisor to the Imperial government in the eighteen-nineties, Stumm sought to suppress any independent thought or action among the working class. One historian has called Stumm, "an Advocate of Feudal Capitalism".[62] Stumm, though out of step with his times, was still able to play a significant role in plaguing reform attempts.[63] Many Germans have referred to the period as the "Stumm era". The government's new ally in the quest for preservation of the status quo was a powerful addition to their already overwhelming force. Any reform that would come could not be accomplished by a small intellectual minority.

WILHELMIAN GERMANY

One last factor should be considered in this appraisal of the Protestant church in Germany late in the nineteenth century. It is an almost impossible task to measure the

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[61] Abraham Ascher, "Baron von Stumm, Advocate of Feudal Capitalism," Journal of Central European Affairs, XXII (October, 1962), p. 271.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

effect of this last nebulous element. For in the history of any people how important in their development is the spirit of the age? In this particular instance, the element in question is the materialism of Wilhelmian Germany.

The quest for the pleasures of the materialistic benefits of life was perhaps the most subtle challenge of all those which confronted the church. It was an age which combined in its makeup, "national youthfulness, technological proficiency, and extreme public pride in the face of newly-gained power."[64] The key figure on the stage, Wilhelm II, of Hohenzollern, after all was in many ways a mere diletante. He had come to the throne and proclaimed a "new course", but the direction was forever shrouded by a "mystical" fog. He, like the nation as a whole, glorified the accomplishments of the German people. Yet no one seemed to realize the nature of what had been created. Intellectual enthusiasm and regeneration contradicted irresponsibility and decline in political affairs.[65] The new interest in the freedom of the individual conflicted with an ever increasingly potent militarism. A high level of cultural productivity, greater than any since the time of Goethe, ran parallel with a pathological nationalism. In every sphere of human activity, intense productivity was aided by a belief in a mission. For all of its

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[64]Henry Cord Meyer, pp. 84-85.

[65]See for example Friedrich Meinecke's comments on Wilhelmian Germany as cited in Stern, p. 165.

achievements, however, it was a shallow amoral generation. And what of the church? It came off second-best.

CONCLUSION

It might be said that the church failed to meet the crises of the modern world. At least it would be said the German Protestant church failed in the nineteenth century to keep abreast of the rapid changes that were taking place in society. The acceptance of this failure would not preclude a denial of the importance of the church as an essential factor in the structure of the fabric of human events. But for this study, the reader should not be overwhelmed by the ramifications of this dilemma. It is only necessary to keep in mind the general narrative of the church's condition, and this only in order to better comprehend the views Naumann held regarding the position and role of the church in the society in which he lived.

CHAPTER III

NAUMANN: SOME VIEWS ON THE CHURCH

Friedrich Naumann held to no specific dogma and was not restricted in his outlook by narrow theological definitions, nor stringent scriptural interpretations. He was a prolific writer and a continual stream of articles, books, and texts of speeches flowed from his pen. Naumann himself was never able to organize his thoughts in a markedly rational form and, thus, an analysis of his works is extremely difficult. His numerous writings necessitate a general synopsis of the important views he held.

JESUS, THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE[1]

"Jesus Christ was and is and remains," Naumann wrote, "the greatest man of the people."[2] The humaneness of Jesus held a revered and important position in Naumann's thoughts. Christ was the message to the modern world. Naumann found many ways to describe this man of the people; he was the Son

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[1]"Jesus, the Man of the People", is a loose translation of the title of a book Naumann wrote on the subject in 1894. Friedrich Naumann, Jesus als Volksmann, (Göttingen: Göttinger Arbeiterbibliothek, 1894), pp. 16.

[2]Ibid., p. 1

of God, the Judge of the world, one who sacrificed himself for sinners. All of these things were true of Jesus, he believed, but most important was the unforgettable fact that Jesus "had led the battle for the people."[3] Naumann hoped that his generation would produce a strong Christian leader with understanding and empathy for the "deeds and life of Jesus." Such a leader would present Jesus to the German people as the "hero of the age." Further, if he could borrow the might (Gewalt) of the language of a Lessing, or a Schiller, and the power (Macht) of the belief of a Luther, he would render men like "Bismarck and Bebel, Marx and Darwin . . . pale and insignificant before the greatest single individual that had ever wandered the face of the earth."[4] If Jesus could once again be understood by the people, a great spiritual revival would result (dann wird die grosse innerliche Erneureung des Volkes Kommen). Should this revival come, social reform would, of necessity, follow.[5]

Throughout Naumann's writings there was a detectable naive optimism. Prince Bülow, the German Chancellor, in his mémoires described Naumann as a "political dreamer."[6] Though Bülow made it a point to attack nearly everyone, his judg-

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[3]Ibid. [4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Prince von Bülow, Memoirs, trans. by Geoffrey Dunlop and F. A. Voigt, Vol. IV of 4 vols. (London: Putnam, 1932), p. 162.

ment of Naumann was not an overstatement. Naumann's outlook was characterized by a sweeping belief in the "good" things that the future would bring. He believed, for example, that Christ could once again be a "living" force in western culture.[7] He further qualified his position:

> That is our firm, confident belief /Christ as a living force/, that keeps us strong in all our problems and troubles. The well of his life is not yet empty and we can acquire strength for centuries if we learn to know Him well. In Him the German character can be healthy again. He alone has the well-being of the people in his hands.[8]

Unrealistic though he may have been, his sincereity could not be questioned. Another factor needs consideration for it is paremount to an understanding of what Naumann sought to do. Everything he wrote was essentially an attempt to convert his readers to the Christian cause. Thus, while Naumann hoped that he had presented a logical argument, the evangelistic task was always in the back of his mind.

Naumann lived in a materialistic age and he recognized that fact. At the same time he optimistically believed that man's soul has always longed for something more substantial than the materialistic goals of this world. "The people,

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[7]Naumann, Jesus als Volksmann, p. 2.

[8]"Das ist unser fester, zuversichtlicher Glaube, das hält uns aufrecht in allen Mühen und Sorgen. Nocht ist der Brunnen seines Lebens nicht ausgeschöpft, nocht können wir Kraft für Jahrhunderte gewinnen, wenn wir ihn ganz kennen lernen. An ihm kann das deutsche Wesen noch einmal wieder gesund werden. Er allein hat die Gesundheit der Völker in seinen Händen." Naumann, Jesus als Volksmann, p. 2.

Naumann wrote, "will soon have their fill of scepticism."[9] The natural urge for those things that feed the soul could not be permanently denied. Faith and love cannot remain submerged for they will manifest themselves in a return to the realization of the joy to be found in the words of Jesus Christ.[10]

The onslaught of modern science had done much to challenge the validity of the scriptures. Important tenants of Christian belief, the "miracles", had come under fire from advancements made in the areas of medicine and psychiatry. Naumann lamented that education had done much to destroy the faith in miracles. "Man", Naumann wrote, "is easily influenced by those who know more than he."[11] He acknowledged that fact that many scholars claimed that the "miracles would be destroyed by science."[12] His answer to these arguments was a simple one:

> I beg you, take me for uneducated if you find that I still believe that Jesus can do more than doctor X or doctor Y. For myself, I believe in the reality of the miracles of Jesus although I have read much natural science, perhaps more than many "educated people."[13]

Naumann was extremely adamant in his belief that Christianity could survive in the modern world despite the cynical attacks of a progressively better educated society.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., p. 3.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

Among other problems which Naumann discussed were some that had troubled men in Christ's own times. One such was the question of wealth. "Why," the Pastor asked, "had Jesus spoken so strongly about the wealthy?"[14] He answered this question by stating that Jesus realized the spiritual life of the wealthy would be devoured by money. Scripture provided, he felt, proof for his argument:

> Matthew 19, 21: If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.
>
> Matthew 19, 23-24: Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the Kingdom of heaven. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.
>
> Luke 12, 33: Sell that ye have, and give alms.
>
> Luke 12, 15: Take heed, and beware of covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.[15]

Naumann did not, however, seek to clarify or explain Jesus's views on wealth. After all, he maintained, Jesus was not an economist, a politician, nor even a statistician.[16] Christ was concerned with the reality of what he saw before his eyes as he walked through various communities. If it did

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[14] Ibid., p. 5.

[15] The Scriptures as quoted in Naumann, Jesus als Volksmann, p. 5. English translation from the King James version of the Holy Bible.

[16] Ibid., p. 6.

not disturb him, Naumann asked, why did Christ so often speak of the rich and the poor?[17] Naumann cited the Scripture for solutions that Christ proposed:

> Matthew 5, 42: Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that borrow of thee turn not thou away.
>
> Luke 6, 29-30: Him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also. Give to every man that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.
>
> Luke 6, 35: Lend, hoping for nothing again.[18]

In essence, Naumann saw poverty as Jesus saw it, and hoped that the wealthy would share with the poor about them. Yet he was neither Marxian nor communistic in outlook. He valued private property highly. Like Jesus who was "the true man" of the people, a man with a most compassionate heart, Naumann felt that the problem of the rich and the poor could be solved from advice found in the scriptures.[19]

Pressing into other areas and adapting this argument, Naumann maintained that many people have too narrow a view of Jesus. Envisioned as a gentle person, "the friend of children, the lamb of God," Jesus could be interpreted as a weak, spineless individual.[20] This same Jesus, it should be

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Naumann always had an answer for every problem but somehow his solutions were never concrete or specific. His ideals were high sounding enough, but in practical terms they were rather inoperable. He was a very naive man in many respects.

[20] Naumann, Jesus als Volksmann, p. 7.

remembered, was not afraid to drive the money-changers from the temple. Naumann's argument was aimed directly at the lower classes. He knew they tended to think of Christianity, and of Jesus especially, as sissified. Jesus, he reasoned, knew how to speak of beauty, but "he is also a man of the people."[21]

The attempt to make Christ presentable to the rank and file of the population is an ever recurring theme in Naumann's works. Jesus, Naumann wrote, may have spoken with Nicodemus, or he may have frequently eaten at the table of a rich Pharisee (because he loved everyone), but his daily companions were simple fishermen of modest means.[22] Jesus did not live "under colonnades or next to altars, but rather under thatched-roofs and along village paths."[23] Jesus was the son of a carpenter, and he was a simple man, at home among those he loved, the common people. Unsophisticated in his manner of speech, he conversed freely with widows, beggars, and the unfortunate.

> For Him, they were all not "Proletariat" but rather souls. For Him the life story of every needy person was as important and interesting as that of the richest or most-powerful individual.[24]

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 9.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid. "Sie alle sind für ihn nicht 'Proletariat', sondern Seelen. Ihn ist die Lebensgeschicht jedes Aermsten mindestens so wichtig und interessant wie des Reichsten und Mächtigsten."

Did the poorer classes have any hope or help to look forward to? Naumann thought so. Many good Christians, in a selfish way, he said, had consoled themselves by recalling the words of Jesus, when he said, "'For ye have the poor always with you (Matth. 26, 11).'"[25] Jesus, he argued, intended no such interpretation! On the contrary, he recognized the existence of those unfortunates in dire need, and his help and compassion reached out to them. In fact, the more misery Jesus saw, the more he sought to help.[26] Jesus loved the poor, and people needed to remember his message, "despair not, trust, hope."[27] If the poor lost their faith, they lost everything.

> Whosoever robs the poor of his trust in God steals from him his strongest power. The trust in human (mortal) parties, conditions, and teaching has its time. It blossoms and withers away. A trust is only eternal when it leads the cause of the people to a hope in the eternal Father, the righteous God. . . . If the German working class had this trust, they would be invincible for then they would possess the most enduring quality there is in the world.[28]

In summary a study of Jesus, The Man of the People, leads to the conclusion that Naumann probably wrote for both the rich and the poor. For the rich, his message was rather subtle. He quietly reminded them that, as Christians, they should not forget their duty to the poor. Should they forget, their souls would be in grave danger. For the poor, Naumann's message was blatantly propagandistic. Passionately

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[25] Ibid., p. 10.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 11.

[28] Ibid.

he pleaded for the recognition of Christ as one of their own kind. Christ extended his hand to the people because he was one of them.

CHRIST IN THE MACHINE-AGE[29]

Friedrich Naumann was not alone in recognizing the tremendous challenge to Christianity brought on by modern technological advances. As one author states:

> This discordance between the teachings of Christianity and the ways of life has always appalled the genuine preacher of God's Word - especially the modern technical world, the world of machinery that atomizes human work and renders the life of the masses joyless.[30]

At least Naumann had a solution in his own mind to the problem. He took special notice of it in an essay entitled "Der Christ im Zeitalter der Maschine."[31]

Today, Naumann wrote, not only has life been rapidly changing for the upper classes, but "man's view of life from the lowest strata to the utmost pinnacle of society" has been drastically altered.[32] "Old classes are decayed, old parties

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[29]"Christ in the Machine-age", or "Der Christ im Zeitalter der Maschine", was originally an article published in Die Christliche Welt in 1893 (7. Jahrgang, Nr. 10). Later it was printed with a series of essays in 1894. Friedrich Naumann, Was heisst Christlich-Sozial? Gesammelte Aufsätze Vol. I, (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1894), p. 100.

[30]Dombrowski, p. 74. [31]See footnote No. 29.

[32]Naumann, Was heisst, I, p. 30. Because Was heisst Christlich-Sozial was a two volume work, the Roman numerals I or II will be cited along with the footnote reference so as to avoid confusion (Vol I was published in 1894 and Vol II was published in 1896).

are broken, old leaders no longer understand the times."[33] What was the cause of this chaos? One could not naively believe that a single factor could create such upheaval. Nevertheless, "one chief reason is the machine."[34] Naumann defined the machine as the entire picture of the "progress of modern technology. Even telegraph and telephone, the relaying of electricity and compressed air are in this sense 'machines.'"[35]

What was the relationship of this new machine to the Christian heritage? Was it true that technology was a godless instrument of the devil, a return of the golden calf? No, that was not true! "God," Naumann said, "desires technical progress, he desires the machine."[36] The machine, God-willed, could not be unchristian. God told the people that a new machine-age would come and it would be useless to try to impede its progress. "It comes, it comes, the new era, it comes from God."[37] Naumann's appeal was melodramatic at times!

> Then it [God's gift] will be acknowledged by him [man]: "I believe in God the Father, the almighty creator, the

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 35.

[37] Ibid.

> master of the field and the machine, the giver of inventions and progress."[38]

The concept of "a missionary Christ," was the core of Naumann's endeavor to explain a plausible relationship between Christ and modern technology.[39] God gave man the machine in order to facilitate the spreading of Christianity throughout the entire world community. Naumann presented a logical argument. Unfortunately, what he suggested to be facts to support his case tended to be emotional speculations.[40]

Nonetheless, he broadened the concept. Recognition of God's gift and God's plan would then lead mankind to the most important step, ridding the world of its poverty (Armut).[41] Naumann made it seem simple:

> God gave us the machine. He gave an iron slave to the millions, he gave the opportunity for countless products, he said: Here, my children, I give to you the instrument which can light the darkness of want. Take the machine and light the world with it, take it and

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[38]Ibid. "Dann wird sie von ihm bekennen: 'Ich glaube an Gott den Vater, den allmächtigen Schöpfer, den Herrn des Ackers und der Maschine, den Geber der Erfindungen und Fortschritte.'"

[39]Ibid., p. 37. For the term "a missionary Christ" Naumann used the word, Missionschrist. The English translation, then, is at best arbritary. It was Naumann's habit to "make-up" words when he wrote. Any reader of his works must thus get a feel for the author's style. The reader is cautioned and made aware of this situation because it might be unwise to judge what the meaning of Naumann's writings before a sufficient amount of his works have been read.

[40]Many of Naumann's ideas were evidently not original with him. This idea of a "missionary Christ" is really an extension of the Victorian concept of the "White man's burden!"

[41]Ibid., pp. 37-38.

> build a new era! God gave the cloth factories in order that no one be in need of clothing, and the transport ships in order that no one need to go hungry. O how wonderful is God! . . . I would that there was one Sunday in the year when all preachers would lecture about "the grace of God in the machine." That would be the best opportunity to preach about the duties which the Christians have in the age of the machine, namely, gratitude, trust, missions, and elimination of poverty.[42]

Naumann hoped ministers would preach less about the deeds of God in the past and preach more about the wondrous things that God was accomplishing in the present.

Optimistic as the man was, even he realized that the simple solution he had devised could not yet be implemented. "It is the bitter truth," he wrote, "that the misery of the machine-age cries out to heaven."[43] If God's gift, the machine, was a gift of grace, how could it cause evil? Mankind has not learned how to use the machine. The children of God were overwhelmed by the "gigantic instrument." "That is a major part of that which is known as the social question [*soziale Frage*]."[44]

CHURCH MISSIONS

Confident in his belief that the church could fulfill an important function in society, Naumann had many ideas and suggestions which dealt with the work of the missions. He believed in the idea of a "practical Christianity," largely due to his long association with the *Innere Mission*. His

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

main goal was to "win the entire populace to the old, simple, evangelical truth."[45]

A major target was the youth of the nation. An article in Die Christliche Welt which he entitled, "Was sollen unsere Jünglingsvereine," or "What Should our Youth Groups Do?" he bemoaned the fact that these recently developed organizations were already on the brink of failure.[46] Why was it that these organizations were never popular with the group for which they had been intended? Why did they lack vitality (Lebenskraft)?[47] After a long hard week in the factory, young people wanted to relax and enjoy themselves on a Sunday. They did not want to spend what little free time they had in pious exercises (frommen Uebungen).[48] Church youth groups, as they were organized, lacked appeal. If a youth happened to stray into a meeting, he quickly discovered the rumor he had heard was true. "Piety could be boring."[49]

The Catholics were very practical and successful in their attempts to interest the young people in the church.

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[45]Friedrich Naumann, "Was sollen unsere Jünglingsvereine", No. 5, Die Christliche Welt, (23. Januar 1887), p. 46.

[46]Ibid., p. 47. [47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid. Usually children who did intend to go on to the University went to work on a parttime basis at the age of thirteen. Thus, Naumann was speaking to young people from the age thirteen through the early twenties.

[49]Naumann, Jesus als Volksmann, p. 7.

Naumann noted that in the Leipzig area, for example, many Protestant youths took part in the activities of the Catholic organizations.[50] This was a precarious situation. Protestant youngsters could easily succumb to Roman Catholic propaganda. What made the Roman Catholic programs so popular? One look at their list of activities answered that question! Balls, theatre productions, and even dancing were allowed. Choosing between a somber prayer meeting or a dance was not a difficult task.

What should the Protestants do to combat this problem? Naumann advocated a completely new orientation for the Protestant associations. The achievements of the Catholics should not be overlooked. Secondly, the Protestant activities needed to take on a new "freshness."[51] The church would have to be a place where young people could come and enjoy themselves. "However," he warned, "do not let it be forgotten that the club is a Christian club."[52]

University students presented an equally important challenge. Since "the future of the people blossomed out of the Universities," concern should be shown for the spir-

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid. Naumann again displays here a good insight into an existing problem. Yet, he offered no real concrete solution. Perhaps a harsh judgment is being made, but his suggestions are so often clouded by vague, nebulous generalities.

itual welfare of the next generation of leaders.[53] Naumann envisaged two issues. One, he saw a need for more ministerial work (Seelsorge) among the students; and two, he felt that there was just not enough opportunity for "suitable preaching of the divine Word."[54] Occasionally theology professors held lectures for students of all the colleges and succeeded in drawing a great number of students to the lecture hall, but such an attempt was "like a drop of water on a hot stone."[55]

To counteract the tendency toward an emphasis on worldliness among university students, Naumann suggested that the church assign special student ministers (Studentenprediger) to work with university students. These student ministers could concentrate on being cognizant of student activities. Intellectual discussions, which would be naturally orientated along Christian precepts, could take for their examples things which might be meaningful to current intellectual trends.[56] The student should be challenged to think.

Candidates for the position of student minister, Naumann proposed, should be selected from among the ranks of young pastors engaged in Innere Mission work.[57] These indi-

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[53]Friedrich Naumann, "Was thut die Kirche für die Studenten?", No. 25, Die Christliche Welt, (12. Juni 1887), p. 241.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid., p. 242.

viduals would have a better opportunity to penetrate university circles and gather quickly a body of interested students about them. A close, friendly relationship of this type would enable the pastors to communicate freely with students. In turn, the ministers would have the chance to convince these young people that an active part in church missionary work would lead them to an understanding and advancement of their own spiritual life. "The important thing was not what these students did for people, but the importance lay in the spirit in which it was accomplished."[58] "The spirit" and a general revival of Christian morals and attitudes was the essence of Naumann's goal to bring Christianity to young students:

> Only adequate spiritual concern will allow university congregations to blossom, communities which in turn can bring the best strength to all congregations in city and country.[59]

What should the church do to help overcome the problem of the homeless and destitute? This question was of great concern to Naumann. Many travelers, he wrote, visit strange places.[60] The lakes in northern Italy, the Riviera, the Alps, and Bohemia have always been popular. Once there,

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Friedrich Naumann, "Kirchliche Fürsorge für Studenten", No. 33, Die Christliche Welt, (7. August 1887), p. 318.

[60] Friedrich Neumann, "Fürsorge für die Heimatlosen", No. 20, Die Christliche Welt, (8. Mai 1887), p. 192.

there are usually some sort of evangelical services available so that the visitors can worship according to their own faith.[61] But what of the people who were strangers in their own country? It had to be recognized that a significant number of poor and destitute people were wandering about the streets of Germany. Naumann lamented that the state provided insufficient economic support, and the church was not doing its part either.[62] These people needed work and strength given through "God's word."[63]

Naumann was likewise critical of the church's administrative policies. He cited the conditions in the city of Berlin as an example.[64] "From an ecclesiastical point of view, Berlin is the most neglected city in the whole world."[65] The city with its tremendous population offered no chance for its multitudes to hear the word of God.

> At bare minimum 150 churches should leave their doors open to those who might want to worship, there are barely fifty that do; unfortunately many of the latter group stand empty. Out of every thousand people barely ten find their way to church. Preaching is a song that fades away.[66]

Naumann noted that figures for the year 1886 indicated that at least 3,188 children were unbaptized and some 1,477 mar-

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 193.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Friedrich Naumann, "Die Berliner Stadtmission", No. 4, Die Christliche Welt, (22. Januar 1888), p. 28.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

riages were never solemnized in the church.[67] He also pointed out that approximately 50,000 people were moving into the city of Berlin every year.

> Most of them bring with them from the country a simple but dependent belief in God. Who is building churches for them so they do not lose their heritage of belief? No one! Since 1872 only the Memorial Church has been completed; two other churches are under construction; . . . All of evangelical Germany must listen to the cry of its churchless capital city until it decides to do something about it and help.[68]

Naumann's long association with Innere Mission made him a fervid advocate of its work. Because it played the most important role in the missionary work of the church, his active pen frequently found opportunities to discuss the nature and function of the organization. In a series of articles written for Die Christliche Welt in 1888, he aired his views on the subject.[69]

In discussing the history of the Innere Mission, Naumann tried to point out to his readers the highpoints in the evolution of the organization. The original concept of the Innere Mission, Naumann believed, was the idea of a hea-

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., p. 29.

[69] Friedrich Naumann, "Die Zukunft der innern Mission", Part I, "Innere Mission und Organisation", No. 43, Die Christliche Welt, (22. Januar 1888).
Friedrich Naumann, "Die Zukunft der innern Mission", Part II, "Innere Mission und Sozialismus", No. 45, Die Christliche Welt, (4. November 1888).
Friedrich Naumann, "Die Zukunft der innern Mission", Part III, "Innere Mission und Volkstümlichkeit der Kirche", No. 47, Die Christliche Welt, (18. November 1888).

then mission inside a world already converted to Christianity.[70] Large numbers of lay Christians would work side by side with the church's clergymen to help bring the people back to Christ.[71] The rapid growth of the organization brought it greater significance. The Innere Mission became closely allied to church reform and the reform movement in Germany during the nineteenth century.[72] The basic components of the reform movement were "Werke der Barmherzigkeit und freie Verkundigung des Evangeliums," "works of charity and free preaching of the Gospel."[73] Naumann hoped that this latter stage in the development of the Innere Mission was at hand.

As for the future prospects of the mission, Naumann advocated collectively-held property by the people.[74] Money and profit from this property could support hospitals, poor houses and similar institutions. Once acquired, he said in his second point, private property in the hands of the Innere Missions could be used to extend justice to all. In this manner the State could provide work for everyone.[75]

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[70]Naumann, CW, No. 43, 1880, pp. 403-04.

[71]Ibid. [72]Ibid., p. 404.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Friedrich Naumann, CW, No. 45, p. 422. He was very vague on this question of doing away with some private property. "Die innere Mission behindert das Kapital am Wachstum. Sie thut es, indem sie Privatmittel in Kollektiveigentum ver-wandelt."

[75]Ibid.

Thirdly, protection of individual rights would help stimulate brotherly love and respect. Like it or not "the future of the Innere Mission is the future of Socialism. All promoters of the Innere Mission are promoters of the new era of socialism."[76] In a last point, Naumann observed that Christian love would unite everyone. "Through love will the church become a national church, it will become a national characteristic. . . . The socialistic state and the national church, that is the future of the Innere Mission."[77]

Confusing as they might be, these thoughts were Naumann's early views on what he was later to call Christian Socialism. Naumann had at that time recently come to Langenberg, not long absent from his post in Hamburg at the Rauhes Haus. These views were evolved during the early stage of his stay in Langenberg when he was busily studying socialist literature. It was not until about 1894, and after, that he had really formed a definite view of a Christian Socialist program. Only then did he feel confident enough to break with the church in order to form a political party.

An overall picture of Naumann's observations regarding the missionary work of the church would indicate one central theme. Practical Christianity! His experiences and his educational background had taught him that the church had to

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[76]Ibid.

[77]Friedrich Naumann, CW, No. 47, p. 439.

change its old-fashioned ways. The church must learn to communicate with the people again, or all was lost. "Jesus, oh show us all your love, so that our Christianity may be honorable and strong!"[78]

SOCIALIST LETTERS TO RICH PEOPLE[79]

Part of the solution to the "Social Question," Naumann believed, could be found if the wealthy classes recognized the aid they should give the Christian cause. One Swiss author, C. Mühlemann, said this of Naumann's views:

> Naumann emphasized above all that people in our age of worldliness must learn anew that Jesus was alive and real. Naumann speaks very penetratingly about the duties of the wealthy in his work: Socialist Letters to Rich People.[80]

Naumann indicated early in his Socialist Letters that he was concerned that "representatives of education and property" in the nation were not aware of the importance of Socialism to the future of the nation.[81] It was his purpose to educate them.[82]

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[78]Friedrich Naumann, Was Heisst, I, p. 98.

[79]Cited from Friedrich Naumann, Soziale Briefe an reiche Leute, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895), pp. 58.

[80]C. Mühlemann, Christlichen Socialismus Kritische Betrachtungen nebst socialetischen Erörterungen, (Bern: Verlag von Steiger und Cie., 1898), pp. 12-13.

[81]Naumann, Socialist Letters, pp. 6-7.

[82]This was why he wrote Socialist Letters to Rich People, he hoped his arguments might lead to a change of heart.

Naumann acknowledged the existence of a cleavage between the socialist doctrines and the general outlook of the upper-class.[83] He placed most of the blame for this situation on the latter group.[84]

> He [the wealthy person] has no comprehension of the enthusiasm of one who seeks to reform the world, he has no sympathy with the exalting joy there is in the destruction of old systems, he sees in the exaggerations of the newer ideas not understandable exuberance in high ideals but rather everything appears absurd, evil, envious, and disgusting to him.[85]

Naumann believed in the existence of an aesthetical ban (ästhetische Bann) which had grown over the last two centuries.[86] It prevented the rich from making any contact with the poorer classes. If there were no communication between the classes, no reconcilation could ever take place.[87]

The rich did not realize that workers were people too.

> You [the rich] underestimate the capability of the worker, he is a man like you, with a mind like yours, with plans and ideas about the state and society like you.[88]

The worker's ideas were power which the upper classes did not consider to be worthy of their attention. That was a

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[83] Ibid., p. 9.

[84] Ibid., p. 13.

[85] Ibid. "Er versteht die Begeisterung der Weltverneuerer nicht von sich selbst aus, er hat kein Mitgefühl für die jubelnde Lust am Brechen alter Gefüge, er sieht in den Uebertreibungen der Neuerer nicht erklärlichen Ueberschwang richtiger Grundideen, sondern Alles kommt ihm krank, wahnwitzig, böse, neidisch, ekelhaft vor."

[86] Ibid., p. 21.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., p. 23.

mistake.[89]

Naumann was confident that the world of the future would be a socialist world. He did admit to the fact, however, that that world would be a long time in coming. The capitalistic system would not disappear overnight.[90] The complicated nature of trade, industry, and the world market precluded a gradual change. Naumann informed the rich that they did not have to fear an immediate destruction of their way of life. Yet, they would have to accept the notion that the change would come, and the problem of the next generations was the struggle for the elimination of the concentration of capital in the hands of a minority.[91]

The decline of capitalism, the destruction of the class system, the arrival of socialism, were the events and keys to understanding the future. Christianity was the element, the basic element, which should and could not be left out of the picture.

> Materialism preaches of the struggle for existence even to the moment of mutual annihiliation, Christianity, however, proclaims loudly and clearly the reconciliation of humanity.[92]

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[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[91] Ibid., p. 37.

[92] Ibid., pp. 57-58. "Der Materialismus predigt den Kampf ums Dasein bis zur gegenseitigen Vernichtung, das Christenthum aber verkündigt der Menschheit laut und vernehmlich die Versöhnung."

CHAPTER IV

TWO VIEWS OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Adolf Stöcker, the ultra-conservative Chaplain at the court of William I of Hohenzollern, founded Germany's first important Christian-Socialist party in 1878.[1] Until Friedrich Naumann formed his National Sozial Verein in 1896, Stöcker was the most prominent leader of the Christian-Socialist movement in Germany. In considering Stöcker and Naumann, the historian is offered an interesting study in contrasts. Stöcker hoped that he could bring the masses back to the Conservative Party. Essentially, he worked for a political solution that would preserve the concept of "throne and altar". Conversely, Naumann strived for a solution that would destroy the efficacy of the Social Democratic party. He and Stöcker shared one common goal - wanting to bring the masses back to Christianity. Naumann differed from Stöcker in believing that the only feasible political orientation would have to be based on socialist doctrine. He sought to make the German people, Christian, loyal to the Vaterland (for a number of years he was to be an

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[1]For a general account of such parties, see for example Karl Buchheim, Geschichte der Christlichen Parteien in Deutschland, (München, Kösel - Verlag, 1953), pp. 477.

ultra-nationalist), yet socialistic with a democratic spirit. That is to say, his idea of a socialist state was one in which the people had equal opportunity and individual liberty.

ADOLF STÖCKER AND HIS CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Stöcker was born in Halberstadt, Prussia in 1835. Till the moment of his death in 1909, he led a fascinating life. Theodor Heuss described him as "one of the most contradictory figures in German domestic politics."[2] Born the son of a simple blacksmith, he had a strong urge to overcome this lowly status and to rise to a position of high importance. Perhaps his most telling characteristic, in fact, was his desire to be accepted into aristocratic society.[3]

Stocker's early years were similar to those of Naumann. He studied theology at Halle and Berlin "at a time when both universities were strongholds of Lutheran orthodoxy and of pietism."[4] After receiving his divinity degree, he served as a private tutor in the home of the intensely con-

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[2]Theodor Heuss as cited in Pinson, Modern Germany, p. 167.

[3]Paul W. Massing, Rehearsal for Destruction A Study of Political Anti-semitism in Imperial Germany, (New York; Harper, 1949), p. 22.

[4]Ralph H. Bowen, German Theories of the Corporative State With Special Reference to the Period 1870-1919, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947), pp. 137-38.

servative German Baltic nobility.[5] In 1862 he was given his first pastorate in Seggerde, a small community in Saxony.[6] His second assignment was in Hammersleben a small mining and manufacturing community. Stöcker, like Naumann, encountered the industrial atmosphere which made him aware of the social question.[7] He remained in Hammersleben until 1872. During that period he contributed a number of articles dealing with economic and social problems to the Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung.[8]

The excitement of the Franco-Prussian war aroused Stöcker, and he became an avid nationalist.[9] He was appointed an Army chaplain and was sent to a garrison at Metz. He preached many sermons to the German soldiers and helped to dedicate many war memorials to the dead of the Army. The fiery nationalism, which was the theme of these sermons, attracted the attention of Kaiser William I.[10] In 1874, Stöcker was called to Berlin by the Kaiser and received an appointment to the office of "Fourth Court and Cathedral Preacher."[11] One of the major goals of his life had been realized, and the opportunity to associate himself closely

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., pp. 138-39.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

with the aristocratic elite presented itself.[12]

The Berlin court circle offered Stöcker almost unlimited advantages. In church affairs, for example, he was appointed to head the Berlin City Missions in 1877. Likewise, he received important economic support from the crown.[13] Because his family was relatively poor, this financial aid donated for Stöcker's well-being was greatly appreciated. Without such aid, he would never have been able to participate actively in political affairs. Lastly, Stöcker's close association with the royal family allowed him to mingle freely in conservative party circles. The Conservatives provided him with a safe seat in the Reichstag from 1881-1893 and 1898-1908.[14] From 1879-1898 he was a member des preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses (the Prussian Chamber of Deputies).[15]

In 1878 with the help of Adolph Wagner and other leading "Socialists of the Chairs," Stöcker formed his Christlich-sozialen Arbeiterpartei, the Christian-Social Workers' Party.[16] In its platform the party proposed four general goals:

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[12]Walter Frank, Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker und die Christlichsozialer Bewegung, (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1928), pp. 36-37. This biography is generally accepted as the biography of Stöcker. Interestingly enough, Dr. Frank became a major historian in the Nazi period.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Bowen, pp. 138-39.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid. , p. 139.

1. The Christian Social Workers' Party is based on belief in Christianity and in love of king and country.

2. It repudiates the current Social Democracy [party] because it is impracticable, unchristian, and unpatriotic.

3. It strives for a peaceful organization of workers, in order to pave the way for necessary, practical reforms in the community with other factors of the life considered.

4. It adheres to a goal of decreasing the gap between rich and poor, and of giving greater economic security.[17]

Specific details of the platform centered around a discussion of government aid, organization of the workers, and moderate demands for improvement of the lot of the worker. On the surface the party appeared to be a reasonable form of socialism, tempered by Christian tenets. Actually this was not the case. The party provided Stöcker with an opportunity to air his radical and extremely reactionary views.

Stöcker was the first German to seek an outright political solution "for strengthening the Protestant religion by intervening for the betterment of the material issues of the workers' lives."[18] He was convinced that there had to be social reform in order to combat the program of the Social Democratic Party.[19] Stöcker would have to be classified as

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[17]Felix Salomon, Die Deutschen Parteiprogramme, Vol II Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Gegenwart 1871-1912 6 vols., (Berlin: Verlag von. B. G. Teubner, 1912), p. 49.

[18]Shanahan, "Friedrich Naumann: A German View of Power and Nationalism", p. 354.

[19]Pinson, Modern Germany, p. 167.

a reformer, and he was sincere in his desire to lure the workers away from pure socialism. It should be noted that he was working to bring the working classes into the conservative fold. He foresaw an eventual revival of the strength of the conservative cause as the workers were educated to his views.

Stöcker was confronted with a delicate situation. His theory of Christian Socialism sought "to construct within the framework of the existing social order a system of material and ideal assistance that will satisfy the worker."[20] Secondly, though the program of the party "had to be radical enough to lure the workers away from Social Democracy . . . it also had to be innocuous enough not to antagonize the powers of the state, government, and business."[21] When the court chaplain agitated for social reform, the throne and the Protestant church tended to be linked to his activity. Could such a coalition between the proletariat and aristocracy be achieved?

The Christian Social Workers' Party failed to elect, at any time, a single deputy to the Reichstag, and none of its members were ever seated in an elective assembly of local government.[22] Stöcker in his early campaigns worked almost exclusively in the city of Berlin. Due to the large working

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[20]Bowen, p. 142.

[21]Massing, p. 26.

[22]Bowen, pp. 146-47.

class population of the city, the Social Democrats always polled a significant percentage of the vote there. The vote Stöcker's party received in its first national test in 1881 was negligible.[23] Stöcker had to find something more effective. He chose to support an anti-semitic doctrine in the hope of attracting more of the electorate to vote for his party.

In an election pamphlet of 1881 Stöcker declared: "I have emphasized that the social revolution has to be overcome by healthy social reform, built on a Christian foundation . . . . I do not want culture that is not German and Christian. That's why I am fighting against Jewish supremacy."[24] Outcrys had been heard against the Jews since the first major economic crisis for the new nation in 1873. Stöcker in his search for political popularity sought to take advantage of the anti-Jewish feeling evident in the nation. He advocated that the Jewsbe limited in their activity in public affairs in order to prevent them from "dominating German life."[25]

The party began to appeal to a different class of people. Same middle-class elements were attracted by Stöcker's inflamatory remarks, and he immediately turned his attention to that group.[26] He removed the word "Worker" from

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[23]Drummond, p. 224.

[24]Pinson, Modern Germany, p. 167.

[25]Drummond, pp. 224-25. [26]Bowen, pp. 146-47.

the party title.[27] Once this step was taken, "respectable citizens" could in good conscience join the organization.[28] "Thereafter petty tradesmen, minor state functionaries, junior officers, students, /and/ craftsmen" flocked to the party.[29] Though unable to score a victory for any of its candidates, the Christian Socialist candidates nonetheless considerably increased their votes in elections of the eighteen-eighties.[30] A movement had been forged from the "social grievances of the Mittelstand /middle class/, hatred of the Social Democratic Party, and fear of 'Jewish capital.'"[31]

The court preacher could not control his effective new weapon. Anti-Jewish agitation often became violent and an element more radical than Stöcker came to dominate the situation.[32] A new party Die Partei der Antisemiten, the Party of the Anti-Semites was founded in 1887.[33] For the first time a party based entirely on a doctrine of race hatred took part in the Reichstag elections.[34] The Christian Socialists went into almost a total eclipse after 1887. The loss of anti-semitic support, was the major factor for the

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Massing, p. 22.

[32] Drummond, pp. 224-25.

[33] Solomon, p. 51.

[34] Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany, p. 281.

party's decline.[35]

The historian finds in Adolf Stöcker's mémoires a most valuable source of information for the study of his character.[36] Written in the early eighteen-nineties, shortly after his resignation from his court post, these utterances portray so well that three factors dominated Stöcker's personality. One, he enthusiastically believed in his cause. Two, he was a man filled with hate and cynicism. Three, his dislike of the Jews was so impassioned as to warp his personality.

Stöcker maintained an idealogical position to the far right of the political spectrum. Considering his background, it is interesting to consider why the son of a family of working class origin became so enamoured a supporter of an ultra-conservative cause. "In reality," Stöcker wrote, "the Kaiser has taken no reactionary position; he lives and works for the ideas of patriotic revival."[37] Stöcker believed that the Fatherland should never be ruled by Social Democrats. Germany should be kept in the great tradition and spirit of Christianity so that "a mighty Christian Empire of the German nation [certainly advocating a revival of the

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[35]Bowen, pp. 147-48.

[36]Adolf Stöcker, Dreizehn Jahre Hofprediger und Politiker, (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1895), pp. 53.

[37]Ibid., p. 17.

Holy Roman Empire7 can come into being."[38] His view of the German nation might best be summed up in his concluding statement of the introduction to his mémoires. In the best Hitlerian tradition, he wrote:

> Mit Gott für Kaiser und Reich: das war unsere Lösung und soll es bleiben in alle Zukunft. Gott segne Deutschland.
>
> With God for Emperor and Empire: that was our solution and it should remain so in all the future. May God bless Germany.[39]

Enthusiastic as Stöcker was about the monarchy and the nation, it is not surprising that he became emotionally involved in the Conservative Party as well. He admitted that the conservative tradition sought to "hold fast to the ideals of the past" and that surely the future would bring victory to the cause.[40] "The Conservative Party . . . can go its way fearlessly."[41] He went on, "we will fight for this position and in the person of the Emperor we see our leader."[42]

Recognizing the need for social reform, he was devoutly loyal to the cause of Christian Socialism. Those who believe in this party, he wrote, serve as an addition to the Conservative party. Christian Socialists would function as reformers and would rid the nation of its social ills.[43]

> We Christian Socialists who stand under the old flag remain with the old tradition; what we strive for is the meeting of like-minded people from all classes

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[38] Ibid., p. 18.

[39] Ibid., p. viii.

[40] Ibid., vi.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., p. 18.

[43] Ibid., p. 6.

> and strata of society who can bring Christianity into the area of social ills and the duties of the social burden to the awareness of Christians.[44]

Evidently what Stöcker was attempting to do in his memoires was to sum up all that he had believed in and explain all the proposals he had made for reform. His comments on the Jewish question betrayed him. Here was the real Adolf Stöcker: not a peaceful man of the church who sincerely worked according to the precepts of Jesus Christ, but rather a violent radical driven on by his hatred of the Jews.

> The power of the Jews must be broken. What prince, what statesman will begin the noblest of all crusades? We are convinced that he in a very short time would have the entire populace without exception on his side. . . . Today most people are slaves. Only when the chains of Jewish worldliness and the irons of the Jewish spirit are loosened could one once again speak of freedom.[45]

Stöcker wrote like a man incensed with the injustices of mankind, but he was the one who was unjust. He felt all the world, a world that had treated him rather cruelly, was endangered by the fantastic threat of the Jewish control of the economy.

The last years of Stöcker's career were filled with increasing disappointments. He resigned his position as court chaplain and later was ejected from the conservative party after an involvement in a financial scandal.[46] For

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[44] Ibid., pp. vii-viii. [45] Ibid., p. 22.

[46] Drummond, p. 225.

all his loyalty to the monarchical cause, he was rewarded in 1896 by the receipt of the following telegram written and made public by William II:

> Stöcker has finished as I predicted some years ago! Political pastors -- an absurdity. He who is Christian is also social; 'Christian-Social' is nonsense which produces personal exaltation and intolerance. Pastors ought to attend to the souls of the faithful and cultivate charity, but let politics alone for it does not concern them.[47]

His last years were spent in relative oblivion.

Hellmut von Gerlach, a contemporary politican of Stöcker described him as a man of strong character, whom one had either to love or hate. No one could face him with indifference.[48] One historian has said this of Adolf Stöcker:

> In his combination of mass agitation, concern with social and economic reform, and antisemitism, Stöcker was one of the most important forerunners of the later National Socialist movement of Adolf Hitler.[49]

At least there cannot be any question of the fact that Stöcker's mémoires read like a Nazi diatribe.

NAUMANN AND HIS CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Naumann, unlike Adolf Stöcker, approached Christian Socialism from the other extreme of the political spectrum. He was indeed impressed with many of the doctrines of the Social Democrats. However, Naumann hoped to temper the rad-

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[47]William II as cited in Drummond, p. 225.

[48]Massing, p. 22.

[49]Pinson, Modern Germany, p. 167.

ical Marxist view with the teachings of Christianity. His state organism would be more cognizant of the needs and rights of the individual.

When Naumann founded his party in 1896 there was no need to define the position he took on issues of the day. His views of Christian Socialism had been well documented with the publication of his two-volume work, Was heisst Christlich-Sozial?, (What is Christian Socialism?) Because the history of his party from 1896-1903 is a complicated story in itself, only a general analysis of Naumann's views on Christian Socialism can be attempted.

TOWARDS A DEFINITION

"The question 'What is Christian-Socialism' is one of far reaching significance," Naumann wrote, "because within it lies a greater part of the hopes and problems which our people have. It is surely the question that is the key to the future."[50] Society should be made aware of the fact that Christianity could and should be an aid in the consideration of man's social affairs. Everywhere, and especially among churchmen, an inclination for evangelical socialism has been awakened.[51]

There are those, Naumann said, who see Christian Socialism as an extension of the Innere Mission ideal.

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[50]Naumann, Was heisst, I, p. 1.

[51]Ibid.

Others have sought to find a new solution that would be able to combat the position held by the Social Democrats. For him, the latter view was the more important of the two. "For us, Christian Socialism is not something already shaped in its final form, it is something that is evolving."[52] The future is cloudy, but it offers procreative power. Christian Socialism is not something that man holds within his grasp, on the contrary, it controls the destiny of man "it pushes us, it lifts us, it bandies us about . . . it comes over us as power and grace."[53] It has in itself a mystical religious quality that wells up within the fabric of the life of the people. It moves forward with a self-propelled force and alters the spirit of man.[54]

"We must feel that God works within us as he worked in the prophets of the old testament."[55] Germany is plagued with many political parties which can no longer work together. They provide no solutions for the problems of the nation. The new creative force found in Christian Socialism can combine together monarchical and socialistic tendencies and thus realize a new ideal.[56]

"The era of Christian Socialism will come hard on the

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[52] Ibid., p. 2. [53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid. Naumann was very adept at mouthing high-sounding ideals while avoiding specifics.

[56] Ibid.

new era of Social Democracy."[57] After all, Social Democracy had inherited the tradition of liberalism and so the tradition must be passed to Christian Socialism. The Social Democrats have chosen to adhere to a middle-class view of the world, that view should be replaced by a revived living Christianity from the spirit of the early Christians.[58] "A faith which grows as ivy on old museums and towers is one completely incomprehensible to us."[59]

Naumann was confident that the power of the Social Democrats would continue to increase. The party would eventually reach the stage when it had enough power within the state to alter the nature of the government. Those who adhere to Christian Socialism should not attempt to hinder the growth of the movement.[60] Though many changes might be affected by them, "the people and monarchy, faith and the church have a longer life than parties could have."[61]

The Social Democrats made the mistake of ignoring the lessons of history.[62] They have saturated the minds of people with their economic theories and as a result these ideas have come to be an unalterable dogma. "There is no permanent system."[63] Christian Socialists can look forward to a time when the rigid system of Social Democracy cracks

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[57] Ibid., p. 3.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[63] Ibid.

and falls apart and the people will demand a life with new meaningfulness.

"The secret of Jesus's eternal youth is that for every new age he is a fresh discovery."[64] Jesus did not die, and though he was somewhat forgotten by the past few generations, "the 'Saviour' greets the German people in its hour of awakening."[65] What should Christ mean to Christian Socialists? He is the single most important source of aid. Religion should be as alive in the twentieth century as it was for Jesus in his time. Christ was consistently against worldliness and never took an interest in material things.[66] This should be a guiding principle for the Christian Socialist ideal.

Naumann did not really offer a rational or practical definition of Christian Socialism. Although he was dedicated to the idea of a practical Christianity, he seemed incapable of proposing a definite plan that suggested practical terms. He saw a future world where all things would be good, because Christianity and Socialism would be fused into a meaningful way of life. Perhaps he should not be judged harshly for naive optimism, but it is difficult to comprehend what made him believe that mankind would suddenly be able to solve the problems which have confronted society since the dawn of

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[64] Ibid., pp. 607.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

time. One obvious conclusion can be drawn -- his faith was strong!

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been entirely dedicated to a study of a portion of Friedrich Naumann's career which historians have rather generally ignored. These same historians, however, consider him to be an important figure on the Wilhelmian scene. As a result, one might conclude that a faulty judgment has been made of the man. The general rules that guide historical scholarship would seem to admonish such historians to reevaluate their studies of the man in light of the known facts of his career. What might such a reevaluation do?

First, it would offer the opportunity for a better understanding of the German Protestant church late in the nineteenth century. Secondly, more light would be thrown on the nature of the evangelical reform movement. Thirdly, a clearer picture of Naumann and the men with whom he worked might provide a more detailed view of German social history in the late Bismarckian and early Wilhelmian period. Lastly, further research into the character and life of Friedrich Naumann is obviously necessary if the history of the Second Reich, which offers an important key to the understanding of twentieth century Germany, is to be understood.

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