

Contents

Preface	<i>page</i>	ix
List of Abbreviations		xiii
1 The Pan-German League as a Historical Problem		1
‘True Germans who show the world the real Prussian soul’		2
‘Representatives of the most reactionary wing of the ruling class’		9
‘The Empire’s modern opinion-managers’		12
Plan of the Study		15
2 Patriotic Societies in Bismarckian Germany		23
The Incubation of Patriotic Societies in Imperial Germany		24
Patriotic Societies of the First Generation		29
3 The Formation and Early Development of the Pan-German League, 1886–1902		44
The General German League, 1886–93		44
The Pan-German League: Consolidation, Expansion, and Competition, 1894–9		53
The Development of a National Opposition, 1899–1902		62
4 Ideology		74
The Program		75
Outposts amidst the Flood		81
Order, Culture, and Authority		86
Bismarck and Hamlet		93
5 Social Foundations of Ideology		102
The Pan-German League: a Social Profile		102
Custodians of Culture and Authority		108
6 Ideology and Psychology		122
A World of Enemies		122
Toward a Social Psychology of Radical Nationalism		125

7	A Favorable Climate	<i>page</i> 133
	The Pan-German League in the East and South	138
	Regional Strongholds	142
	<i>Gaudeamus igitur</i>	145
8	Social Experience in a 'German-National Public Realm'	152
	Spontaneity and Structure in the Local Chapters	152
	Sociability and Patriotism	161
	Private Virtue and the German-National Public Realm	167
	The Public Obligations of Patriotism	172
9	The Scope of the German-National Public Realm	183
	The Pan-German League and Other Patriotic Societies	185
	Patriotic Societies and Other Voluntary Associations	198
	The German-National Public Realm and the Structure of Party Politics	202
10	In the Wilderness	213
	The Growing Rift with the Government	213
	The Financial Consequences of Opposition: the Business of Patriotism	223
	The Ideological Consequences of Opposition: the Embrace of Racist Antisemitism	230
11	The Fronde	253
	Prelude: the Crisis in the German Navy League	253
	Morocco	261
	The German Defense League	266
	Consolidation of the Right	267
	<i>Va banque</i>	282
	Conclusion	299
	Statistical Appendix	306
	Bibliography	331
	Index	357