

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	vii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>Introduction</i>	1

PART I: THE CREATION OF THE CATHOLIC WORKERS' MILIEU, 1885–1902

1. The Setting: Religious, Political and Economic Traditions in Cologne	29
2. "Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls": Theoretical and Organizational Origins of the Catholic Workers' Clubs	57
3. The Catholic Workers' Milieu in Cologne: Organizational Development	81
4. The Program of the Catholic Workers' Clubs: Education, Sociability and Social Services	110
5. Problems with the Catholic Workers' Clubs: Structural and Attitudinal Flaws	156

PART II: THE CRISIS OF CATHOLIC HEGEMONY, 1903–1912

6. Undermining the Foundations of Catholic Hegemony: Tariff Reform and the Reichstag Election of 1903	185
---	-----

7. Regrouping: The Catholic Workers' Milieu, 1904–1912	213
8. "The Enemy Within the Walls:" The Reichstag Election of 1912	256
<i>Epilogue and Conclusions</i>	280
<i>Index of Appendices</i>	288
<i>Appendices</i>	289
<i>Bibliography</i>	317
<i>Index</i>	327

List of Tables

1.1	Distribution of Workers Employed in the Leading Industrial Sectors in Cologne, 1895 and 1907	36
1.2	The Working-Class Population in Cologne Proportional to the Total Population, 1882, 1895, and 1907	37
3.1	Formation of Young Workers' Associations in the Cologne Area, 1883–1889	84
3.2	Membership of the Catholic Workers' Clubs in the Cologne Area, 1889	86
3.3	Catholic Workers' Clubs Founded in the Cologne District, 1899–1902	97
5.1	Results of the Trade-Court Elections in Cologne, 1892–1901	169
6.1	Bülow's Proposed Tariff Increases on the Principal Grains	186
6.2	Comparison of First-Round <i>Reichstag</i> Election Results in the District <i>Köln-Stadt</i> , 1898 and 1903	202
6.3	Distribution by Electoral Precinct of SPD Victories and Close Defeats (Losses of 20 votes or less) in the South-Side Districts of <i>Köln-Stadt</i> : 1903 <i>Reichstag</i> Election, First-Round Vote	203
6.4	Comparison of First-Round <i>Reichstag</i> Election Results in the District <i>Köln-Land</i> , 1898 and 1903	204
6.5	Social Democratic Growth in Several Key Industrial Districts Between the <i>Reichstag</i> Elections of 1898 and 1903	204
7.1	Organizational and Membership Growth of the Cologne-Mülheim District Association of Catholic Workers' Clubs, 1904–1914	215
7.2	Comparative Growth of the Catholic Workers' Clubs in All of Cologne and the <i>Altstadt</i> Alone, 1904–1910	217
7.3	Frequency of Communion in Catholic Workers' Clubs in the Cologne-Mülheim District Association, 1908–1912	228
7.4	Occupational Composition of the Cologne Catholic Workers' Clubs, December 31, 1912	240
7.5	Membership of the Cologne Catholic Workers' Clubs by Age, December 31, 1912	241
E.1	Breakdown of Electoral Support Between the Center and the Combined Parties of the Left, 1919–1933	281