## Contents

Abbreviations ix

1. Introduction ..... 3
2. Burghers and the German Revolution ..... 21
November 1918: The Opportunity of Revolution ..... 23
Councils for the Bourgeoisie? ..... 28
The Reconstruction of the Parties and National Assembly Elections ..... 32
3. Political Mobilization and Economic Interest After the Revolution ..... 39
The Old Middle Classes ..... 41
The New Middle Classes ..... 46
4. Burghers Confront the Republic, 1919-23 ..... 55
Civil Strife and the Home Guards ..... 57
The Rathenau Murder ..... 65
The Confines of Bourgeois Politics ..... 69
The Reemergence of the Burgher Leagues ..... 71
5. Community and Political Culture After the Revolution ..... 75
Associational Life and Bourgeois Fraternity ..... 75
Commemorative Politics, 1919-1923 ..... 83
6. Inflation, Stabilization, and the Bürgerblock: Weimar at Mid-Decade ..... 93
7. Economic Interest and Political Fragmentation in the Stabilization Years ..... 105
The 1924 Elections: Reluctant Confederatesin the Old Middle Classes 106
A Profile of Middle-Class Dissidence:Maurice Liebald and the Wirtschaftsverband 109
The Landvolk Movement ..... 114
The Gathering Reaction: The New Middle Classesand Stabilization Politics 118
The Prospect for Secessions ..... 127
The "Overorganization" of Economic Interest:
Creditors, Tenants, and Homeowners ..... 132
Political Fragmentation and Party Strategy ..... 138
8. The Appeal of Bourgeois Unity ..... 151
Popular Support for a Bürgerblock ..... 152
The Hindenburg Election ..... 154
The Question of Bourgeois Union Persists ..... 160
9. The Stahlhelm: Bourgeois Fraternity and Political Activism ..... 166
The Stahlhelm and Bourgeois Sociability ..... 169
The Stahlhelm's Bid for Political Leadership ..... 178
10. The Parties Fall Apart ..... 190
The Scale of Organizational Collapse ..... 191
The Persistence of the Notables ..... 194
The Nazi Presence ..... 200
11. The Gesture and Rhetoric of Political Mobilization ..... 210
The Virtuous Activist: Political Engagementin the Town Square212
Considerations of the Past and Future ..... 219
12. Conclusion: Political Mobilization and National Socialism ..... 230
Notes ..... 237
Bibliography ..... 279
Index ..... 297
