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Harnack, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and the First World War

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Abstract: Der Aufsatz geht von Adolf von Harnacks Unterschrift unter den “Aufruf an die Kulturwelt” vom 4. Oktober 1914 aus und beleuchtet seine Haltung zum Ersten Weltkrieg in den Jahren 1914/1915. Dabei deuten zwei bisher in ihrer Gesamtheit unpublizierte Briefe des Theologen an den politischen Publizisten und “Rassetheoretiker” Houston Stewart Chamberlain einerseits sowie an Kaiser Wilhelm II. andererseits darauf hin, dass Harnacks anfängliche Kriegsbegeisterung nicht allein durch das “Augusterlebnis” zu erklären ist, sondern in seinem politischen Denken zu Kriegsbeginn verwurzelt ist. Eine vergleichende Darstellung dieses Denkens bei Chamberlain und Harnack lässt strukturelle Ähnlichkeiten erkennen, die erklären können, wieso der Kirchenhistoriker sich in dieser Zeit von den Pamphleten des Bayreuther Publizisten so angezogen fühlte, dass er sie dem Kaiser zur Lektüre empfahl. Dabei wird auch deutlich, dass sich Harnack zeitweise völkischem Denken annäherte. Eine Edition der beiden Briefe schließt den Aufsatz ab.

Note: I am grateful to Dr Barbara Liedtke for providing me with the letter of Harnack to Chamberlain and to my doctoral student Claudia Kampmann for a photograph of Harnack’s epistle to the Emperor which are published in the appendix. Dr Peter Zocher of the Karl Barth-Archiv Basel kindly sent me a copy of Karl Barth’s letter to Wilhelm Spoendlin (04/01/1915). Claudia Kampmann also pointed out some passages in Harnack’s writings which I had overlooked. Moreover I have received help in various ways from Professor Stefan Rebenich (Berne), Dr Julia Winnebeck, Julia Beier, and Gregor Wiebe (Bonn) which is gladly acknowledged. Mark Chapman (Cuddesdon/Oxford) kindly corrected my English. Abbreviations: RA III = Adolf Harnack, *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben, vol. I: Reden und Aufsätze*, Neue Folge I. Gießen: Töpelmann, 1911; RA V = Adolf von Harnack, *Aus der Friedens- und Kriegesarbeit. Reden und Aufsätze*, Neue Folge III. Gießen: Töpelmann, 1916; RA VI = Adolf von Harnack, *Erforschtes und Erlebtes*, Reden und Aufsätze, Neue Folge IV. Gießen: Töpelmann, 1923; S/D = Friedrich Smend, *Adolf von Harnack: Verzeichnis seiner Schriften*. Mit einem Geleitwort und bibliographischen Nachträgen bis 1985 von Jürgen Dummer. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1990.

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1 Introductory remarks

The *Aufruf an die Kulturwelt*¹, published on October 4, 1914, was one of a series of manifestos in which German scholars and intellectuals attempted to convince themselves and others that the war which had just begun and in which Germany had broken international law by invading Belgium² was just, that it was fought in keeping with the generally recognized standards of warfare, and that Germany was innocent of its outbreak. Given what we know today, it may be safely said that the views it contained were shared by the majority of the German elite as numerous documents, both private and public, of that time attest.³

1 Cf. the German text in: Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg, Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Aufruf an die Kulturwelt: Das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Second ed., Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2013, 209–212 (plates 3–6). English tr. in John Jay Chapman, *Deutschland Über Alles or Germany Speaks: A Collection of the Utterances of Representative Germans – Statesmen, Military Leaders, Scholars, and Poets – in Defence of the War Policies of The Fatherland*. New York, London: Putnam, 1914, 37–42; *The New York Times Current History of the European War*, vol. I/1: What Men of Letters Say. New York: The New York Times Company, 1914, 185–187.

2 For details see Peter Schöller, *Der Fall Löwen und das Weißbuch: Eine kritische Untersuchung der deutschen Dokumentation über die Vorgänge in Löwen vom 25. bis 28. August 1914*. Cologne, Graz: Böhlau 1958; Charles Edward Bailey, *Gott mit uns: Germany's Protestant Theologians in the First World War*. Diss. University of Virginia 1978, 217–227; Lothar Wieland, *Belgien 1914: Die Frage des belgischen "Franktireurkrieges" und die deutsche öffentliche Meinung von 1914 bis 1936*, Studien zum Kontinuitätsproblem der deutschen Geschichte 2. Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1984; John Horne, Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2001; Larry Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I*. New York, London: New York University Press, 2004; Sophie de Schaepdrijver, *La Belgique et la Première Guerre Mondiale*, Documents pour l'Histoire des Francophonies / Europe 4. Third ed., Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006, 69–101; Christina Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi? Le patrimoine artistique en Belgique et en France occupées, 1914–1918*, Collection "Comparatisme et Société" 4. Brussels et al.: Peter Lang, 2006, 41–85; Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*, The Making of the Modern World. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Michela Passini, *La fabrique de l'art national: Le nationalisme et les origines de l'histoire de l'art en France et en Allemagne 1870–1933*, Passages/Passagen 43. Paris: Les éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2012, 191–228; Ernst Piper, *Nacht über Europa: Kulturgeschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*. Berlin: Propyläen, 2013, 151–212.

3 Cf. e. g. Klaus Schwabe, *Wissenschaft und Kriegsmoral: Die deutschen Hochschullehrer und die politischen Grundfragen des Ersten Weltkriegs*. Göttingen et al.: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1969,

21–45; Gerhard Besier, *Krieg, Frieden, Abrüstung: Die Haltung der europäischen und amerikanischen Kirchen zur Frage der deutschen Kriegsschuld 1914–1933: Ein kirchenhistorischer Beitrag zur Friedensforschung und Friedenserziehung*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982, 29–42; Bernhard vom Brocke, “Wissenschaft und Militarismus: Der Aufruf der 93 ‘An die Kulturwelt!’ und der Zusammenbruch der internationalen Gelehrtenrepublik im Ersten Weltkrieg.” In *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, ed. William M. Calder III, Helmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985, 649–719; *Bereit zum Krieg: Kriegsmentalität im wilhelminischen Deutschland 1890–1914: Beiträge zur historischen Friedensforschung*, ed. Jost Düllfer, Karl Holl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986; Wolfgang J. Mommsen, “Der Geist von 1914: Das Programm eines politischen ‘Sonderwegs’ der Deutschen.” In *Der autoritäre Nationalstaat: Verfassung, Gesellschaft und Kultur des deutschen Kaiserreiches*, ed. Karl Holl. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990, 407–421; *Kultur und Krieg: Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und Schriftsteller im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 34, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996; Kurt Flasch, *Die geistige Mobilmachung: Die deutschen Intellektuellen und der Erste Weltkrieg*. Berlin: Fest, 2000; Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany*, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Ulrich Sieg, *Jüdische Intellektuelle im Ersten Weltkrieg: Kriegserfahrungen, weltanschauliche Debatten und kulturelle Neuentwürfe*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001, 53–87; Steffen Bruendel, *Volksgemeinschaft oder Volksstaat: Die “Ideen von 1914” und die Neuordnung Deutschlands im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003; *Kollegen – Kommilitonen – Kämpfer: Europäische Universitäten im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Wissenschaftsgeschichte Pallas Athene 18, ed. Trude Maurer. Stuttgart: Steiner 2006; Matthias Schöningh, *Versprengte Gemeinschaft: Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914–1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009; Herfried Münkler, *Der Große Krieg: Die Welt 1914 bis 1918*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2013, 215–267; Piper, *Nacht*, 213–250; *1914 – Die Avantgarden im Kampf* [catalogue of the exhibition in the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Bonn, 8 November 2013 – 23 February 2014], ed. Uwe M. Schneede. Bonn, Cologne: Snoeck, 2013; Ungern-Sternberg and Ungern-Sternberg, *Aufruf*; Tillmann Bendikowski, *Sommer 1914: Zwischen Begeisterung und Angst – wie Deutsche den Kriegsbeginn erlebten*. Munich: C. Bertelsmann, 2014; Steffen Bruendel, *Zeitenwende 1914: Künstler, Dichter und Denker im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Munich: Herbig, 2014; Jörn Leonhard, *Die Büchse der Pandora: Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*. Fourth ed., Munich: C. H. Beck, 2014, 236–250. For earlier studies cf. Bruendel, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 17–22. For attitudes towards the war in other countries cf. e. g. Martha Hanna, *The Mobilization of Intellect: French Scholars and Writers During the Great War*. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1996 (for France); Stuart Wallace, *War and the Image of Germany: British Academics, 1914–1918*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publisher Ltd., 1988; Christian Fälschle, *Rivalität als Prinzip: Die englische Demokratie im Denken des wilhelminischen Deutschland 1900–1914*, Europäische Hochschulschriften III/462. Frankfurt et al.: Peter Lang, 1991, 122–124, 143–162; Mark D. Chapman, “Theology, Nationalism and the First World War: Christian Ethics and the Constraints of Politics.” *Studies in Christian Ethics* 8/2 (1995): 13–35; Peter Hoeres, *Krieg der Philosophen: Die deutsche und die britische Philosophie im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2004; Fred Bridgham, *The First World War as a Clash of Cultures*. Rochester, NY, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Camden House, 2006; *The Cambridge Companion to the Poetry of the First World War*, ed. Santanu Das. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2013 (for Britain); Trude Maurer in: Ungern-Sternberg and Ungern-Sternberg,

Although during the first months of the war similar appeals were published,⁴ the *Aufruf* occupies a special place in the collective memory of this war. This manifesto in particular made it clear to everyone that there were no two Germanies, one the hotbed of admirable achievements in the arts and sciences, the country of Luther, Goethe, Schiller, and Beethoven, and the other a heavily armed superpower intimidating its neighbours, and that there was no hope that Germany's huge military machinery might be restrained from within by the voice of reason.⁵ The signatures by many of the most prominent writers, artists,

Aufruf, 163–201 (for Russia). Cf. also Roland N. Stromberg, *Redemption by War: The Intellectuals and 1914*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1982; Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*, A Peter Davidson Book. Boston: Houghton Mufflins, 1989; Hew Strachan, *The First World War, vol. I: To Arms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 1114–1139; Oliver Janz, *14: Der Große Krieg*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013, 202–212; Geert Buelens, *Europas Dichter und der Erste Weltkrieg*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2014, 103–143; Martin Greschat, *Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Christenheit: Ein globaler Überblick*, Kohlhammer/Urban Akademie. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014; Philip Jenkins, *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade*. New York: Harper One, 2014, esp. chs. 2–5; Anne Rasmussen, “Mobilising Minds.” In *The Cambridge History of the First World War, vol. III: Civil Society*, ed. Jay Winter. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 390–417.

4 Cf. also e. g. “Aufruf deutscher Kirchenmänner und Professoren: An die evangelischen Christen im Ausland” (04/09/1914). In Gerhard Besier, *Die protestantischen Kirchen Europas im Ersten Weltkrieg: Ein Quellen- und Arbeitsbuch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984, 40–45 (English tr. as a separate pamphlet: *To the Protestant Christians Abroad*. Hamburg 1914 [*non vidi*]); and “Noch einmal ein Wort an die evangelischen Christen im Auslande” (20/11/1914). *Eiche. Vierteljahrsschrift zur Pflege freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zwischen Großbritannien und Deutschland* 3 (1915): 67–75 (*non vidi*); and *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* 29 (1914): 374–383 (English tr. as a separate pamphlet: *Another Word to the Protestant Christians Abroad*, Hamburg 1914 [*non vidi*]). Cf. also Bailey, *Gott*, 54–57; Bernd Andresen, *Ernst von Dryander: Eine biographische Studie*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 63. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995, 348 f.; “Erklärung deutscher Universitätslehrer” (07/09/1914). In Hermann Kellermann, *Der Krieg der Geister: Eine Auslese deutscher und ausländischer Stimmen zum Weltkriege 1914*. Dresden: Duncker, 1915, 28 f. English tr. in *The New York Times*: 187 f.; “Erklärung der Hochschullehrer des Deutschen Reiches” (“Declaration of the University Teachers of the German Empire”, October 16/23, 1914) which carried 3065 signatures. For further manifestos cf. Kellermann, *Krieg*, 1–113. Some manifestos and a number of other appeals and speeches by German professors are also found in *Aufrufe und Reden deutscher Professoren im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Universal-Bibliothek 9787, ed. Klaus Böhme. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975. A counter-manifesto was the “Appeal to the Europeans” by the physiologist Georg Friedrich Nicolai which was signed by Albert Einstein, Otto Buek, and Wilhelm Foerster but was not published at the time of its composition. Cf. Georg Fr[iedrich] Nicolai, *Die Biologie des Krieges: Betrachtungen eines deutschen Naturforschers den Deutschen zur Besinnung*, 2 vols. Second ed. (first original ed.), Zurich: Füssli, 1919, 3–16; and Bailey, *Gott*, 77; Bernhard vom Brocke, “An die Europäer: Der Fall Nicolai und die Biologie des Krieges.” *Historische Zeitschrift* 240 (1985): 363–375.

5 Numerous references for this line of argument in Bailey, *Gott*, 210–215. The “Declaration of

scientists, and theologians proved that there was only one Germany and that the German elite, with an intolerable tone of self-righteousness, blindly defended the war propaganda of its government and justified its aggressive expansionism, displaying in the process “an unbelievable, criminal naivety”.⁶ As a result, the Manifesto was to tarnish the reputation of German intellectuals and scholars for a long time to come. After the war French prime minister Georges Clemenceau in a speech to the senate on 12 October 1919 even went so far as to call it “the greatest crime of Germany”.⁷

the University Teachers”, published some days after the *Aufruf*, explicitly rejected the opposition between German science and “Prussian militarism”.

6 Ungern-Sternberg and Ungern-Sternberg, *Aufruf*, 60.

7 Cf. *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Sénat* 1880: 1623 f.: “Tenez, j’ai là un document. Je ne vous le lirai pas. Mais le moment va venir où nous parlerons des responsabilités: je ne vous cache pas que la question est redoutable, en ce qu’elle pourra produire en Allemagne des mouvements que, pour ma part, je ne peux pas calculer. Ce document [...] est un gros cahier où sont relatés les crimes abominables de toute la soldatesque allemande, avec les noms des criminels et les preuves à l’appui. J’y ai vu des faits comme jamais je n’aurais cru qu’on en pût mentionner dans l’histoire, des ordres de ramasser des femmes comme du bétail pour les envoyer à des besognes immondes, des mauvaises femmes si on en trouve, sinon les autres! [...] Nous ne pouvons pas amnistier des choses comme celles-là, c’est impossible [...] Que la France croule, mais qu’elle ne se déshonore pas! [...] Et alors ma pensée se reportait à ce que je juge le plus grand crime de l’Allemagne, à ce manifeste honteux des prétendus intellectuels, des intellectuels, hélas! il faut bien le dire ... [...] C’est un crime qui dépasse tous les autres [...]. La culture, je l’ai professé toute ma vie, est un élément de moralisation, et plus haut l’homme monte les degrés de la science, plus je suis disposé à le respecter, parc qu’il a des éléments de jugement qui doivent, à mon sens, le doter d’une moralité supérieure. Eh bien! ils se sont réunis à quatre-vingt-treize, des hommes dont je connais quelques-uns et dont à ne considérer que leurs livres, je suis encore l’admirateur, mais que je suis obligé de mépriser au delà de tout ce que la langue humaine peut exprimer. [...] Ces quatre-vingt-treize: savants, techniciens de tout ordre, philosophes, hommes de lettres, pasteurs, enfin, tous ceux qui étaient de nature à agir sur l’esprit public, ont osé, le 11 octobre 1914, écrire ceci: ‘Il n’est pas vrai que l’Allemagne ait provoqué cette guerre ...’ — Ah! s’ils pouvaient reprendre leur papier aujourd’hui! — ‘Ni le peuple, ni le gouvernement, ni l’empereur allemands ne l’ont voulue. Jusqu’au dernier moment, jusqu’aux limites du possible, l’Allemagne a lutté pour le maintien de la paix. Ce n’est qu’au moment où il fut menacé d’abord et attaqué ensuite par trois grandes puissances en embuscade, que notre peuple s’est levé comme un seul homme. [...] Il n’est pas vrai que nous ayons violé criminellement la neutralité de la Belgique. Nous avons la preuve irrécusable que la France et l’Angleterre, sûres de la connivence de la Belgique, étaient résolues à violer elles-mêmes cette neutralité. De la part de notre patrie, c’eût été commettre un suicide que de ne pas prendre les devants.’ [...] Quand les hommes les plus éminents d’un pays, gardiens naturels de la morale et des hautes pensées qui doivent conduire les peuples, osent mentir aussi effrontément, il m’est permis d’avoir quelques doutes quant au fameux retour que nous annoncent MM. Debierre et Flaissières [*i. e.*, the senators Charles Debierre, 1853–1932, and Siméon Flaissières, 1851–1931]. Il faut attendre.

In addition, for theologians this document carries special significance, because Karl Barth claimed in retrospect that upon reading it he experienced a kind of theological trauma which altered the course of theology in the twentieth century. The Manifesto, Barth wrote shortly before his death in 1968, had been for him “almost worse than the violation of Belgian neutrality”, because he was “horrified” to discover among the signatories “almost” all of his German teachers “(with the honourable exception of Martin Rade!)”.⁸ The outbreak of the war and the reaction of the German professors, as it expressed itself in documents like

M. le président Wilson, qui n'est à aucun degré pro-allemand, je peux le dire très haut, qui ne l'est en aucune façon—et ceux qui lui attribueraient ce sentiment le méconnaîtraient d'une façon singulière—n'en avait pas moins conçu l'espoir que les Allemands pourraient bientôt entrer dans la société des nations. Quand viendra le moment de l'épreuve, je suis d'avis de leur demander ce qu'ils pensent de ce papier, et nous verrons.” German tr. in: Hans Wehberg, *Wider den Aufruf der 93! Das Ergebnis einer Rundfrage an die 93 Intellektuellen über die Kriegsschuld*. Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik, 1920, 31 f. Cf. also Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeur et misères d'une victoire*. Paris: Plon, 1930, 203–218, esp. 204–207. Harnack replied to this speech in his “Open letter to Mr Clemenceau” (“Offener Brief an Herrn Clemenceau”, S/D 1299). In RA VI, 303–305. Cf. also Bailey, *Gott*, 59 f. Cf. furthermore the letter by Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, to the Rector of the University of Uppsala, Ludvig Stavenow, on April 15, 1919: “We have not forgotten the amazing prostitution of scholarship and science to national lust marked by the formal appeal to the civilized world made by German professors in September, 1914. That appeal was an unmixed mess of untruths, and the stain which it placed upon the intellectual and moral integrity of German scholars and men of science will forever remain one of the most deplorable, discouraging events of the war which German militarism and Prussian autocracy forced upon the peaceful and liberty-loving nations of the world.” (*The New York Times*, 19 April 1919: 17; German tr. in: Wehberg, *Aufruf*, 30). Cf. also vom Brocke, *Wissenschaft*, 681 f.

8 “Und dann brach der 1. Weltkrieg aus und brachte – für mich fast schlimmer noch als die Verletzung der belgischen Neutralität – das schreckliche Manifest der 93 deutschen Intellektuellen, die sich vor aller Welt mit der Kriegspolitik Kaiser Wilhelms II. und seines Kanzlers Bethmann-Hollweg identifizierten. Unter denen, die es unterschrieben hatte, musste ich mit Entsetzen auch die Namen ungefähr aller meiner deutschen Lehrer (mit ehrenvoller Ausnahme Martin Rades!) entdecken. Eine ganze Welt von theologischer Exegese, Ethik, Dogmatik und Predigt, die ich bis dahin für grundsätzlich glaubwürdig gehalten hatte, kam damit und mit dem, was man damals von den deutschen Theologen sonst zu lesen bekam, bis auf die Grundlagen ins Schwanken” (Karl Barth in Heinz Bolli, *Schleiermacher-Auswahl: Mit einem Nachwort von Karl Barth*, GTBS 113/114. Munich, Hamburg: Siebenstern Taschenbuch Verlag, 1968, 293). Cf. also Barth's remarks in his autobiographical sketch in the album of the Faculty of Münster (1927; in *Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe, V: Karl Barth – Rudolf Bultmann: Briefwechsel 1911–1966*, ed. Bernd Jaspert. Second ed., Zurich: TVZ, 1994, 290–300, 296; cf. also Eberhard Busch, *Karl Barths Lebenslauf: Nach seinen Briefen und autobiographischen Texten*. Third ed., München: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 93) and Karl Barth, “Rückblick.” In *Festschrift für D. Albert Schädelin: Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn*, ed. Hans Dürr et al. Bern: Herbert Lang & Cie, 1950, 1–8, 4; Karl Barth, *The Humanity of God*. Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1960, 14. For modern studies of the German Protestant churches and theologians in the First World War cf. Wolf-Dieter Marsch, “Politische Predigt zum Kriegsbeginn 1914/15.” *Evan-*

the Manifesto, which he most certainly read shortly after publication,⁹ came as a shock to Barth. There is a whole series of letters in the years 1914 and 1915

gelische Theologie 24 (1964): 513–538; Wilhelm Pressel, *Die Kriegspredigt 1914–1918 in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, Arbeiten zur Pastoraltheologie 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967; Wolfgang Huber, “Evangelische Kirche und Theologie beim Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs.” In *Historische Beiträge zur Friedensforschung*, Studien zur Friedensforschung 4, ed. Wolfgang Huber. Stuttgart, Munich: Klett, 1970, 134–215; Karl Hammer, “Adolf von Harnack und der Erste Weltkrieg.” *Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik* 16 (1972): 85–101; Günter Brakelmann, *Protestantische Kriegstheologie im 1. Weltkrieg: Reinhold Seeberg als Theologe des deutschen Imperialismus*. Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1974; Karl Hammer, *Deutsche Kriegstheologie 1870–1918*, dtv 4151. Second ed., München: dtv, 1974; Karl Hammer, “Der deutsche Protestantismus und der Erste Weltkrieg.” *Francia* 2 (1974): 398–414; Bailey, *Gott*; Besier, *Krieg*, esp. 15–88; Martin Greschat, “Krieg und Kriegsbereitschaft im deutschen Protestantismus.” In Dülffer, Holl, *Krieg*, 33–55; A[rile] J. Hoover, *God, Germany, and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism*. New York et al.: Praeger, 1989; Günter Brakelmann, *Krieg und Gewissen: Otto Baumgarten als Politiker und Theologe im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991; Jean Baubérot and Jean-Marie Mayeur, “Die Kirchen und die internationalen Beziehungen.” In *Erster und Zweiter Weltkrieg / Demokratien und totalitäre Systeme*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 12, ed. Jean-Marie Mayeur, Kurt Meier. Freiburg et al.: Herder, 1992 (repr. 2010), 328–435 (2010: 330–337); Chapman, *Theology*; Kurt Nowak, *Geschichte des Christentums in Deutschland: Religion, Politik und Gesellschaft vom Ende der Aufklärung bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995, 197–204; *Religion im Kaiserreich: Milieus – Mentalitäten – Krisen*, Religiöse Kulturen der Moderne 2, ed. Olaf Blaschke, Frank-Michael Kuhlemann. Second ed., Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1996; Mark D. Chapman, *Ernst Troeltsch and Liberal Theology: Religion and Cultural Synthesis in Wilhelmine Germany*. Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2001 (repr. 2004), 1–12; Martin Greschat, “Begleitung und Deutung der beiden Weltkriege durch evangelische Theologen.” In *Erster Weltkrieg, Zweiter Weltkrieg: Ein Vergleich. Krieg, Kriegserlebnis, Kriegserfahrung in Deutschland*, ed. Bruno Thoß, Hans-Erich Volkmann. Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2002, 497–518; Martin H. Jung, *Der Protestantismus in Deutschland von 1870 bis 1945*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/5. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002, 102–112; Mark R. Correll, *Shepherds of the Empire: Germany’s Conservative Protestant Leadership, 1888–1919*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014, 221–261. For attitudes towards the war in the Catholic Church cf. e. g. Martin Lätzel, *Die Katholische Kirche im Ersten Weltkrieg: Zwischen Nationalismus und Friedenswillen*. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2014. In general cf. Adrian Gregory, “Beliefs and Religion.” In Winter, *History*, 418–444; Greschat, *Weltkrieg*; summary in Martin Greschat, “Christentum und Kirchen.” *Liturgie und Kultur* 5/2 (2014): 6–16; Jenkins, *War*, esp. chs. 2–5; *Der Erste Weltkrieg und die reformierte Welt*, Forschungen zur Reformierten Theologie 3, ed. Hans-Georg Ulrichs. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2014.

⁹ Cf. Hans-Anton Drewes, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit Adolf von Harnack*. In *Karl Barth in Deutschland (1921–1935): Aufbruch – Klärung – Widerstand*, ed. Michael Beintker, Christian Link, Michael Trowitzsch. Zurich: TVZ, 2005, 189–203, here 192; *pace* Wilfried Härle, “Der Aufruf der 93 Intellektuellen und Karl Barths Bruch mit der liberalen Theologie.” *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 72 (1975): 207–224. No matter whether or not it was precisely the publication of the Manifesto which had triggered Barth’s disillusionment, the almost unanimous support of the war by German liberal theologians in general was for Barth deeply disturbing.

in which he expressed his inner turmoil.¹⁰ A typical expression of his state of mind at the time is found in a letter to Wilhelm Spöndlin of January 4, 1915, which, to my best of knowledge, has so far remained unpublished in its entirety.

“I experienced a bad twilight of the gods when I studied how Harnack, Herrmann, Rade, Eucken et al. reacted to the new situation, how religion, science, art, and personal culture, everything which we appreciated about those abroad (and in particular about the Germans) entirely transformed itself into intellectual 42 cm cannons against Asiatic barbarism, English peddler spirit, French lies et al. and has remained thus transformed until the present day. This “mobilization of the spirit” [...] has become for me the principal problem of our times. What has Christianity come to? I am hardly surprised about the emperor and his court preachers nor about the masses, but what about the intellectual leaders of German Christianity? What a collapse of Christian ideals not only in practice, but also in mind, in calm theory!”¹¹

10 Cf. e. g. the letters to Eduard Thurneysen (29/08/1914) in *Karl Barth – Eduard Thurneysen: Briefwechsel, vol. I: 1913–1921*, Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe V/3, ed. Eduard Thurneysen. Zürich: TVZ, 1973, 7 f.; Martin Rade (31/08/1914; published in *Neue Wege* 8 (1914): 429–432; also in *Karl Barth – Martin Rade: Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. Christoph Schwöbel. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1981, 95–99); Thurneysen (04/09/1914) in Thurneysen, *Briefwechsel*, 9 f.; Thurneysen (25/09/1914), in Thurneysen, *Briefwechsel*, 11 f.; Thurneysen (05/11/1914), in Thurneysen, *Briefwechsel*, 19. Cf. Härle, *Aufruf*, 215–218. Further unpublished documents mentioned in Drewes, *Auseinandersetzung*, 191 f. Cf. in addition Bruce L. McCormack, *Karl Barth’s Critically Realistic Dialectical Theology: Its Genesis and Development, 1909–1936*, Clarendon Paperbacks. Oxford et al.: Clarendon Press, 1997, 78 f., 111–117. In addition cf. the recently published manuscripts of his public lectures which he gave in Switzerland at the time on “Krieg, Sozialismus und Christentum” in 1914/1915 and his notes on his impressions from a travel through Germany of 1915 (“Eindrücke aus Deutschland, 1915”) in *Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe, III: Vorträge und kleinere Arbeiten 1914–1921*, ed. Hans-Anton Drewes. Zürich: TVZ, 2012, 86–96, 105–117, 140–144.

11 “Ich habe eine arge Götterdämmerung erlebt, als ich studierte, wie Harnack, Herrmann, Rade, Eucken etc sich zu der neuen Lage stellten, wie Religion, Wissenschaft, Kunst u[nd] persönliche Kultur, Alles was wir an ihnen da draußen hochschätzten (und an den Deutschen vor allem) restlos sich in geistige 42cm Kanonen gegen asiatische Barbarei, englischen Krämergeist, französische Lüge etc verwandelte u[nd] bis auf diesen Tag in dieser Verwandlung beharrte. Diese ‘Mobil-machung des Geistes’ (sie hat sich ja auch in den andern Ländern vollzogen, aber nirgends so akzentuiert u[nd] gegenüber uns Neutralen so aufdringlich wie in Deutschland) ist für mich immer mehr zum Hauptproblem der Zeit geworden. Wo ist das Christentum hingekommen? Über den Kaiser u[nd] seine Hofprediger verwundere ich mich kaum, auch nicht über die Masse, aber über die geistigen Führer des deutschen Christentums? Was für ein Zusammenbruch der christlichen Ideale nicht nur in der Praxis sondern auch in der Gesinnung, in der ruhigen Theorie!” Barth continues: “Und der Sozialismus? Die Haltung der Reichstagsfraktion u[nd] des ‘Vorwärts’[,] der sich das Thema ‘Klassenkampf’ verbieten läßt u[nd] dafür mitschimpft über die infamen Engländer et al. Wie haben jetzt Naumann u[nd] seine Freunde recht behalten in der Beurteilung der Sozialdemokratie! Und die deutsche Wissenschaft, mit ihrer Objektivität, ihrem kritischen Sinn, ihrem freudigen Idealismus – Alles zum Teufel, Alles dem Moloch ‘Not kennt kein Gebot’ geopfert.

It is no coincidence that Barth named Harnack first: not only had he been one of Barth's most important teachers in Berlin, he was also perceived both at home and abroad as the leading theologian and indeed as one of the foremost German intellectuals of his period which gave his signature special importance.

Harnack later denied that he had known the text of the Manifesto when he agreed to lend his support.¹² This may well be true,¹³ but I wish to show in this paper that at that time his views concerning Germany's role in the early war coincided in every respect with the contents of the Manifesto. It was no coincidence that Harnack had been asked to draft the emperor's famous appeal to the German nation of August 6.¹⁴ He also assisted in distributing English

Ich verkenne das Große gewiß nicht, das in dem Zusammenschluß des deutschen Volkes liegt, aber ich sehe nur eine große Tragik darin, ein furchtbares Mene Tekel für unsere ganze Kultur, furchtbarer als alle Verluste u[nd] Zerstörungen des Krieges im äußerlichen Sinn! Also so bewährt sich das Beste u[nd] Feinste, das wir an idealistischem Geist in der Welt hatten: Kant, Schiller, Goethe, Schleiermacher etc – Alles Alles endigt nun mit: Gott strafe die Engländer!" (Basel, Karl Barth-Archiv, KBA 9215.1). Cf. also Busch, *Lebenslauf*, 93; Drewes, *Auseinandersetzung*, 191.

12 Cf. the "Open letter" quoted in Ungern-Sternberg and Ungern-Sternberg, *Aufruf*, 303: "Ich ergreife das Wort, obgleich ich das Manifest nicht verfaßt und es im Wortlaut, wie so viele der Unterzeichner, erst nach seinem Erscheinen kennengelernt habe." Cf. also Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, *Adolf von Harnack*. Second ed. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1951, 358 n. 1; Christian Nottmeier, *Adolf von Harnack und die deutsche Politik 1890–1930: Eine biographische Studie zum Verhältnis von Protestantismus, Wissenschaft und Politik*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 124. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004, 480; Ungern-Sternberg and Ungern-Sternberg, *Aufruf*, 26, 91.

13 He must, however, have known the general gist of the text, because his name is found among others beneath an early appeal for signatures to this text; cf. Ungern-Sternberg and Ungern-Sternberg, *Aufruf*, 26; cf. also 239–241 (Dok. 6), 294 (Dok. 25).

14 Cf. Axel von Harnack, "Der Aufruf Kaiser Wilhelm II. beim Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges." *Die Neue Rundschau* 64 (1953): 612–620; Bailey, *Gott*, 196 f.; Johanna Jantsch, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Adolf von Harnack und Martin Rade: Theologie auf dem öffentlichen Markt*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996, 108 n. 682; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 380. In a telegram of September 17, 1914 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, NL Harnack, K. 45, Bl. 45r) Wilhelm thanked Harnack for his continuous support: "ich danke ihnen herzlich fuer ihre freundlichen worte und wuensche besonders auch fuer ihre treue mitarbeit an der bekaempfung der vierten grossmacht mit ihren ebenso verachtlichen [*sic*] wie verderblichen waffen = wilhelm i r +". The mention of the "fourth Great Power" (i. e., the press) alludes to Harnack's postscript to his letter to the English theologians of September 10, 1914 (S/D 1189): "Einen Kampf, der Ihnen Ehre macht, können Sie schon jetzt führen. Als vierte Großmacht hat sich gegen Deutschland die internationale Lügenpresse erhoben, überschüttet die Welt mit Lügen gegen unser herrliches und sittenstrenges Heer und verleumdet alles, was deutsch ist. Man hat uns fast alle Möglichkeiten abgeschnitten, uns gegen dieses 'Tier aus dem Abgrund' zu verteidigen. Glauben Sie seinen Lügen nicht und verbreiten Sie die Wahrheit über uns! Wir sind auch heute nicht anders, als Carlyle uns Ihnen geschildert hat" (RA V, 299). As regards Harnack's relationship with Wilhelm cf. Stefan Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf*

translations of the White Book in America, a publication by the German government aimed at clearing Germany of war crimes against Belgium,¹⁵ and lent his support as member of an “honorary committee” in publicizing the English pamphlet *Truth About Germany: Facts About the War*, which appeared in late August 1914.¹⁶ What is worse, from his correspondence and his publications of this period it becomes clear that, for a certain time, Harnack’s political ideas even displayed certain affinities with the ideas of the propagandists of a racist superiority of the Germanic peoples, as they were found, for example, in the *völkisch* movement. This helps to explain why Harnack entertained an amicable correspondence with the “evangelist of race” Houston Stewart Chamberlain and even praised his war essays.

2 Harnack’s correspondence with Chamberlain

Harnack’s attitude towards German politics prior to the war and during its first phase has always puzzled historians and has considerably tarnished his reputation.¹⁷ One of the most disturbing features of his literary legacy during the first two years of the war is his correspondence with Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Harnack: Wissenschaft und Politik im Berlin des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997, 537–555; Rüdiger vom Bruch, “Adolf von Harnack und Wilhelm II.” In *Adolf von Harnack: Theologe, Historiker, Wissenschaftspolitiker*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 161, ed. Kurt Nowak, Otto Gerhard Oexle. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001, 23–37; Wolfram Kinzig, “Der Kaiser und der ‘Evangelist des Rassismus’: Houston Stewart Chamberlains Brief an Anne Guthrie über seine erste Begegnung mit Wilhelm II.” *Zeitschrift für neuere Theologiegeschichte* 11 (2004): 79–125; John C. G. Röhl, *Wilhelm II: Into the Abyss of War and Exile, 1900–1941*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 518–521.

15 Cf. Bailey, *Gott*, 52.

16 This publication was distributed in various editions and on September 20, 1914 reissued in a second enlarged edition. For background cf. Bailey, *Gott*, 52.

17 The best accounts of Harnack’s political views at that time are found in Kurt Nowak, “Historische Einführung: Adolf von Harnack. Wissenschaft und Weltgestaltung auf dem Boden des modernen Protestantismus.” In *Adolf von Harnack als Zeitgenosse. Reden und Schriften aus den Jahren des Kaiserreichs und der Weimarer Republik*, mit einem bibliographischen Anhang von Hanns Christoph Picker, ed. Kurt Nowak. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996, 76–84; Jantsch, *Briefwechsel*, 105–121; Rebenich, *Mommsen*, 537–555; Nottmeier, “Politik auf einer ‘mittleren Linie’: Adolf von Harnack und die Regierung Bethmann Hollweg 1914 bis 1917.” *Zeitschrift für neuere Theologiegeschichte* 7 (2000): 66–108; Nottmeier, *Harnack*. The latest state of research on Chamberlain is summarized in Barbara Liedtke, *Völkisches Denken und Verkündigung des Evangeliums: Die Rezeption Houston Stewart Chamberlains in evangelischer Theologie und Kirche während der Zeit des “Dritten Reichs”*, Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte 37. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 2012, 13–20.

Chamberlain was one of the foremost progandists of antisemitism in German intellectual life, while belonging, as a member of the Wagner clan in Bayreuth and on account of his personal acquaintance with the Kaiser, to the inner circles of the establishment of Wilhelmine Germany. Harnack and Chamberlain had met in October 1901 at Liebenberg Castle where the Kaiser had summoned Harnack to introduce him to the acclaimed author of the *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* which Wilhelm liked to recite to his wife and her ladies-in-waiting after dinner.¹⁸ Their correspondence, which had begun after this first encounter, intensified in autumn 1912 when Harnack read Chamberlain's book on *Goethe* which enchanted him so much that after reading each chapter he wrote its author a long enthusiastic letter praising his interpretive abilities. I have edited and analysed this correspondence elsewhere.¹⁹ Here I intend to take a closer look at the letters which Harnack wrote to Chamberlain between 1914 and 1918.

During the war Chamberlain demonstrated his loyalty towards his chosen Fatherland by publishing in quick succession a series of volumes containing essays which dealt with the ongoing political events. The first of these volumes, entitled *Kriegsaufsätze*, appeared in November 1914. Chamberlain sent Harnack a complimentary copy immediately after publication. On November 24 Harnack expressed his gratitude for the essays which he had read "with particular pleasure". He praised them for exuding "a victorious power" and wanted to send them immediately to his son Ernst in the field.²⁰ Harnack went on to describe his son's situation and also reported the death of his son-in-law Ernst Emil Frucht. He concluded by saying,

18 Cf. Kinzig, *Kaiser*.

19 Cf. Wolfram Kinzig, *Harnack, Marcion und das Judentum: Nebst einer kommentierten Edition des Briefwechsels Adolf von Harnacks mit Houston Stewart Chamberlain*, Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte 13. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2004. Claudia Kampmann has kindly provided me with the following extract from a letter by Harnack to Bernhard von Bülow (29/12/1912; in: Bundesarchiv Koblenz, NL Bülow, N1016/83, Bl. 27–30, here: 30; partially published in Nottmeier, Harnack, 29): "Chamberlain's 'Goethe'. Es ist eine ganz ausgezeichnete Leistung voll Klarheit und Tiefsinn, stellenweise nicht ganz leicht, aber überall fördernd und fesselnd. Es ist weitaus das Beste und Umfassendste, was über Goethe jemals geschrieben ist, und wäre fast vollkommen zu nennen, wenn es nicht durch ein paar Schrullen entstellt wäre bez. durch eine Polemik gegen die Goethe-Philologen und die Juden, die der Höhe des Werks nicht würdig ist; aber man kann darüber hinweg lesen." "Chamberlain's 'Goethe'. It is a splendid achievement, full of clarity and profundity, in some places it is not an easy read, but everywhere it is useful and captivating. It is by far the best and most comprehensive book which has ever been written about Goethe. One could call it almost perfect were it not disfigured by a few eccentricities or, rather, by a polemic against the Goethe philologists and the Jews which is inappropriate given the quality of the work; but one may simply pass over them."

20 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 279 (n. 25).

“The spirit which rules the university and, as far as I can assess, the city, the entire population, is splendid. All baubles and all that is mean have been blown away; respect and reverence are ruling, and a comprehensive and persistent force is lying in the background. We suffered only from skin diseases—they were bad enough—, but the heart was still healthy. How marvellous that we may experience this.”²¹

Chamberlain replied four days later, forwarding greetings from his mother-in-law Cosima Wagner and complimenting Harnack on the appeal “To the Protestant Christians Abroad”²² which he erroneously assumed to have been composed by Harnack. He mentioned that the emperor had sent him a “wonderful telegram” expressing a “deep understanding of the importance of this moment for world history” and a “humble trust in God”.²³

Harnack continued the correspondence in December 1914 by sending Chamberlain and Cosima Wagner a poem for his students in the field.²⁴ In response Chamberlain sent Harnack a witty verse.²⁵

At the end of 1914 Chamberlain wrote to Harnack about a piece by the Oxford assyriologist Archibald Henry Sayce which had been published in the *Times* some days previously.²⁶ In this rather outlandish essay Sayce attempted to show that, contrary to what German intellectuals claimed, German literature, philosophy, and science had been entirely unoriginal and scientifically unsound, and were even partly stolen from British scholars. In an attitude of conspiratorial camaraderie Chamberlain called Sayce’s claims “utter nonsense” (*blühenden Unsinn*) and went on,

“I know that A. H. Sayce is not a great light; but the only explanation for such an excess is that the English have all gone mad.”²⁷

21 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 280: “Der Geist, der die Universität und, soviel ich die Stadt zu übersehen vermag, die ganze Bevölkerung beherrscht, ist vortrefflich. Weggeblasen ist aller Tand und alles Gemeine. Ehrfurcht und Ehrerbietung regieren und gesammelte und ausdauernde Kraft liegt im Hintergrund. Nur an Hautkrankheiten haben wir gelitten – böß genug waren sie –, aber das Herz war noch gesund. Wie herrlich, dass man sich davon überzeugen darf.”

22 See above n. 4.

23 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 280 f. (n. 26 of 28/11/1914).

24 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 281 f. (n. 27 of 04/12/1914).

25 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 282. The verse quoted here is also mentioned in Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Neue Kriegaufsätze*. Fifth ed., Munich: Bruckmann, 1915, 84 f.

26 Archibald H. Sayce, “‘Hermann’s a German’: A Review of Teutonic Pretensions.” *The Times*, 22 December 1914: 6. Cf. Bailey, *Gott*, 250; Wallace, *War*, 38 f.

27 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 283: “Für den Fall Sie sollten diesen blühenden Blödsinn noch nicht gesehen haben, lege ich ihn bei. Ich weiss ja, A. H. Sayce ist nicht gerade ein grosses Licht; doch gibt es für einen derartigen Excess in Dummheit einzig die Erklärung, dass die Engländer alle wahnsinnig geworden sind.” In Kinzig, *Harnack*, 283 the name had not yet been identified; cf. also Zahn-

In the subsequent letter, dated January 13, 1915, Chamberlain sent Harnack a piece of writing which had been taken off an enemy soldier and which he asked Harnack to decipher.²⁸

Some time between February and April 1915 Chamberlain's second volume of war essays, simply entitled *Neue Kriegsaufsätze*, arrived on Harnack's desk.²⁹ The professor thanked its author for a "book of war, of defiance, and of peace". He continued,

"The flute that you are playing in this great time has a special sound for which all Germans must be grateful to you".³⁰

Finally, on September 30, 1915, upon reception of Chamberlain's new book *Politische Ideale*, Harnack wrote another letter of gratitude to his correspondent.³¹ The text runs as follows:

"Most-esteemed Sir,
Once again I wish to thank you for a 'war pamphlet' which is at its core a peace pamphlet. I do this with the same conviction and grateful joy with which I have read your former writings. Only when one takes one's viewpoint high enough one can see how much disappears and how much the truly characteristic line reveals; but, of course, the viewpoint alone is not all; the viewer himself must be purified and freed from all trivial matters and all malice.
With gratitude cordially yours,
von Harnack"

One might think that these words are simply an expression of the courtesy which was typical of the theologian and are not indicative of deeper sympathies with Chamberlain's publications. One might also ponder whether the last words contained some covert criticism. But things become more complicated when we look at a letter to the emperor which Harnack had drafted some days previously. Unfortunately, we do not know whether this letter was actually posted, but this

Harnack, *Harnack*, 357 and n. 1; and Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 394 f., with erroneous identification of the author as "Sayor".

28 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 283 f. (n. 30 of 13/01/1915).

29 Chamberlain, *Neue Kriegsaufsätze*.

30 Kinzig, *Harnack*, 285 (n. 32 of 13/04/1915): "Besten Dank für Ihr neues Kriegs- u[nd] Trutz- und Friedensbuch. Die Flöte, welche Sie in dieser großen Zeit spielen, hat einen besonderen Klang, für den alle Deutschen Ihnen dankbar sein müssen [...]."

31 This letter is not included in my edition of the correspondence, because it was found some years after publication, in 2008, in the Richard-Wagner-Archiv in Bayreuth by my former assistant and doctoral student Barbara Liedtke. It was located in a small box and had not yet been properly archived. It is published in the appendix to this article.

does not matter for our purpose.³² The passage which concerns us here runs like this:

“As far as I am able to judge, among the publications of this time of war those of Chamberlain come first. Right now his essay *Politische Ideale* has deeply moved and inspired me. Chamberlain is able to describe the German character and the goals flowing from it better than the others, because he was once distanced from it. He *sees* what the others more or less vaguely *feel*. This clear vision, this wonderful outlook really makes him an *interpreter* and a *prophet*. What is more, he is able to *express* what he sees. His talent in this respect is truly masterful. His style is as accurate as a strong ray of the sun which does not twinkle, but shines instead. The metamorphosis which has transformed an Englishman into a German is a good creation. May one hope that it does not remain restricted to *one man*?”

Even when one takes into account that Wilhelm liked Chamberlain and that Harnack’s remarks may also have been calculated to accommodate the Kaiser’s limited intellectual resources, his fever-pitched praise of the author of the *Neue Kriegsaufsätze* is baffling. How could the most eminent scholar of Germany, a humanist who propagated the idea of the “infinite value of the human soul”, be in cahoots with a half-educated pamphleteer whose intellectual credentials were in every respect dubious and who was an ardent Jew-hater?

In my monograph on Harnack, Marcion, and Judaism I have made an attempt to explain this phenomenon, concentrating on their shared view of Goethe.³³ Yet a closer analysis of Harnack’s political speeches and essays reveals that there are certain points of contact between his and Chamberlain’s political thought which must also be taken into consideration.

3 Chamberlain, the war, and the new Germany

In order to understand why Harnack found attractive what seems repellent to us today, we first have to look at some of Chamberlain’s political writings of the first years of the war.³⁴ It must be remembered not only that Chamberlain was the best-selling author of the *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* but also that, as a result of the visit to Liebenberg Castle in 1901, he had become a kind

³² The full letter has not yet been published either; a transcript is included in the appendix.

³³ Kinzig, *Harnack*, 207–231.

³⁴ For what follows cf. esp. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Kriegsaufsätze*. Third ed., Munich: Bruckmann, 1914; *Neue Kriegsaufsätze*; *Politische Ideale*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1915; *Hammer oder Amboß*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1916; *Ideal und Macht*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1916; *Demokratie und Freiheit*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1917; *Der Wille zum Sieg und andere Aufsätze*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1918.

of informal adviser to the Kaiser. In addition, through his marriage to Eva von Bülow, the illegitimate daughter of Richard Wagner and Cosima von Bülow, in 1908 he had joined the influential Wagner clan.

Chamberlain knew how to appeal to a wider audience. Harnack clearly enjoyed reading the Englishman's elegant German style which was aimed at the educated *Bildungsbürgertum* from which Harnack himself originated and to whom he addressed a considerable amount of his literary output. The pamphleteer from Bayreuth poured forth his ultra-nationalist and racist ideology in the flowery, slightly Wagnerian language so beloved by the period, avoided technical language, enriched his writings with numerous examples and anecdotes, and garnished it with quotations from a wide variety of books which feigned a great depth of learning. It has been estimated that between 750,000 and one million copies of Chamberlain's war essays were sold during the course of the war.³⁵ Moreover, they were translated into English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, Afrikaans, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and even Icelandic.³⁶ Two of these essays ("England" and "Germany") were published in a single trench edition of 50,000 copies.³⁷ No fewer than 100,000 copies of an English translation of the same texts³⁸ were ordered by merchants from Hamburg for distribution in the United States.³⁹ Chamberlain was, therefore, "one of the best known wartime publicists, receiving an Iron Cross in April 1915 in recognition of his services".⁴⁰ Strangely enough, however, his political ideas and their influence in Germany and beyond, which were to a large extent shared by

35 Geoffrey G. Field, *Evangelist of Race: The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981, 390. Furthermore Sieg, *Intellektuelle*, 185; Liedtke, *Völkisches Denken*, 112.

36 Data based on the references given on the anonymous website URL <<http://www.hs-chamberlain.net/bibliography/bibliography.html>> (26/08/2014).

37 Cf. Chamberlain's letter to Rittmeister Graf von Roon, 29 March 1915. In Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Briefe 1882–1924 und Briefwechsel mit Kaiser Wilhelm II.*, 2 vols., vol. I. Munich: Bruckmann, 1922, 303.

38 Cf. e. g. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *England and Germany*, s. I. [Munich: Bruckmann], s. d. [1915].

39 Cf. Chamberlain's letter to Prinz Max von Baden, 19 March 1915. In Chamberlain, *Briefe*, vol. I, 299. Cf. also Chamberlain to Oskar von Chelius, 12 October 1915. In Chamberlain, *Briefe*, vol. I, 325.

40 Field, *Evangelist*, 365. In the telegram announcing the award of the decoration Wilhelm called the *Neue Kriegsaufsätze* "'spiritual grenades' which have made an intense impact on the entire German people and far beyond" (telegram to Chamberlain, April 24, 1915. In Chamberlain, *Briefe*, vol. II, 246: "Nachdem ich Ihre mir freundlichst zugesandten 'Neuen Kriegsaufsätze' mit klopfendem Herzen in Begeisterung gelesen habe, erkenne ich gern an, welche tiefgehende Wirkung dieselben auf mich gemacht. Ihre 'geistigen Granaten', die im ganzen deutschen Volke und weit über dasselbe hinaus eine tiefgehende Wirkung erzielten, stellen ihren Verfasser in die

the Wagner family,⁴¹ have never been the subject of detailed study by scholars of the Great War.⁴² Unfortunately, this cannot be done within the scope of this paper either. I have to resign myself to briefly highlighting some major points of his political writing.

Throughout his essays Chamberlain indulged in an excessive Germanolatry, praising German culture and German spirit, as it was defined for him by Luther, Kant, Goethe, and Richard Wagner. As the most advanced civilization in the world Germany had been a custodian of peace and a harbinger of culture to the other nations.⁴³

However, Germany's peaceful mission had been seriously hampered by the outbreak of the war. Chamberlain suspected an international conspiracy of Britain, France, and Russia against Germany, which had formed long before the war and was now being put into practice.⁴⁴ In other words, Germany, the most peace-loving and guileless country on earth, had been forced to defend herself against the aggressive policies of her Eastern and Western neighbours. Chamberlain spent much ink in describing the shortcomings of British and French politics, public life, and education in comparison with Germany, drawing on his own experiences in these countries, whereas he wrote little about Russia, about which he obviously felt less knowledgeable. He saw these countries ruled by ruthless elites which were either superficial (France) or driven by greed for trade and money (Britain), and were spurred on in their hideous activities by a malicious press. Chamberlain went into rambling historical discourses about how the national characters of the French and British had sunk to their present degenerate state. Britain, in particular, had incurred his wrath, and he went out of his way to demonstrate the moral, political, and military inferiority of the nation of his ancestors.⁴⁵

Reihe der Kämpfer für deutsches Wesen, an dem einmal soll die Welt genesen. Ich finde keine würdigere Anerkennung dafür, als daß ich Ihnen das schlichte Zeichen, das so viele jetzt tragen, ebenfalls verleihe und Sie hiermit zum Ritter des Eisernen Kreuzes ernenne.")

41 Cf. Brigitte Hamann, *Winifred Wagner oder Hitlers Bayreuth*. Munich, Zurich: Piper, 2002, 27–30, 42–46; Brigitte Hamann, *Die Familie Wagner*, rororo 50658. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2005, 94; Oliver Hilmes, *Cosima Wagner: The Lady of Bayreuth*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2010, 285–287.

42 The only detailed analysis that I know of is found in Field, *Evangelist*, 352–395. There are some studies, however, which deal with Jewish reactions to Chamberlain's views on the war in the context of modern antisemitism. Cf. Erik Lindner, "Houston Stewart Chamberlain: The Abwehrverein and the 'Praeceptor Germaniae', 1914–1918." *LBIYB* 37 (1992): 213–236; Sieg, *Intellektuelle*, 183–187.

43 Cf. esp. Chamberlain, *Kriegsaufsätze*.

44 Cf. e. g. Chamberlain, *Kriegsaufsätze*, 76 f.

45 Cf. e. g. Chamberlain, "England." in: Chamberlain, *Kriegsaufsätze*, 44–67 (English tr. in:

He diagnosed an impotence of the present political systems outside Germany which, as a result, were dominated by violence and moral chaos.⁴⁶ He blamed these developments on the ideas of the French revolution which had infected not only France, but also Italy, England, Russia, and even South America. In Germany, the Social Democrats had fallen prey to their pernicious influence.⁴⁷ *Liberté, égalité, and fraternité* were lies which directly contradicted the “truth of nature”.⁴⁸ In reality, liberty led to anarchy and tyranny, equality to disobedience and mediocrity, and brotherliness and love led to hatred and heartlessness, as could be seen from the present situation in France and England.

By contrast, Germany had developed a scientific approach to politics and had systematically extended the body politic such that each individual citizen could grow and mature, with the result that the entire German nation would follow suit. Keywords for this kind of corporatist approach which was shared by many of his contemporaries⁴⁹ were strong work ethics, an organic vision of the state, and an appraisal of the “voice of nature” which Chamberlain saw in opposition to the atomism and mechanism, the “mammonism”, the fake democratic systems, and the false trust in “human logic” which characterized the enemy nations.⁵⁰ In addition, Chamberlain’s descriptions of Germany’s mission carried strongly messianic overtones. In his book *Politische Ideale*, which had received so much praise by Harnack, he exclaimed:

“Germany is elected. Germany is elected to take over the lead for the salvation of itself and of the other nations of the world.”⁵¹

However, Germany had not yet developed her full capabilities in order to fulfill

Chamberlain, *England*, 7–32); id., “Englische Gelehrte”. *Unterhaltungsbeilage der Täglichen Rundschau* 273 (21/11/1914): 1089; 274 (23/11/1914): 1093; 275 (24/11/1914): 1097 f. (*non vidi*); cf. also Kellermann, *Krieg*, 44–63; Chamberlain, *Neue Kriegsaufsätze*, esp. 7–29 (“Grundstimmungen in England und Frankreich”); and Field, *Evangelist*, 352–359, 365–367 with further sources.

46 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 23.

47 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 38.

48 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 29.

49 Cf. esp. Mommsen, *Geist*; Bruendel, *Volksgemeinschaft*; Steffen Bruendel, “Zur Identität von Volk und Staat. Die deutsche Verfassungsdiskussion 1915.” In *Gemeinschaftsdenken in Europa: Das Gesellschaftskonzept “Volkshelm” im Vergleich 1900–1938*, Historische Demokratieforschung 5, ed. Detlef Lehnert. Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2013, 205–226, and the literature quoted above in n. 4.

50 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 24.

51 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 24 f.: “Deutschland ist auserlesen. Deutschland ist auserlesen, sich und den anderen Nationen der Welt zum Heil, die Führung zu übernehmen.”

this mission. She needed a “unity of purpose” (*Einheitlichkeit der Gesinnung*) if she was to rule the world.⁵² She had to remember that humans as individuals were unable to effect great changes;⁵³ instead every individual was important only as an integral part of a larger corporate entity which, in turn, was an invention of Nature. Chamberlain envisaged the state like an ant colony which he considered to be a compelling example in support of his claim that Nature was not primarily interested in the welfare of each individual; instead, the interest of the state, which was survival, came first.⁵⁴ In his description of the German state, the *völkisch* Social Darwinism, which had run through the *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, came to the fore. It was not the primary purpose of a state to be at the service of its citizens. In Chamberlain’s view the survival of the fittest state was guaranteed only when it distributed servitude and liberty in equal measure.

As a consequence, Chamberlain’s ideal was a strictly hierarchical organisation, based, first of all, on landed property and agriculture.⁵⁵ Yet nowadays money business, which he called “fake property”, ruled the world.⁵⁶ (Here, as in his polemic against the press Chamberlain clearly had Jews in mind, although, owing to the strict censorship, he refrained from those openly antisemitic tirades which had marked his earlier works.) The rule of money in particular revealed the weaknesses of democracy. Chamberlain, therefore, called not only for widespread nationalization of banks⁵⁷, but also for the abolition of parliament. Instead, the natural organisation of the state consisted in a strong monarchy. The king embodied the very idea of the state, the idea of shared duty and of subordination on all levels.⁵⁸

In addition, Germany had to be organized along the latest scientific developments in technology, research, administration, and planning.⁵⁹ Chamberlain wanted to replace parliament by a complex organisation which permanently gauged the views and wishes of all citizens until true, objective knowledge had been gained. These findings were then examined by “especially able men with respect to the general vital needs of the state as a whole”.⁶⁰ They were to form *ad hoc* committees which sat in private and made recommendations to the *Bun-*

52 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 39.

53 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 44 f.

54 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 48 f.

55 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 53.

56 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 54.

57 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 55 f.

58 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 74.

59 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 77.

60 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 111: “Anstelle einer allgemeinen, alles unter sich befassenden

desrat as the highest level of administration. This executive power was made up of few paid professionals and many citizens working for free.⁶¹ But their work was not voluntary: in order to keep bureaucracy to a minimum the exercise of political rights was conditional upon the fulfilment of one's duty in the army and in state administration.⁶²

The new body politic organised along these lines would possess "a *moral* foundation and a *methodical* (and that is, a scientific and organic) structure".⁶³ Chamberlain was convinced,

"On the day when Germany will have organised her state machinery on a scientific basis, England's supremacy is over."⁶⁴

But first, an iron broom had to sweep his adopted Fatherland and free it from all dirt such as lascivious books, illustrated magazines, and the mendacious press.⁶⁵ "Without a purge no beginning of a renewal can be hoped for", he exclaimed⁶⁶ and called for a forceful "German rebellion against this rule of malice".⁶⁷ Once public life was "*pure and German*", the rest would "develop on its own, as a natural necessity".⁶⁸

Volksvertretung, die für Alles und Nichts da ist und das Leben der Nation mit der unerfreulichen Sippschaft der Berufspolitiker belastet und belästigt, denke ich mir eine weitverzweigte Organisation, die – wie das im naturgestalteten Leben überall geschieht – sich jedem auftretenden Falle elastisch anpaßt, um aus dem ganzen Lande die Bedürfnisse, Wünsche, Urteile der von dem Gesetz unmittelbar und mittelbar Betroffenen in Erfahrung zu bringen, zu sammeln und zu sichten, bis eine wirklich sachgemäße Einsicht gewonnen ist, welche dann wiederum von dazu besonders befähigten Männern aus dem Gesichtspunkt der allgemeinen Lebensbedürfnisse des ganzen Staates geprüft werden muß."

⁶¹ Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 111–113.

⁶² Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 107.

⁶³ Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 101: "Die Frage also, die am Schluß des letzten Abschnitts aufgestellt wurde – wie ich mir die neue politische Organisation denke, beantworte ich zunächst mit dem einen Wort: 'kantisch'. Hiermit ist sofort zweierlei gesagt, woraus tausend Einzelfragen sich von selbst beantworten: die unbedingt *sittliche* Grundlage, der bewußt *planvolle* (und das heißt wissenschaftlich-organische) Aufbau" (author's emphasis).

⁶⁴ Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 82: "An dem Tage, an dem Deutschland auch sein staatliches Getriebe wissenschaftlich organisiert haben wird, ist es mit der Übermacht Englands aus."

⁶⁵ Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 101 f.

⁶⁶ Chamberlain, *Ideale* 102: "Mir lag nur daran zu betonen, daß ohne Säuberung kein Anfang der Erneuerung zu erhoffen sei."

⁶⁷ Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 103: "Eine fauststarke deutsche Empörung gegen diese Herrschaft des Gemeinen, die alle anderen Länder bereits fast völlig unterjocht hat und Deutschlands Existenz als gesundes, freies, frohes Volk bedroht und seine politische Gesundheit unmöglich macht!"

⁶⁸ Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 105: "Ist dieses Leben erst *rein* und *deutsch*, so wird sich alles Übrige von selbst einstellen, aus Naturnotwendigkeit" (author's emphasis).

The nation would turn into a big family spurred on by a strong sense of comradesly unity.⁶⁹ The “people’s army” (*Volksheer*) with its egalitarian ethics in fulfilling one’s duty already represented the “first great part of the new state”; to Chamberlain it constituted “the bulwark of German freedom – such that Germany will be ‘free’ to erect its ideal of a ‘culture state’ in the midst of a hostile world which is given to ‘un-culture’.”⁷⁰

In other words, Chamberlain advocated no less than German world domination and the establishment of a racially purified and healthy German super state which he described as an odd mixture of a grass-roots system of participation on all levels and a dictatorship of experts and elect lay people.

4 Harnack and the outbreak of the war

Why would a deeply learned and sophisticated intellectual like Harnack find these crude and ill-conceived ideas attractive and even recommend them to the Kaiser? In order to understand this it is helpful to look at some of Harnack’s political ideas of the time. Like Chamberlain, the Baltic Church historian held a firm belief in the superiority of German culture (*Kultur*) and education (*Bildung*) which were embodied for him in particular in Luther and Goethe. Harnack was convinced that although *Kultur* was also found among the other great Western powers, Germany was ultimately superior to her neighbours in this respect.⁷¹ It was precisely through *Kultur* and *Bildung* that it was possible to attain the great goals of humankind, a peaceful resolution of conflict—which is why it was Germany’s mission to export these ideals and thus to help other nations to reach a higher status in civilization.

The nation which came closest to Germany in this respect was Britain. Before the war Harnack had been deeply involved in the work of the *Associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations Between the Two Peoples* since their foundation in 1909.⁷² Harnack felt close ties with British cultural life (while remaining critical of British foreign policy even

69 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 114.

70 Chamberlain, *Ideale*, 116: “Den Idioten, die über deutschen Militarismus wehklagen, ist zu erwidern, daß dieser Begriff gerade in Deutschland keinen Sinn mehr besitzt; in dem Heere steht das erste große Stück des neuen Staates da, das Bollwerk für deutsche Freiheit – nämlich dafür, daß Deutschland ‘frei’ sein wird, sein Ideal eines Kulturstaates inmitten einer feindlichen, der Unkultur verfallenen Welt zu errichten.”

71 For the importance of German *Kultur* in Christian discourse about the war cf. Bailey, *Gott*, 193–205.

72 Cf. Jantsch, *Briefwechsel*, 92–96; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 367–377. For the wider background

before the war⁷³). The British could, after all, boast of a Shakespeare among their ranks.⁷⁴ Harnack, therefore, compared Germany and Britain to a married couple⁷⁵ or called them “sisters of like nature”, but sisters who possessed a different education.⁷⁶ The choice of metaphor was deliberate: it indicated a kind of biology of culture which was almost identical with that found in *völkisch* writers such as Chamberlain. Thus Harnack spoke of a “consanguinity” between the German and English nations and rejoiced about “the joy and the promotion” they had given each other:⁷⁷

“Truly, we are closely tied together!” he exclaimed. “What separates us is changing and transitory; what joins us together is the possession of common fathers, heroes, and leaders, and the common joy of what is good, true and beautiful in a Germanic way.”⁷⁸

In 1909 Harnack believed that “as a whole, England’s civilisation is still superior to ours, however great may be the advantage which we have gained in some important spheres.”⁷⁹ The common ties were defined for him by “literature and science”. He believed that science, in particular historical science, could help in

see also Philippe Alexandre, “Liberté du chrétien et progrès de la civilisation: L’engagement pacifiste dans le milieu protestant allemand à l’époque de Guillaume II.” In *Das evangelische Intellektuellenmilieu in Deutschland, seine Presse und seine Netzwerke (1871–1963) / Le milieu intellectuel protestant en Allemagne, sa presse et ses réseaux (1871–1963)*, ed. Michael Grunewald, Uwe Puschner. Berne: Peter Lang, 2008, esp. 223–225.

73 Cf. e. g. “Deutschland und England” (S/D 998). In RA III, 196–203; English tr. “Germany and England.” *Hibbert Journal* 8 (1909/1910): 1–9 (S/D 998a); “Der Friede die Frucht des Geistes” (S/D 1046a). In RA III, 203–209; English tr. “Peace the Fruit of the Spirit.” In *Speeches Delivered at the Inaugural Meeting of the British Council*. London: (Bouwens) 1911 (S/D 1046; *non vidī*); “Brief an Herrn Pastor Lic. Siegmund-Schultze” (S/D 1114). In RA V, 279–283 (English tr. “As Others See Us.” *Daily News* 17/02/1912; S/D 1115; *non vidī*).

74 When asked by Max Reinhardt of the *Deutsches Theater* whether one could continue to perform the Bard’s plays on German stages he clearly opted in favour. Cf. Bailey, *Gott*, 105 f.; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 398.

75 RA III, 198/ tr., 5.

76 RA III, 200/ tr., 7.

77 RA III, 207 f.: “Blutsverwandtschaft verbindet uns mit ihm, ferner eine bei aller Verschiedenheit doch gleichartige Kultur und endlich seit Jahrhunderten ein herrlicher Austausch der Gedanken und Kräfte. Wie aus einem Füllhorn ist hier die Freude ausgeschüttet, die Freude und Förderung, die wir uns gegenseitig bereitet haben!”

78 RA III, 208: “Wahrlich, wir sind fest miteinander verbunden! Was uns trennt, ist wechselnd und vergänglich; was uns zusammenschließt, sind reine, ewige Güter, ist Bruderschaft, ist der Besitz gemeinsamer Väter, Helden und Führer und die gemeinsame Freude am Guten, Wahren und Schönen nach germanischer Art.”

79 RA III, 200 f./ tr., 7.

getting to know each other and to eradicate chauvinism.⁸⁰ Thus England and Germany became the principal promoters of world peace:

“With pride we may say that those who desire the peace of the world may make a loud appeal to science, civilisation, and brotherliness; and especially may we do this, if we are speaking of England and Germany.”⁸¹

Occasionally, Harnack even went so far as to speak of a “Pan-Germanism” in scientific and religious matters—a term which was popular among members of the ultra-nationalist *Pan-German League* (*Alldeutscher Verband*) but which Harnack wished to use in “the good, not in the chauvinistic sense of the term” and which also included the Scandinavian countries. In the achievements in science and religion in these countries he saw “‘a secret characteristic’ of race”.⁸² Convinced that there was a stable relationship between Britain and Germany which guaranteed world peace, Harnack, in the years between 1909 and 1911, even defended a moderate pacifism, which was based on *Realpolitik*:⁸³ world peace was seen as the highest expression of civilization, even though this did not necessarily exclude war as a means of self-defence.⁸⁴

In a letter to Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze of January 12, 1912, he added the United States to the list of harbingers of culture:

“The course of the development of world history has placed the three Germanic empires England, North America, and Germany at the top of humankind with regard to the great lines of culture. Their consanguinity notwithstanding, these three nations share a great heritage. This common heritage sets them the highest goals, but it obliges them also to work jointly for peace before the tribunal of history. They may hold their peace with other great nations, yet without inner friendship, such peace which self-interest, properly understood, may create. But among themselves this peace will *not* suffice; for they are too close to each other; they are

80 Cf. RA III, 200–203/ tr., 7–9.

81 RA III, 202/ tr., 8.

82 Cf. his letter to Nathan Söderblom (23/12/1909) quoted in Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 268 f.; and Christian Nottmeier, “Protestantische Theologie und auswärtige Kulturpolitik: Das Beispiel Adolf von Harnack.” In *Transnationale Dimensionen wissenschaftlicher Theologie*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte, Mainz, Beiheft 101: Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte, ed. Claus Arnold, Johannes Wischmeyer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013, 71–87, here 75: “Möge der Pangermanismus – im guten, nicht im chauvinistischen Sinn des Wortes – in den engen Beziehungen der schwedischen, dänischen, norwegischen, niederländischen und deutschen Gelehrten immer stärker zum Ausdruck kommen! Ich nehme die englischen und amerikanischen hinzu. Zwar gilt die wissenschaftliche wie die religiöse Botschaft allen hominibus bonae voluntatis, und sie sind alle willkommen, aber die Wissenschaft u[nd] die Religion haben auch ihre ‘Heimlichkeiten’ der Race.”

83 For the pacifist movement in Wilhelmine Germany cf. esp. Alexandre, *Liberté*, 207–238.

84 Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 371.

sisters. Among sisters, however, there is only that peace which rests upon cordial recognition, friendship, and noble competition. Beyond this peace they are threatened by bitter enmity and war. Hence each of these three nations depends on getting into ever closer contact with one another and to compete with one another peacefully.”⁸⁵

Some days after the beginning of the war, on August 11, 1914, he addressed Americans living in Germany at a special rally in Berlin’s City Hall.⁸⁶ What had impressed Harnack most in the United States during his visit in 1904⁸⁷ was the creation of America as a nation and American hospitality. He underlined that the Americans were “a great noble nation of ‘educated men’”.⁸⁸ They were characterized by “the spirit of civic courage and civic liberty”⁸⁹ and an immense work ethic.

Although at that time, shortly after Britain had declared war on Germany, Harnack’s vision of a “consanguineous” Western culture had lost its credibility, he continued to emphasize that Americans and Germans shared the same spirit.

“It is the spirit of that deep religious and moral civilization which we acquired during a series of centuries, and from which this strong American shoot has arisen.”⁹⁰

This culture rested on three pillars: the recognition of the infinite value of each human soul, the recognition of the duty to risk one’s life for the great ideal “God, liberty, Fatherland”; and, finally, “the respect of what is right and just and the great power of organization on all lines and in all communities.”⁹¹

85 RA V, 282: “Der Gang der weltgeschichtlichen Entwicklung hat die drei germanischen Reiche England, Nordamerika und Deutschland auf großen Linien der Kultur an die Spitze der Menschheit gestellt. Diese drei Staaten haben außer ihrer Blutsverwandtschaft auch ein großes Erbe gemeinsam. Diese Gemeinsamkeit steckt ihnen die höchsten Ziele, aber verpflichtet sie auch vor dem Richterstuhl der Geschichte zu gemeinsamem und friedlichem Wirken. Mit den andern großen Staaten vermögen sie Frieden zu halten, ohne innere Freundschaft, nämlich jenen Frieden, den das wohlverstandene eigne Interesse zu schaffen vermag. Dieser Friede reicht aber unter ihnen selbst *nicht* aus; denn sie stehen sich zu nahe; sie sind Schwestern. Unter Schwestern aber gibt es nur den Frieden, der auf herzlicher Anerkennung, auf Freundschaft und auf edlem Wettstreit beruht; außerhalb desselben droht ihnen bittere Feindschaft und der Krieg. Somit ist jede dieser drei Nationen darauf angewiesen, der andern innerlich nahe zu treten und mit ihr friedlich zu wetteifern” (author’s emphasis).

86 “Rede zur ‘Deutsch-amerikanischen Sympathiekundgebung’ (11. August 1914 im Berliner Rathaus)” (S/D 1187). In RA V, 283–290 (English tr. in: Chapman, *Deutschland*, 67–76).

87 Cf. Zahn-Harnack, *Harnack*, 295 f.; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 269.

88 RA V, 284; Chapman, *Deutschland*, 69.

89 RA V, 285; Chapman, *Deutschland*, 70.

90 RA V, 287; Chapman, *Deutschland*, 72.

91 RA V, 287; Chapman, *Deutschland*, 72.

But Harnack saw this common “Germanic culture”, which was based on some kind of ethnic relationship, which he did not describe in detail, under threat from the East. He had given vent to these fears long before the war. In September 1908 Harnack wrote an open letter to the editor of the German journal *Die Karpathen* which was published in Kronstadt in Transylvania (modern Braşov in Romania).⁹² Here he called a rise in the number of marriages and an increased birth rate “the question of all questions in social matters”. Once again, he used racist language:

“Our culture is facing certain destruction and we will have to give way to the Mongolian races, if we do not leave the slippery slope which is marked by the decline in the frequency of marriages and the birth rate among the Latin and now also Germanic nations.”⁹³

Yet despite appearances, Harnack was no hard-core racist. His views of “race” were contradictory. He did not shrink from speaking of the danger of the Mongolian races for Western civilization. Yet in other publications he rejected the category of race for the interpretation of history. Thus in an essay on the “Spirit of the Oriental Church”⁹⁴ Harnack denied that differences in race were a decisive factor in the development of humankind and, in particular, that it had formed these churches, although he did not exclude in principle the existence of a *Rassengeist* and of a “Slavonic spirit”.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, in the first weeks of the war the racist elements in his discourse increased. In his draft for Wilhelm’s famous appeal “To the German people” of August 6, which was published in all German newspapers, he suggested to the Kaiser to call upon the nation to defend “German power, German strength, and German culture” against “Asiatic half-culture and Latin character”.⁹⁶ In a letter to Fridtjof Nansen (September 22, 1914) Harnack mentioned the “*intolerable claim*

92 RA III, 121–126 (S/D 967). I am grateful to Claudia Kampmann for drawing my attention to this passage.

93 RA III, 124: “Unsre Kultur geht dem sicheren Untergang entgegen, und wir werden schließlich den mongolischen Rassen weichen müssen, wenn wir die abschüssige Bahn nicht verlassen, die durch das Sinken der Ehefrequenz und der Geburtenziffer bei den romanischen und nun auch bei den germanischen Völkern bezeichnet ist.”

94 “Der Geist der morgenländischen Kirche im Unterschied von der abendländischen” (S/D 1146). In RA V, 101–140. Harnack’s view of that “spirit” was entirely negative: the development of the orthodox churches had stopped in the third century; cf. RA V, 129 f., 134 f.; and Jantsch, *Briefwechsel*, 105 f.

95 Cf. RA V, 105 f., 131, 136. Similarly, Adolf (von) Harnack, “Rasse, Überlieferung und Individuum.” *Baltische Monatsschrift* 65 (1908): 25–33 (S/D, no. 973a; cf. also 936a), for which cf. Kinzig, *Harnack*, 191 f.

96 Harnack, *Aufruf*, 615: “Um Sein oder Nichtsein unsres deutschen Vaterlands handelt es sich, um deutsche Macht, deutsche Stärke, deutsche Kultur! Ein herrliches Gut ist in unsre Hand

of Russia to lead the hegemony over all Slavs, to destroy Austria and to bring the wild spirit of Mongol Muscovitism over Western Europe.”⁹⁷ In his aforementioned address to the Americans in Germany Harnack described Slavonic culture as “the culture of the tribe with its patriarchal organization, the civilization of the horde that is gathered and kept together by despots”. The ancient “Mongol-Muscovite culture” had long disappeared;⁹⁸ instead Western civilization was threatened by an “unorganized Asiatic mass”.

“Like the desert with its sand, it wants to cover up our fields of grain. We know it. We are just now experiencing it. Also the Americans know it, for everybody must know it that stands on the foundation of our culture and observes the present time with sharp eyes. They all know that it is the question of: ‘Peoples of Europe, take care of your most sacred possessions!’”⁹⁹

Harnack reproduced here old anti-Russian stereotypes which he shared with many of his colleagues.¹⁰⁰ But in his case these outbursts were also precipitated by the experience of the decline of his Baltic home town Dorpat (modern Tartu)

gegeben; wir haben es bewahrt und gepflegt, nicht nur für uns, sondern für die ganze Menschheit. Dies Gut will man uns rauben! Wir aber wollen es verteidigen bis zum letzten Blutstropfen gegen asiatische Halbkultur und gegen welsches Wesen! Deutsche Art, deutsche Treue und deutsche Bildung wollen wir festhalten bis zum letzten Atemzug.” Interestingly, none of these words made it into the final version. Cf. also Thomas Kaufmann, “Die Harnacks und die Seebergs. ‘National-protestantische Mentalitäten’ im Spiegel zweier Theologenfamilien.” In *Nationalprotestantische Mentalitäten in Deutschland (1870–1970): Konturen, Entwicklungslinien und Umbrüche eines Weltbildes*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 214, ed. Manfred Gailus, Hartmut Lehmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005, 165–222, 196–198.

97 Cited in Jantsch, *Briefwechsel*, 108: “[...] und der unerträgliche Anspruch Rußlands, die Vorherrschaft über alle Slaven zu führen, Österreich zu zerstören und den wilden Geist des mongolischen Moskowismus über Westeuropa zu bringen [...]” (author’s emphasis).

98 RA V, 287; Chapman, *Deutschland*, 72 (slightly altered).

99 RA V, 287 f.; Chapman, *Deutschland*, 73 (slightly altered). See also his lectures on “Die morgenländische Kultur” and “Die abendländische Kultur” which he delivered in occupied Warsaw in April 1916. Here he used again racial categories and claimed *inter alia* that all culture in Eastern Europe was imported from the West. Cf. the summaries in *Deutsche Warschauer Zeitung* 110 (20/04/1916), Beiblatt; no. 111 (21/04/1916), Beiblatt (S/D 1235–1236); revised version: “Die morgenländische und die abendländische Kultur.” In *Wissenschaftliche Vorträge, gehalten auf Veranlassung seiner Exzellenz des Herrn Generalgouverneurs Generalobersten Hans v. Beseler in Warschau in den Kriegsjahren 1916/17*. Berlin: 1918, 29–36 (S/D 1278; *non vidi*).

100 Cf. Bailey, *Gott*, 196–200; Bruendel, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 87 f.; Eberhard Demm, “Rußland im Visier deutscher Gelehrtenpolitik des Ersten Weltkriegs.” In Maurer, *Kollegen*, 297–310. At about the same time, Ernst Haeckel and Rudolf Eucken expressed themselves in a manifesto in similar terms: “Was heute geschieht, wird in den Annalen der Weltgeschichte als eine *unauslöschliche Schande* verzeichnet werden. *England kämpft zugunsten einer slawischen, halbasiatischen Macht gegen das Germanentum; es kämpft auf der Seite nicht nur der Barbarei, sondern auch des moralischen Unrechts*” (Kellermann, *Krieg*, 27; authors’ emphasis). For the history of these stereotypes

and its university as a result of Russification under Tsar Alexander III and the widespread destructions in the wake of the Revolution of 1905.¹⁰¹ Thus in 1890 he mentioned in a letter to Rade the “vandalism” which had led to the “destruction of his Fatherland”.¹⁰² In 1906 he wrote that “fanatical barbarians” had “raided the Baltic provinces”.¹⁰³

In his essays on “The achievement and the future of Baltic Germans”¹⁰⁴ and “The German University of Dorpat, its achievements and its destruction”¹⁰⁵, both published in 1915, he described in vivid colours the superiority of German education over Russian “culture” (which he included in inverted commas¹⁰⁶). The German minority formed a “master *Volk*” (*Herrenvolk*) which displayed a particular character in that it was defined not by station (let alone race) but by education.¹⁰⁷ Its symbol was for Harnack the German University of Dorpat which had come close to dissolution under Tsar Nicholas I and had finally been destroyed by Tsar Alexander III. “There is a kind of Russification,” Harnack remarked:

“which is unobjectionable. That is the kind of Russification which, in the course of generations, may move together with the development of transport and the culture of the Russian people into the Livonian towns and villages after honest work and honest struggle – if Russia will one day be able to offer such a culture and will not have to give up those provinces. But

cf. esp. Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, C. H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998, 235–270.

101 Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 40 f., 55–61. Cf. also Peter C. Bloth, “Adolf Harnacks ‘erste Predigt’ und sein *Examen pro gradu* Dorpat 1871/72.” *Zeitschrift für neuere Theologiegeschichte* 6 (1999): 69–95; Kaufmann, *Harnacks*, 181; Sirje Tamul, “Die Bedeutung des Kriegs für die Universität Jur’ev: Schließungsabsichten und Evakuierungsmaßnahmen (1915–1918).” In Maurer, *Kollegen*, 223–238; Erich Donnert, *Die Universität Dorpat-Juřev 1892–1918: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hochschulwesens in den Ostseeprovinzen des Russischen Reiches*. Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2007; esp. 58–73.

102 Harnack to Rade (02/04/1890; Jantsch, *Briefwechsel*, 223): “Ich war eben in Dorpat u[nd] habe den Untergang meines Vaterlands mit angesehen – eine vandalische Verwüstung [...]” Cf. Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 57.

103 Harnack, “Zur Einführung.” In *Die deutschen Balten: Zu Hilfe und Ehren eines deutschen Bruderstammes*, ed. in: A[lfred] Geiser. Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1906, 2 f., 2. (S/D 899a, *non vidit*; quoted after Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 58): “In seiner Gesamtheit weiss das deutsche Volk sehr wohl, dass fanatische Barbaren über die baltischen Provinzen hergefallen sind und dass es frevelhaft ist, hier von Schuld der Vergewaltigten und Gericht zu sprechen.”

104 Harnack, “Die Leistung und die Zukunft der baltischen Deutschen” (S/D 1211). In RA V, 351–361.

105 Harnack, “Die deutsche Universität Dorpat, ihre Leistungen und ihr Untergang” (S/D 1210). In: RA V, 362–373.

106 Cf. RA V, 356.

107 RA V, 358.

when twenty years ago it destroyed the university it could only offer a substitute which was none. What happened, therefore, was a murder of culture [*Kulturmord*] and partly even a suicide, the destruction of a blossoming life whose rich fruit could not be denied even by those who were jealous and hostile and which served at least as much for the benefit of the whole Russian empire as for the Baltic provinces.”¹⁰⁸

Since for Harnack the war was primarily a war of cultures, his anti-Russian sentiments were much stronger than his opposition against France. He largely refused to consider annexations in the West, but in the East he wavered at first: he warmly welcomed the occupation of Kurland (Courland) in late April 1915 and offered his assistance in reestablishing the German hegemony over this area;¹⁰⁹ until the summer of 1916 he clearly hoped for the establishment of at least a “protectorate over the former German Baltic provinces”.¹¹⁰

Harnack ended his address to the Americans with a solemn prayer:

“Vater, schütze alle Brunnen
Und bewahr’ uns vor den Hunnen!”
“Father, take care of our wells,
And protect us from the Huns!”¹¹¹

Yet this view of a superiority of Western civilization over Russian *Unkultur* col-

108 RA V, 370: “Es gibt eine Russifizierung [...] gegen die nichts einzuwenden ist. Das ist die Russifizierung, wie sie nach ehrlicher Arbeit und ehrlichem Kampf im Lauf der Generationen gleichen Schritts mit der Entwicklung des Verkehrs und der Kultur des russischen Volks in die livländischen Städte und Dörfer einziehen mag – wenn Rußland eine solche Kultur einst bieten kann und diese Provinzen nicht aufgeben muß. Aber, als es vor zwanzig Jahren die Universität zerstörte, konnte es nur einen Ersatz bieten, der keiner war. So ist es ein Kulturmord gewesen und teilweise auch ein Selbstmord, ein blühendes Leben zu zerstören, dessen reiche Früchte auch der Neider und Feind nicht zu leugnen vermochte und die mindestens in derselben Fülle dem ganzen Russischen Reiche zugute kamen wie den baltischen Provinzen.” Cf. also Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 40 f.; Tamul, *Bedeutung*, 223 f.

109 See below n. 152.

110 In his memorandum which he submitted to Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg in the summer of 1916 he expressed his hope regarding new settlements “when we acquire new territory in the East” (“Friedensaufgaben und Friedensarbeit: Eine Denkschrift im Sommer 1916 dem Reichskanzler auf Ersuchen eingereicht.” In RA VI, 279–297 (cf. S/D 1369), 286: “Anders wird es stehen, wenn wir im Osten Erwerbungen machen”) and added in a footnote: “Gemeint war ein Protektorat über die ehemals deutschen Ostseeprovinzen.” Cf. also Kaufmann, *Harnacks*, 199. Furthermore Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 421–423. Later he advocated a policy of moderation towards the Baltic nations; cf. Hans von Rimscha, “Adolf von Harnack, Theodor Schiemann und Karl Dehio in ihren Bemühungen um eine deutsche Universität Dorpat.” In *Reval und die baltischen Länder: Festschrift für Hellmuth Weiss zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Jürgen von Hehn, Csaba János Kenéz. Marburg an der Lahn: Herder-Institut, 1980, 55–74, 60–62; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 423 f.

111 RA V, 290; Chapman, *Deutschland*, 76.

lapsed when Britain, the Western blood-relative, also turned against the *Reich*. This meant that Germanic *Kultur* was threatened on two fronts. What was at stake was no less than the “struggle for life of Austria and of Western culture against Pan-Slavism”.¹¹² By declaring war on Germany, its closest cultural ally, England, out of envy,¹¹³ had betrayed civilisation, as Harnack emphasized in response to a letter by eleven English divines on September 10, 1914.¹¹⁴ The results were disastrous:

“Britain has torn down the dike which has protected West Europe and its culture from the desert sands of the Asiatic barbarism of Russia and of Pan-Slavism. Now we Germans are forced to stop up the breach with our bodies. We shall do it amid streams of blood, and we shall hold out there. We must hold out, for we are protecting the labour of thousands of years for all of Europe and for Great Britain! But that day when Great Britain tore down the dam will never be forgotten in the history of the world, and history’s judgment shall read: on that day when Russian-Asiatic power rushed down upon the culture of Europe Great Britain declared that she must side with Russia because ‘the sovereignty of the murderer-nation Serbia had been violated!’”¹¹⁵

For him it was obvious:

“When Great Britain has taken the decision to join the coalition of Russia with France, which is ruled by Russia, when it puts aside all the differences that stand between her and Russia, when it not only sets upon us the hordes of Russia but also has no qualms to conjure up the Japanese, ‘the yellow peril,’ against us and against all Europe, when it, therefore, sinks in the ocean its duties to European culture – for all of that there is but one explanation: England believes that the hour for our destruction has struck. Why does she wish to destroy us? Because she will not endure our power, our zeal, our perfection of growth! There is no other explanation! We and Great Britain in alliance with America were able in peaceful co-operation to lift humanity to a higher plane, and to lead the world in peace, allowing to

112 RA V, 294: “Nicht um das kleine Serbien handelt es sich, sondern um den Lebenskampf Österreichs und der westlichen Kultur gegen den Panslawismus.”

113 RA V, 298. Similarly Haeckel and Eucken in the manifesto mentioned in n. 100: “*England ist es, dessen Schuld den gegenwärtigen Krieg zu einem Weltkrieg erweiterte und damit die gesamte Kultur gefährdet, und das alles weshalb? Weil es auf Deutschland Größe neidisch war*” (Kellermann, *Krieg*, 27). Cf. also the “Declaration of German University Teachers” of September 7, 1914 (see above n. 4): “Aus schnödem Neid auf Deutschlands wirtschaftliche Erfolge hat das uns blut- und stammesverwandte *England seit Jahren die Völker gegen uns aufgewiegelt* und insbesondere sich mit Rußland und Frankreich verbündet, um unsere Weltmacht zu vernichten, unsere Kultur zu erschüttern” (Kellermann, *Deutschland*, 28; authors’ emphasis). For German views of Britain at the beginning of the war cf. also Hoover, *God*, 51–65; Fälschle, *Rivalität*, esp. 118–122; Hoeres, *Krieg*, 98–100 and *passim*.

114 RA V, 293–299 (S/D 1189; English tr. in: *The New York Times* (see note 1): 203–206), here 293/ tr. 203; cf. also Jantsch, *Briefwechsel*, 105.

115 RA V, 295/tr., 204 (slightly altered).

each his rights. We Germans now know no, and have never known any, higher ideal than this.”¹¹⁶

Like the *Aufruf*, Harnack denied that Germany had first violated the neutrality of Belgium. Instead, based on the incorrect information that the British had stored ammunition in Maubeuge before the war,¹¹⁷ he accused Germany’s small

116 RA V, 297 f./tr., 205 (altered).

117 Cf. *The New York Times* (see note 1), 204 f.: “It is not we who have first violated the neutrality of Belgium. Belgium, as we feared and as we now, informed by the actual facts, see still more clearly, was for a long time in alliance with France and – with you. France’s airmen were flying over Belgium before we marched in; negotiations with France had already taken place, *and in Maubeuge there was found an arsenal full of English munitions which had been stationed there before the declaration of war. This arsenal—you know where Maubeuge is situated!—points to agreements which Great Britain had made with France, and to which Belgium was also party.* These agreements are before the whole world today, for the chain of evidence is complete and the treacherous plot of Great Britain is revealed. She has encouraged and pledged the Belgians against us, and therefore it is she who must answer for all the misery which has been visited upon that poor country. Had it been our responsibility, not a single hair of a Belgian’s head should have been harmed.” Harnack had also accused the British of using expanding bullets (so-called “dum dum bullets”); cf. *The New York Times* (see note 1), 204: “But I do not need to go into these flagrant and repeated violations of treaty rights, for a still more serious violation of the rights of a people stands today on your books against you; it has been proved that your army is making use of dum dum bullets and thereby turning a decent war into the most bloody butchery.” In the version of his text which he included in RA V (297), Harnack omitted the information about Maubeuge (italicized above) and the paragraph dealing with the dum dum bullets, since he had become uncertain as to the veracity of this information; cf. *ibid.*, 278: “Aus dem Brief an die englischen Theologen (Nr. 4) habe ich zwei kleine Satzgruppen entfernt (über den Gebrauch von Dum-Dum-Geschossen seitens der Engländer und über den Fund eines Arsenal’s englischer Munition in Maubeuge), weil mir ihre Richtigkeit nicht mehr verbürgt erscheint.” He did not appear to realise that as a result of this omission his whole argument about Belgium’s “aggression” collapsed. As regards the source of information about the dum dum bullets, which had been prohibited by the Hague Convention of 1899, and the alleged British arsenal in Maubeuge cf. e. g. a widely publicized report by the director of the *Deutsche Bank* Karl Helfferich upon his return from Belgium: “Es mag hier eingeschaltet werden, daß die englischen Soldaten, die bei den versuchten Ausfällen aus Maubeuge gefangen genommen worden sind, übereinstimmend erzählen, man habe ihnen in England bei ihrer Einschiffung nur von gemeinschaftlichen ‘Manövern’ mit französischen Truppen gesprochen; sie hätten auch keine scharfe Munition mit sich geführt, sondern diese aus einem in Maubeuge eingerichteten großen Depot erhalten. Es ist dabei zu beachten, daß das englische Kaliber nicht mit dem französischen identisch ist, das Munitionsdepot also speziell für englische Truppen bereit gehalten worden war. Bei den englischen Soldaten wurden große Mengen von Dum=Dumgeschossen mit trichterförmig ausgedrehter Spitze vorgefunden” (*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 10, 1914 (Erste Ausgabe): 1 f. (quoted thereafter) = *Berliner Tageblatt*, September 10, 1914 (Morgenausgabe): 3). This information was then incorporated in the second edition of the *Truth About Germany*; cf. 55 f.: “According to recent French newspapers there were quantities of English artillery ammunition

neighbour of having been in league with France and Britain long before the war. Harnack concluded his letter to the British divines with a sombre prognosis and a sacred promise:

“Should we fall, which God and our strong arm prevent, then there sinks with us to its grave all the higher culture of our part of the world, whose defenders we were called to be; for neither with Russia nor against Russia will Great Britain be able longer to maintain that culture in Europe. Should we conquer—and victory is for us something more than mere hope—then shall we feel ourselves responsible, as formerly, for this culture, for the learning and the peace of Europe, and shall put from us any idea of setting up a hegemony in Europe. We shall stand by the one who, together in fraternal union with us, will create and maintain such a peaceful Europe.”¹¹⁸

In a speech which Harnack gave at the University of Berlin on September 29, 1914¹¹⁹ he again accused the “so-called consanguineous” Britain of “envy”. She acted “like a pirate”. In addition, he attacked the “fourth Great Power”, the corrupt “international mendacious press”:

“It has constricted the globe with its cable like with a giant, venomous snake and has, at the same time, attempted to encircle ourselves, our Fatherland, with a barbed wire.”¹²⁰

stored as early as the year 1913 in Maubeuge, a French fort on the Belgian frontier. The English guns are of a different calibre from that of the French. It is to be seen therefore from the laying of this depot that the landing of English troops in France had been planned, also their operation in conjunction with the French from the Belgian frontier. Moreover we remember that English officers themselves admitted in confidence that in 1911, during the Morocco crisis, the plan was discussed by England and France (in the event of a war with Germany) of sending an English auxiliary army to force its way into the Schelde past Flushing, land in Antwerp, and advance against the German army through Belgium. England herself therefore, had no idea of respecting Belgium’s neutrality if her interest in the military conquest of Germany required a violation of her guarantee.” For the charge of using dum dum bullets cf. *ibid.*, 78, 124 f., 128 and the photographs at the end of the volume. Cf. also Bailey, *Gott*, 73 f., 113–117. Many years later, the Kaiser, from his Dutch exile, continued to spread similar information in his memoirs (published in 1922) in order to demonstrate that Belgium had by no means been neutral. Cf. William II, *The Kaiser’s Memoirs*. New York and London: Cassell, 1922, 255 f.

118 RA V, 299/tr. 205. Cf. also Bailey, *Gott*, 64.

119 RA V, 311–330.

120 RA V, 313 f.: “Auch das sogenannte stammverwandte England hat sich ohne Scham zu unsern Feinden gesellt, ja es leitet den Weltkampf, und es leitet den ungeheuren Weltkampf aus gemeinem Konkurrenzneid und es führt ihn als Pirat. Und für schnödes Bestechungsgeld hat sich noch eine vierte Großmacht wider uns mit den andern zusammengefunden: die Großmacht der internationalen Lügenpresse. Mit ihrem Kabel hat sie wie mit einer Riesenschlange, einer giftigen, den Erdball umzogen, und zugleich hat sie versucht, uns selbst, unser Vaterland, mit einem Stacheldraht zu umziehen.”

Like Chamberlain, he suspected a European conspiracy against Germany which was too great and terrible as to be crushed in a few months.¹²¹

In response, Harnack advocated a thoroughly Germanized version of the ideals of the Enlightenment as a spiritual and intellectual restorative for the beleaguered nation. He first dissociated these ideals from the French Revolution by tracing them further back to Calvin.¹²² In phrases which resembled those of Chamberlain he then gave them a strictly non-judicial, non-individualist interpretation and situated them within the situation of the Fatherland at war.¹²³ Freedom, he said, was not ‘arbitrariness, complete lack of restraint, and the freedom of the senses’ which brought only “weariness, revulsion, and inner self-destruction”;¹²⁴ instead “true freedom” meant to do one’s duty “with joy, full dedication, and without reserve”.¹²⁵ Harnack turned this concept of freedom against the French revolution by quoting from a hymn by Ernst Moritz Arndt which had become popular during the Napoleonic Wars (which in Germany were termed “wars of liberation”):

“The God who let the iron grow,
'Tis clear no serf he wanted.”¹²⁶

Harnack declared that the war had awakened these free people. In other words, freedom was primarily a collective term which referred first and foremost to the freedom of the Fatherland.

121 RA V, 314: “Aber zu stark, zu fürchterlich ist die europäische Verschwörung gegen uns, als daß wir sie in wenigen Monaten niederzwingen könnten.”

122 RA V, 319.

123 In 1906 he had expressed himself in quite different terms: “Heute dagegen sind, wenigstens in unserem Vaterlande, aber auch bei vielen uns verwandten Völkern, die Bürger vor dem Gesetze gleich; alle genießen denselben Rechtsschutz; Sklaverei und Hörigkeit sind verschollene Dinge; ein respektables Maß von Kenntnissen und Bildung wird jedermann zugeführt; die Arbeit ist geachtet. Freiheit, Gleichheit und Brüderlichkeit sind in vieler Hinsicht nicht nur ein leerer Schall, sondern die wirklichen Formen unserer persönlichen und gesellschaftlichen Existenz und die Pfeiler des Gebäudes, das wir ausbauen. Das Alles ist in wenigen Menschenaltern geleistet worden. Es ist lächerlich, die Frage des Fortschritts aufzuwerfen, wo der Fortschritt so unsäglich groß ist!” (RA II, 26 f.). Once more, I am grateful to Claudia Kampmann for mentioning this passage to me.

124 RA V, 319: “Nicht Willkür, ungebundene Zügellosigkeit und Sinnenfreiheit ist Freiheit. Sie bringen schließlich nur Überdruß und Ekel und innerliche Selbstauflösung.”

125 RA V, 319: “Was heißt denn Freiheit? Das mit Freude und ganzer Hingebung und unbehindert tun, was man tun soll, das tun *wollen*, was man tun muß” (author’s emphasis). For this concept of freedom, as it was advocated by German Protestant theologians, cf. Bailey, *Gott*, 207–210.

126 RA V, 320: “Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen ließ, // Der wollte keine Knechte!” Translation in John Oman, *The War and its Issues: An Attempt at a Christian Judgment*. Second ed., Cambridge: The University Press, 1916, 14.

Likewise, true equality had been realised in the army in war:

“This interpenetration of obedience and command, the responsibility which each warrior of whatever rank carries, the spirit of comradeship in which the officers first care for their squads and the company for their captain—this is the true spirit of equality which moves our hearts and which has always existed in the army but has emerged in the war with double strength.”¹²⁷

Harnack went on to describe a metaphysical concept of equality with strong religious overtones. Equality also meant that “we must be *human*, we must realize in ourselves the idea of man, the god-man, we must tread down all that is petty-minded and egotistical and create around us, as much as we can, what is good and noble.” At the present moment this sense of equality could be strongly felt, because everything was at stake, “our political existence and our higher culture”. Harnack called it “an uplifting feeling”:

“... we have all moved closer to each other, we are all on *the same* plane. There are no longer any differences that separate us. Called to do what is best for the Fatherland and for each brother we are all equal.”¹²⁸

In the present situation brotherhood meant unity, sacrifice, mutual giving which “created in our Fatherland a fellowship as comprehensive as human life and as deep as human hardship.”¹²⁹

127 RA V, 321: “Dieses Ineinander von Gehorsam und Befehlen, die Verantwortung, die ein jeder Krieger trägt, auf welcher Rangstufe er auch steht, der Geist der Kameradschaftlichkeit, in welchem die Offiziere zuerst für die Mannschaften und die Kompagnie zuerst für ihren Hauptmann sorgt – das ist der wahre, herzbewegende Geist der Gleichheit, der immer im Heere war, aber im Kriege mit doppelter Stärke hervorbricht.”

128 RA V, 321 f.: “Wir sollen, welche Uniform im Leben wir auch tragen, *Menschen* sein, an unserem Teile die Idee des Menschen, des Gottesmenschen, verwirklichen, alles Kleinliche und Selbstische unter unsere Füße treten und soviel Gutes und Edles um uns wirken, wie wir können. In diesem zweiten Berufe sind wir alle gleich, was wir auch sonst sein mögen. Aber Sie wissen es – in den matten Zeiten des Friedens werden wir in diesem zweiten Beruf selbst leicht matt und schlaff. Er wird gleichsam unterirdisch für uns, er wird latent und lebt oft nur noch im stillen Kämmerlein oder in den Herzen einiger Edlen. Aber jetzt ist es anders! Jetzt ist er hervorgebrochen und hat uns alle erfaßt, geeinigt und gleichgemacht! Weil es ums Ganze geht, nicht um Wissenschaft oder um Handel oder um Ackerbau, sondern ums Ganze, um unser politisches Dasein und unsere höhere Kultur – darum fühlen wir nun alle in uns diesen unsern zweiten Beruf, diesen Beruf, der uns alle gleichmacht! Ein erhebendes Gefühl – gewiß haben auch Sie es empfunden! – wir sind uns alle viel nähergekommen, wir stehen alle zusammen auf *einer* Stufe. Da gibt’s keine trennenden Unterschiede mehr. In dem Beruf, nun fürs Vaterland und für jeden Mitbruder das Beste zu tun, sind wir alle gleich” (author’s emphasis).

129 RA V, 322: “Dieses Geben, dieses Opfern, diese Stellvertretung wird uns in neuer Weise

I could continue in this vein, quoting from Harnack's political publications from that period. It would, for example, be worthwhile to analyse his view of the role of the Kaiser, as it evolved during the war. As in Chamberlain's case, it was, after all, the German monarch who guaranteed to a large extent Harnack's preeminent position in the Reich. In return, Harnack did not shrink back from expressing his devotion in public, as, for example, in the newspaper of the Third Army *Der Champagne-Kamerad* on the occasion of the Kaiser's birthday. Here he called for the "inner union and unity of the entire nation" to be given to the Kaiser "as a permanent gift" and asked his readers solemnly to promise "to give the cause of the Fatherland precedence over any other resolution".¹³⁰

5 Harnack and Chamberlain – points of contact in war propaganda

Here I will cut short my brief analysis of Chamberlain's and Harnack's political views at the beginning of the war. Neither Chamberlain nor Harnack were in any way exceptional: a number of detailed studies over the past decades has shown that at the outbreak of the war, in the wake of the so-called "August experience" (*Augusterlebnis*), their views were typical of the majority of the educated class in Germany: the writers, the artists, and the professors.¹³¹ Although it would soon become clear that with regard to the war aims and the future of the German state

zu Brüdern und Schwestern machen und in unserem Vaterlande eine Gemeinschaft stiften, so umfassend wie das menschliche Leben und so tief wie die menschliche Not."

130 Adolf von Harnack, [untitled contribution]. *Der Champagne-Kamerad. Feld-Zeitung der 3. Armee*, 2. Kriegsjahr, no. 6 (23 January 1916): 2–3 (S/D 1243; quoted thereafter; also in *Das feldgraue Heimatbuch: Eine Auslese aus der Feldzeitung der 3. Armee, dem "Champagne-Kamerad"*, ed. Ludwig Munzinger. Leipzig: Grethlein, 1916; 69–76 (*non vidi*)), 3: "Was schenken wir dem Kaiser zu seinem Geburtstage? Bedarf es da der Worte? Wenn jemals das Gelobnis unverbruechlicher Treue und Ausdauer bis zum Tode selbstverstaendlich war, so gilt das vom heutigen Tage. Aber doch duerfen und muessen wir unseren Sinn schon jetzt auf ein besonderes Geschenk richten: die innere Einheit und Einigkeit des ganzen Volkes, die der Krieg mit einem Schlage erzeugt hat, sie muss uns erhalten bleiben, um sie dem Kaiser als dauerndes Geschenk darzubringen, dazu wollen wir uns verpflichten! Das erfordert viel, aber der Krieg soll uns tuechtig machen, Schweres nicht nur im Kriege zu leisten. Wir muessen alles Kleinliche, Eigensuechtige, Parteimaessige unter die Fuesse treten; wir muessen uns mit allem Ernste geloben, fortab stets die Sache des Vaterlandes jeder Entschliessung ueberzuordnen; wir muessen mit dem Hohenzollern-Wahlspruch: 'Suum cuique', in dem Sinne Ernst machen, dass wir die Einheit ueber Alles stellen und die 'Rotereien' lassen, von denen schon Luther gesagt hat, dass sie unser Erbfehler seien. Das sei unser Geburtstagsgeschenk an den Kaiser!"

131 See the literature quoted above n. 3.

Harnack and Chamberlain were by no means unanimous, at this point in time, in the second half of 1914 and through most of 1915 their views overlapped in several respects and were, in any case, entirely congruent with the text of the *Aufruf* even in its racist aspects.

1. Chamberlain and Harnack strongly resembled one another in their approach towards politics. They cherished the attitude of the political dilettante, looking on the political arena from outside or, rather, from above, from a higher plane. They were not interested in the finer details of policy-making or economics, expressing deep misgivings with regard to party politics; instead they produced strongly emotional appeals and memoranda or memorandum-like texts in which they called for endurance and courage, and outlined grand ideas for the glorious future of the Fatherland.

2. As Harnack and Chamberlain shared an antimaterialistic, holistic view of nature, they also saw the German state not primarily as an institution, governed by a set of rules, but as a living organism which could only function for the welfare of society, if all members (the *Volk*) did their duty. In other words, the welfare of the individual was provided for by the state and not vice versa.

3. Both emphasized the paramount importance of organisation, discipline, and a sense of duty for the lives both of the individual and of the body politic and expressed an unshakeable trust in the German nation and the Fatherland's concern for each citizen in the present situation.

4. These civic virtues were instilled in the German people through education and culture. Culture was largely defined by the same iconic figures, especially Luther, Kant, and Goethe. Goethe played a particularly significant role in this respect: both Harnack's and Chamberlain's writings abound with quotations from the poet's works.

5. Science (a term which primarily, though not exclusively, referred to the humanities, especially to history) was particularly suited to secure a reason-based organisation of society.

6. Culture and science, thus understood, were vital for the whole fabric of *Volk* and state and were to play a pivotal role in the reorganisation of Germany which both Harnack and Chamberlain together with most of the members of the German elite considered necessary.

7. At the same time, culture and education were a clear sign of Germany's intellectual superiority in the world. It was, therefore, her mission to export them to other countries in order to advance the peaceful development of humanity. For Harnack the humanistic impetus behind this view entailed that the goal never justified the means, which is why he largely rejected annexationist policies. By contrast, in Chamberlain's opinion culture had to be imposed on other nations

by force if necessary. In any case, however, the war was seen by both as a clash of cultures or, rather, as a clash of culture and “un-culture”.

8. Harnack and Chamberlain both placed the *Volk* first and saw themselves and their fellow-citizens as ingredient parts of a larger social entity. They viewed the ideals of the Enlightenment (freedom, equality, and brotherhood) with great suspicion, as they appeared to strengthen the rights of the individual over against the *Volk* and the state to such an extent that anarchy and chaos would automatically follow. In addition, the Napoleonic regime (which was as firmly embedded in German collective memory as were the “wars of liberation” against it) had led to deep mistrust of the achievements of the French revolution. This is particularly significant in Harnack’s case, for his theological liberalism did not entail an equally liberal position in political matters (although Harnack would later move into that direction).

9. The rejection of democracy as practised in the French Third Republic and in Britain’s constitutional monarchy did not automatically mean that they favoured traditional social structures per se. On the contrary, the experience of war had instilled a strong sense of egalitarianism in German society, which was defined by all members of society fighting side by side in battle and which had also affected Harnack and Chamberlain. As Harnack emphasized time and again, he saw a great opportunity finally to dispose of what he called the *Kastengeist*, the spirit of caste.¹³²

10. Harnack and Chamberlain both underlined that Germany was essentially a peace-loving nation, that she had desperately tried to avoid the war, but that it had ultimately been forced upon her by Russia, France, and England. They shared a strong disappointment with Britain’s decision to join Germany’s enemies and a dislike for Russia, although the aversion demonstrated by Harnack to the Eastern enemy was clearly greater than of Chamberlain, who was filled with a deep-seated hatred of Britain.¹³³

6 Concluding remarks

From what has been said it should have become clear why Harnack was able to sign the *Aufruf* and why he found Chamberlain’s pamphlets attractive: the *Aufruf* fully reflected his stance at the time, and Chamberlain’s views were close

¹³² Cf. Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 334, 336, 379, 384, 408, 464, 471, 501.

¹³³ This hatred was shared by a great many of Germany’s intellectuals. Cf. e. g. Bailey, *Gott*, 94–125, 200–202; Bruendel, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 83–85; Ungern-Sternberg and Ungern-Sternberg, *Aufruf*, 124 f.

enough to his own to recommend him to the Kaiser. Harnack clearly rejected antisemitism and had told Chamberlain so earlier in their correspondence, but in this situation there was no such barrier, because in his war essays Chamberlain avoided explicit remarks about Jews. Otherwise, the professor agreed with much of what the pamphleteer had to say about cultural differences between the nations and about the cultural hegemony of Germany. He even appears, in principle, to have been open to the idea of racial differences between Slavs and Germans, even though he denied their historical significance.

Under the spell of the August experience his enthusiasm for the war was rarely tempered by sober judgment. I therefore tend to agree with Barth when he called the *Aufruf* and the events surrounding it a theological disaster of the first order. In Barth's view Harnack and his colleagues created confusion where discernment would have been called for. They believed, as Barth put it, that they possessed a divine mandate, "as if they were allowed at this moment to shoot and set fire with a clear conscience", instead of remaining silent and calling for repentance.¹³⁴

Having said that, however, I would also like to emphasize that even when Harnack was at his worst, his ramblings were a far cry from Chamberlain's Pan-German and racist rantings. As war progressed and casualties rose, Harnack also realised that Germany had to increase its efforts to come to an early peace within a Europe based on an equilibrium of powers instead of continuing to fantasize of world domination.¹³⁵ At the same time he developed plans for the "new Germany" that included, for example, universal suffrage.¹³⁶ Here he clearly began to differ from Chamberlain. Whereas after the war Harnack publicly regretted the violation of Belgium's neutrality¹³⁷ and unreservedly embraced the new

134 Cf. Barth's Open letter to Martin Rade of August 31, 1914. *Neue Wege* 8 (1914): 429–432, 430 f. (= Schwöbel, *Briefwechsel*, 95–99, 96 f. = *Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe, V: Offene Briefe 1909–1935*, ed. Dieter Koch. Zurich: TVZ, 2001, 28): "Aber warum lassen Sie bei dieser ganzen weltlichen, sündigen Notwendigkeit Gott nicht aus dem Spiele? Meinewegen durch völliges Schweigen, wenn der 'harten Realitäten' wegen das Protestieren nicht angeht; Schweigen mit allen religiösen Beziehungen auf das, was die Deutschen jetzt tun müssen, wäre auch ein Protest. Aber nicht Gott in der Weise in die Sache hineinziehen, als ob die Deutschen mitsamt ihren großen Kanonen sich jetzt als seine Mandatäre fühlen dürften, als ob sie in diesem Augenblick mit gutem Gewissen schießen und brennen dürften. Das nicht! Und gerade das, das gute Gewissen predigen Sie jetzt, jetzt wo das schlechte Gewissen das christlich allein Mögliche wäre gegenüber der nun einmal vorhandenen weltlichen, sündigen Notwendigkeit."

135 Rebenich, *Mommsen*, 551 f.; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 410–459.

136 Cf. the memoranda in RA VI, 279–302. In addition Bailey, *Gott*, 356; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 430–432, 438 f., 443 f.

137 Cf. his "Open Letter to Mr Clemenceau" in RA VI, 303 f.; cf. also Bailey, *Gott*, 73.

democratic system, Chamberlain, the “self-appointed prophet of Germanism”¹³⁸, never gave up his dream of imposing the culture of Kant, Goethe, and Wagner by force on the whole world and began to pin his hopes on the rising star in German politics who promised to fulfill exactly this dream: Adolf Hitler.¹³⁹

Appendix

1. Unpublished letter of Harnack to Chamberlain (new Kinzig number 32a), September 30, 2015

Provenance: Archiv der Richard-Wagner-Gedenkstätte Bayreuth, Nachlass Chamberlain; not archived

[*printed letter head*]

Königliche [*coat of arms*] Bibliothek

BERLIN NW 7, den [*handwritten*] 30. Sept. 1915.

[*printed*] Unter den Linden 38

[*handwritten*]

Hochverehrter Herr!¹⁴⁰

Aufs neue habe ich Ihnen für eine „Kriegsschrift“,¹⁴¹ die im Tiefsten eine Friedensschrift ist, zu danken. Es geschieht in derselben Gesinnung und dankbaren Freude, mit der ich Ihre früheren Schriften gelesen habe. Wie viel verschwindet und wie viel zeigt erst die wirklich charakteristische Linie, wenn man den Augenpunkt hoch genug nimmt; aber – freilich – der Augenpunkt macht’s nicht

138 Field, *Evangelist*, 447.

139 For Chamberlain’s relationship with Hitler cf. Field, *Evangelist*, 396–445; Hamann, *Familie*, 99–105. This may also be the reason why after the letter of September 1915 quoted above only one further letter from Harnack to Chamberlain has been preserved which is a rather non-committal expression of gratitude (cf. Kinzig, *Harnack*, 290 [no. 38]). Harnack and Chamberlain did, however, continue to send each other complimentary copies of their publications; cf. Kinzig, *Harnack*, 286–290 (nos. 34–37).

140 On the left margin in pencil: “Pol. Id.” (= *Politische Ideale*), written by Chamberlain.

141 Chamberlain, *Neue Kriegsaufsätze*.

allein: der Schauende muß selbst gereinigt sein und von allem Kleinkram und aller Bosheit befreit!

In herzlicher Verehrung
dankt Ihr
v. Harnack

Draft letter of Harnack to Emperor Wilhelm II, September 26, 1915

Provenance: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, NL Harnack, K. 45, Bl. 47r–48v. *Partial publications:* Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, Adolf von Harnack. Berlin: Bott, 1936, 472 f.¹⁴²; vom Bruch, Adolf von Harnack, 29.

[printed letter head]

Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften.

Berlin NW7, den [handwritten] 26. September 1915.

[printed] Königliche Bibliothek.

Telephon: Amt Zentrum Nr. 11542.

[handwritten]

Allerdurchlauchtigster, Großmächtigster
Kaiser und König!
Allernädigster Kaiser, König und Herr!

Ew. Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Majestät spreche ich meinen alleruntertänigsten Dank aus für die allernädigste Mitteilung des Artikels aus der Zeitung „Le Temps“.¹⁴³ Er hat mich als eine, in dieser Zeitung unerwartete, Stimme der Vernunft erfreut; auch zeigt die feine Ironie, mit welcher der Verfasser den verblendeten Kant=Fresser abtut, daß noch nicht alle guten Geister aus der französischen Wissenschaft entflohen sind. Aber leider bedeutet diese eine Stimme innerhalb des Chors der französischen „Intellektuellen“, die die deutsche Bildung und Wissenschaft tot schreien wollen, noch wenig. –

¹⁴² The letter is not contained in the second edition of 1951 (see note 12). Cf. also Kinzig, *Harnack*, 222 and n. 81; Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 258.

¹⁴³ Here Harnack probably refers to the article by P. S., which had appeared on September 5, 1915 (p. 1) and which polemicized against Edmond Laskine's critical view of Kant. (A rejoinder by the French socialist Laskine appeared on September 8, 1915 (p. 1).) For a similar criticism of Émile Boutroux by the same author P. S. see "Le sentiment et la raison" in the edition of August 11, 2015, p. 1.

Unter dessen bietet eben diese Wissenschaft in diesem Kriege den Feinden Beispiele die Fülle, daß sie in der konzentrierten und organisierten deutschen Volkskraft ein starkes Element ist – nicht nur Schmuck und Zierde, sondern Wehr und Waffe!

Daß innerhalb dieser Arbeit auch die Kaiser=Wilhelm=Gesellschaft ihre Stelle und Aufgabe gefunden hat – wie wenn sie von Ew. Majestät zu diesem Zweck geschaffen wäre! –, gereicht allen Mitgliedern zur höchsten Freude. Zu berichten ist wenig, weil das, was sie tut, sich wie eine selbstverständliche Arbeit¹⁴⁴ abwickelt¹⁴⁵. Das Institut für Meeresforschung in Rovigno bei Triest¹⁴⁶ ist noch völlig unbeschädigt, und man darf hoffen, daß das so bleiben wird, da Italien voraussichtlich auch ferner noch nur sich selbst schädigen wird. – –

Unter den Schriften dieser Kriegszeit stehen, soweit ich zu urteilen vermag, die von Chamberlain ~~allen voran~~.¹⁴⁷ Soeben hat mich wieder die Schrift von ihm „Politische Ideale“¹⁴⁸ tief ergriffen und erhoben. Chamberlain vermag die deutsche Eigenart und die aus ihr sich ergebenden¹⁴⁹ Ziele besser zu erkennen als die Anderen, weil er sich einst in einer Distanz zu ihnen¹⁵⁰ befunden hat. Er sieht, was ~~wir~~¹⁵¹ anderen mehr oder weniger dunkel empfinden. Dieses klare Schauen, dieser wundervolle Blick macht ihn wirklich zum Deuter und Propheten. Dazu kommt aber noch, daß er zu sagen versteht, was er sieht. Seine Fähigkeit in dieser Hinsicht ist wahrhaft meisterhaft. Seine Sprache ist so ~~hell und klar und~~ treffsicher wie ein starker Sonnenstrahl, der nicht funkelt, aber leuchtet. Die Metamorphose, die aus einem Engländer einen Deutschen gemacht hat, ist eine gute Schöpfung! Darf man hoffen, daß sie nicht auf einen Mann beschränkt bleibt?? – –

~~Das deutsche Volk hat aufs neue sein unbegrenztes Vertrauen auf Ew. Majestät, auf das herrliche Heer und die Heerführung durch die Kriegsleihe bewährt. Es wird auch jedes andere Opfer freudig bringen, welches das~~

144 [Later addition on the margin:] einstellt + .

145 [Later addition above the line:] zum Besten der Kriegführung.

146 The Institute for Marine Research in modern Rovinj (Croatia) had been founded in 1891 as a field station of the Berlin Zoological Garden and Aquarium and later been sold to the *Kaiser-Wilhelm Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften*, whose first president was Harnack. Cf. Dušan Zavodnik, “A North Adriatic Centenarian: The Marine Research Station at Rovinj.” *Helgoländer Meeresuntersuchungen* 49 (1995): 441–453; Dušan Zavodnik, Nevenka Zavodnik, Ljiljana Iveša, “The 110th Anniversary of the Marine Research Station at Rovinj (Adriatic Sea, Croatia): Reference Collections.” *Natura Croatica* 10 (2001): 53–60.

147 [Correction above line:] in erster Linie.

148 Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Politische Ideale*, München: Bruckmann, 1915 (Va 64).

149 [Addition above line:] Zwecke u. [?].

150 [Correction above line:] ihr.

151 [Correction above line:] die.

Vaterland verlangt. Das ist gewiß, und wenn es von einer Morgenwache zur andern harrt, daß der Friede komme, so mischt sich kein Ton der Ungeduld oder der Unsicherheit hinein — es harrt in sicherer Hoffnung und Zuversicht! Es harrt im Aufblick zu Gott, der unsre Stärke ist, und in der Fürbitte, Gott möge Ew. Majestät, den Vater des Vaterlands, gesund und stark erhalten in allen den Sorgen und Prüfungen, die Ew. Majestät doppelt tragen, und Ew. Majestät, wie bisher, mit Sieg krönen. In dieser Gesinnung verharre ich als

Ew. Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Majestät
in Ehrfurcht und Treue
alleruntertänigster
v. Harnack¹⁵²

Postscript

This article was completed in April 2015. Since then a new biography of Chamberlain by Udo Bermbach has been published (Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Wagners Schwiegersohn – Hitlers Vordenker. Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2015) which contains an extensive chapter on Chamberlain’s war propaganda (387–452). Bermbach also mentions (and criticizes) a recent article by Sven Fritz which had escaped my notice (“Houston Stewart Chamberlain und der Eintritt Wahnfrieds in die Tagespolitik: Kriegsschriften, Alldeutscher Verband und Vaterlandspartei.” In *“Weltanschauung en marche”*: Die Bayreuther Festspiele-

152 [Later addition in ink on top of page (by Harnack?):]

Ew. Maj. Heere haben [?] Kurland gewonnen + stehen vor d[en] Thoren meiner [?] alten Heimat, livl[ändische] Wellen Gefühle meine [?] Brust bewegen, so ich [...] besprechen. So [?] Ew. Maj. glauben sollten, [...] alle Kenntnisse d. Landes nützlich zu finden – es sind [?] vor [?] allem direkte + indirekte Personalkenntnisse –, so würde [?] ich mich glücklich schätzen, sie in d[en] Dienst des Vaterlands stellen z[u] dürfen.

[Later addition in pencil by Harnack:] Kurland kenne ich n[icht], wohl aber [?] Livland.

Similar offers may have been made by him already in spring of 1915. Cf. the draft letter to the Chancellor of May 2, 1915 quoted in Zahn-Harnack, *Harnack*, 362. (According to Nottmeier, *Harnack*, 423 and n. 180 this letter was addressed to Rudolf von Valentini, the chief of the emperor’s Secret Civil Cabinet.) In addition, Bailey, *Gott*, 368 f.; Rimscha, *Harnack*, 59 f. Kurland (Courland) had been conquered in late April 1915. Cf. Karl-Heinz Janßen, “Die baltische Okkupationspolitik des Deutschen Reiches.” In *Von den baltischen Provinzen zu den baltischen Staaten: Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Republiken Estland und Lettland 1917 – 1918*, ed. Jürgen von Hehn, Hans von Rimscha, Hellmuth Weiss. Marburg an der Lahn: Herder-Institut, 1971, 217–254, 217–222.

le und die “Juden”, Wagner in der Diskussion 10, ed. Hannes Heer, Sven Fritz. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2013, 193–218).