

PREFACE

THIS book was begun at Newfoundland, New Jersey, on January 4, 1943. The first handwritten draft was completed at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, on October 16 of the same year. Another eighteen months were given to revisions and corrections to bring the text to its present form.

Much of the material for the book was collected in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland before 1933, and later in France, England, and the United States. Wherever it was physically possible I have gone back to the original sources of historic knowledge, the documents, chronicles, and official publications of the respective periods. It is my hope that this may help the book to become a faithful and trusted companion, since it is intended as such for all to whom the word "student" is a proud and coveted designation.

The basic ideas of my conception of European and German history presented in this book have been part of my thinking since an early age. They were developed during years of study at the Universities of Munich, Hamburg, Geneva, and Berlin, and later during the period of my work as a student of constitutional and international affairs. However, it is particularly to the seven years I spent teaching history, philosophy, and international relations at over thirty universities and colleges in the United States and Canada, that I owe the present state of my historical and philosophical world view. I was constantly confronted with the problem of presenting to my students, as well as to the general public, a comprehensive picture of the spirit of Europe and of the Germans in history. I observed the need for a deeper understanding of the religious and historic forces which have given form and continuity to the events of the last two thousand years. To demonstrate the inner logic and some of the perennial traits of Occidental history, which a current pragmatic and agnostic viewpoint fails to recognize, appeared to me as a most urgent task. Precisely at this time, when the very foundations of the Christian-Occidental heritage seem so deeply shaken, we have to recall to the minds of the rash and the ill-advised that man's progress through the ages has been due to his inner certainty of a reasonable principle underlying all outward events, and of a definite *telos*, of a freedom more consciously willed toward which history is moving.

Such a concept presupposes, of course, the existence of a stable moral order which no seeming retrogression in the conduct of the peoples, no war, no revolutionary change or any other human force will ever be able to destroy.

This philosophy of history I take from the living and ever valid traditions handed down to us from Apostolic times, through Saint Augustine, the thinkers of the Carolingian and the Ottonian age, the scholastics, the

Neoplatonists of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, Dante Alighieri, and their successors to the very threshold of modern time. It is a philosophy that results necessarily from the truths contained in the deposit of the faith. The fact that it was so widely abandoned has led directly to the totalitarian destruction of the dignity of man which we have witnessed today, and has caused the moral and international anarchy of our age, which has so mistakenly considered itself one of enlightened progress.

The totalitarian aberration of the mind, the racialistic and naturalist perversion of the spirit in the forms of National Socialism, liberalistic agnosticism, and left-wing socialism have been detrimental to the historic consciousness of our time. This may explain at least part of the appalling nonsense that is produced every day with regard to the simplest facts of German and European history. That the charlatanism of the many self-styled experts on past and contemporary history is often dressed up as philosophical profundity only makes matters worse, for on a just appraisal of the spirit of Europe and of the nature of the German people and its position within the framework of the Occidental community may well depend the success or failure of international reconstruction.

It is part of the ailment of our civilization that political propaganda of a self-seeking and irresponsible kind is permitted to cater to the instincts of the market place, while the tribunal of historic honesty and truth is shunned, if not disdained. Ours is an age of journalism and superficial education when even those who are men of good will may be carried away by the fanfare of organized publicity. It must be our hope that the dangers to world peace and the continuity of our civilization which have arisen out of this widespread attitude may perhaps be met by a dispassionate and well-documented presentation of the historic and spiritual reality.

In line with so many of the convenient but flimsy analyses of world affairs presented today it has become customary to speak of "two Germanies," one inherently wicked, the other redeemable. It depends on the mood of the interpreter and on the currents of the hour which of the two is at one time or another regarded as the major force. In contrast to this, the present book is the story of the One Germany as it has gone through the ages. Nations, like individuals, if affected by illness or a widespread epidemic still retain their individuality and oneness. Illness is never part of the essence of a being. Of course, Germany, like any other nation, is not today what she was when the light of history fell first upon her. The man is not the child of thirty years ago, and yet there remains an identity of personality and spirit.

It was not, and could not possibly have been, my intention to engage in a race between the printing press and the latest events, or to compose a detailed account of recent German and foreign affairs. Rather I aimed at presenting what must be regarded as typical according to our historic knowl-

edge, and to point with some degree of accuracy, I hope, towards a possible solution of the European and German problem.

However, the student may find the references and the carefully selected list of books which I have used helpful in guiding him toward further study.

The responsibility for all philosophical and historical views and the factual material presented in this book is, of course, entirely my own. Others have, however, generously lent their aid in its preparation.

I am anxious to express my deepest and most heartfelt gratitude to Dr. William Bridgwater, excellent scholar, Associate Editor of Columbia University Press, to whom I owe the splendid and thorough editing of the manuscript. His criticism and his unfailing help and advice, coming from the depth of his embracing historical and philosophical knowledge, have contributed to this book. I am also indebted to him for the translation of some of the poetry.

Warmest thanks and all my gratitude are due to my friend and assistant, Volkmar Zuehlsdorff, Doctor of Law of Innsbruck University, whose untiring collaboration over the years has made the writing and the completion of this book possible. His well-trained, scientific mind and sure appraisal of the things that matter within the enormous complex of two thousand years of history has been essential in the collecting and sifting of the basic factual material. The annotation of the book is also largely his work.

Father Berard Vogt, O.F.M., Dean of the School of Philosophy of the Franciscan Fathers at Butler, New Jersey, has throughout the writing acted as a trusted and untiring adviser in all questions of a dogmatic and philosophical nature. Through him I received access to the Franciscan Library and to individual publications of the Scotist school of thought that are usually difficult to obtain.

I am grateful to Mr. Padraic Colum, the celebrated Irish poet, who translated for publication in this book the poems "Buonaparte" by Friedrich Hölderlin and "Der Widerchrist" by Stefan George.

The life work and the personal friendship of Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, heir and representative of the proud American and German democratic tradition of 1848 as well as of modern humanitarianism and republican thought, have been a source of steady inspiration. Through him my belief in the rebirth of German freedom and in the eventual triumph of international justice has been greatly strengthened. I also want to thank him warmly for the many valuable books, monographs, and pamphlets he has given me.

It is to fulfill a debt of gratitude that I mention at this place the name of Dr. G. P. Gooch, the brilliant British historian and former member of the House of Commons, with whose friendship I have been honored for many years. The clarity of his views on historic and international affairs, his studies

of diplomatic history, his profound ethical concept of the duties of righteous government, and his faith in morality and reason as the beacons of all human endeavor are among the most valuable and encouraging forces which have helped me to steer through the darkness and the apparent hopelessness of this last decade. Nor can I forget that it was his introduction which opened for me the gates of the American academic world.

I feel deeply indebted to the officials and personnel of the libraries where I worked, particularly the New York Public Library, the Library of Columbia University, the Carnegie Library at Oberlin College, the Library of the Franciscan Fathers at Butler, New Jersey, and the British Museum in London, all of whom have extended to me their unfailing courtesy, advice, and help.

Finally, to the American academic world in general, the faculties of all the colleges and universities where I have taught, and particularly Hamline University, Saint Paul, Minnesota, my adopted American Alma Mater, I want to express my gratitude. The interest, the confidence, and the many pertinent questions of my students, who attended my classes and special courses in European and German history and philosophy have enabled me to clarify in my own mind many of the problems which I am now ready to present to the public. Thus, this book is also a tribute to the eagerness and friendship which I have found among the thousands of young Americans whose teacher I was for so many years.

HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN

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Die Sancti Henrici Imperatoris