

The Weimar Republic and the
Birth of the German
Democratic Party: The Hajo
Holborn Papers
1849-1956



*Guide to the Scholarly Resources
Microfilm Edition*

From the holdings of Manuscripts and
Archives, the Yale University Library

SR Scholarly Resources Inc.
Wilmington, Delaware

The Weimar Republic and the
Birth of the German
Democratic Party: The Hajo
Holborn Papers
1849-1956



*Guide to the Scholarly Resources
Microfilm Edition*

From the holdings of Manuscripts and
Archives, the Yale University Library

SR Scholarly Resources Inc.
Wilmington, Delaware

Publisher's Note

Scholarly Resources does not claim copyright to this guide or to the microfilm collection it describes.

Acknowledgments

The publisher wishes to thank the staff of Manuscripts and Archives at Yale University Library for their ideas, help, and effort in compiling the microfilm for this collection.

ISBN 0-8420-4319-5

Manufactured in the United States of America

First printing 2001

Distributed on microfilm by:

Scholarly Resources Inc.
104 Greenhill Avenue
Wilmington, DE 19805
www.scholarly.com

Distributed outside the USA

in Japan by:

Far Eastern Booksellers
P.O. Box 72
Kanda, Tokyo 101-91, JAPAN

Contents

Introduction, 1

Scope and Contents, 2

Roll Contents, 3

Introduction

Hajo Holborn was born in Germany and emigrated to the United States in 1934. Shortly after coming to America, he became a professor of German history at Yale. Holborn continued to teach there until his death in 1969. Before he left Germany, he was commissioned by the government to write a history of the constitution of the Weimar Republic. The microfilm edition of his papers represents the subject files that he gathered.

The subject files, organized by topic, include the printed pamphlets, books, and documents that Holborn assembled. Most of the material is comprised of books and pamphlets dating from 1919 to 1929. The subject files contain a large number of working papers issued by the Constitutional Assembly; a letter that accompanied the first official draft of the constitution and a memorandum of explanation with extensive comments on the draft; many other stages of the constitution; counterdrafts by interest groups; and petitions from industry, labor organizations, local communities, and others seeking to influence the decisions of the Assembly. Also included are rare records of the Deutsch Democratic Party; handbills and election pamphlets dealing with the role of women within the party; pamphlets issued by the party discussing the issues of the day; and proceedings of some of its meetings. Pamphlets on the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of 1918-1919 and contemporary reports by and about councils in Bavaria, Berlin, and Hamburg are also contained in the subject files.

The Hajo Holborn Papers is a rich resource for the study of German history, interwar European history, the beginnings of the German Democratic Party, the Revolution of 1918-1919, the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, and the constitutional foundation of the Weimar Republic.

Scope and Content Notes

Subject files, which consist almost entirely of pamphlets and printed documents, are arranged alphabetically by subject. Certain important figures for whom there is material (either by or about) also have been listed directly under their names; for example, Friedrich Meinecke, Friedrich Naumann, and Hugo Preuss. The large number of documents issued by the National Assembly in 1919 is grouped together under the official name of the assembly: Die verfassunggebende deutsche Nationalversammlung. Nongovernmental pamphlets on the constitution—its history, legal aspects, controversy over it, etc.—are grouped under the heading “Weimar constitution.”

Roll Contents

Roll Box Folder

No. No. No./Contents

1 4 1 Administration 1927-31

2 Agriculture 1920

3 Anti-Nazi movement 1937

x-ref Austria

See: Territorial questions: "Greater Germany," box 15, folder 125A

4 Baden 1919, 1925

4A Bavaria 1917

5 Bibliography: notes n.d.

6 Bibliography: printed 1917-43,
n.d.

Bismarck, Otto, fürst von (1815-1898)

7 Ms. notes re: "Bismarck's
Handelspolitik" n.d.

8 Ms. notes re: "Bismarck.
Orientalische Politik" n.d.

9 Printed sources 1919, n.d.

1 4 10 Brecht, Arnold (1884-) 1931-32

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|---|---|----|--|------------------|
| 1 | 4 | 11 | Brüning, Heinrich (1885-1970) | 1931-32 |
| | | 12 | Bülow, Bernhard Heinrich Martin Karl, fürst von (1849-1929) | 1929 |
| | | 13 | <i>Denkwurdigkeiten</i> ; clippings | 1936 |
| 5 | | 14 | Catholic church | n.d. |
| | | 15 | Church and state | 1918-31 |
| | | 16 | Democracy | 1919-29, n.d. |

Deutsche Demokratische Partei

x-ref Posters

See: Folio I

| | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|-------------------|
| 17 | | | Baum, Marie (1874- , Representative of the DDP): miscellaneous papers | 1919 |
| 2 | 5 | 18 | Convention of Party secretaries | 1919 May 17-18 |
| 2 | 5 | 19 | Convention, proceedings See also: Deutsche Demokratische Partei; convention, 1919 Jul 18, box 5A, folder 28B | 1919 Jul 19-22 |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|---|---|-----|---|-------------------|
| 2 | 5 | 20 | Convention, program | 1919 Jul 19-22 |
| | | 20A | Convention, proposals re: the program | 1919 Jul 19-22 |
| | | 21 | DDP fraction at the | 1919 Feb |
| | | 21A | Nationalversammlung, Ms minutes of meetings | 25-1920 |
| | | | See also: Die verfassung- gebende deutsche Nationalversammlung, 1919, Sitzungen, box 18, folders 158-61 | May 19 |
| | | 21B | DDP fraction at the Nationalversammlung, position papers on nationalization and worker participation | 1919, n.d. |
| | | 22 | Executive committee, minutes of meetings and letter to the Hansabund | 1919 Aug- Sep |
| 2 | 5 | 23- | Leaflets | ca. 1919- |
| | | 24 | See also: Folio I | 1920 |
| | | 25 | Leaflets addressed to women | 1918-19, n.d. |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|---|-------|-----|---|----------------|
| 2 | 5 | 26 | Local party activities | 1919 |
| | | 27 | Organizational rules of the DDP | [1918-19] |
| | 5A | 28 | Pamphlets | 1918-19 |
| | | 28A | Periodicals | 1919 |
| | x-ref | | Program | |
| | | | See: Deutsche Demokratische Partei: Convention, program, 1919 Jul 19-22, box 5, folder 20 | |
| | | 28B | Women's convention: agenda, proposals, position papers | 1919 Jul 18 |
| | | 28C | Deutsche Volkspartei | 1920 |
| | | 28D | Deutscher Werkbund | 1921-22 |

Disarmament

See also: Die verfassung-
gebende deutsche
National versammlung,
Petitions re: Disarmament,
box 17, folder 144

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-----------|-------------|
| 2 | 5A- | 28E | Pamphlets | 1931-33 |
| | | 28F | | |
| 6 | 29 | "The Problem of Disarmament at the Peace Conference of Versailles" [by George V.Wolf?] (TMs) | | n.d. |
| 30 | | <i>Materialen zur Abriistungfrage.</i> Reichsdruckerei | | 1931 |
| 31 | | Disarmament conference | | 1932 |
| 32- | | Disarmament talks, Geneva: | | 1933 May |
| 33 | | clippings | | |
| 34 | | <i>Der Dolchstossprozess in Munchen. Oktober-November 1925</i> | | 1925 |
| 3 | 7 | 35 Economic conditions | | 1918 |
| 36 | | Economic conditions in Germany | 1923-32 | |
| | | See also: Government ownership, box 9, folder 60 | | |
| 37- | | Education | | 1919, 1930, |
| 38 | | | | 1932 |
| | | 38A Elections | | 1930 |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|---|-----|----|--|---------------|
| 3 | 7 | 39 | Fascism | 1930 |
| | | 40 | Fascism in Italy: Clippings | 1932-33 |
| | | | Federalism in Germany | |
| | | | See also: Staatenausschuss, 1919; | |
| | | | box 15, folders 114-18 | |
| | | | See also: Staatenvertreter. Notes | |
| | | | on debates, 1919 Jan 26-30; | |
| | | | box 15, folder 119 | |
| | 41 | | Leaflets | 1920 |
| 4 | 42- | | Pamphlets | 1919-27 |
| | 43 | | | |
| | 44- | | Pamphlets | 1928-31 |
| | 45 | | | |
| 5 | 46 | | Finance | 1919, 1926 |
| | 47 | | Froebel, Julius (1805-1893). | 1872 |
| | | | “Projekt einer Aktions- | Dec 4 |
| | | | gesellschaft zur Uebernahm der | |
| | | | Suddeutsche Presse” (Ms) | |
| | 48 | | German constitutional history | 1849- 1922 |

Roll Box Folder
No. No. No./Contents

German History

| | | | | |
|--|----|----|---|------------------|
| 5 | 8 | 49 | Clippings and pamphlets | 1932-33, n.d. |
| | 50 | | Grzesinski, Albert. <i>La tragique comédie de la république Allemande</i> | 1934 |
| <p>Horkenbach, Cuno. <i>Das Deutsche Reich von 1918 bis heute.</i></p> | | | | |
| | 51 | | “Jan–Juni Berichtshefte” | 1931 |
| 9 | 52 | | “Sep–Dez Berichtshefte” | 1931 |
| 6 | | 53 | German political parties | 1930, 1932 |
| 54- | | | German revolution, 1918 | 1919-30, |
| 57 | | | | n.d. |
| | 58 | | Rhineland | 1919 |
| | 59 | | Germans abroad | 1920 |
| | 60 | | Government ownership | 1919 |
| | 61 | | Haussmann, Conrad (1857-1922) | 1923 |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|-----------------------------------|
| 6 | 9 | 62 | Historiography | 1928-29 |
| | | 63 | Hitler, Adolf (1889-1945). Speech: clippings | 1933 May 18 |
| | | 64 | Hitze, Franz (1851-) | 1921 |
| | | | x-ref Hochschulpolitik | |
| | | | See: University affairs; box 16, folders 131-33 | |
| 10 | | 65 | Industry | 1920 |
| 7 | | 66 | Intellectual life | 1919 |
| | | 67 | Jungnationalen Ring (JNR) | [1929?] |
| | | 68 | Kabinetsitzungen. Ms notes by Holborn | 1918 Nov 14- 1919 Apr 10 |
| | | 69 | Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938) | 1906, 1928-29 |
| 70 | | | Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands | 1948 |
| 71 | | | Labor | 1909-22 |
| | | | See also: Die verfassunggebende deutsche Nationalversammlung. Report of the Reichsarbeits- minister; box 18, folder 157 | |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

7 10 72 Labor Party (Great Britain) 1924

73 Land reform n.d.

See also: Die verfassunggebende
deutsche National versammlung,
Petitions re: Land reform;
box 17, folder 149

74- League of Nations 1919,

75 **See also:** Disarmament conference; 1927
box 6, folder 31

76 Ludendorff, Erich (1865-1937) 1929-30

77 Luxemburg, Rosa (1870-1919) [1916],
1920

11 78 Marx, Karl (1818-1883) 1920

8 79 Marxism 1916-32

Meinecke, Friedrich (1862-1954)

80 Pamphlets 1918-25

81 Newspaper articles re:
Constitution reform 1932 Jan
17, Jul
29, Oct 12

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|-----|----|-----|---|---------------|
| 8 | 11 | 82 | Minorities | 1929 |
| | 83 | | Monarchy | 1916, 1928 |
| IIA | | 84- | National socialism | 1930-36 |
| | | 84A | See also: Anti-Nazi movement; box 4, folder 3 | |
| | | | x-ref Nationalization | |
| | | | See: Government ownership; box 9, folder 60 | |
| | | | x-ref Nationalversammlung, 1919 | |
| | | | See: Die verfassunggebende deutsche Nationalversamm- lung, 1919; boxes 16-18, folders 114-18 | |
| | | 85 | Naumann, Friedrich (1860-1919) | 1901-30 |

Peace

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|---|---------------|
| 9 | 12 | 86 | Pamphlets | 1919, 1943 |
| | 87 | | Bertzen, Etta M. S. von, "The [ca. co-operation of the press in the 1934?] organization of the peace" (TMs) | |

| Roll Box Folder | | | |
|-----------------|-----|--|-----------------------------------|
| No. | No. | No./Contents | |
| 9 | 12 | 87 | Peace Treaty, 1919 |
| | 88 | Documents published by the Auswartiges Amt | 1920 Jan 21 |
| | | Exchange of notes between Germany and the Allies | 1919 Dec 15 |
| | | Interallied conference. Report | 1921 Jan 29 |
| | | Text of speech of Lloyd George | 1921 Mar 3 |
| 89 | | Pamphlets | 1919 |
| Periodicals | | | |
| 90 | | <i>Deutsche Politik</i> | 1919 Jan |
| | | <i>Die Glocke</i> | 1919 Mar 1 |
| | | <i>Das Tagebuch</i> | 1930 Nov 29 |
| 91 | | <i>L'Europe Nouvelle</i> | 1933 Apr 15, 22, May 6, Jul 1, 22 |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|-------------------------|------------------|
| 9 | 12 | 92 | Poland | 1919 |
| | | 93 | Political theory | 1916, 1920 |
| | | 94 | Post war reconstruction | 1941-43, n.d. |

Preuss, Hugo (1860-1925)

| | | |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 95 | TLS | 1919 Jan 7 |
| | “Entwurf des allgemeinen Teils n.d. der künftigen Reichsverfassung”; “Denks- chrift zum Verfassungs- entwurf” | |
| 13 | 96 | Printed matter by and about 1916-30 |
| | 97 | Prices 1920 |
| 10 | 98- | Prussia 1896, |
| | 100 | 1919-33, n.d |

Railroads

| | | |
|-----|-----------|---------|
| 101 | Pamphlets | 1918-25 |
|-----|-----------|---------|

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Roll Contents | 15 |
|----------------------|-----------|

Roll Box Folder

No. No. No./Contents

| | | | | |
|----|----|-----|--|-------------------------------|
| 10 | 13 | 102 | Ms notes re: "Orient-Anatolische Eisenbahn" | n.d. |
| | | 102 | Rathenau, Walter (1867-1922) | 1919 |
| | | A | | |
| | | 103 | Reichskonferenz: Minutes of meetings (printed) | 1918 Nov 25-1919 Apr 10 |

Reichstag

| | | | |
|----|-----|--|------------------|
| 14 | 104 | Directory | 1930 |
| | 105 | Fire trial | 1933 |
| | 106 | Memoirs | 1925 |
| 11 | 107 | Reparations | 1920-32, n.d. |
| | 108 | Russia | 1918-19 |
| | 109 | Severing, Carl (1875-1952) | 1927, 1932 |
| | 110 | Social democracy | 1915-27 |
| | | See also: <i>Dolchstossprozess in München</i> , box 6, folder 34 | |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

11 14 110 See also: Prussia: Paul Hirsch,
 Der Weg der Sozial-
 demokratie zur Macht in
 Preussen (1929), box 13,
 folder 99

111 Solf, Wilhelm (1862-1936): 1917-22,
 correspondence (type- 1931
 script copies); interview with
 Maximillian von Hagen (TMs)

Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

112 Memoirs 1919

113 Pamphlets 1919-29

Staatenausschuss, 1919

15 114 Directory of members 1919

12 115- Drucksachen und 1919 Feb
 118 Ergebnisprotolle 11-Aug 7

119 Staatenvertreter: Notes on 1919
 debates (printed) Jan 26-30
 See also: Federalism in Germany,
 boxes 7-8, folders 41-45

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

12 15 119 **See also:** Staatenausschuss, 1919;
box 15, folders 114-18

x-ref State's rights

See: Federalism in Germany,
boxes 7-8, folders 41-45

119 Steiner, Rudolf (1861-1925) n.d.
A

120 Stresemann, Gustav (1878-1929): 1929,
clippings 1956

121 Switzerland 1929,
1933

Territorial questions

122 Ms notes from the Preussischen 1918 Nov
Innen-Ministerium, by Holborn 23-1919
Jul 11

123 Eastern Germany 1919

124 Eupen and Malmedy
(Germany. Auswartiges Amt) 1920

125- “Greater Germany” (including 1919-32

125 Austria)

A

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | | |
|----|----|-----|-------------------------|------------------|
| 12 | 15 | 126 | Ruhr and Saar districts | 1919, 1930-32 |
|----|----|-----|-------------------------|------------------|

Upper Silesia

| | | | |
|------|-----|--|-----------------|
| 127- | | Government documents | 1920-21 |
| 128 | | | |
| 16 | 129 | Auswärtiges Amt: Der Aufstand im oberschlesischen Abstimmungsgebiet | 1920 Aug-Sep |
| 13 | 16 | 130 Transportation industry: periodicals | 1920-21 |

University Affairs [i.e. Hochschulpolitik]

| | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 131- | | Clippings | 1931-33 |
| 132 | | See also: Folio I | |
| 133 | | Pamphlets | 1919, 1927, n.d. |

**Die verfassunggebende deutsche
Nationalversammlung, 1919**

| | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|------------|
| 134 | | Clippings | 1918, |
| | | See also: Folio I | 1919, n.d. |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | |
|----|----|----------------------------|---------|
| 13 | 16 | 135 Committee reports | 1919 |
| | | 136 Decrees and laws | 1919 |
| | | 137 Directories of members | 1919 |
| | | 138 Election results | 1919-20 |
| 17 | | 139 Elections | 1918-19 |

Petitions re:

| | | |
|------|---|---------|
| 140 | Bavaria | 1919 |
| 141- | Betriebsräte-Gesetz (with | 1919 |
| 142 | clippings printed matter) | |
| 143 | Constitution, including Abänderungs-Anträge | 1919-20 |
| 144 | Disarmament | 1920 |
| | See also: Disarmament, boxes 5A-6, folders 28E-30 | |
| 145 | Education | 1919 |
| 146 | Elsass-Lothringen | 1919 |
| 147 | Germans abroad | 1920 |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

13 17 148 Industry 1919-20

**Die verfassunggebende deutsche
Nationalversammlung, 1919**

| | | |
|-------|---|-------------|
| 149 | Land reform | 1919-20 |
| 150 | Leipzig fair | 1920 |
| 151 | Lübeck | 1919 |
| 152 | Railroads | 1919 |
| 153 | Schleswig-Holstein | 1919-20 |
| 154 | Social welfare | 1919-20 |
| 155 | Taxes (various) | 1919-20 |
| 156 | Umsatzsteuergesetz | 1919 |
| 14 18 | 157 Report of the Reichsarbeitsminister Bauer re: labor conditions; with 1 v. of related documents | 1919 Mar 21 |

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Roll Contents | 21 |
|----------------------|-----------|

Roll Box Folder

No. No. No./Contents

- | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|----------|
| 14 18 158- | Verfassungsausschuss: | 1919 Mar |
| | 161 Sitzungen 1-3810 Jun 5 | |
| | 162 War guilt question | 1920-29 |
| | 163 Weber, Max (1864-1920) | 1917 |

Weimar Constitution

See also: Die verfassnuggebende
seutsche National versammlung,
1919; boxes 16-18, folders 134-61

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 164-Archival documents and news- | 1904-17 |
| 165 paper accounts (Ms and typescript copies) | |
| 19 166-Archival documents (typescript copies) | 1917-19 |
| 170 Bibliography probably compiled by Holborn; printed bibliography | 1929, n.d. |
| 171-Clippings and reprints | 1918-19, |
| 173 See also: Folio I | 1928-29 |
| 15 174-Criticism and discussion | 1919-26 |
| 176 | |
| 20 177 Criticism and discussion | 1927-31 |

Roll Box Folder**No. No. No./Contents**

| | | | |
|----|----|--|------------------|
| 15 | 20 | 178-Drafts of the whole 180 | 1918-19 |
| | | 181 Drafts of parts | 1919 |
| | | 182-Drafts for a constitution 183 (unofficial) | 1919 |
| 16 | | 184-History 185 | 1923-46, n.d. |
| 17 | 21 | 186-Legal aspects 189 A | 1919-29 |
| 22 | | 190 Legal aspects | 1930-32, n.d. |
| | | 191 Minutes of meetings Friedrich Ebert with the Staatenver- tretern, Berlin | 1919 Jan |
| | | 192 Parliamentary system | 1917-27 |
| | | Reform and abrogation: See also: Brecht, Arnold, box 4, folder 10 | |
| | | See also: Meinecke, Friedrich, box 11, folder 80 | |

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Roll Contents | 23 |
|----------------------|-----------|

Roll Box Folder

No. No. No./Contents

| | | | | |
|----|----|-------------|-----------|------------------|
| 18 | 22 | 193- 195 | Pamphlets | 1928-33, n.d. |
|----|----|-------------|-----------|------------------|

| | | | |
|----|-----|-----------|---------|
| 23 | 196 | Clippings | 1928-33 |
|----|-----|-----------|---------|

| | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------|
| 197 | Research notes: Ms and typescript | n.d. |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------|

| | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------|
| 198 | Revisions | 1919 May 28 |
|-----|-----------|----------------|

| | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| 199-School editions 203 | 1929-31 |
|----------------------------|---------|

| | |
|-----------|------|
| 201 Texts | 1926 |
|-----------|------|

x-ref Werkbund

See: Deutscher Werkbund, box 5A,
folder 28D

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------|
| 19 | 202 Wilson, Woodrow (1856-1925) | 1917-19 |
|----|---------------------------------|---------|

| |
|--|
| 203 Women: Wahlwerbeausschusses [1919] |
|--|

Hamburgischer Frauenvereine

See also: Deutsche Demokratische
Partei: Women's convention,
box 5A, folder 283

Roll Box Folder
No. No. No./Contents

Workers' and Soldiers' Councils

| | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|---|---------------------------------|
| 19 | 24 | 204 | Allgemeiner Kongress der Arbeiter und Soldatenräte Deutschlands... 16-21 Dec, 1918. Stenographische Bericht | 1918 Dec 16-21 |
| | | 205 | <i>Der Zentralrat.</i> Mitteilungsblatt des Zentral rates der deutschen sozialistischen Republik. 1. Jahrgang. Nr. 1-16 [periodical] | 1919 Jun-1- 1920 Mar 1 |
| | | 206 | Bavaria | 1920, 1922 |
| | | 207 | Berlin | 1918-19, n.d. |
| | | 208 | Hamburg | 1919-20 |
| | 209- | 211 | Pamphlets | 1919-21, n.d. |
| | | 212 | World War I: Clippings | 1928-31 |
| Folio I | | | Consult See also references in subject files | |
| Folio II | | | "Message du President Wilson lu au Congres des Etats-Unis d'Amerique" | 1917 Apr 2 |