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**Comrades, friends and companions: Utopian projections and
social action in German literature for young people, 1926–1934**

Springman, Luke, Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1988

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COMRADES, FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS:
UTOPIAN PROJECTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION IN
GERMAN LITERATURE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE 1926-1934

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the
Ohio State University

By

Luke Springman, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1988

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1988

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ii
VITA.....	iii
INTRODUCTION: "BETTER REALITIES" IN GERMAN LITERATURE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE 1926-1934.....	1
Notes.....	27
CHAPTER	PAGE
I. REALISM, CULTURAL VALUES AND COMMUNICATION IN FOUR FICTIONAL CONCEPTIONS OF GROUPS: <u>EMIL UND DIE</u> <u>DETEKTIVE</u> , <u>DER HITLERJUNGE QUEX</u> , <u>KAI AUS DER KISTE</u> AND <u>DAS ROTE U</u>	33
A Model Child: Erich Kästner's <u>Emil und die Detektive</u>	33
The Apotheosis of a Hitler Youth: Karl Aloys Schenzinger's <u>Der Hitlerjunge Quex</u>	55
From Street Youth to Advertising Magnate: Wolf Durian's <u>Kai aus der Kiste</u>	68
An Urban Adventure-Mystery: Wilhelm Matthießen's <u>Das Rote U</u>	82
Conclusion: Cultural Values and Communicative Action.....	106
Notes.....	116
II. THE STRUGGLE FOR A "HIGHER CULTURE": THE BOARDING SCHOOL AS THE MODEL FOR SOCIAL REFORM IN WORKS BY ERICH KÄSTNER, WILHELM SPEYER AND ERICH EBERMAYER.....	123
Demarcations of Justice: Erich Kästner's <u>Das fliegende Klassenzimmer</u>	123
The Heritage of Blood, Beauty and Nature: Wilhelm Speyer's <u>Der Kampf der Tertia</u> and <u>Die goldene Horde</u>	156
Charisma and the Covenant: Erich Ebermayer's <u>Kampf um Odilienberg</u>	186

Conclusion: Sexuality and Communication in a "Higher Culture".....	219
Notes.....	226
III. COMMUNICATIVE ACTION AND THE INSTITUTION OF FRIENDSHIP: ERICH KÄSTNER'S <u>PÜNKTCHE</u> UND ANTON, ALEX WEDDING'S <u>EDE UND UNKU</u> AND LISA TETZNER'S <u>ERWIN UND PAUL</u>	240
Friendship as a Recovery of Purpose and Freedom from Modern Social Mechanisms: Erich Kästner's <u>Pünktchen und Anton</u>	240
Three Friends and their Families as an Ideological Triad: Alex Wedding's <u>Ede und Unku</u>	262
Friendship as a Corrective to the Indifference of Social Mechanisms: Lisa Tetzner's <u>Erwin und Paul</u>	282
Conclusion: Enlightenment and Modernist Depictions of Friendship as Social Education.....	305
Notes.....	320
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	327

INTRODUCTION:
"BETTER REALITIES" IN GERMAN LITERATURE
FOR YOUNG PEOPLE 1926-1934

The Weimar Republic was the critical juncture in modern German history; it was both the aftermath of a devastated imperial dream and the prelude to fascism. Yet the Weimar legacy of parliamentary government, of the workers' movement, of corporatism¹ and of cultural modernity lives on in the political, economic and intellectual institutions of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Indeed, the present study on German young people's literature is indebted to the innovations in the aesthetic and critical theories of this period. In their time, however, these new cultural streams flowed against a powerful current of nineteenth-century traditions, a clash that affected the young people's book industry. In the later years of the Weimar Republic, "modern" literature for German youth reflected critically on the institutions of family, school and friendships, departing from the convention of presenting an ordered, secure world. New approaches to writing for young people emerged in the 1920s for a number of reasons: the influence of "Neue Sachlichkeit," political

indoctrination, efforts in the educational establishment to make literature more relevant to everyday life, the "cult of youth," and the widespread sentiment that the Weimar Republic was a failure. Differing systems of belief and views of the world were represented in this new German literature for young people, which increasingly assumed the pedagogical goal of changing the world rather than conforming to it, of improving reality for the future. Historical interest in the ideological conflicts of the Weimar Republic, as revealed in young people's literature, bears on attitudes toward youth today: Since the 1960s, the heritage of this new critical or "realistic" literature has reemerged in Germany, affecting how books are written for children and adolescents.²

In the decades spanning the late Weimar period through the 1960s, Erich Kästner overshadows all other authors in the genre of German novels for young people. Through the translations and the many adaptations of his books to film and stage, Kästner has established a worldwide reputation as the "dean of German writers for children."³ Moreover, scholarly interest in his work and his influence on the children's book industry in Germany continue to surpass all others. Therefore, a study of the modern German novel for young people must confront the phenomenon of Kästner.

Historical works on young people's literature designate Erich Kästner's best known novels as "realistic." He prefaced his three early "milieu novels," Emil und die Detektive (1929), Pünktchen und Anton (1931) and Das fliegende Klassenzimmer (1934), with assertions that his characters spoke and acted as young people do, they live in present day Germany and they are not spared the troubles that young people suffer in real life. Kästner undeniably responded to issues affecting young people. Yet he structured characters and milieu to suit his own perceptions, allowing typologies, didacticism and crude dichotomies of good and bad to govern conditions and actions in his work. His novels for young people, whether repudiated or imitated, became paradigms on which other successful authors patterned their writings.

Erich Kästner's three "realistic" novels written between 1929 and 1934 unfold in different social environments: In Emil und die Detektive, Emil recruits the forces of an effective, if casual, organization of youths who direct the mass of neighborhood children. In Kästner's second book for young people, Pünktchen und Anton, he concentrated on the relationship of two friends in Berlin. The boarding school defines the realm of social interaction in Das fliegende Klassenzimmer. In these and the other texts under discussion in the present study, the communities created by youths among themselves form subcultures. These

groups have their own traditions, values and language, distinct from the adult's world. The structure of interpersonal relations and young people's language identify, more precisely than the didactic message, the critiques of Weimar society and the ideologies presented through literature to German youth during these critical years. How young people organize and carry out actions in a story indicates the writer's convictions about social organization and cooperation. For instance, while some writers envisioned an authoritarian ideal of larger groups with a rigid hierarchy, others presented selective and subjective interpersonal relations as the key to improving life. In young people's literature, the relationship between author and reader was more explicit than in "higher literature." The authors of the Weimar period communicated to the young public by example. The texts implied that, if readers were to adopt certain character traits and values, they might share in the adventure, humor, sentimentality and righteousness of the novel. The young person's novel was not a text in which ideology was codified in symbols and tropes, but a direct appeal for specific attitudes and patterns of behavior.

Rather than treat Kästner as an isolated phenomenon, the present study reevaluates Kästner in relation to the young people's literature of the time and within the broad spectrum of Weimar culture. All of these texts indicate the

different ways the authors would have corrected the modern way of life in the Weimar Republic for future generations. Although Kästner's work dominated the trend in young people's literature, books by such rarely discussed authors as Wolf Durian and Wolfgang Matthießen also confronted social problems and have become "classics" of German young people's literature, still popular items in bookstores today. In this period of "realism," a rich and diverse young people's literature reacted to the array of cultural and political movements, from communism to National Socialism. The present study is the first to juxtapose Kästner to other prominent authors, some of whom are only rarely mentioned in secondary literature. These texts all depict young people carrying out actions outside of or in opposition to the adult world. These independent actions convey how authors envisioned ideal solutions to poverty, familial strife and political upheavals through the interpersonal relations among young people.

The term realism refers primarily to formal criteria, characterizing a fidelity to real life that dispenses with fantasy and fable. Histories and reference works on Kinder- und Jugendliteratur published in the FRG often classify novels as "realistic" that are ideologically disparate.⁴ For example, Alex Wedding's Ede und Unku (1931), Erich Kästner's Emil und die Detektive and Karl Aloys

Schenzinger's Der Hitlerjunge Quex (1932) exemplify "realism" in books for young people.⁵ Similar distortions appear in a number of "adult" literary histories regarding "Neue Sachlichkeit," the return to an objective reproduction of life in prose, a new facticity in art and literature during the late Weimar period. Hence, Wilhelm Speyer and Erich Ebermayer, whose novels for young people project a decidedly völkisch⁶ idealism, are commonly grouped with Marxists such as Hans Fallada and Anna Seghers under the rubric of "Neue Sachlichkeit."⁷

Because of the inherent social contradictions, scholars and critics in the GDR dispute categories of realism outside the author's ideological context.⁸ Orthodox East German criticism distinguishes authors according to political attitudes: Kästner belongs to the "bourgeois-apologetic" class of liberal authors, Schenzinger to fascist literature and Wedding has been accorded a revered standing within socialist realism and the history of children's literature. Research in the GDR, however, emphasizes the socialist heritage of young people's literature, discounting or ignoring many of the vital forces comprising young people's culture of the time. Indeed, statistics place such chauvinistic authors as Karl May, Ludwig Ganghofer and Hermann Löns at the top of reading lists for working-class youth in the 1920s and early 1930s.⁹

Admittedly, literary histories are superficial and are given to biased generalizations about young people's literature. Yet by insisting on exclusively formal or political analyses of these works, scholarship often ignores that realism and ideology in young people's literature are inextricably related. Authors were urgently promoting their visions of redeeming Germany from the economic and social crises of the Weimar Republic; politics were accentuated and for the sake of immediacy were presented in the context of contemporary everyday life of German youth. Realism does not solely document, even in documentary literature, but filters attitudes of a culture that an author has internalized. New histories and general reference works demonstrate, however, the growing commitment of scholars to a better understanding of German young people's literature. Continued interest in the Kinder- und Jugendliteratur of the Weimar Republic has prompted reprints and new editions, anthologies, and more extensive critical investigations.¹⁰ Increased accessibility to original texts and information about authors permits an understanding of young people's literature of the Weimar period beyond the few standard examples and interpretations. My analyses are unique because I demonstrate how German authors of young people's literature expressed attitudes toward the world through structures of communication. Actions and interpersonal

relations described in these books emerge from an author's concept of an ideal social order, in which young people interact more or less ideally. The act of communicating and cooperating, or, in Jürgen Habermas's words, "communicative action," is conditioned by the author's Weltanschauung.

The purpose of analyzing a cross section of German novels for young people is to establish how diverse cultural values affected innovations in writing for young people during the Weimar Republic. Modern German young people's literature has a history rooted in eighteenth-century theories of education. In the nineteenth century, the didactic and edifying texts characteristically admonished young people to respect the virtues of the bourgeois family. By the turn of the century, the shift to an industrial, urbanized society changed the composition of the young readership. The workers' movement promoted awareness of class issues for proletarian youth. The German educational system began programs to develop a literary competence and aesthetic appreciation for the classics of German literature. Völkisch ideologues perceived in German youth the potential renewal of the "German spirit." Realism in German young people's literature of the Weimar period was only one response to new views on social education, demanding that books relate to everyday life of modern German youth. This realism was still programmatic and instructive, fostering ideals from

Erich Kästner's espousal of Enlightenment values of reason and personal integrity to Alex Wedding's call for proletarian solidarity. Yet the influence that these two authors exerted on the postwar cultural policies affecting young people, Kästner in the FRG and Wedding in the GDR, confirm the decisive role of realism in the history of German young people's literature.

For a balanced historical perspective, it must be emphasized that the authors of "new realism" in the young people's literature comprised only one sector of the market. The significance of this "new realism" becomes obscured within the entire panorama of popular literature that young Germans read during the Weimar period. Besides biblical stories and Grimms' Märchen, the greatest percentage of books for children have been classified as "Trivialliteratur" and "Schmutz und Schund." The popular German authors who attracted the greatest demand included the sentimental Heimatliteratur writers such as Ludwig Ganghofer (1855-1920) and Hermann Stehr (1864-1940). Karl May (1842-1912), by far the most widely read author among young males, and Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816-1872) produced novels of action and suspense in distant lands. A popular literature for girls also flourished in the forms of the "Backfisch" and romance novels. The most prolific and best selling writer of romances, with over 200 novels to her credit, was Hedwig

Courths-Mahler (1867-1950). The popularity of the early science fiction of Jules Verne (1828-1905) inspired imitations in Germany. Hans Dominik, for example, (1872-1945) turned out numerous best sellers in which racial conflict and world domination compensated for his lack of scientific expertise and creative imagination. In Dominik's books, modern technology served völkisch ideology. Medieval settings also became perennial favorites. Influenced by Walter Scott's (1771-1832) Ivanhoe (1820) and Joseph Viktor von Scheffel's (1826-1886) Ekkehard (1855), the many imitations and abridged versions of these knightly adventures comprised an entire sub-group of young people's literature. Finally, the so-called "trash literature" appeared as continuing series of detective or mystery thrillers in cheap paperback editions that flooded the racks of kiosks. Pedagogues of the time denounced such literature as "Schmutz und Schund," objecting to the evocations of sensation and suspense. These educators deplored the possibility that modern penny dreadfuls, cheap romances and tales of adventure titillated young people's sexual curiosity and offered visceral gratification through depictions of violence. The popular genre most acceptable to the teaching establishment remained the Märchen for children and the nineteenth-century bourgeois novel and novella for adolescents. Much to the dismay of pedagogues, however, political movements during the Weimar

Republic used fables, legends and fairy tales as instruments of propaganda.

The Märchen was the most popular and most widely consumed genre of literature for young people in the Wilhelminian and Weimar periods.¹¹ Ideological perspectives in the Märchen, as in realistic literature, emerged from the aggregate of ideas within an author's social reality. The political, "proletarian-revolutionary" Märchen, in particular, promoted social ideals.¹² Fantastic allegories and parables permitted economy and immediacy in order to explain abstract concepts of society or to elucidate problems of poverty and oppression in the capitalist system. How authors interpreted socialism and imparted political views to young people transformed through the years. Just as social and scientific theories influenced the plethora of cultural "isms" in Weimar Germany, the political Märchen likewise revealed how endemic shifts in popular ideas modified the presentation of communism in literature for young people. By the 1920s, many such tales dispensed with expressionistic allegorizing and acquired decidedly realistic features. Like more traditional tales, political Wirklichkeitsmärchen animated objects, anthropomorphized creatures and enchanted the environment. Rather than creating a parallel world, soziale Märchen by authors such as Hermynia zur Mühlen (1883-1951), Béla Balázs (1884-1949) and Lisa Tetzner

related directly to the young person's experiences in a modern industrial society. By 1928, the formation of the Bund Proletarisch-Revolutionäre Schriftsteller (BPRS) in Berlin established a literary school that reevaluated how literature could best communicate ideology of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) to young readers. During the ensuing years of political and economic crisis (1928-33), realistic texts supplanted the fanciful and allegorical tales as appropriate literature for the young proletariat.

The workers' movement in literature and theater recorded the experiences of proletarian youth during the late Weimar years. Walter Schönstedt's (b. 1903) Kämpfende Jugend (1932) documented political action and struggle of a communist youth group in Berlin; works by Georg Waldemar Pijet (b. 1907) reported on youth's participation in the worker's resistance movement. Leftist cultural organizations, such as the BPRS, fostered a literature for the young that authentically reproduced social reality and confronted the problems of the working class, problems that affected all ages. Communist literature for young people continually emphasized youth's role in the class struggle. Alex Wedding and Lisa Tetzner, who were also associated with the BPRS, preferred fictional accounts typifying proletarian life over documentary literature. These "typical" characters and situations emerged from a composite of experiences familiar to the

authors. Although Wedding and Tetzner were initially criticized in the communist press, these two young people's authors exemplified the kind of realism that the Communist Party ultimately adopted as the proper way to present the world to the young proletariat.

As for the right, the Märchen and, especially, heroic sagas and Germanic myths were also the preferred genre of nationalist and other conservative movements in Germany.¹³ During and after World War I, however, a romantic, nationalist "realism" in literature for young people developed. Throughout the Weimar period, the völkisch and National Socialist literature treated both the struggles of modern Germany and the Fronterlebnis of the recent past as an inner experience. Numerous war novels lauded the ecstatic moment of mortal impact, exulting battle as an aesthetic, metaphysical encounter. By internalizing battlefield experience, German chauvinism neutralized the humiliation of defeat, turning loss into victory. Books by Erwin Erich Dwiner (b. 1898) and Ernst Jünger (b. 1895) exemplify authors in whose novels the human psyche melds with the technological hardware of war in the cause of heroic nihilism. Young people, especially those of the German Youth Movement,¹⁴ avidly read the numerous biographies of World War I experiences, from Walter Flex's (1887-1917) Wanderer zwischen beiden Welten in 1916 to Ehrhard Witteck's (author of many American Indian

adventures for young people under the pseudonym Fritz Steuben, b. 1898) Druchbruch anno achtzehn. Ein Fronterlebnis in 1933. Upon this literary heritage of the personal unio mystica with the machinery of destruction, the Hitler movement began building its own mythology for the "new youth" of Germany. The fronts were transferred from foreign borders to the city streets. In the new "Hitler Youth" literature, the inner conversion to National Socialism preceded the apotheosis of martyrdom. Carl Aloys Schenzinger's Der Hitlerjunge Quex established the precedent of conversion and self-sacrifice on which Hitler Youth literature patterned itself. Imitations that followed, such as Peter Hagan's Wie ein Proletarierjunge SA-Mann wurde (1933), Wilfried Bade's Trommlerbub unterm Hakenkreuz (1934), Josef Viera's Utz kämpft für Hitler (1933), however, never matched the massive distribution of Quex, which became the bible of the Hitlerjugend.

The sentiments of the German war novel since World War I also arose in the books dealing with young people at a boarding school. The Internat, a repository of bourgeois Bildung in the early twentieth century, became the scene of hostilities in a number of German young people's novels. Patriotic "combat" was translated into a setting in which youths played out the struggles for the honor of the school. Authors elevated the boarding school to the status of

school-state, surrounded by enemies determined to thwart its "mission" or "destiny." Speyer's Der Kampf der Tertia, Kästner's Das fliegende Klassenzimmer and, to a lesser extent, Ebermayer's Kampf um Odilienberg recover victory from defeat, at times in unseemly violent clashes between "armies" of young people. Physical peril and defiance of death precipitates a catharsis well established in adventure stories and in tales of front line experiences. At the boarding school, however, a hard-fought victory redeems the values of the school as a "nation," parabolically the German nation.

Ignored or known exclusively for their contributions to German children's literature, most of those writing for young people during the Weimar period faded into obscurity. Just as young people are rarely included in social history, literary histories and criticism of adult and young people's literature remain separate but related fields. In literary history, mention of children's and adolescent authors appears typically in regard to "Trivialliteratur" or to "literature of the masses," if at all. The history of Kinder- und Jugendliteratur is contained in its own volumes, separated from "higher" literature.¹⁵ Yet twentieth-century young people's literature did indeed undergo many of the same developments and cannot be extracted from adult culture. German young people's literature was influenced by

both Neue Sachlichkeit and by incipient Socialist Realism, but rarely does anyone note the relevances between adult and young people's culture. In fact, because of its inherent didactics, young people's literature reveals the ideologies of German culture more explicitly than do the "great" novels of the early twentieth century.

While the realistic literature for young people shared many attributes with adult literature in the later years of the Weimar Republic, the essential distinctions broke with the mood of the times. Prominent major novels of the period such as Alfred Döblin's (1878-1957) Berlin Alexanderplatz (1929), Kästner's Fabian (1931), and Hans Fallada's (1893-1947) Kleiner Mann -- Was nun? (1932) underscored the failures of unheroic personae to assert themselves and to affect their environment. In each case the little person suffers impotence before the behemoth of the modern world; the epic greatness of the individual shrank before the mechanisms of mass society. In contrast, nearly all of the realistic novels for young people, Kästner's in particular, conclude with the propitious resolution of conflicts and never question the power of the autonomous young heroes to determine their own existence. In Kästner's novels, a young person's integrity overcomes financial and familial difficulties, ending with a tableau of emotional and economic security. In Alex Wedding's Ede und Unku, Ede raises the political

consciousness of his parents, signifying the promise of working-class solidarity and eventual prosperity for all. Of the texts for young people that attempted to portray contemporary realities, only Lisa Tetzner's Der Fußball concludes without a bright outlook.

Although Kästner, Wedding and Tetzner confronted the sufferings of modern youth and asserted that their works were faithful to actual conditions, young people's literature remained utopian. In literature for adults, writers such as Döblin, Kästner, Fallada, among others of the late Weimar period, reflect a dysteleology in the modern human condition. In their works, communication between the mechanisms of society and the individual's concept of self and the world broke down. In German literature for young people, authors restructured human interaction in order to inject a sense of purpose for the future generation. The action took place among young people according to their own lines of communication and hierarchies of authority. These ostensibly random, spontaneous associations and actions revealed an author's version of institutions and human relations that would not alienate the individual from social processes. Ideology, in the sense of a writer's socially constructed reality, elucidates the thinking of the author and the meaning of the work to the readership.¹⁶ Ascertaining separately stylistic elements, periodicity or political

program fails to answer the social questions of realistic literature. While the realisms in young people's literature may have intended to give an account of actual existing circumstances, they in fact posited the author's potential "better" reality.

The utopian content of the new young people's literature is not to be confused with the piety and goodness fostered in traditional forms. German young people's culture traditionally presumed that children existed in their own untainted world, unaware of "real life." During the Weimar Republic, the pedagogical establishment, in particular, clung to the belief that childhood and adolescence represented stages of inner development; knowledge of politics and social injustice supposedly disrupted proper social adjustment by cultivating pessimism at an impressionable age. The classic pedantry of bourgeois edification, however, no longer suited the modern urban realities. Moreover, the preferred texts for the aesthetic education of German youth in the Weimar period -- the nineteenth-century idylls of provincial Germany -- seemed alien to everyday life in the industrial age. While conservative teachers cherished the notion of detached bliss and innocence, liberal educators began insisting that, in order to socialize youth into modern society, young people should acquire practical knowledge, unvarnished by storybook impressions of the

world. Literature for young people became a political issue as teachers began promoting books about everyday life in modern Germany alongside the standard German classics. The educational reform movement in Bremen (from around the turn of the century to 1933) fostered, in exemplary fashion, pedagogical methods that related learning to the pupils' experience of life outside the school. These teachers were the first to assume the task of writing books for young people that reflected real life from the child's point of view -- an essential formal element of the new realism in German children's literature.

A "critical" realism in children's and adolescent literature, which depicted social problems of the urban working class, eventually became an issue of great controversy in educational policy during the Weimar period. Pedagogues of the Vereinigten Jugendschriften-Ausschüsse, the major organization of educators on matters of reading material for young people, engaged in a "realism" debate in 1930 and 1931. The arguments that appeared in the main publication of the movement, Jugendschriften-Warte, exhibited the world views determining what reading material would be available in German schools.¹⁷ The arguments over "new" realism named specifically which books were "realistic," what constituted "realism," and on what grounds teachers disputed the value of contemporaneity for the instruction of German literature,

or for young people's benefit in general. The attitudes that conflicted in this debate emerge from the ideological antagonisms between modernity and idealistic precepts of eternal truths and higher values: For young people's literature, and for the policies affecting "youth," the notion of a heile Welt preserved traditional values in a closed order, protected from the degeneration that modern civilization's materialism and amorality supposedly brought about. Leftist authors and critics of German young people's literature, such as those in the Proletarian-Revolutionary Movement, had by 1930 loaded the term "realism" with political connotations that teachers often condemned as "tendentious." Many, the marxist teachers in particular, opposed restricting literature for youth to older classics. This dissenting position held that books should also include the pragmatic function of relating literature to present-day life. Such relevance promoted an interest for reading among working-class youth and served the practical goal of socializing pupils into the world of modern, industrialized Germany. This debate among pedagogues identified what was innovative and controversial in the new young people's literature of the time: contemporaneity, the young person's perspective, and candor about work, poverty, death, and even sexuality.

Young people's literature experienced reactions against this new relevance and politicization. The critical and

"naturalistic" books appeared profane, a sacrilege against the enchantment of childhood innocence and youthful idealism. Authors such as Speyer, Ebermayer and even Kästner adjusted reality in order to re-enchant the young person's world in literature with a sense of ultimate goodness and justice. Yet both the objective and romantic perspectives were reacting to the same fear imprinted on all facets of Weimar culture: that modern industrial, advanced capitalist society subjects human life to rationalized control.

In modern, industrialized Europe, religion has relinquished much of its control over everyday life to legal, scientific and even aesthetic institutions. The eminent German sociologist Max Weber described this secularism as the disenchantment of the world. His pessimistic prognosis for the West envisioned the continuing usurpation of human existence under the arbitrary mechanisms of scientific logic and capitalistic exchange. Weber's theory of the rationalization of everyday life dominated the breadth of intellectual discourse. On the one hand, Oswald Spengler mourned the loss of "soul" from the artificial apparatus of "civilization." On the other hand, Georg Lukács's theory of reification asserted that social relations are subjected to technological rationality. The Weimar Republic and the perceived decline of Western economies represented for all camps an era of social and moral decline, the eve of

disaster. Both the right and left were anti-capitalist, and both were, in a sense, romantic. When I use the term "romantic anti-capitalism," however, I refer to a utopian, anti-liberal Germanic ideology that predicted the rebirth of a German nation, a racist and mystical mode of thinking that influenced the German cult of youth and the enmity of many young people's authors toward the Weimar Republic. Romantic anti-capitalists projected a re-enchantment of the world through a Germanic "religion."

In retrospect, however, a liberating moment accompanied the rationalization of the Lebenswelt. There arrived advancements in education along with Weber's "Entzauberung der Weltbilder" and the secularization of the "spheres of value" from their place in religion into the differentiated fields of science, law and art. By the turn of the century, Germany had experienced great strides in its literacy rate and, consequently, a burgeoning market for literature. Mandatory attendance of school in the expanding urban centers contributed to an astounding increase in literacy. By 1910, statistical reports indicated that 95 to 99 percent of Germans could read and write. Moreover, the average work week decreased.¹⁸ The corresponding widespread dissemination of knowledge, along with the cultural activity facilitated by increased leisure time, induced evolutionary "devaluated shifts" in the Weltbilder. Traditional world

views could not absorb the new, increased knowledge, and thus required critical review and realignment.¹⁹ In the debates in the Jugendschriften-Warte, for example, some critics confirmed the change in the role of the family and the need for social and educational reforms. Although the devaluation of traditions precipitated the revision of norms, young people's literature of all ideological hues portrayed legal, educational and welfare agencies as adversaries to the individual's well being.

In the course of the early years of this century and throughout the Weimar Republic, debate and legislation transformed the educational system from a state apparatus, which inculcated nationalistic values, into an institution that extended its interests to the health and security of children. Through the educational system and laws governing children's welfare, however, the mass democratic society thoroughly infused young people's daily life with therapists and public legal control. Schools and welfare agencies came under bureaucratic administration, performing their functions indifferent to personal lives and individual contingencies. The boarding school eliminates such functional reason by forming an intimate, hermetic community of young people. In contrast, the working-class youth in Berlin, specifically in Kästner's Pünktchen und Anton, Wedding's Ede und Unku and in Lisa Tetzner's Erwin und Paul, alleviate the

arbitrary abuses of an uncaring world through the institution of friendship.

The three chapters that comprise the present investigation are divided according to the different social contexts in which young people contend against, or cooperate with, the adult world. Kästner's Emil, Schenzinger's Der Hitlerjunge Quex, Kai aus der Kiste by Wolf Durian and Das rote U by Wilhelm Matthießen portrayed larger groups of young people in an urban environment. Group structures in these texts indicated attitudes toward the world through the function of social organization, level of communication and purposeful actions that the young personae undertake. Das fliegende Klassenzimmer and other "boarding school" novels of the period, such as Wilhelm Speyer's Der Kampf der Tertia, its sequel Die goldene Horde and Erich Ebermayer's Kampf um Odilienberg, cultivated values and patterns of behavior that formed within a closed environment. The Internat governed all facets of a young person's life, offering an alternative model of social organization while conveying the widespread discontent and disillusionment with modern culture in Weimar Germany. Finally, the theme of friendship appeared in Kästner's Pünktchen und Anton, Alex Wedding's Ede und Unku and in both of Lisa Tetzner's stories Erwin und Paul and Der Fußball. In these books, the personal involvement with another's life offered resistance

against both poverty and the alienation imposed by legal, educational and social welfare institutions.

In the Weimar Republic, German writers of young people's books inherited the literary-pedagogical tradition of idealism. Youth (that is, male youth), within the educated middle class, signified optimism, vigor, enthusiasm, sensitivity and beauty -- the mold into which German and classical humanities were poured. Such a moral, aesthetic education maintained the goals and principles of a class (and race) that considered itself the cultural elite -- of the world. The ethnocentrism and caste consciousness of idealized German youth began to be undermined by all those things we associate with modernity, from the democratic welfare society to urbanization to an industrial, capitalist economy. Yet even the humiliation of defeat in World War I did not depose the idealistic perceptions of German youth. Factions in Germany's government, Youth Movement and educational system acted as the conservators of a Germanic ideal, which they felt was destined to arise in some future golden age. The concept of being preservers and prophets for a lofty, even mystical society explains the attitudes of religious fervor, union and struggle in the "higher culture." In the German novels for young people under discussion, the boarding school epitomizes the walled repository for German idealism. In contrast, a new pedagogical approach in German

young people's literature was intent on educating readers about social relations as they were and on ways the legal and economic systems could be made more humane. Of course the pragmatic content of books by authors such as Alex Wedding and Lisa Tetzner was politically motivated, because it cultivated among working-class readers an esteem for proletarian values. The critical realism of Wedding and Tetzner, if not entirely utopian, projected its own "better" reality. However, realism in German young people's literature during the Weimar Republic was not always critical or progressive. Indeed, in most of the works analyzed in this study, structures of communication show that authors typically advocated a restructuring of authority based on regressive ideologies.

Notes

¹West German industry today emerged from corporate structures that consolidated during the Weimar years and that survived through the post-war reconstruction. Cf. David Abraham, The Collapse of the Weimar Republic. Political Economy and Crisis (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981).

²The realism that has characterized adolescent literature in the Federal Republic of Germany since the late 1960s first evolved during the Weimar Republic. Today's critical literature for young people in Germany offers alternative views of social reality and confronts the authority of school, social adjustment with peers and adults, sexuality and the young person's future as an adult. During the 1970s, the student movement's interest in the history of the socialist heritage recovered works of children's literature of the working class that first appeared in the 1920s and 1930s. Hermynia Zur Mühlen's (1883-1951) Märchen, in particular, circulated in new editions as oppositional literature for children. See: Bernd Dolle-Weinkauff, Das Märchen in der proletarisch-revolutionären Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Weimarer Republik 1918-1933, *Jugend und Medien* 8, ed. Winfred Kaminski (Frankfurt am Main: Dipa, 1984), p. 5.

In the wake of the anti-authoritarian movement in the FRG, an abundance of children's books based on the everyday experience of contemporary young people emerged in the 1970s by authors such as Peter Härtling (b. 1933), Ursula Wölfel (b. 1922) and Christina Nöstlinger (b. 1936), to name just a prominent few. See Bernd Jürgen Thiel, Die realistische Kindergeschichte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979), pp. 15-21. Whether consciously or not, these recent authors also take up a style of realism for young people that first arrived in the late 1920s and early 1930s: Young people as the personae play roles in which they communicate in their own language within the mundane, familiar conflicts, interests and fantasies that relate immediately to the lives of the intended readers. Despite the differences between the situations in Weimar Germany and in the FRG during the 1970s, the realistic works produced

for young people in both periods debunk the myth of a preserved, wholesome world as the proper realm for young minds.

³"Children's Literature," Encyclopedia Britannica, 5 (Chicago: William Benton, 1973), p. 522B.

⁴The Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur (LKJ), in four volumes that appeared in an encyclopedic format between 1975 and 1982, represents one of the most extensive reference works on young people's literature in the FRG. Lexikon der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, 4 vols., ed. Klaus Doderer (Weinheim: Beltz, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1982). Books with collections of articles edited by Gerhard Haas, Bettina Hurrelmann and Klaus Doderer, among many others, also cover a range of basic historical and theoretical discussions. Malte Dahrendorf, Kinder- und Jugendliteratur im bürgerlichen Zeitalter. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte, Kritik und Didaktik, (Königstein: Scriptor, 1980); Klaus Doderer, ed., Klassische Kinder- und Jugendliteratur (Weinheim: Beltz, 1969); Gerhard Haas, ed., Kinder- und Jugendliteratur (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1974); Bettina Hurrelmann, ed., Kinderliteratur und Rezeption (Baltmannsweiler: Burgbücherei Wilhelm Schneider, 1980).

⁵Cf. Theodor Karst, "Realismus in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur," Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, vol. 3 (1979), p.136.

⁶The terms Volk and völkisch refer to an ideology that emerged from the German Romantic movement. The Volk comprises a transcendent unity of people who are "rooted" in their particular "landscape" and alienated to all others. Völkisch thinking went beyond nationalism. It was an attitude toward the world that opposed the urbanization and modernization. Modern civilization "uprooted" the soul from its "landscape" and robbed the individual of its individuality. Nazi ideology appropriated völkisch ideas for its own brand of nationalism. See: George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology. Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich, 1964 (New York: Schocken, 1981).

⁷See: Ernst Alker, Profile und Gestalten der deutschen Literatur nach 1914, ed. Eugen Thurnber (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1977), p. 99; Wilhelm Duwe, Deutsche Dichtung des 20. Jahrhunderts 2 (Zürich: Füssli, 1962), p. 101. For an incisive critique of "Neue Sachlichkeit" see Helmut Lethen, Neue Sachlichkeit 1924-1932. Studien zur Literatur des "weissen Sozialismus" (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1970).

⁸The most significant contributions to historical and theoretical research on young people's literature in Germany appeared initially in the GDR, where cultural policy from the outset had concerned itself with the production of reading materials for young people. Heinz Wegehaupt's bibliographical works are primary sources for research in German children's literature: Heinz Wegehaupt, Deutschsprachige Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Arbeiterklasse von den Anfängen bis 1945 (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1972); Theoretische Literatur zum Kinder- und Jugendbuch (München: Dokumentation, 1972). These books, along with supplements published in the journal Beiträge zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur provide extensive bibliographic information. The Studien zur Geschichte der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, first volume 1974, 14 Studien have appeared to date) furnish an overview of the history of German children's literature with an emphasis on the GDR heritage. In regard to the Weimar Republic see: Ingmar Dreher, Die deutsche proletarisch-revolutionäre Kinder- und Jugendliteratur zwischen 1918 und 1933, Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 6 (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1975). Dreher's does little more than expand upon previous summaries of the socialist heritage of German young people's literature that previously appeared in Proletarisch-revolutionäre Literatur 1918 bis 1933. Ein Abriß. (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Verlag, 1967), pp. 216-233. The only journal of literary criticism specializing in German children's literature is the Beiträge zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, ed. Gerhard Holtz-Baumert (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1964-). Hereafter in references this journal will be abbreviated BKJ. Also, two comprehensive handbooks on the history of East German children's Literature offer excellent introductions into the literary heritage of the GDR: Friedel Wallesch, ed., Sozialistische Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der DDR (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1979); Christian Emmrich, ed., Literatur für Kinder und Jugendliche in der DDR (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1979).

⁹Numerous polls taken by city teachers and published in the Jugendschriften-Warte from 1927 to 1932 consistently show the popularity of völkisch literature to equal or exceed that of communist or liberal writers. See also: Detlev J.K. Peukert, Jugend zwischen Krieg und Krise. Lebenswelten von Arbeiterjungen in der Weimarer Republik (Köln: Bund, 1987), p. 212.

¹⁰Dieter Richter, ed. Das politische Kinderbuch. Eine aktuelle historische Dokumentation, collection alternative

5, ed. Hildegard Brenner (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1973) provides one of the first in-depth documentations of the production and policies of young people's literature in Weimar Germany. In the "Sammlung alter Kinderbücher" series, the Weismann Verlag has reprinted several classics of German Children's literature, each volume complete with appendices of critical annotations and historical documentation. Two works from Weismann that fall into the time frame of the Weimar Republic include Carl Dantz, Peter Stoll. Ein Kinderleben. Von ihm selbst erzählt, ed. Johannes Merkel and Dieter Richter (Munich: Weismann Verlag, 1978) and Bernd Dolle, Dieter Richter and Jack Zipes, eds., Es wird einmal... Soziale Märchen der Zwanziger Jahre (München: Weismann, 1983). In addition, the East German Kinderbuchverlag has extensively reproduced illustrations, along with texts and commentary, in its anthology Horst Kunze and Heinz Wegehaupt, eds., Spiegel proletarischer Kinder und Jugendliteratur 1870-1936, (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1985).

¹¹"Es (das Märchen) wurde als die Kinderliteratur schlechthin angesehen." Jack Zipes and Bernd Dolle, "Aus alten Mären da klingt es... Die etablierte Märchenszene der Weimarer Republik," Es wird einmal... Soziale Märchen der 20er Jahre, ed. Bernd Dolle, Dieter Richter and Jack Zipes, Sammlung alter Kinderbücher 8 (Munich: Weismann, 1983), p. 161.

¹²See especially Bernd Dolle-Weinkauff, Das Märchen in der proletarisch-revolutionären Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Weimarer Republik 1918-1933, Jugend und Medien 8, ed. Winfred Kaminski (Frankfurt am Main: dipa, 1984).

¹³For example, as George Mosse emphasizes, the Märchen played a central role in a National Socialist education of the fascist social ideals: "Märchen hatten immer ihren Platz im Lehrplan des Schulunterrichts, doch erst im Nazideutschland schätzte man sie als wichtigste Vermittler für ein rechtes Verständnis des Germanischen bei der Jugend." George L. Mosse, "Tod, Zeit und Geschichte. Die völkische Utopie der Überwindung," Deutsches utopisches Denken im 20. Jahrhundert, ed. Reinhold Grimm und Jost Hermand (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974), p.59. See also: Peter Aley, Jugendliteratur im dritten Reich: Dokumente und Kommentare (Hamburg: Verlag der Buchmarktforschung, 1969) and Christa Kamenetsky, Children's Literature in Hitler's Germany. The Cultural Policy of National Socialism (Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 1984).

¹⁴The German Youth Movement describes the great number of loosely affiliated and non-affiliated youth groups that

sprang up during the Weimar Republic. The Wandervogel, credited with founding this "youth culture" around 1898 in Berlin, were a group of romantic Gymnasiasten who wanted to break away from the philistine world of their school and families. By the mid-1920s the Youth Movement included everything from informal hiking clubs to religious and paramilitary organizations. The groups affiliated with the Bündische Jugend of the 1920s were also diverse, but in general were either non-political or touted the romance of an anti-capitalistic Young Germany of the future.

¹⁵Besides reference works already mentioned, other standard histories of German young people's literature include: Adelbert Merget's Geschichte der deutschen Jugendliteratur (1867), Hermann Leopold Köster's Geschichte der deutschen Jugendliteratur (1908) and Irene Dyhrenfurth's Geschichte des deutschen Jugendbuches (1943).

¹⁶Cf. Reiner Neubert, "Zur Aufnahme und Bewertung der deutschen proletarisch-revolutionären Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in der Literaturwissenschaft der BRD," BKJ 77 (1986), 36.

¹⁷Die Jugendschriften-Warte, was first issued in January, 1893 and will be further abbreviated as JW. Since August, 1973 JW appears under the title Informationen. Literatur und Medien. Jugendschriften-Warte. The following articles comprise the "realism debate:" Fritz Grebenstein, "Von der neuen Wirklichkeit. Ein Beitrag zum kommenden Grundrisschema unserer Arbeit," JW 32, 12 (1927); W(ilhelm) Weber, "Von der neuen Wirklichkeit. Eine Erwiderung," JW 33, 3 (1928), 21-23; Fritz Grebenstein, "Von der neuen Wirklichkeit. Ein Beitrag zum kommenden Grundrisschema unserer Arbeit," JW 32, 12 (1927); W(ilhelm) Weber, "Von der neuen Wirklichkeit. Eine Erwiderung," JW 33, 3 (1928), 21-23; Karl August Falke, "Werkstätige Jugend und Buch. Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen eines Buchhändlers," JW 35, 3 (1930), 23; Franz Hirtler, "'Gegenwärtigkeit'. Epilog zum Preisausschreiben des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler. 'Kann die Volksschule ihre Schüler zum guten Buch erziehen?'" JW 35, 5 (1929), 44-47; John Barfaut, "Die gegenwartsbetonte Jugendschrift in der Volksschule," JW 35, 10 (1930), 85-86; Max Baumann, "Von der Notwendigkeit, gegenwartsbetonte Bücher in die Schule zu bringen," JW 35, 10 (1930), 87; Severin Rüttgers, "Grundsätzliches vom Gegenwärtigen," JW 35, 12 (1930), 105-108; Severin Rüttgers, "Das Urmenschliche und die ewige Volkheit," JW 36, 3 (1931), 26. The National Socialist cultural establishment declared Rüttger's pedagogical theories a model for German education.

See especially: Severin Rüttgers, Erweckung des Volkes durch seine Dichtung. Erwägungen und Hinweise zur volkhaften Erziehung (Leipzig: Verlag der Dürrischen Buchhandlung, 1933). E. Löffler and John Barfaut, "Jugend und Buch in der Gegenwart. Eine Umfrage der Lehrer," JW 36, 3 (1931), 26-28; Karl Vaupel, "Stellungnahme zur 'gegenwartsbetonten' Jugendschrift," JW 36, 5 (1931), 41-43; Michel Weiß, "Unsere Jugend und die Gegenwart im Buche," JW 36, 5 (1931), 43-46; Kurt Hildebrand, "Die Jugendschrift der Gegenwart als Funktion unserer Zeit. Eine kulturpsychologische Betrachtung," JW 36, 6 (1931), 50; Karl Vaupel, "Jugend und Buch in der Gegenwart," JW 37, 7 (1931), 57-64; Erwin Klatt, "Eine Stellungnahme zu Karl Vaupel," JW 37, 2 (1932), 17-19; Franz Jürgens, "Grundsätzliches zur Frage der gegenwartsbetonten Jugendschriften," JW 37, 3 (1932), 21-24. Jürgens reviews Taschkent, die brotreiche Stadt, Heini Jermann, Peter Stoll, Zum Lande der Gerechten, Emil und die Detektive, and Pünktchen und Anton. For a partial analysis of this debate see Joachim Schmidt, "Die Diskussion über die 'Gegenwärtigkeit' -- ein Streit für eine realistische Kinderliteratur?" Beiträge zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 6 (1964), 142-148.

¹⁸Manfred Rauh, "Epoche -- sozialgeschichtlicher Abriß," Deutsche Literatur. Eine Sozialgeschichte. Jahrhundertwende: Vom Naturalismus zum Expressionismus 1880-1918, ed. Horst Albert Glaser (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982), p. 18.

¹⁹Cf. Jürgen Habermas, Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981), p. 464.

CHAPTER I

REALISM, CULTURAL VALUES AND COMMUNICATION

IN FOUR FICTIONAL CONCEPTIONS OF GROUPS:

EMIL UND DIE DETEKTIVE, DER HITLERJUNGE QUEX,
KAI AUS DER KISTE, AND DAS ROTE U

Das Studium, das dem Menschen angemessen ist, ist das seiner Beziehungen. Solange er sich nur als körperliches Wesen kennt, muß er sich im Hinblick auf seine Beziehungen zu den Dingen studieren: das ist die Beschäftigung seiner Kindheit; fängt er an, sich als geistiges Wesen zu fühlen, muß er sich im Hinblick auf seine Beziehungen zu den Menschen studieren: das ist die Beschäftigung seines ganzes Lebens, mit der er an dem Punkt beginnen muß, zu dem wir jetzt gelangt sind.¹

A Model Child:

Erich Kästner's Emil und die Detektive

Kästner wrote Emil und die Detektive (1929) at a time when realistic literature for young people had yet to gain general acceptance in Germany. In fact, in that year he was preparing a modern Märchen, Der 35. Mai oder Konrad reitet in die Südsee, which he delayed publishing until 1931. In the preface to Emil, Kästner (as the narrator) relates how a

waiter at his favorite café advised him to write from actual experience:

"Da will ich Ihnen mal einen prima Rat geben", sagt er, "das beste wird sein, Sie schreiben über Sachen, die Sie kennen. Also von der Untergrundbahn und Hotels und solchem Zeug. Und von Kindern, wie sie Ihnen täglich an der Nase vorbeilaufen und wie wir früher einmal selber welche waren."²

The waiter's insight inspired Kästner's most popular work and Emil launched the young author's career as a writer for young people. He indeed used the setting of contemporary Berlin, yet he idealized the environment and characters: The model behavior of Emil and his compatriots reflected Kästner's principles of justice and duty.

Kästner had always maintained that his fiction for young people offered instructive patterns of ethical conduct. As in the tradition of children's literature, Emil affirmed the "goodness" in people. This affirmation appealed to adults, who were the primary consumers, as much as it did to the intended young readers. This approval by parents and educators assured the overwhelming success of Kästner's books. Kästner's first and most commercially successful novel set the standards for this trend toward realism. In the many "realistic" young people's books that followed in the later Weimar years, collective efforts of specific "cliques"³ correct problems in society as young

characters either undertake a police action or perform an act of charity.⁴

Synopsis: Frau Tischbein sends her son, Emil, from their home in a provincial city on an extended visit to relatives in Berlin. On the train, Emil awakens from a bizarre nightmare and discovers that the 140 marks his mother pinned inside his coat are missing. Gone too from the compartment is the mysterious Herr Grundeis. Emil locates Grundeis in Berlin and is determined to recover the money for which his poor mother worked so hard. Emil does not immediately report his loss to authorities because he fears reprisals for a recent schoolboy prank in his home town. He soon encounters a neighborhood gang. He and his new friends form a plan of action for this detective adventure. They monitor Grundeis' movements and, finally, the mass of young people swarms Grundeis just as he rashly attempts to exchange the stolen money. However, before the thief can change the bills, the pinholes in them (from being fastened inside Emil's jacket) prove Emil's accusations. The police arrest Grundeis, who turns out to be a notorious bank robber. Emil not only obtains his mother's money, but also receives a thousand marks as reward. He becomes an overnight celebrity and his mother joins him in Berlin.

The depiction of "reality" in Emil, as well as in Kästner's other books for young people, forms an axis of contention about which many of the critical evaluations of his work revolve. Kurt Beutler designated Kästner's realistic books as "Umweltromane" that impart a didactic message. Kästner both addresses the reader directly and illustrates his lessons through the exemplary behavior of his characters.⁵ The young people's perspective and colloquial

dialogue also enhance the immediacy and suspense that, in Beutler's view, entertain young readers. Klaus Doderer criticizes Kästner's realism as a "frisierte Wirklichkeit." At the same time, he defends Emil for the opposite reason that Beutler does: Doderer contends that the utopian features of the novel's realistic milieu and the narrator's didactic interruptions create an alienation effect. The reader's attention to implausibilities, arising from Kästner's idealism, supposedly sharpen a young person's critical acumen.⁶

Many critics understand Kästner's realism as a means toward social edification -- as the reverse side of the social criticism in his poetry and in his novel for adults, Fabian (1931).⁷ They agree too that the typologies of his Jugendbücher embody the virtues of an Enlightenment ideal. Most evaluations ascertain that Kästner's program of social reform begins with the virtuous individual. Emil, as such an individual, epitomizes industriousness, moderation, tolerance, dignity and prudence. The individual's enlightened conduct then would propagate a reasonable and just social order. Kästner's utopian construction of reason and justice requires archetypical characters and situations. These "types" undermine the authenticity of Kästner's realism because the wealth of Emil's virtues hardly typifies young

people, inviting the criticism of Emil as a modern, urban morality play.

In the most trenchant critique of his works, Marianne Bäumlér takes Kästner to task for his "tidy" realities.⁸ In Emil, the absence of the father and the beatification of the mother preclude familial strife; the vacation season disposes of issues related to the educational system. Hardships, economic and otherwise, exhibit Emil's nobility of character. The author uses poverty as a sympathetic attribute; he does not confront it as a social injustice (the "street youths" reside in a middle-class neighborhood). Finally, the novel ignores the presence of poverty and decadence in Berlin; the city serves as a showcase for Emil's new experiences. While Kästner's books for young people offer positive counterexamples to Fabian and to his other satirical writings, Bäumlér emphasizes the circle of repression that forms the dark side of Enlightenment morals. Emil's model behavior reflects more his (and Kästner's) obsessions, self-censorship and guilt, feelings that revolve about the mother figure. An excerpt from Kästner's autobiography, Als ich ein kleiner Junge war (1957), highlights Emil's statement about his mother, demonstrating the inducements that motivate a "Musterknabe:"

Ida Kästner wollte die vollkommene Mutter ihres Jungen werden. Und weil sie das werden wollte,

nahm sie auf niemanden Rücksicht, auch auf sich selber nicht, und wurde die vollkommene Mutter. All ihre Liebe und Phantasie, ihren ganzen Fleiß, jede Minute und jeden Gedanken, ihre gesamte Existenz setzte sie, fanatisch wie ein besessener Spieler, auf eine einzige Karte, auf mich. Ihr Einsatz hieß ihr Leben, mit Haut und Haar!

Die Spielkarte war ich. Deshalb mußte ich gewinnen. Deshalb durfte ich sie nicht enttäuschen. Deshalb wurde ich der beste Schüler und der bravste Sohn. Ich hätte es nicht ertragen, wenn sie ihr großes Spiel verloren hätte. Das sie die vollkommene Mutter sein wollte und war, gab es für mich, die Spielkarte, keinen Zweifel: Ich mußte der vollkommene Sohn werden.⁹

"Ist deine Mutter eigentlich sehr streng?" fragte der Berliner Junge.

"Meine Mutter?" fragte Emil. "Aber keine Spur. Sie erlaubt mir alles. Aber ich tu's nicht. Verstehst du?"

"Und wenn sie mir erlaubt, mit Pröttsch aus der ersten Etage bis neun Uhr abends in die Heide zu gehen, bin ich gegen sieben wieder zurück. Weil ich nicht will, daß sie allein in der Küche sitzt und Abendbrot ißt. Dabei verlangt sie unbedingt, daß ich mit den andern bleiben soll. Ich hab's ja auch versucht. Aber da macht mir das Vergnügen gar kein Vergnügen mehr." (75)

The pressures of psychological attachment prove a much more powerful control mechanism than overt punishment and discipline. Emil Tischbein has an obsession for excellence because his conscience castigates him for the suffering he may cause his mother. At all costs, he must recover the money for which she toiled and sacrificed.

Aside from noting the obsessive interdependence between Emil and his mother (Kästner's fetish for the mother figure recurs frequently in his work), Bäumler observes that the

characters legitimize and approve actions through communicative "feedback." The characters continually compliment and reinforce one another within their roles. Because Emil, his friends and "good" adults are so predisposed to one another, they avert insubordination within the group and prevent any disrespect for elders from disrupting the collective venture: "Ansonsten kommen sich die Kinder mit den funktionsgerecht konfektionierten Charakteren nicht ins Gehege eines Kompetenzstreits. Ihre Kommunikation ist dergestalt als-Überich-orientierte Ergänzung angelegt, daß keiner der anderen seine Position streitig machen muß."¹⁰

The manner of communicating corresponds to the types of characters. The "Professor," the leader of the gang, administers the group. He devises strategies and rewards service and contributions to planned activities with his approval: "Es war stets, als verteile er an die andern Zensuren. Deshalb hieß er auch der Professor" (73). Gustav also fulfills the duties of the office that befits his personality: He executes the tasks that require street-wise audacity and exuberance, such as disguising himself as an elevator boy and infiltrating the hotel where Grundeis stays. By virtue of "little Dienstag's" submissive nature and "most reasonable" parents, the "Professor" stations him by the telephone at home to relay messages, which denies him the excitement of chasing the thief. Emil presides over the

ethics of procedures, assuming the role of benevolent arbiter and prime authority. The other youths, by the end numbering ninety to a hundred, remain for the most part a nameless, marginal mass. The dialogue, which provides the vehicle of the developing action, takes place primarily among the three leaders. Emil, "The Professor," and Gustav assert themselves through their extraordinary talents, assume commanding positions and deliberate on group actions from a position of superiority. Although street jargon colors their language (especially Gustav's), the informalities do not interfere with "rational" proposals and consensus. Through mutual approbation within this closed circle, they justify their own actions and dismiss beforehand any dispute of their competence to operate as "powers in office."

The "competent" authority that Emil, Gustav and the "Professor" exercise not only rests on their prestige and endowments, but reflects their special relationships with the "good" adults. The "Professor's" father, a Justizrat, has apparently imprinted his executive manner upon his son, manifesting itself in the boy's sovereign air and inherent capacity for leadership. While Emil dedicates perpetual self-sacrifice to his mother, the "Professor" enjoys a lax, uninhibited familial situation with the parents' full confidence in his trustworthiness and discretion:

Es ist ja auch das Gescheiteste. Auf diese Weise werden sie nicht belogen. Ich habe meinem alten Herrn versprochen, nichts zu tun, was unanständig oder gefährlich ist. Und solange ich das Versprechen halte, kann ich machen, was ich will. Ist ein glänzender Kerl, mein Vater. Er hat gesagt, ich solle mir immer ausmalen, ob ich genau so handeln würde, wenn der dabei wäre. (66)

So long as the "Professor" behaves reasonably, no constrictions interfere with his liberty. Emil's self-imposed constraints contrast markedly from the freedom allowed by the "Professor's" prudence and the Justizrat's tolerance. These different personal ethics result from the impositions of class. Emil's work ethic and personal sacrifice exemplify Kästner's formula for alleviating the misery of poverty. Members of the educated elite, on the other hand, administer their duties in accordance with principles of egalitarianism and the discourse among "reasonable" persons. The ostensible equality of the two youths demonstrates a functional ideal that combines pietistic morality and "enlightened" reason.

The successful pursuit of the criminal receives support and positive feedback from all the adults the group encounters. The hotel attendant not only permits Gustav to disguise himself as a bellhop and shadow Grundeis, but also lends him ten marks for incidentals. The bank teller pays heed to Emil's accusations as Grundeis attempts to exchange

the notes he had stolen from Emil. Even the police commissioner praises the clique's accomplishment: "Wunderbar habt ihr das gemacht, ihr Jungen" (93). Finally, the police and newspaper, as examples of efficient and ethical systems, associate the rational order among Emil's friends with the organizations of adult public life.

As it happens, the adult in the novel who involves himself most with Emil's adventure is a journalist named Kästner. The author's own appearance lends immediacy and authenticity, but the overwhelming approval for the projection of his own childhood blatantly glorifies Kästner's own development from a "model child" to a model adult. Kästner's self-absorption, disregard of the sordid realities of Berlin's youth, and the reduction of young people's behavior to utilitarian interactions, all distort the historical conditions to clean simplifications.

The author does not relent from lavishing rewards upon Emil. After the law enforcement network processes the information on Grundeis and identifies him as a fugitive bank robber, Emil collects his thousand marks. By the next day, the newspaper distributes the detective story, with adulation for Emil, over large parts of Germany. Department stores tender lucrative offers in return for Emil's endorsements. With sterling integrity Emil declines to exploit his popularity further -- a gesture he can well afford, yet he

speaks for all his friends who win no financial rewards. In Emil's world, social systems perform efficiently and judiciously because institutions mirror the consciousness of "good" individuals, young and old. Only the occasional "flawed" personality, such as Grundeis, disturbs the ordered functions of society.

Kästner's characters emulate businesslike functionality, yet internal disturbances arise in the operations Emil and his friends undertake. They discuss and resolve objections to procedures and to authority. Open discourse implies a formal moral and rational basis for the group's organization and actions. With two examples of such deliberation in Emil, the clique imitates a judicial procedure in order to quell dissent. During the initial mobilization of forces, strategy precedes action toward the objective. The "Professor" assigns posts and procures supplies before he considers anything else. Impatience mounts among those who disagree with the plan to watch and wait. In a brief exchange, the question concerning the discrepancy between moral right and legal order surfaces:

"Ihr Holzköpfe, ihr quatscht dauernd vom Essen, Telefon und Auswärtsschlafen. Aber wie ihr den Kerl kriegt, das besprecht ihr nicht. Ihr...ihr Studienräte!" grollte Traugott. Ihm fiel kein ärgeres Schimpfwort ein.

"Habt ihr denn einen Apparat für Fingerabdrücke?" fragte Petzold. "Vielleicht hat er sogar, wenn er gerissen war, Gummihandschuhe

getragen. Und dann kann man ihm überhaupt nichts nachweisen." Petzold hatte schon zweiundzwanzig Kriminalfilme gesehen. Und das war ihm, wie man merkt, nicht gut bekommen.

"Du kriegst die Motten!" sagte Traugott empört. "Wir werden ganz einfach die Gelegenheit abpassen und ihm das Geld, das er geklaut hat, wieder klauen!"

"Quatsch!" erklärte der Professor. "Wenn wir ihm das Geld klauen sind wir ganz genau solche Diebe, wie er selber einer ist!"

"Werde bloß nicht drollig!" rief Traugott. "Wenn mir jemand was stiehlt, und ich stehl's ihm wieder, bin ich doch kein Dieb!"

"Doch, dann bist du ein Dieb", behauptete der Professor.

"Quatsch dir keine Fransen", murrte Traugott.

"Der Professor hat sicher recht", griff Emil ein. "Wenn ich jemandem heimlich was wegnehme, bin ich ein Dieb. Ob es ihm gehört oder er es mir erst gestohlen hat, ist egal."

"Genauso ist es", sagte der Professor. "Tut mir den Gefallen und haltet hier keine klugen Reden, die nichts nützen. Der Laden ist eingerichtet. Wie wir uns den Halunken kaufen, können wir noch nicht wissen. Das werden wir schon deichseln. Jedenfalls steht fest, daß er es freiwillig wieder hergeben muß. Stehlen wäre idiotisch."

"Das versteh ich nicht", meinte der kleine Dienstag. "Was mir gehört, kann ich doch nicht stehlen können! Was mir gehört, gehört eben mir, auch wenn's in einer fremden Tasche steckt!"

"Das sind Unterschiede, die sich schwer begreifen lassen", doziert der Professor, "moralisch bist du meinetwegen im Recht. Aber das Gericht verurteilt dich trotzdem. Das verstehen sogar viele Erwachsene nicht. Aber es ist so." (63-64)

The debate breaks off at this point. Kästner either felt that the aptitudes of young people would fail to grasp this dilemma of morality and legality, or he did not wish to distract from the building suspense in order to deliberate further. He does place the "Professor's" legal competence

over that of many adults. Emil's clique would fail as righteous citizens if they did not uphold the rationality of modern law. First, depriving an owner of property constitutes theft, but violating the realm of their person infringes on the rights of the individual. The legal subject includes both person and property under the sanctity of a private domain. Second, the legal process represents the arbitrating authority for social disputes. By alleviating civil conflicts, the judiciary guarantees a functioning order for society. Private measures against alleged transgressions undermine the system that guarantees fairness through due process. The taking of the law into one's own hands theoretically impedes clarification of the truth and justice of the matter. Third, all members of a legitimate social order, if one believes in natural rights, appear equal before the law. This great equalizer answers for the impartial treatment of all legal subjects.

The "Professor's" claim to authority dismisses objections. His method does not rely on knowledgeable arguments, but invokes the powers of an adult legal prerogative through his affectations. Kästner had already predetermined the weakness of Petzold's position by authorially insinuating that the youth inclined to irrational fantasy: The reader learns that the twenty-two detective films have distorted his conception of reality. Petzold, therefore, lacks both

the knowledge and the competence to participate in strategic planning for the group's actions. The author invests only Emil and the "Professor" with the capacity for leadership. As exemplary citoyens, the leaders reject the only concrete course of action open to them at the time, asserting themselves by merely mimicking an executive manner.

A second dispute, after operations had begun, introduces a minor crisis in cooperation that threatens to upset the order of the group. Those who have allied themselves with the band impatiently await exciting developments. Most of the group assent to the "Professor's" directives, at whose behest they wait at a location away from the surveillance of Grundeis. Initially they accept their commission as a detachment of reinforcements. The irresistible curiosity and enthusiasm, however, momentarily disrupts their organization and Petzold contests the "Professor's" right to command:

Gegen zehn Uhr erschien eine Abordnung des Bereitschaftsdienstes im Kinohof, brachte nicht einmal Stullen angeschleppt, als gelte es, hundert hungrige Völker zu füttern, und erbat weitere Befehle. Der Professor war sehr aufgebracht und erklärte, sie hätten hier gar nichts zu suchen, sondern am Nikolsburger Platz auf Traugott, den Verbindungsmann von der Telefonzentrale, zu warten.

"Sei nicht so ekelhaft!" sagte Petzold. "Wir sind ganz einfach neugierig, wie es bei euch aussieht."

"Und außerdem dachten wir schon, euch sei was zugestoßen, weil Traugott überhaupt nicht kam", fügte Gerold entschuldigend hinzu.

"Wie viele sind noch am Nikolsburger Platz?" fragte Emil.

"Vier. Oder drei", berichtete Friedrich der Erste.

"Es können auch nur zwei sein", meinte Gerold.

"Frage sie ja nicht weiter", rief der Professor wütend, "sonst sagen sie noch, es wäre überhaupt niemand mehr dort!"

"Schrei gefälligst nicht so", sagte Petzold, "du hast mir einen Dreck zu befehlen."

"Ich schlage vor, daß Petzold sofort ausgewiesen wird und daß man ihm verbietet, weiterhin an der Jagd teilzunehmen", rief der Professor und stampfte mit dem Fuß auf.

"Es tut mir leid, daß ihr meinetwegen zankt", sagte Emil. "Wir wollen wie im Reichstag abstimmen. Ich beantrage nur, Petzold streng zu verwarnen. Denn es geht natürlich nicht, daß jeder einfach tut, was er will."

"Macht euch ja nicht mausig, ihr Saukerle! Ich gehe sowieso, daß ihr's wißt!"

Dann sagte Petzold noch etwas furchtbar Unanständiges und zog ab.

"Er hat uns überhaupt erst angestiftet. Sonst wären wir gar nicht hierhergelaufen", erzählte Gerold. "Und Zerlett ist im Bereitschaftslager zurückgeblieben."

"Kein Wort mehr über Petzold", befahl der Professor und sprach schon wieder ganz ruhig. Er nahm sich mächtig zusammen. "Erledigt." (77)

The "Petzold case" demonstrates how the gestures of an organized process find expression in the language, without actually initiating parliamentary procedures in the conduct of this affair. Because he does not withstand his curiosity and refuses to accept censure from "The Professor" and Emil, Petzold becomes ostracized. He not only instigates the neglect of the assigned post (a breach of duty) and allows his imagination free rein (irrational), but condemns himself as

immoderate with his heated reaction and as immoral with his "terribly improper" expletive.¹¹ Eliminating the defiant element restores order to the group. The "Professor's" loss of composure, more than Petzold's insubordination itself, indicates that the situation culminates in a "crisis."

Emil's interjection expresses concisely an entire argument that reinstates the power of command: Emil's apology, besides being a rhetorical artifice of endearing humility, contains the word "meinetwegen," subtly reminding everyone that this game belongs to Emil in the first place. The call to a vote "wie im Reichstag" asserts a claim to majority approval according to a supreme model. Furthermore, in an expression of noble tolerance, he proposes to commute punishment from banishment to reprimand. Finally, he justifies the reproof of Petzold with a curt platitude about "natural" order, adding a flourish to the truth and righteousness for his line of reasoning. Emil's timely, rhetorically potent statement eradicates the dissent and allows the "Professor" to collect himself and to resume command. Ironically, after this interruption and after all the planning and control, the order breaks down anyway. In the end, the mass of young people simply hounds Grundeis and forces a desperate move on his part. This expedient serves to break the dialogue, create suspense and bring the action to a climax.

The incident with the dissatisfied member of the group provides a "scapegoat" for the author to personify negative character traits. In nearly all of his novels for young people, Kästner includes obtrusive examples of maladjustment and maliciousness.¹² Petzold's lack of restraint and self-interest need to be brought under control. Emil's and the "Professor's" virtues escape external controls because they have built up internal mechanisms of discipline. Their self-restraints in turn permit them to interact more freely and equally in the adult's world.

Justice, a common theme in Kästner's novels for young people, remains grounded in Emil's personal ethics, from which he arrives at moral solutions to his problems. The "good" adults, exemplified by the Justizrat and Frau Tischbein, cultivate proper attitudes by indirectly channeling their children's autonomous development of self-control. Emil had attained maturity with his capacity to assess independently a situation according to ingrained principles of duty. The "Professor's" relationship with adults evolved from the mutual trust and respect he enjoys with his parents. However, principled behavior in Emil espouses a radical intolerance for any deviations from Kästner's image of prudence, humility and civil courage: The author predetermined the weakness of Petzold's contumacy in dispute with the leaders. The argument abruptly concludes as soon as the

malcontent's negative qualities come to light, forcing him to censure himself. The conflict never comes to a process of rational objection, argumentation and agreement. Emil's integrity expresses an authority that eliminates dissent.

Emil's entire adventure forms around the figure of personified Enlightenment rectitude: Kästner has removed the corpus of virtues from the external pulpits of adult moralists and implanted them into the internal consciousness of "good" youth. Young people assimilate adult rules of conduct into their own views of correctness, thus Kästner obviates any critical perspective that might have existed had adults in the story attempted to force modes of behavior. Kurt Beutler understands this relationship of justice and normative behavior in Emil as an autonomous conviction that unfolds as the child acknowledges certain norms as ideals. In the process of socialization, an unforced acquisition of social attitudes (Beutler cites Piaget) facilitates the capacity to cooperate and regard others on equal terms.¹³ Yet Kästner ascribed the attributes to Emil and the "Professor" that he would prescribe for all. The predominance of dialogue and the independence of the young people masks a distorted image of psychological and material realities. Deviation from a golden mean results in miscreants such as Petzold and Grundeis. Absolute concepts of value, personified in the characters, govern actions that

never break from the horizon of the author's sum of world views.

Kästner derived the greatest inspiration for his works from the German and French Enlightenment. In an oft-cited passage from his speech before the PEN Club in 1953, Kästner summarized the system of values that he professed through his literature. In his talk, entitled "Kästner über Kästner," he identified himself as a "Schulmeister," a "Moralist" and the "Urenkel der deutschen Aufklärung." He characterized himself as an heir to Enlightenment moral ideals; both his life and his literature for young people corroborated this self-assessment. During his university studies in Leipzig, he concentrated on eighteenth century French and German literature and culture and initially planned to write his dissertation on Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Hamburgische Dramaturgie. In Kästner's books for young people critics and biographers discern the influences of Jean Jaques Rousseau's theory of the ideal social education. Kästner's critics, however, refrain from noting direct parallels between Kästner's Emil and Rousseau's Émile.¹⁴ After all, Kästner received his own middle name, Emil, because that was his father's name, and no documentation or testimony exists that would indicate that he otherwise had Rousseau in mind while writing Emil. Yet Kästner's

indebtedness to Rousseau's thinking deserves more than a mere mention in passing.

Rousseau's Émile demonstrates a theory of education through the experiences of the title figure. According to Rousseau, as a child approaches puberty, about the age of Emil Tischbein, faculties of perception and reasoning should allow one to become fully capable of self-education. (The German concept of Bildung, the organic development of one's innate qualities, emerged from this individualistic approach to education.) Rousseau's concepts, reflected in the Bremen educational reform movement¹⁵ as teaching "vom Kinde aus," held that the educator should observe and cultivate the instinctive reactions of children rather than force an irrelevant body of knowledge upon them. As the young person develops, the teacher should assume an increasingly passive role. In order for Kästner's Emil to become an ideal citizen, he requires only proper opportunities to apply his capacity to observe, comprehend and act as a creature of society.

Of course, Kästner did not set out to write a modern Émile. Nonetheless, Kästner presumed, just as Rousseau did, that the young are essentially good. Humans merely succumb to civilization's corrupting influences (as detective films had warped Petzold's sense of reality). Properly educated, adolescents such as Emil and the "Professor" best guide

their own learning experiences. Kästner's manicured reality spares young people the premature awareness of the adult world that Émile avoids by living in the country. Only gradual introductions to the adult world, such as Emil Tischbein's encounters with the law and the press, do not overload his naive understanding of society.

The Enlightenment as a bourgeois cultural movement promoted a moral education. The domain of middle-class culture traditionally claims the spheres of morality, art and scholarship, including science. As models of behavior that "reasonable" parents produce, the figures of Emil and the "Professor" also personify morality and knowledge. From this perspective, another eighteenth century theory of ideal social relations manifests itself. The enlightened "genius" (Emil and the "Professor") educate the aristocracy (adults) to adopt reason and tolerance with respect to the masses (all young people). Such conceptions trace back to Lessing's fables or to Friedrich Schiller's early theoretical writings.¹⁶ Kästner created a young people's community according to such ideals when he constructed a fictional reality that complied with his precepts of just action. Such rationalizations reduced communication and action to the level of circular feedback relations, which repeatedly confirm Emil's litany of virtues.

Emil's grandmother delivers the final moral. She proclaims Dienstag as the ultimate example of heroism in this adventure: "Er hat zwei Tage am Telefon gesessen. Er hat gewußt, was seine Pflicht war. Und er hat sie getan, obwohl sie ihm nicht gefiel. Das war großartig, verstanden? Das war großartig! Nehmt euch an ihm ein Beispiel!" (107). Dienstag's self-denial conjures a most fitting emblem for Kästner's first novel for young people. Kästner's moral imperative prescribed selfless devotion to duty, which for Emil and the "Professor" means strictly observing the tacit will of their parents and adhering to bourgeois principles of social conduct. Kästner could not allow Emil's windfall of honor and money to construe the lesson that social obligations contain their own rewards.

The Apotheosis of a Hitler Youth:

Karl Aloys Schenzinger's Der Hitlerjunge Quex

With his political novel, Der Hitlerjunge Quex, Karl Aloys Schenzinger has, by most estimations, contributed to German young people's literature one of the most accomplished works of realism. Although the book glorifies the National Socialist youth movement, recent criticism has noted the book's literary merits, cited its immense effect on young readers and related its success ultimately to the credibility in the depiction of events, even if largely portrayed through the subjectivity, or "psychological realism," of the hero.¹⁷ The young hero "Quex" (Heini Völker's nickname) converts his allegiance and faith from his communist youth group in Berlin to the Hitler Youth. Actually, Heini's inherent appreciation of order and his need for stability and comradeship already predetermine his dedication to the paramilitary structure of the Hitlerjugend. However, Schenzinger's main character does not espouse an archetypal authoritarian personality of cold command.¹⁸ Heini represents a sympathetic type, with values and traits more in line with Kästner's Emil than with a stoic soldier: His courage, rectitude, and integrity

accompany innocence, sincerity and a certain endearing meekness. Like Emil, Heini also feels a close bond with his mother. The character of Quex succeeds as a fascist prototype primarily through his obsessive desire to follow and obey.¹⁹

Synopsis: Heini Völker is a fifteen-year-old joiner's apprentice. Heini's father, a brutal alcoholic without employment, is a Communist. Stoppel, the forceful leader of the local communist youth group, coerces Heini to join his band. On his first outing with them, Heini experiences alienation and revulsion as other members isolate, ridicule and even rob him. The author presents the red gang's moral turpitude as a microcosm of the urban decay in Berlin. Stoppel and Heini's father thwart Heini's contact with friends in the local Hitler troop, such as Fritz Dörries. Yet Heini continues to seek contact with the Hitler group and even risks betraying the plans of the communist group to ambush the Hitler youths.

Heini experiences a wretched home life. His mother attempts to save Heini and herself from the poverty and from the father's physical abuse by turning on the gas while Heini sleeps. Heini manages to save himself at the last minute from the gas fumes, but his mother perishes. In the hospital, only his comrades from the Hitler Youth visit. With his mother's suicide, a break from the ties of family and the pressures of the communist gang becomes possible.

For his safety from the young communists, Heini moves away and becomes a personal adjutant to the Bannführer of Berlin's Hitler Youth. Soon he becomes known as Quex, short for "Quecksilber," for his speed and efficiency in delivering messages and carrying out orders. Eventually, Heini's dedication distinguishes him as a potential leader. However, he is only willing to accept a leadership assignment in his home district, where his old comrades live and where he faces the greatest peril from the vengeful communist gang. One night, after a successful

Jugendabend of skits and music ("Mein schönster Tag," 215²⁰), Heini is attacked in the dark and fatally wounded, one surmises by the treacherous communists. The Hitler Youth celebrates his burial with procession of a "thousand friends" who bear a "hundred flags" (218).

Contemporaneity supports the impressions of realism in Schenzinger's novel. The street violence, the frenzy of a national election, the depths of economic depression in Berlin around 1931, the struggle and ascendancy of the Nazi movement, all form a backdrop to the story of Quex. As did many German conservatives of the time, Schenzinger associated historical realities of Weimar with the "soullessness" and with a general moral decay of Germany. In Schenzinger's illiberal perspective, Communism embodied all that is wrong with Germany: Internationalism and the selfish will of the working class subverted the redemption of the German Volk. In his portrayal of communists, the author consistently associated political statements with immoral and illegal activities. Heini's father, for example, screams "Ich bin ein klassenbewußter Prolet," for no apparent reason, while he beats his wife senseless (101). The young people of the streets were the "Kinder von gestern" who shared no sense of German destiny. These "Nichtskönner und Faulpelze" ranted politics and: "Je weniger einer taugte, umso größer seine Klappe" (81-82). Out of an ostensibly authentic depiction of two political youth organizations emerged the specious

dichotomies of order versus chaos, of virtue versus depravity.

The communist youth group rules through the primitive exercise of force and domination; the strongest among them brawl to attain and hold leadership. The "red horde" sustains its existence with predatory instincts; violence and theft are in their nature. In contrast, the Hitlerjugend offers refuge from the jungle of the streets. Heini observes that the Nazis herald the future of Germany. They form a growing bulwark against the anarchy and contamination that the Republic could never contain. While delinquent street youths are children of the past, Heini envisions "Deutschlands Zukunft" through a photograph of brown uniformed masses (138).

The exclusive, hierarchical order of the Nazis serves no well-defined mission in Quex other than to absorb new members. Emotions bind the group through representations of nebulous ideals; leaders, insignias, banners and demonstrations fuel the movement. For instance, Heini has no political argument to support his position when Stoppel, the communist youth leader, lectures him on the struggle of their class for basic rights. Heini responds:

"Wir kämpfen um das gleiche, was du da gesagt hast."
"Einen Dreck tut ihr. Das reden sie euch bloß vor!"

"Wir kämpfen sogar noch um mehr, um viel,
viel mehr kämpfen wir."

"Um was? Um die Kapitalisten kämpft ihr, für
die Barone, für all das feine Gesindel, die Aus-
beuter, die Bluthunde."

"Wir kämpfen um -- um eine Fahne."

"Wa -- ?"

"Um eine Fahne!"

Despite Heini's assertion, the National Socialist symbology drew its greatest well of emotional accord not from the banner, but from the martyrdom of one of their own. In this regard, Quex entered the pantheon of martyrs that included Herbert Norkus and Horst Wessel.²¹ Of all the mass demonstrations in the fascist repertoire of aestheticized political events, the memorial service of a fallen hero reached the highest threshold of pathos.

The apotheosis of Quex derives from a tradition in the völkisch literature long associated with Germany's Youth Movement. Idolized projections of Youth radiate a nimbus of moral purity about the lithe physique of a nordic male. Epitomized representations of this idol occupy such novels as Hermann Poppert's (1871-1932) Helmut Harringa (1910) and Hermann Burte's (Hermann Strübe, 1879-1960) Wiltfeber. Der ewige Deutsche (1912). Although now regarded as trite völkisch literature, these novels had an immense impact on German youth of the 1920s, especially on those of the Bündische Jugend. The new mythic hero supposedly existed in harmony with nature and with his "natural" people. The

diseases of civilization -- lust, alcohol, and materialism -- had yet to infect them. When under siege from this modern blight, the innocent transformed into the heroic warrior, who like Quex usually sacrificed himself for a cause. This deification of "Youth" evolved from the radicalized symbol of the child as bourgeois "purity" and "innocence" incarnate. Max Horkheimer has noted in this regard historical instances of mass movements in which "leaders" exploited the magical charisma of the young. The masses diverted their frustrations and political impotence to serving the fetishized personality of a leader who presumes the righteousness of the primitive or childlike nature:

Das sentimentale Verhimmeln des Kindes als eines Symbols der Reinheit gehört zu jenen Äußerungen bürgerlichen Geistes, die zugleich Mittel und Ausdruck der erzwungenen Verinnerlichung von Triebregungen sind. Man dichtet dem Kind eine Freiheit von Begierden an, in der die schwere Entsagung, die man selbst zu leisten hat, mühelos verwirklicht ist. Nicht etwa als Träger theoretischer und praktischer Kraft, als Garantie der unendlichen Möglichkeiten des Menschen, sondern als Symbol der "Reinheit," "Unschuld," "Kindlichkeit" bildet die Jugend im bürgerlichen Zeitalter ein Ideal. Die ideologische Beziehung, welche diese Gesellschaft zur Natur überhaupt, nicht bloß zum Kind, gewonnen hat, die Idealisierung der Primitivität, der "unverdorbenen" Natur, der Scholle und des Bauern hängen mit den angedeuteten Mechanismen eng zusammen.²²

Horkheimer critically appended Max Weber's theory of social rationalization by underscoring the irrationalisms of

bourgeois society. He proposed that the perceived rationality in obeying the will of authority legitimized the irrationality of mass movements. The industrial state, which subjugated the individual to the reified authority of the economy and institutions, had become its own reason to exist: "Die möglichst vollständige Anpassung des Subjekts an die verdinglichte Autorität der Ökonomie ist zugleich die Gestalt der Vernunft in der bürgerlichen Wirklichkeit."²³ With the rationalization of administrative systems, the modern state encroaches on the private realm of families and individuals in forms such as public welfare and military conscription. Ultimately, these systems manipulated people as components of the economic structure. The Hitlerjugend restored a völkisch myth of Youth and absorbed the subject into its own economic and administrative system; authority remained its own justification.

Max Weber's pessimistic anticipation of the rationalization of the social universe resounded in Horkheimer's and Adorno's assertion that the legacy of Enlightenment ideals had lead to the functionalization of everyday life. The imposition of rational uniformity upon a collective consciousness culminated demonstrably, according to Horkheimer and Adorno, in the Hitler Youth:

Die Einheit des manipulierten Kollektivs besteht in der Negation jedes Einzelnen, es ist Hohn auf

die Art Gesellschaft, die es vermöchte, ihn zu einem zu machen. Die Horde, deren Namen zweifels ohne in der Organisation der Hitlerjugend vorkommt, ist kein Rückfall in die alte Barbarei, sondern der Triumph der repressiven Egalität, die Entfaltung der Gleichheit des Rechts zum Unrecht durch die Gleichen.²⁴

The forced political coordination of the German Youth Movement, besides providing a fascist model for social organization, lent to Hitler's authority the support of moral righteousness. Before 1933 many of the varied organizations of the German Youth Movement had already proclaimed their new mythology. The language and ideas for their cultural idealism derived much of its program from the philosophers of "German cultural despair" such as Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn and Moeller van den Bruck.²⁵ Anti-modernity, romantic anti-capitalism, nationalism, a desire for unity and concepts of destiny shaped the attitudes in the minority of German youth that formed the various Wandervogel and Bündische Jugend organizations. Although some resisted their Gleichschaltung under Hitler, the leftist organizations in particular, the conceptual machinery of the Hitler Youth easily adapted to assimilate the diverse groups under one banner. In fact, members of the Youth Movement provided a pool of effective leaders for what became a monolithic mass organization. Those who failed to adjust suffered the consequences of ostracism as a deviant.

In Der Hitlerjunge Quex, the gospel of the Hitler Youth, Heini Völker declares that no greater joy exists than to follow orders and to belong to his group. In his unit he fulfills his assignments as messenger beyond all expectation. For this reason, his comrades christen him "Quex," derived from "Quecksilber." He earns an appellation that designates him as an ideal. He thereafter sheds the everyman name of "Völker" for the one that describes the function he embodies in the collective. Heini provided the classic portrayal of an individual who assimilates a group identity; from the beginning Heini is enchanted with militaristic order and the Nazi movement for its own sake:

Er mochte die Schupoleute gern leiden. Sie sahen ordentlich aus, sauber, stramm, das Lederzeug blitzte. Sie erinnerten an Ordnung, Zucht, Disziplin, wie es noch in den alten Geschichten zu lesen war. Ledergamaschen hatten auch jene Jungens getragen, die da eines Tages an ihm vorbeigezogen waren, einer wie der andere blitzblank, lebendig und frisch, eine Fahne voraus. Eine Stunde lang war er nebenher gelaufen, nur den einen Wunsch im Herzen, mitmarschieren zu dürfen in diesen Reihen, mit diesen Burschen, die jung waren wie er, die Lieder sangen, bei denen ihm fast das Heulen kam. Bis er dann von irgendeiner Seite her hörte, dies seien ja Nazis. (7)

Seine Tätigkeit war Bewegung, Bewegung war ihm Bedürfnis, war ihm Ablenkung, Linderung, Heilung vielleicht. Er wollte Befehle, wollte gehorchen. Er wollte bewundern und verehren.²⁶

This collectivity finds its end in itself and requires no other justifications than the continued assertion of its

being. The leader, through the authority of regimented organization, coordinates action without legitimizing ends or means.

Heini's original need to become a member of the Hitler Youth, however, arises from the exigencies of safety and emotional stability. His communist father brutalizes him and his mother until she commits suicide and he flees from the grim situation at home. The local "red" street gang seeks to harm him in retribution for betraying their plans for an attack on a group of Hitler Youth. The Hitler group provides succor, sustenance, friendships and daily activity. Heini's membership supplants all interpersonal relationships and resolves all emotional and material conflicts.

Heini/Quex, as the quintessential member, has fused the spheres of his life under a single, undifferentiated system; for him the movement incorporates the truth that supplies both explanations for and the means to control his world. First, the exchange relations apply economically and administratively to the material reproduction of his life: For his service and loyalty he receives food and shelter, as well as order and purpose for his life. Second, the symbolic reproduction of himself in the group becomes the art of emulating the group's ideal. Third, both materially and symbolically, the group has power. Fourth, Schenzinger underscores the general depravity of the "red" gang, while

investing the Hitler Youth with moral rectitude. Because the group occupies Heini's subjective realm through his personal emotions, determines his social activity and even supplies self-actualization, it bars the separation of aesthetic expression, public representation and world views beyond the context of the Hitler Youth.

This claim of universality denotes mythologized conceptions. Just as antique societies suffused everything in their world with divine significance, the social reality that the Hitler Youth constructs for Heini presents nature and society as "made of one cloth."²⁷ As such, Schenziger's "realism" reproduces a mythological consciousness that existed in Berlin in 1932. The group assimilates Heini into its fold through resocialization. Those who resist or, by their very nature, exist outside the universe of the Hitler Youth must be annihilated, literally or symbolically.

Such claims of an ideology's universal truth characterize National Socialism. For example, the forced reintegration of culture and nature into a mythological whole expressed itself in the racist ideology: The physiognomy of the Jews must be physically repulsive and their morals degenerate because by their very nature they deviate from Hitler's idea of human perfection. The good German must appear strong and beautiful. Mythology's eternal reproduction of itself in National Socialism excluded

inconsistencies and irregularities as unnatural aberrations that demand adjustment or elimination. Although Schenziger attacked no racial or ethnic groups by name, the Hitler Youth propagated sentiments for the purity of German blood. In Quex, Fritz Dörries introduces Heini to these views:

Ich will mich trainieren, außen und innen, daß die Courage in einem selbstverständlich wird. Ich will mein Blut spüren und das der andern, die dasselbe Blut haben wie ich. Wir müssen wieder eine natürliche Gemeinschaft werden. Wir haben ja nur noch Bastarde. Das Wort Volk ist bei uns lächerlich geworden. Mensch, denk doch bloß mal hin! Wir müssen uns ja vor jedem Hirschrudel schämen, vor jeder Elefantenhorde. Die vermischen sich nicht mit anderen. Dort hat auch jeder seinen Platz nach dem, was er ist und was er im Rudel leistet. Ist es nicht so? Der Zoo ist die beste Universität, die ich kenne. (52)

A tradition of racist and nationalistic ideology, the structural hierarchies of rationalized authoritarianism and a mythological purpose of self-reproduction and self-affirmation generated the cultural spheres of value in Der Hitlerjunge Quex. Together, the völkisch heritage, the precepts of order and goals of National Socialism precluded the communicative ideal that allows critical appraisals of imperatives and assertions. Quex's relationship to the world through submission, sacrifice and apotheosis expressed the limits of communication allowed within the social context of the Hitler Youth. Heini's ostensible moments of ambivalence, doubt or dissatisfaction reinforce his

dedication when he is reassured that truth and destiny
reside with the Hitler movement.

From Street Youth to Advertising Magnate:

Wolf Durian's Kai aus der Kiste

Emil und die Detektive, despite all objections and criticism, became the greatest popular success of Kästner's career. No less than four film versions, including those of the same title by Billy Wilder (1931 and 1954) and Walt Disney (1963), numerous stage and radio adaptations and translations into over forty languages, have all established his book as a world classic of young people's literature. But the realism that set the tone for the children's book industry after Emil -- urban settings, use of vernacular, young people among themselves in groups, etc. -- had already appeared in works previous to Kästner's books. We find one noteworthy precedent in Wolf Durian's Kai aus der Kiste.

When he was employed on the editorial staff of the children's magazine of the Ullstein publishing company, Der heitere Fridolin, Durian won an in-house competition with his story about the boy-in-the-box. Kai began appearing in installments in 1924. The book became a best seller after being published in 1926 and has remained a popular work for over sixty years. Whereas Kästner imparted moralistic ideals through authorial didacticism and through the

discussions of his model characters, Durian minimized dialogue in favor of a rapid succession of events. In Emil, values and social roles integrate young people smoothly into the adult world. Rather than accepting roles as extensions of parents and other adults, Kai and his band operate as an underground tribe, organically unified and antagonistic to the existing order. The environment of the city functions as the natural habitat of this "species" of youth. They adapt to this veritable jungle as would animals in the wild, evoking repeated comparisons of young people with animals. Kai and his gang are "warriors" in their element. Durian exploited the kind of rapid action and primal heroics that underlay the popularity of the so-called trivial, or Schund-literatur.

Kai and his band fight for the "American Dream," a common theme in young people's literature during the Weimar Republic, especially during the more prosperous middle period of the Republic. Durian based Kai's exploits on the American legend of rags-to-riches and the doctrine of limitless possibilities. In the novel, the group's rationalized coordination of efforts attested to the influence of "Fordism" and "Taylorism"²⁸ -- the belief in scientific management which demands a full and effective use of equipment and incentive. Kai's clique, driven by monetary reward, functions like a machine, breaking down and interlocking their

operations for maximum efficiency. The legendary Americans Henry Ford and Thomas Edison frequently appeared in German literature for young people as paragons of ambition, ingenuity and the capitalist enterprise. Hans Dominik, the prolific young people's author and science fiction writer, repeatedly cited the achievements of Edison and Ford in John Workman, der Zeitungsboy (1925). John Workman, a newspaper-boy in New York City, works and schemes his way into becoming a millionaire.

The rebelliousness and pro-American sentiment of Kai reflected episodes from the author's own life. At age thirteen, the same age as Kai, Durian (born Wolfgang Bechtle, he published under both names) unsuccessfully attempted to stowaway on a ship bound for the United States. After he was graduated from the Gymnasium, Durian abandoned his agricultural training in order to travel in America. He explored the West, living itinerately and working odd jobs. Later, as a journalist and writer for young people in Berlin, he drew heavily from his American experiences.²⁹ The author's own youthful experiences and attitudes provided a pattern for Kai's character, just as Emil acquired traits from Kästner. In stark contrast to Kästner, Durian rejected the constraints of home and bourgeois morality: "Abenteuer hatte er genug erlebt, und ein Musterknabe war er nie gewesen," as Sibylle Durian describes her father in the

afterword to the latest edition of Kai.³⁰ The magnitude and multitude of transgressions against the adult order that Kai and his horde commit would likely offend Emil Tischbein's sense of civic duty.

Like Emil, Kai resourcefully marshals large numbers of youths in Berlin toward a specific goal. While contemporary Berlin serves as the setting in both novels, the burlesque characters and outrageous events in Kai subverts the novel's realism -- a condition that Durian acknowledged already with the subtitle "eine ganz unglaubliche Geschichte." The way so many youths spontaneously organize and cooperate in Kai seems like a fabulous contrivance, yet the actions suit this "Großstadtmärchen."

Synopsis: Kai sneaks into the hotel where the American tobacco boss, Joe Allen van Braams, is staying in Berlin. The boy smuggles himself inside a box, hence "Kai aus der Kiste." Kai comes to the American "Cigarette King" in answer to an advertisement for a "Reklamenkönig" for Berlin. Kai bets that by the next morning all Berlin will be talking about him. With the help of hundreds of Berlin's street youths, Kai creates publicity by inciting the outrage of the city: The gang covers Berlin with black handprints. (Kai's band calls itself "Die Schwarze Hand.") Kai wins this thousand-dollar wager with Mr. Joe Allen and becomes a serious candidate for the job. The tobacco magnate then challenges Kai and a trained professional applicant to compete for the position. Each different publicity method counts for a point. Whoever first accumulates 150 points within two days assumes the responsibility for marketing the American cigarettes. Kai's group promotes the brand TUT, while frustrating the efforts of the competitor, Herr Kubalski, to

advertise TAT. The youths paint and plaster the letters TUT over all conceivable objects, stuff the mailboxes with handwritten ads, and occupy the telephone lines with solicitations. The gang vexes the police and becomes a public nuisance. Kai foils the law officers and succeeds at the last moment to become the "Reklamenkönig" of Berlin.

Kästner idealizes the model behavior of young people, yet limits the precocity and power of the youths more than Durian does. Kai and his gang perform fantastic feats to win the competition. Indeed, one could easily rewrite this story as a fairy tale and cast Kai as an enchanted elf prince. However, Durian does call attention to working-class realities: Amid the factories, tentements and abandoned buildings, neither the young people nor the authorities emerge as models of civil obedience. The youths, "Fabrikjungen, Zeitungsjungen, Laufjungen, Schulkjungen, Kaminfegerjungen, Bäckerjungen" (15) must work and do not experience the leisure of the summer vacation from school that Emil and the young people of Wilmersdorf enjoy. While Emil observes rules of civil behavior as set forth by adults, Kai's every action transgresses against adult authority. For example, Emil either pays for his transportation or does without, while the working-class youths in Kai employ every conceivable trick and diversion to move about Berlin without paying fares:

Sie fuhren mit dem Omnibus und legten sich oben auf dem Verdeck unter die Bänke. Sie ließen sich auf Rollschuhen von Lastautomobilen ziehen; auf einem Rollschuh, und mit dem anderen Bein ruderten sie hinten durch die Luft. Einer stieg in die Autodroschke und rief: "Schnell zum Botanischen Garten!" Der Chauffeur fuhr schnell zum botanischen Garten. Als er dort hielt, war das Auto leer. (17)

The narrator pleads the young people's poverty as a mitigating excuse for these tactics, and even approves of their ingenuity. Besides, since hitching rides had become so prevalent, many drivers and conductors no longer object (23). Most adults, however, do not show such understanding for poor street youth.

The youths operate according to their own rules. The drastic measures they undertake for the advertising contest cause serious property damage, public annoyance and the interruption of communication services in the city. Rather than being models of behavior and sources of positive reinforcement, most adults in Kai literally represent the enemy. The press and the legal authorities condemn Kai and his cohort, in contrast to the waves of praise for Emil from his family, the newspaper and police. Emil and his friends imitate a social administration according to an adult pattern, a microcosm of the state. Kai fights a guerilla war against his poverty; the end for him justifies his inimical relationship to adults and the extreme measures to achieve his goal.

Kai's battle receives a clear objective in alliance with the "Cigarette King." The designation of Joe Allen van Braams as a "king" conveys more literal significance than initially evident. Besides limitless wealth, this king reigns over a business empire and extensive land holdings:

"Meine Herren, ich besitze in dem amerikanischen Staat Virginia eine eigene Stadt, die Van-Braams-City. Sie liegt an einem Fluß, dem Van-Braams-River, und besteht aus lauter Zigarettfabriken. Diese Fabriken erzeugen täglich drei Milliarden Zigarettten."

"Au", sagte Kai, "bis die alle geraucht sind!"

"Verkauft sind, mußt du sagen," verbesserte der Zigarettkönig. "Darum bin ich nach Europa gekommen. Ich will meine Zigarettten in Europa einführen, in jeder Großstadt zwei besondere Marken. Ich brauche eine riesenhafte Reklame. Deshalb werde ich für jede Großstadt einen Reklamenkönig ernennen." (39)

Mr. Joe Allen rules a single-industry empire where his name is immortalized even in the local geography. He exports his cigarettes not just as a capitalist venture, but as a mission -- a crusade to expand his realm. In this novel, Durian treats capital less as a medium of exchange than as a kind of holy grail. Material wealth leads to "salvation," which the "king" grants to Kai in the end. Mr. Joe Allen thus "sanctifies" Kai's quest over the mundane authorities of Berlin.

The perfect solidarity within Kai's band guarantees the victory of his "holy war." In the process of appointing a

regent for the expansion of his realm, Mr. Joe Allen demands a demonstration of worthy qualities, resembling the attributes of a great field marshal. He submits conditions to Kai in exactly these terms: "Ein Reklamenkönig ist ein Feldherr. Er muß einen Krieg mit den Augen und den Gedanken der Menschen führen" (12). Whereas Emil's group imitates a democratic-bureaucratic system of social administration, Kai's horde carries out a military campaign. Because Kai commands a standing army of Straßenjungen, he can meet any task that requires mass distribution. The anonymous throng of youths provides the source of power, stepping into the foreground only to perform errands for their leader. The young crowd never questions, argues or deliberates. At only one gathering does Kai seek any kind of consensus for a proposed action, for the wager that has a thousand dollars at stake: "Auf einmal streckte Kai die Faust in die Luft und rief: 'Heute nacht kann jeder einen Dollar verdienen. Wollt ihr?' 'Jaaaaaaaaa!' brüllten alle zusammen" (19-20). Even without this one-dollar reward for each member, agreement is always a foregone conclusion. No operation they undertake requires extra incentives; the absolute cooperation arises from unwavering loyalty to Kai.

The members of the group dedicate themselves to Kai's leadership: The old iron ring that Kai awards the bellhop means more than a tip of ten marks; "Herkules," an older and

bigger boy, would have waited hours if Kai were to arrive late to meet him. In Kai, members of the group interact minimally with one another, whereas in Emil the youths reaffirm the group's structure through extensive deliberations. In Durian's story, spies infiltrate, posts stand watch, passwords circulate and forces deploy. Everything follows an automatic function; actions take place as of one mind, without objections or confusion. Kai's group effectively foils adult adversaries and devises 150 different advertising ploys because they coordinate their forces without friction.

The conflict that the Cigarette King instigates with the educated professional never presents any real obstacle to Kai's goals. With the figure of Alexander Kubalski, Kai's competitor, the author provides a reprehensible caricature of the philistine professional as an egotistical dandy:

Am anderen Morgen, fünf Minuten vor zehn Uhr, trat ein Herr mit spiegleblankem Zylinder und gelben Handschuhen in das Hotel Imperator ein. Der Herr duftete nach einem ganzen Beet voll Veilchen. In der Brusttasche seines taubengrauen Gehrocks steckte ein orangerotes Seidentaschentuch. Seine Krawatte und seine Strümpfe waren apfelgrün. In seinen Lackschuhen spiegelte sich die Landschaft.
(27)

Kubalski provides comic relief as Kai subverts all competitive efforts to vie for the position. In the end,

wanted by the authorities for alleged complicity with Kai's antics, Kubalski follows his rival through the sewers to escape out of the city. Kai more than overwhelms Kubalski in the contest. He humbles this pretentious snob from finery to slime and drives him out of the city. Other adults, bearing comical names such as Wachmeister Bumser, Detektiv Fliegenfpiff or Bürgermeister Raßler von Quassel, also portray buffoons whom the cunning tribes of young people perpetually frustrate. More than in any other young people's book I discuss, the antipathy between young and adult remains unresolved. The ideal balance of mutual cooperation within Kai's separate society only menaces the adults.

Some of the names for young people suggest the influence of Wild West adventures: Kai, known as "Der Große Klapperschlange," and his lieutenant, "Der Schleichende Plattfuß," lead the group they call "Die Schwarze Hand." Hence, the competition with Kubalski and the duping of other adults at the hands of the native "warriors" correspond to a typical conflict between the "greenhorn" or "dude" and the seasoned scouts and hunters of the wilderness. Animal adroitness and intuitive coordination of actions supply the advantage for the pack of youths. From an adult's perspective they behave like vermin -- more like gremlins who haunt the Mietskasernen than "angels with dirty faces." The image

of a swarm recurs when the group converges or disperses. They appear from the crevices as if from nowhere, like the rats that inhabit the places where the youths gather. When Kubalski entreats a policeman to stop the gang from sabotaging his efforts, the officer pleads that he cannot fight the deft elusiveness of the street youths:

Straßenjungen sind wie Mäuse; sie kennen jedes Loch, jeden Winkel, jeden Hinterhof. Sie rennen in das nächste beste Haus, die Treppe hinauf, klettern aus einer Dachluke auf ein Dach, laufen über das Dach weg und klettern am Blitzableiter irgendwo hinunter in einen Hof, von da in einen Keller, und auf einmal stehen sie in einer ganz anderen Straße, springen hinten auf ein Auto und sind weg. (54)

As indicated above, conflicts with adults ensue from the way Kai lives and moves about. The author offers the apology that poverty permits few alternatives (an issue Lisa Tetzner treats thematically in Erwin und Paul). The measures to win the title of advertising king for Kai, however, involve some serious transgressions: Besides the minor trespassing and hitching of rides, the band commits several acts of outright vandalism. They paint white letters on white parkbenches so that people unwarily walk away with the letters "TUT" painted on their clothing; they stuff mailboxes and occupy telephone lines so that postal and telephone services congest and cease; finally they begin throwing projectiles with notes attached through windows, so

that "viele Spiegel und Suppenschüsseln werden hierbei kaputtgeschmissen" (66). The newspapers condemn this anarchy and the mayor bans advertising altogether. Despite all disruptions, the author implies his approval for the mettle and energy that cause the authorities and the public at large so much consternation. The contest justifies all means toward the completion of the group's task; not once do members of Kai's group consider the risks to themselves and the damage to people and property. These radical infractions of order imply a subtle critique of limitless ambition: Durian's book suggests that only through extreme action could the poor rise out the tenements. Without the violent uprising that the "Cigarette King" instigates, Kai and his friends could not hope to advance economically within the prevailing system. The stated unbelievability of Kai therefore identifies the "American Dream" as a fairy tale.

Despite all the destruction, the author favors Kai. As evidence of Kai's fortitude and charity, Durian includes a sentimental interlude. His little sister, Erika, dreams about a prince who would grant her, a poor little orphan, a wish. Kai, apparently the provider for this parentless household, spends the single dollar that he retains as his equal share of the thousand-dollar winnings to purchase the doll for which the girl wished. As a gesture of modesty, he selects from a basket full of small, common dolls rather

than buying the large elegant model. This princely deed, along with self-sufficiency, orphanhood, charisma and talent as a leader, qualify Kai as a flawless, sympathetic hero in the struggle for his own dreams of prosperity. In comparison with Kubalski, Kai's temperate aspirations point up selflessness and moderation. While Kubalski yearns for marbled villas and limitless splendor, Kai realizes his ambitions with a "Landhaus." In the epilogue, the narrator reports the idyllic end: Across from his country home near Berlin stands the lucrative advertising agency that Kai shares with his friends.

The actual goal of the action, to sell cigarettes, abstracts priorities from the ends to the means: No forthright conviction exists as to the quality and usefulness of their product. First, even if any of the prepubescent street youths smoked, they would have unlikely been acquainted with the brands the American tobacco empire produces, discrediting any sincerity in their advertising. Moreover, the contestants decide arbitrarily to promote TAT or TUT in the publicity campaign. In the end, neither the product nor the effectiveness of advocating the product matter. Only the multiplicity of methods to draw people's attention, whether violating the public in the process or not, has importance. In short, they do anything for the dreams that money can buy.

Durian admired American efficiency and drive. Members of Kai's group perform assigned tasks as a functional unit, suggesting Henry Ford's ideal of monadic, assembly-line production. The author eliminates character development and simplifies the motivations for action to the barest essentials. However, the novel extols the enterprising maverick more than the collective effort of "Die Schwarze Hand." Unlike the comradeship of Emil's friends, Kai's direction of group activities rests on a preordained authority that exists as a given, as a basic unarticulated understanding. Kai leads his band toward redemption from poverty. Both the ethos of economic opportunity and the hostility from adults unify this communion of young people -- in opposition to the rest of society. In Kai, the sectarian formation of the group facilitates its mission; in the religious consciousness that underlies the actions of the novel, money has replaced grace on the road to salvation.

An Urban Adventure-Mystery:
 Wilhelm Matthießen's Das Rote U

Matthießen introduces Das Rote U the way Kästner begins Emil, with an auktorial preface on the source of his ideas for a realistic novel. Whereas Kästner borrows the urban milieu of Berlin for a realistic setting, Matthießen relates a "true" occurrence as told to him by Herr Behrmann, a journalist and "eternal student." The narrator emphasizes that Behrmann monitored the accuracy of the account, correcting embellishments that the author adds: "Ja, und dann sehe ich: Das, was der Herr Behrmann erzählt, der doch wirklich dabeigewesen ist, ist wirklich viel schöner als alles, was ich dazugeschrieben habe. Ich hab' es mir dann auch ganz abgewöhnt, das Verziern und Dazuerfinden."³¹ The novel begins with a rigorous commitment to truth. Yet as the story develops, the novel's verisimilitude suffers because Matthießen indeed resorts to literary commonplaces from mysteries, heroic adventures and even Märchen.³² The realism that Wilhelm Matthießen concocts for his urban adventure differs from Kästner's, Schenzinger's and Durian's versions of reality: Characters and events in Das Rote U imitate those of popular literature, from gothic tales to

tales of the American Wild West, rather than directly reflect an author's world views.

Still, critics have commended the realism of Das Rote U as being faithful to the way young people think and act. As one critic noted, readers often preferred Das Rote U over Kästner's books because young people identified more readily with Matthießen's characters:

Denn so spannend die Matthießen-Bücher einerseits seien, so enthielten sie doch gleichzeitig etwas Warmherziges, Anheimelndes, Menschliches. Das sei ihre Welt, so seien, so handelten, so sprächen sie miteinander. Es sei nichts zu viel und nichts zu wenig darin, diese Bücher seien rund und schön; sie seien abenteuerlich und doch wahr zugleich, spannend und doch nicht unwahrscheinlich, mit viel Handlung und doch klar; und: die Kinder darin seien lebensechte Kinder.³³

Whereas Emil and his friends act wisely beyond their years and Kai's band carries out a preposterous campaign of marketing terrorism, the circle of friends in this "Großstadt am Rhein" integrates play into the "reality" of their adventures. Kästner, Schenzinger and Durian never acknowledge that real young people fantasize, imitating their heroes in make-believe. In Emil, the narrator states that Petzold's playful imitations of detective films arise from the boy's hyperactive imagination, a weakness to overcome. The characters in Das Rote U appear "lebensecht" because Matthießen includes fantasy as part of a young person's psychological reality.

However, Matthießen's realism presents, as does Kästner's work, a tidy existence. Like Emil and the "Professor," the protagonists behave with mature calculation and insight (and enjoy a generous measure of good fortune), performing their tasks and solving the crime in the "real world." The young people's fantasies are the author's sentimental veneer of endearing innocence, not an accurate representation of a child's mentality. Moreover, no one in the clique is poor or abused, despite possible danger from the criminals. In Das Rote U, moments of peril serve to enhance the suspense of the rising action and climax. Kästner and Matthießen follow similar patterns in producing an uncritical "realism" in novels for young people.

Synopsis: One morning in school, Boddas, a leader of his clique, discovers a typewritten message to the group -- which includes Döll, Knöres, Mala and Silli (the only girl) -- from a mysterious outsider who refers to himself only as "Das Rote U," the capital U typed in red. This stranger threatens to expose the group and their "crimes," which are no more than minor mischief, unless the members obey his orders. The clique submits warily, but soon welcomes the new leader's intelligent and honorable assignments. The new chief orders challenging but good deeds, such as rescuing wild birds from cruel confinement and finding employment for the father of a poor family. The tasks form episodes that build toward the main conflict: The local judge (the father of the studious, but sickly Ulrich, known as Ühl) had sentenced the "Villa Juck" gang, so named for the abandoned mansion they occupied, three years earlier. The three men are released and plan to avenge the judgments against them. On the instructions of "Das Rote U" the five youths

shadow the ex-convicts. Nevertheless, the evil threesome succeeds in kidnapping the judge's son with the assistance of a fourth conspirator, who helps create an adequate alibi. In a very dramatic climax, the clique not only rescues Ulrich, but proves the involvement of the three hoodlums -- all after "Das Rote U" appeared to have abandoned them. The mystery concludes as Ulrich reveals himself as "Das Rote U." He had earned his desired acceptance into Boddas' clique -- the original purpose for his weaving the intrigue.

These youths interact with adults with three emotional responses: 1. fear and awe, 2. fear and disdain, and 3. mutual respect and understanding. The teacher and the commissioner of police represent the principal authorities in a position to enforce retribution for the group's misbehavior, the teacher presenting less of a threat than the unfathomable power of the commissioner: "Oh sie kannten ihn alle, das war der Mann, den sie am meisten in der ganzen Welt fürchteten -- das war der Kommissar Rademacher" (103). Authority erects barriers between young people and institutions, so the five avoid interaction with these adults wherever possible.

The group both fears and despises immoral or outright criminal elements of society, and takes action against them. The shoemaker Derendorf has no family, no apprentices or helpers, is a notorious drunkard, greedy yet lazy, dirty, ugly and foul tempered. He also abuses helpless little birds. The gang delivers this "schwarzer Deuwel in der

Kapuzinergasse," unconscious from alcohol, to the local pub inside his own birdcage on a handcar, to the great delight of the tavern's patrons. Three members of the Villa Jück gang, who are rowdies and burglars, plot revenge on the local judge. The young detectives comment how crude behavior and poor command of grammar shows evidence that the three had a wayward childhood. Appropriately, the day they leave prison, these thieves seek lodging with the old "witch," who frightens children and smells of garlic. The reactions to negative characters show how Matthießen incorporates typologies of "good" and "evil" that are as simplistic as those in his Märchen.

Through the novel's very structure the author stressed equal talents within the clique, even if the distribution of skills varies: Each chapter entails a different task, challenging members to "prove themselves." Their resources balance both physical and mental skills at a given moment: Döll, the hulk, masterminds the escapade with the shoemaker; Knöres compensates for his slight build with agility and dexterity. Within this constellation of young people and adults, Matthießen keeps his young protagonists uniformly uncorrupted, if at times mischevicious, whereas Kästner always exemplified aberrations in young people's conduct with unsympathetic characters such as Petzold.

Adult input and guidance provide a decisive asset when difficult problems confront the group. In each effort, the sympathetic adults, especially the parents and Herr Behrmann, advise and encourage the protagonists. Döll's father rewards his son for the shoemaker prank with a coin and a stolen smile. The cynicism of Mala's father toward the readership of his newspaper inspires the idea to plant a false news item in order to obtain a holiday from school. Herr Behrmann, the feature writer and school colleague of Mala's father, then conspires with Mala and fabricates the bogus three-hundreth anniversary of the school's founding. In return, the gang eventually initiates the journalist into their secret information and activities. The "eternal student's" juvenile attitude and impish humor establish him as the intermediary between the realms of maturity and puerility.

In Das rote U, the adversary attitude toward instituted powers of law enforcement and education implies that civil codes deviate from the cultural values. The examples of "good" adults, who themselves stray from the narrower path of moral rectitude for the opportunity to enjoy a practical joke, impart the values that guide their children's talents. The moral standards of mature people influence and condone the youngsters' actions, whether the group performs acts of charity or conspires against contemptible persons. The

humiliation of the drunken shoemaker greatly amuses Döll's father and the other men; Herr Behrmann expresses derisive pleasure at the gullibility of the general public; the clique's entreaty for employment of Herr Gebendeil as caretaker for the church's heating system moves the pastor deeply. All the group's deeds receive some manner of approval despite conceivable objections against the means toward these ends. The offices of authority that would object to trespassing and poaching do not represent the "higher" moral convictions. Kästner, on the contrary, would have cast the institutional apparatus as the model for behavior and the repository of higher principles. Institutions legislate conduct, imposing silent obedience and denying that young people can assume responsibility. The mysterious new leader exploits the values, conditioned by adventure stories, that pit righteous morality against an indifferent or hostile authority. After "Das Rote U" lends purpose to the group's activities, the five perceive themselves as scions of the legendary gallant renegades.

"Das Rote U," in reality the feeble, bookish loner Uhl, functions as the immediate sanctioning authority and as the voice that determines the goals for the group's activity, initially through extortion, then as a recognized and revered leader:

"Damit kommen wir nicht weiter", flüsterte Silli. "Sicher hat sich irgendein Verbrecher in der Pause eingeschlichen und dir den Zettel ins Buch getan, und jetzt erpreßt der uns für die Bande vom Rote U."

"Und wenn wir mit dem Roten U anfangen, dann kommen wir noch viel länger ins Zuchthaus, da könnt ihr Gift drauf nehmen! Aber vielleicht sind die Polizisten froh, wenn wir ihnen die Bande vom Roten U verraten. Dann kriegen wir nur eine Tracht Hiebe, und davon ist noch keiner gestorben."

"Nein, Silli", sagte Boddas, "das nicht, aber eine Ehre ist es gerade auch nicht! Und woher willst du überhaupt wissen, was das Rote U will? Vielleicht ist es ein hochanständiger Räuber, und das wäre was für uns!" (20-21)

In order to retrieve further instructions, they must gain entry into the frightful, desolate Villa Jück. Knöres diverts a patrolman's attention from the erstwhile den of thieves, and breaks into the house on his own initiative. He retrieves the note left by "Das Rote U" which reveals that the mysterious usurper is a virtuous chieftain:

Und das schönste war: sie wußten jetzt, daß das Rote U gar nicht so schlimm war. Keine Einbrüche, nichts Böses hatte es von ihnen verlangt. Nein, sie hatten jetzt wirklich eine mächtige Hochachtung vor ihm. Dem Schuster die Vögel fliegen lassen -- das war 'ne Sache! Auf diesen herrlichen Gedanken wären sie nie, nie gekommen. Das war ja sogar ein gutes Werk! Wie konnten sich die armen Ziesige, die Dompfaffen und Blaumeischen denn in der düsteren Schusterbude wohl finden? Nein, die armen Tierchen gehörten in den grünen Hofgarten, wofür sie der Herrgott geschaffen hatte. (36)³⁴

"Das Rote U" assumes a status of a sacred authority for whom the group expresses faith, reverence and fear. They

regard their increasingly difficult tasks as trials that prove their worthiness in tenacity and resourcefulness. These commissions, each an episode containing its own suspense and climax, build up to Silli's rescue of Ühl from the kidnapper on the ice floes of the Rhein. For these young people, "Das Rote U" commands supreme knowledge and (usually) wisdom; the notes with instructions for them constitute texts that not only relay orders, but that also require a kind of exegesis in order to determine the purpose and meaning of assigned duties. The five interpret the motives of their leader according to specific cultural concepts that they all have in common. This shared background encompasses ideals and knowledge through which the group recognizes its moral obligations and its place in society. The youths' interpretations indicate their "intersubjectively shared cultural system of values."³⁵

Although the messages, or "texts," always appear in school or at a school function, it never dawns on the group that "Das Rote U" could be a classmate. The notes relay only the most essential commands. Because they arrive within a specific context, the group readily grasps the conditions and appropriateness of the tasks, reducing the amount of discussion required to interpret the orders. So that the reader can also understand the significance of the brief orders, the narrator supplies pertinent background

information on at least four considerations: First, the author informs the reader about knowledge common to members of the group concerning a situation; second, about evaluations of moral and practical aspects; third, about the normative restrictions and available resources; and fourth, about the culturally conditioned symbolic function of actions. Orders for the second and third episodes serve as examples:

"Heute ist Freitag. Der Schuster Derendorf in der Kapuzinergasse hat einen ganzen Haufen Vögel. Und die sollt ihr ihm bis morgen abend alle fliegen lassen.

Das Rote U." (35)

"Ihr habt heute den Gebendeils einen guten Sonntagsbraten zu besorgen und bis in einer Woche dem Vater Gebendeil Arbeit zu verschaffen.

Das Rote U."

Ratlos hatten sich die fünf nach der Schule angesehen. Aber weil das Rote U noch darunter getippt hatte "Bis heute bin ich zufrieden mit Euch", hatten sie sich mit Feuereifer darangemacht. (54-55)

Everyone knows that Derendorf maltreats wild birds or that the Gebendeil children have little to eat because of their father's unemployment. But only the intrusion of "Das Rote U" encouraged moral contemplation and measures to rectify conditions. Since the status of a minor implies competence inferior to all mature persons, the existing adult institutions obstruct young people's access to official channels, hindering their charitable work. Moreover, the

fact that only the children must act to remedy social problems implies that the adult institutions fail to rectify unemployment, poverty and cruelty to animals. As an alternative, approved through the moral authority of "Das Rote U", the clique seeks its own solutions, even if they must commit petty crimes.

Matthießen's novel derives cultural symbolism from Märchen and exotic adventures. After the clique rescues the creatures of nature from the shoemaker, the author compares them to "Kobolde" (47) and "Heinzelmännchen" (50). They clearly perceive parallels between their actions for the Gebendeil family and a legendary heritage: "'In früheren Zeiten', beharrte Boddas, 'haben die Räuber auch immer den armen Leuten geholfen, das wißt ihr ganz genau'" (57). When Boddas proposes that this mysterious interloper may be an honorable bandit, he gives evidence of a cultural "sphere of values," idolizing legendary heroes created by authors such as Karl May. The novel's conclusion confirms May's influence. At the Christmas Eve gathering, "Das Rote U" himself appears before the group in American Indian costume and mimics the speech pattern of the title character of Winnetou, der rote Gentleman (1893), one of May's most popular heroes: "Konnte er sprechen! Das war ja der richtige Winnetou!" (128).

Besides the direct references and allusions to Karl May (12, 20, 84, 127), the locations in the Altstadt, eerie settings within the band's own domain, also add an exotic allure. In the Villa Jück, the abandoned house that serves as the headquarters for criminals, Knöres discovers a secret passage to an uncharted canal; the children play in the catacombs below the church among scattered human bones; the shoemaker's hovel ("Loch") conjures the awful image of a hermitage for a misanthropic recluse. Strange settings lend a measure of daring and apprehension to the action. However, the group's intimacy with such locales, and with the Altstadt in general, suggests an organic attachment to their terrain, reminiscent of the harmony with nature that May's "noble savages" exhibit. Even a short walk out of the old part of town to the areas of commerce and industry unsettles them more than their gruesome playground below the church:

Denn Knöres' alter Onkel wohnte in diesem Viertel, in dem die Straßenbahnen den ganzen Tag rasselten, die Autos flitzten, die Menschen hasteten. Arg ungemütlich war es der kleinen Gesellschaft. Alles schien ihnen hier so kalt, so fremd, alles so gleichgültig und gar böse. (88)

Although this story follows the exploits of city youths, the five recoil from urban modernity as from a strange menace, and welcome the return to their own territory with relief. Within the familiar dominion the five

become, in turn, heroes of their own adventures. The heroics, eerie settings and disdain for modernity, together with the dichotomy of human types into good and evil, all indicate Matthießen's esteem for Karl May, for an author who transported the German völkisch spirit to exotic lands.

(Matthießen paid tribute to May when he appropriated the name of one of May's best known characters, Kara Ben Nemsî, for the title of his own adventure story, Nemsî Bey, 1933.)

Das Rote U itself belongs to the category of "Detektivgeschichte" next to Kästner's Emil only by virtue of its superficial framework: A band of city youths foil the criminals. Matthießen combined aspects from Kästner and May, two of the most popular authors of young people's books -- and this concoction delivered his most enduring work. Symbolic formations of collectively internalized norms underlie actions and determine goals. This shared set of normative values -- not direct, purposeful activity of mutual interests -- predicates how the group reaches an understanding. Therefore, when they speculate as to who and what "Das Rote U" is, they weave a romantic intrigue around an honorable rebel, whose clandestine society is testing their clique before initiating them into his band of enlightened thieves.

A standard system of values accompanies such romances. The measure of one's integrity corresponds to an uncompromising solidarity with a person or persons who pursue a

common goal. In this group, the youths may imagine that their physical, mental and moral activities emulate the superlative qualities of Karl May's Old Shatterhand or Winnetou. For example, as Knöres reports on his hazardous probe in the "Villa Jück," he adds the spice of invented danger to his daring:

"Nicht mehr nötig, Leute! Hier ist der Zettel.
Ich war schon drin."
"Wo drin? Doch nicht in der Villa..."
"Nennen wir sie lieber das Haus zu den hundert
Morden!" sagte Knöres großartig.
"Hast du Leichen gefunden?" fragte Silli schau-
dernd.
"Nein, die hat der Rhein alle abgetrieben." (35)

They exaggerate the little triumphs into demonstrations of valor and kindness, as we already observe when the humanitarian "elves" rescue the birds from the "black devil's hole." The romantic virtuousness the group ascribes to these acts warrants the repeated thefts and trespassing.

The fourth episode, however, causes quite a dilemma for the group and dampens the aura of "Das Rote U" in their eyes. For the first time the five wish to reject an order as impossible and unreasonable. Whereas the previous missions included clear, feasible objectives, the command to have the seventeenth of December declared a school holiday bore no apparent purpose. Aside from pointlessness, the demand seemed so unworkable that one could more easily "mit dem Mond Fußball spielen."

Daß wir die Schule anstecken und die Lehrer nicht vergiften, das weiß er natürlich selbst. Wir sind doch keine Verbrecher. Ja, wenn er geschrieben hätte, wir fünf sollten am 17. Dezember alle mal die Schule schwänzen, das wär' noch was gewesen. Aber schulfrei! Die ganze Schule frei! So was muß man sich anhören! (42)

In the increasingly baffling chain of events, they lose the reasoning behind the commands. Previously they interpreted the actions as containing their own rational purpose. This demand from their leader now requires faith in the ultimate wisdom of a seemingly senseless project. December 17 turns out to be the date the vengeful hooligans complete their term in prison, about whom, however, the group only later learns. Yet the decisive gesture, in terms of group allegiance, occurs when they acknowledge the word of "Das Rote U" as reason enough for any action -- a step at which they falter at first:

Ja, sie wußten nicht, was sie machen sollten. Das Rote U war doch sonst so vernünftig gewesen! Und nun diese Geschichte! "Kümmern wir uns einfach nicht darum!" hatte Silli noch zuletzt, als sie auseinandergingen, geraten. Aber das war leichter gesagt als getan. Immerhin blieb ihnen ja noch fast ein Monat Zeit, über die Sache nachzudenken. Aber auf alle Fälle wollten Mala und Boddas einmal jeder ein Briefchen in sein Buch legen und darin dem Roten U begreiflich machen, daß es etwas ganz Unvernünftiges und Unmögliches von ihnen forderte. Es hatte ganz sicher gar keine Ahnung davon, wie es in einer Schule zugeht. Das müßten sie ihm einmal ganz genau schreiben. Ja, und dann würde es ihnen wohl eine andere Arbeit geben. (74)

As with every other assignment, one member devises a solution. In this case, Mala colludes with Herr Behrmann to perpetrate an unmitigated fraud on the public, and indeed the school declares a holiday. Behrmann does not worry that such abuse of the media constitutes malfeasance of his access to the press. The "eternal student" considers the deception a great bit of fun, because he would "den Leuten mal zeigen, wie dumm sie sind" (78). Behrmann explains how easily a writer manipulates the truth:

"Was schrieben Sie denn da, Herr Behrmann? Vielleicht wieder etwas vom Schuljubiläum?"

"Hahaha!" lachte der alte Student, und seine goldene Brille funkelte nur so, "das war ein feiner Spaß, nicht wahr?"

"Aber stimmt es denn nicht?"

"I wo! Natürlich, eure Schule ist alt, sogar sehr alt. Aber daß sie gerade an diesem 17 Dezember 300 Jahre alt wird, ist bestimmt falsch. Das hat der Onkel Behrmann nur mal so geschriben."

"Und das mit den Mönchen früher? Und all die Fürsten und Herzöge? Und die Jahreszahlen?"

"Begreifst du das denn nicht, Junge? Natürlich is das alles richtig! Siehst du, das ist wie in einer Erbsensuppe, wenn die anderen Erbsen alle gut sind, dann merkt es kein Mensch, wenn auch mal zufällig eine schlechte drunter ist." (82)

Even Mala's father, the editor of the paper, harbors disdain for the press's responsibilities to the public:

"Die Leute glauben alles, was man ihnen sagt, und einen König von Parmir gibt es natürlich auch nicht und auch keinen Schnellzug von Solingen. Aber, bitte, lauf morgen mal an den Hauptbahnhof 10 Uhr 31, da werden Hunderte von

Menschen stehen" (75). Unlike the other parents, Mala's father would not have his son succeed him in his occupation, but would rather see him enter the "honest" profession of farming. Matthießen apparently holds the newspaper in much lower estimation than does Kästner. In contrast to Behrmann's lax regard for the truth, Kästner's own appearance in Emil as a reporter implies his respect for the journalist's integrity. In Emil, "newsworthy" events enter into a system that efficiently relays information and supports good causes. The same medium that systematically distributes news and opinions in Kästner's book, typically distorts the facts in Das Rote U.

Mala undertakes his scam to satisfy the directive from "Das Rote U," and adults unwarily support the deception. The hoax succeeds so well that even Mala's father does not penetrate the ruse. The author alleviates the gravity of this, their most serious of actual legal transgressions, through a coincidence: The school's anniversary, in fact, falls on the twenty-eighth of December and marks its two-hundreth, not three-hundreth year of its founding. Because he was fully confident of the mysterious leader's honor and insight, Mala overlooks the absence of the moral or practical reasoning more evident in the earlier assignments. As the others dissent, Mala exploits the opportunity to perform the "heroic" gesture of overcoming the impossible -- he

expresses power through his fidelity to a moral principle embodied as "Das Rote U."

A constitutive element of the adventure story surfaces demonstrably in the female's role, especially in the culmination of the novel's intrigue. The fifth episode contains the climax of the main conflict: Three of the "Villa Jück" culprits had threatened revenge on the "Landgerichtsrat" Bernhard, Ühl's father, who had convicted them. Silli, the sole female of the clique, assumes charge for shadowing the movements of the criminals. The group assumes that "Das Rote U" assigns Silli the responsibility for their most important mission because they find the instructions in her purse. From the outset, the single female character enjoys a favored status, accepted as an exception for the sake of her "extraordinary" talents:

Silli war das einzige Mädchen in der Bande und hatte ein helles Köpfchen. Sonst wäre sie auch gar nicht aufgenommen worden, obwohl sie Boddas' Schwester war. Und es hatte Boddas auch allerei Mühe gekostet, seine Freunde von Sillis Wert zu überzeugen. Freilich, nachher hätten sie das schlaue blonde Mädcl nicht mehr missen mögen. Keiner konnte so lecker Karnickel braten wie sie, konnte so wunderbar die zerrissenen Jacken und Hosen flicken. Und wenn es irgendwo keinen Ausweg mehr gab -- Silli wußte gewiß den allerallerletzten noch zu finden. (14)³⁶

In both Kai and Emil only a single female character appears in each clique as well. Kai's sister supplies the

ingredient for fairy-tale pathos of the waif-to-princess clichè. Pony Hüttchen, like Silli, performs a traditional female role as a domestic servant when she serves coffee and waits on the boys in Emil. More strikingly, while Emil's group stands vigil on the "front lines," Pony projects the image of another typical female characterization: "Sie saß wie eine Schönheitskönigin auf dem Stuhl, und die Jungen umstanden sie wie die Preisrichter."³⁷ Kästner makes only this single, insignificant reference to sexuality. Matthießen, in contrast, exploits the subtle erotic dimension of his female protagonist as a structural component that sharpens and prolongs the suspense. Already when they seek employment for Herr Gebendeil, Mala recognizes that the "dicken Fabrikenheinies" would not reject a comely girl before even hearing her request, as they would one of the boys. He supports his suggestion by remarking how fine clothing belies her true age:

Dann besah er sich Silli. In ihrem neuen Sonntagsmantel mit dem netten Pelzkrägelchen und dem hübschen kleinen Samtkäppchen sah sie eigentlich sehr gut aus.

"Wie so 'ne Wiener Schlittschuhläuferin", sagte er, "die sind ja immer in der Zeitung photographiert und sind alle sechzehn Jahre alt. Wie alt bis du eigentlich?" (56)

Early on the author establishes Silli's precocity in physical and mental development. Her maturity, together

with her commanding presence among males, exploits a male fascination with the Amazon figure, an archetype for adventure novels (as later demonstrated by Wilhelm Speyer's character, Daniela).

Silli also conveys vulnerability along with her strengths. With this combination, the author amplifies suspense through the dire peril that threatens Silli during the climactic rescue. As a kidnapper makes a desperate escape across the ice floes of the river, Silli manages to halt his progress with the force of her terrible screaming: "Und hell schrie sie plötzlich auf -- der Mann ist ausgerutscht, aber nun hat er sein Bündel wieder gepackt und will weiter. Doch bei Sillis Schrei schaut er sich um. Und wieder schreit das Mädchen, noch viel schrecklicher, noch viel gellender" (120). The haste, desperation and continual screaming drive the action to an intense pitch. The kidnapper slips from the ice and is consumed by the waters. Yet the tension lingers as the "bundle," Ühl, teeters on the brink of disappearing into the river as well. This image -- a girl's cries, the man's vanishing, or dissolving into the formless mass, the feverish desperation of Silli rushing across the floes, leaping "wie ein Feder von Scholle zu Scholle" -- all combine in sensations of orgasmic tension and pre-death delirium. After reaching the bundle, the

release of emotions fogs Silli's senses and distorts the sounds all around her:

Und es war ein grauenvoller, entsetzlicher Gesang, ein Gesang nicht wie ein Lied. Nein, alle Stimmen der Welt waren in diesem Getön. Das war ein Knirschen und Stöhnen, ein Pfeifen und Ächzen, ein Brüllen wie von weither und wie aus der Tiefe, und dazu die stille Nacht rundum, in der alles hundertfach laut ineinandertönte. (122)

Despite her emotional shock, Silli ascertains life in the "deathly pale" face of Ühl before she loses consciousness: "Silli, liebe Silli!" hörte sie ihn noch sagen. Und dann sah und hörte sie nichts mehr" (122). Physical and emotional energies reach their final limits, the pervasive threat of annihilation looms, and the blackout follows. This accumulation assaults the senses with as much force as the author can extract from the situation -- for which Matthießen calculated a reciprocal catharsis of rising up again.

Volker Klotz has determined that readers identify with the heroes of adventures through a connection between "Leib und Leben." He submits that physical effects evoke the sympathy of all readers, while the personal and interpersonal contradictions in morals and norms capture the attention of only a limited reading public. Antagonists and protagonists operate within the context of the body; the

"criminal" dominates, usurps and destroys the innocent; the hero dispatches the evildoer:

Auf der anderen Seite macht es der Held zu seiner Aufgabe, die verschleppten und entstellten Opfer der Schurken aufzuspüren, zu befreien und dafür zu sorgen, daß sie wieder leibhaftig zu sich kommen. Noch dringender ist, daß der Held die Schurken, die fortwährend Leib und Leben bedrohen, ebenso leibhaftig ergreift und beseitigt. Nichts darf von ihnen übrig bleiben."³⁸

Silli's rescue of Uhl fulfills the formula with the additional ingredients of self-sacrifice and erotic imagery.

As no other book under discussion here, Das Rote U demonstrates an indebtedness to the sagas and romances of distant times and places, while maintaining a claim to contemporary relevance and authenticity. Matthießen subtly translated the heroic ideals and structural components to a contemporary setting. The youths assimilate the moral concepts within the limits of their field of action as young people, even if the happenstances border on the implausible. Thereafter, ghastly settings, the mystery of "Das Rote U," and the body as a locus of action at the highpoint, all equip the story with formal stimuli that hold the reader's attention. Finally, the author's "message" unfolds as the frail outsider reveals himself as the actual ringleader who had first extorted the group and then won their unwavering faith. Under his direction, each member of the clique

asserts himself and herself, and demonstrates individual talents -- a statement of ultimate equality and unity among young people. According to Anneliese Hölder, the clique becomes aware of its abilities by carrying out good deeds:

Der Held, 'Das Rote U', der unbekannte Detektiv und Anführer, für den sich der junge Leser mit der wachsenden Größe der Leistungen, welche die Privatdetektivbande selbst vollbringt, begeistert, dann die Tendenz sich für die soziale Ordnung und Gerechtigkeit einzusetzen -- dies alles bewirkt, daß wiederum idealistische Gefühle die Teilerlebnisse ordnen und zu einem Ganzen zusammenschließen."³⁹

"Das Rote U" transforms a band of harmlessly mischievous youngsters into a committee for social relief as they discover a grand satisfaction in applying their energies toward charitable acts. While adults and young people are not so fundamentally antagonistic as in Wolf Durian's Kai aus der Kiste, adult institutions serve traditional and bureaucratic functions and lack idealism. The members of the clique in Das Rote U form their own exclusive association, yet interact with sympathetic adults in order to carry out their missions. Matthießen depicts the children's version of reality -- with Indians, noble highwaymen, and gothic settings -- as applicable to real-life problems. The author promotes only superficial, if any, social, ideological or humanistic values, while the groups of young people in books

by Kästner, Schenzinger and Durian incorporate evident personifications of world views.

Conclusion:

Cultural Values and Communicative Action

Emil und die Detektive, Der Hitlerjunge Quex, and Das Rote U claimed to exemplify realism in young people's literature in the late Weimar Republic. In the prefaces to their books, Kästner described how he based his story on reality and Matthießen claimed to report actual events. Durian, while not pretending to relate authentic depictions of life in Kai aus der Kiste, did portray young people in a modern-day Berlin. It must be noted that, of all four novels, Schenzinger's fascist propaganda most accurately explored the subjective, commonplace problems that confronted youth every day in the Berlin of 1931. Therefore, promoting an ideological dogma in a text does not detract from the "realism" of a novel, but rather, as Schenzinger's book demonstrates, realistic portrayals can be an effective instrument of political indoctrination.

These novels by Kästner, Schenzinger, Matthießen and even Durian are described as realism because they reflect everyday life. Of all the realities that writers construct in literature, everyday life represents "reality par excellence."⁴⁰ These four authors, however, impose upon the

texts their own concepts and attitudes toward life, reconstructing the world of young people in Weimar Berlin to suit, on the one hand, a didactic message that people should band together and cooperate to alleviate poverty and injustice. On the other hand, literature for young people was compelled to satisfy the young reader's fantasy and sense of adventure, which means eliciting vicarious feeling of control. The fantastic power of young people, along with their language and actions, reveal the ideologies that are projected onto the here and now in these books. The language, group structure and intersubjectively shared knowledge and beliefs are determined by the ideological frameworks underlying these "realisms."

In Emil, Quex, Kai, and Das Rote U a locus of exchanges connected communication and group activities to the world views of the respective authors. Young people understand one another in these novels through standards of validity that determine their shared concepts of right and wrong. Each group legitimates its own power and social actions through specific principles and values. Specific Weltbilder conditioned the social acts of communication, whereby the group reaches a consensus through assertions and agreements. This "communicative action" can manifest itself in unarticulated assumptions, such as in Heini Völker's implied purpose of continually reaffirming the Hitler Youth for its own

sake. In Schenzinger's image of the world, unquestioned authority creates the ideal communicative situation. In contrast, when Emil suggests that the group debate an issue in a parliamentary manner, he presumes a system of ethics that designs an order for rational argumentation.

Heini lives in a different symbolic world than Emil, and has a different conceptual machinery and language for legitimizing his world.⁴¹ Quex demonstrates a mythological attitude toward life. Heini/Quex understands his actions and their effects as validated -- or sanctified -- insofar as they take place within the context of the Hitler Youth. He experiences a "sacred" nature in his self-understanding because the group ritualizes his everyday life. The Hitler Youth, in turn, is devoted to the perpetual renewal of itself. Universal self-affirmation precludes dissonances within the group and conceives all activity that the group sanctions to be purposeful. The rite of self-sacrifice symbolizes total dedication to the Hitler Youth. Quex therefore performs the ultimate communicative act of National Socialist mythology.

According to the theoretical construct in Jürgen Habermas' Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns (1981), culture progressed from mythological views into a separation between temporal and holy orders of existence. In the next stage in the evolutionary scheme of conceptual mechanisms,

which Habermas describes in terms of religious-metaphysical images of the world, social action differentiated into sacred and profane activities. This distinction demythologized everyday existence and posited a cosmic harmony onto the universe -- a higher, metaphysical existence beyond human experience. Everyday life became less ritualized, claims of truth and purity did not necessarily apply to earthly pursuits. However, traditions and traditional authorities (priest, monarch, etc.) continued to determine purposeful activity through divine sanctions such as, negatively, the wrath of God or, positively, the promise of final redemption. Communicative action reflected the ordained hierarchies. As representatives of a higher will, sanctioning authorities assigned the objectives for social actions. The legitimacy of the means could be argued because they were human endeavors, but not that of the ends because they were decreed "from above." Those exclusively devoted to a particular collective, to a social communion, did not assess and critically judge divine commandments. Principles applied to goal-oriented activity, rationalizing methods of production in the name of a holy order.

When applying these historical religious-metaphysical Weltbilder to a modern equivalent, one can see in Kai aus der Kiste a parallel to religious attitudes, with the "American Dream" representing the path to salvation and knowledge

Mr. Joe Allen symbolically appears as the divine representative who dispenses rewards of a "paradesical" existence for accomplished quests. Several analogies to the religious congregation come forth: As the sole intermediary between Mr. Joe Allen and the group, Kai acts as the "priest." He summons his fold to the abandoned train station, the house in which the youths gather as a holistic community. Ruthless ambition redeems them from poverty. This goal governs their thinking and relegates responsibility for their destructive means to an infallible office of "The Most High." Significantly, Habermas notes that such holistic social orders and task-oriented action facilitated technological refinements -- in material production and in warfare:

Vor allem in den Bereichen der Produktion und der Kriegführung entwickelt sich eine arbeitsteilige Kooperation, die erfolgsorientiertes Handeln verlangt. Auch entwicklungsgeschichtlich ist Effizienz der früheste Aspekt der Handlungsrationali-tät. Freilich kann das in den technischen und strategischen Regeln investierte Know-how noch nicht die Form eines expliziten Wissens annehmen, solange auf der Stufe kommunikativen Handelns Wahrheitsansprüche kaum isoliert werden können.⁴²

Kai's advertising war demands the technical and strategic abilities of his group. The Cigarette King, symbolizing the dogma of American know-how and ruthless ambition, holds the only claim to truth. While the division of

labor among Kai's forces and the management of their resources maximize efficiency, mechanical knowledge for fabricating advertising schemes, producing and distributing material, and taking advantage of the public transportation system do not transfer into spheres of interpretive knowledge. In Kai, absolutes of victor and vanquished decide what is true and moral.

Participants dispute claims to truth and authority in Emil, causing the group to appraise rationally the ethics of its actions. In the "post-Christian age," "cultural spheres of validity" evolved away from the imperatives of mission and redemption and into moral right, aesthetic value and scientific observation. A profane orientation to life superceded the notion that an ultimate, perfect order underlay earthly experience.⁴³ As members of the clique deliberate among themselves in Kästner's Emil, specialized competence legitimates the claims of Emil, "The Professor," and Gustav in their rigorously ethical and professional convictions. We have observed that Kästner promoted, at least in his writings for young people, a system of values distilled from a confession of faith for the Enlightenment. However, Kästner prescribed patterns for behavior and actions in Emil failed to arrive from a true rational consensus. Although Emil and "The Professor" imitate democratic debate and agreement when they reject theft as a remedy to a theft, or

when they suppress Petzold's insubordination, Kästner nevertheless inverted his humanistic doctrine into a prescriptive system for young people.

Because the group in each novel functions more or less ideally, the analysis of communication and purposeful activity in these books ascertains ideals that these four authors projected into their works. The rubrics of myth, metaphysics and modernity designate attitudes of these authors towards morality and human purpose, describing how they uphold perceptions of reality in their novels. When considered all together, the group structures in Emil, Quex, and Kai appear incommensurable -- a noteworthy contradiction, since they do not take place in different eras of Western civilization. Berlin of the late Weimar period served as the setting for all three novels. The contemporary environment, by which these novels are judged as "realism," is mediated by non-synchronous views of society and the world.

In Das Rote U, Wilhelm Matthießen combines communicative and social actions that distinguish Quex, Kai, and Emil from one another. As a clique of five, eventually six, the schoolchildren often perform tribal rituals in their games, imitating the exotic figures of Karl May's adventure stories. In practice they deliberate on their plans either among themselves or with the counsel of certain adults.

Unlike Emil, however, members of the group do not assume roles of legitimate representation and control. Each member assumes in turn the voice of command with no more real justification than having the good ideas or the physical endowments to overcome a problem. Matthießen appropriated the clichés of adventure stories for the code of ethics the young people follow. Fidelity to a leader under a creed of trial and salvation attests to the author's metaphysical perceptions of the world. The fealty to "Das Rote U" and the ideals the youths have internalized restrict communication to particulate considerations of formulating strategy and interpreting the intentions of their leader. The members of the clique only minimally criticize or argue the claims to authority and purpose. The novel required these restrictions so that the seemingly natural, spontaneous cooperative effort both expressed an ideal and did not distract from the suspense.

In modern society, the "cultural spheres of value" are suspended from religious authority and come under secular institutional frameworks and jurisdictions, such as law, art and science. In Emil, Quex, Kai and Das Rote U, an undifferentiated system of values governs the actions that the groups of young people undertake. In fact, each book disavows the worth of the institutional authority, perceived as a faceless, impersonal bureaucracy, while conveying a

nostalgia for a charismatic leadership that champions the people. Kästner demonstrated that selfless compliance with the bourgeois elite served a natural and rational order, a sentiment more characteristic of a constitutional monarchy than of a democratic republic. Schenzinger evoked the awe and pageantry of a mythical hero, which was congruent with fascist aesthetics of spectacle and ritual. Durian's Kai aus der Kiste, beyond being a by-product of Americanism in Weimar Germany, portrays a devaluation of values through the doctrine of ruthless entrepreneurship. The ominous suggestion is that all principles are relative toward goals sanctioned by an absolute authority, a belief on which National Socialism capitalized. In Das rote U, Matthießen's mysterious "Rote U" is an awesome presence throughout most of the novel. In this adventure, however, the folklore of the city becomes the salient feature, establishing a Heimat in which the young people are "rooted" in the landscape of the Altstadt by birth and tradition. Authenticity and contemporaneity in German young people's literature during the Weimar Republic did not necessarily introduce progressive ideas. Indeed, communicative and cooperative actions in this "new realism" confirm that these authors did not advocate a historical liberation of the subject from the imperatives of repressive ideologies. Rather, the young people wrest control of events from an ineffectual adult

administration and impose their own "orders" of conduct, orders that implied solutions to a republic viewed as impotent and overly bureaucratized.

Notes

¹Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile oder Über die Erziehung (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1963), pp. 443-444.

²Erich Kästner, "Emil und die Detektive," Kästner für Kinder, 1 (Zürich: Atrium, 1985), pp. 13-14. Further references to this work will be documented as a page number after the citation.

³The word "clique" here is a general reference to a circle of young people who form a distinct group as friends. The German word "Clique" was more neutral and was used during the 1920s and 30s to describe groups of young people in the city. A neutral term, it did not necessarily imply exclusivity and animosity to outsiders.

⁴The three youths in Max Barthel's Die Verschwörung in der Heide (1930) foil a burglary in Berlin and uncover a drug smuggling operation in Hamburg. In Vier Jungen wissen sich zu helfen (1931), Peter Matheus combines gang rivalries with an act of philanthropy, and the boys raise money to send the consumptive sister of one member to a sanitarium. The rival gangs in Anni Geiger-Hof's Fiete, Paul & Co. (1932) join forces to prevent the eviction of a poor family from their apartment.

During this period a good number of other writers also describe young people in groups. Among those works that do not otherwise appear in the present study include the "Youth Movement" adventures. The selection of texts I have encountered either relate the gang rivalries and detective mysteries of uniformed youths on camping expeditions (Eberhard Strauß, Unter dem Falkenbanner, 1932; Karlchen Zack, Wir unter uns, 1930), follow the development of a boy's attachment to a group, in the manner of Der Hitlerjunge Quex, such as in the books by Heinrich von Bazan. Still others narrate the wanderings of a particular youth group (Paul Jordan, Mit Barrett und bunter Mütze, 1932; Karl Köster, Orientfahrt der Sturmvaganten, 1930). These authors revel in the mere state of youth and group activity. As noteworthy as the various Wandervogel and the Bündische Jugend groups were for Weimar culture, they did not provide a great wellspring of literature for young people.

One work deserves final mention regarding group formations in young people's literature. Walther Schönstedt's (b. 1909) Kämpfende Jugend (1932), thinly veiled as fiction, documents activities, personal issues and conflicts of the German Communist (KPD) youth in Berlin. Schönstedt narrates the work of rural agitation, questions of sexual morality, and a confrontation with the Hitler Youth in simple language. The book first appeared in the "Rote 1-Mark Romane" series, and was published in 1971 in the Oberbaum Verlag in a critical edition: Walter Schönstedt, Kämpfende Jugend, Proletarisch-Revolutionäre Romane 2 (Berlin: Oberbaumverlag, 1971)

⁵Kurt Beutler, Erich Kästner. Eine Literaturpädagogische Untersuchung, Marburger pädagogische Studien 1 (Weinheim: Beltz, 1967).

⁶Klaus Doderer, "Erich Kästners 'Emil und die Detektive' -- Gesellschaftskritik in einem Kinderroman," Erich Kästner. Werk und Wirkung, ed. Rudolf Wolff, Sammlung Profile 1 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1983), p. 107. This article first appeared in Buch - Bibliothek - Lesen. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Horst Kunze (Berlin: n.p., 1969).

⁷Dagmar Grenz, "Erich Kästner's Kinderbücher in ihrem Verhältnis zu seiner Literatur für Erwachsene. Am Beispiel eines Vergleichs zwischen 'Fabian' und 'Pünktchen und Anton,'" Literatur für Kinder, Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik, 7, ed. Maria Lypp (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), pp. 155-69.

⁸Marianne Bäuml, Die aufgeräumte Wirklichkeit des Erich Kästner (Köln: Prometh, 1984).

⁹Erich Kästner, "Als ich ein kleiner Junge war," Kästner für Kinder 1 (Zürich: Atrium, 1984), p. 545. My emphasis throughout.

¹⁰Bäuml, p. 158.

¹¹Mariann Bäuml also makes a point of Petzold's immorality, p. 158.

¹²Bäuml, pp. 46-55 and p. 83.

¹³Beutler, pp. 273-276.

¹⁴Helga Bemman, Humor auf Taille. Erich Kästner -- Leben und Werk (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1983), p. 62.

¹⁵Rather than indoctrinate values of church and nation with the rote memorization of facts in a repressed, disciplined environment, pedagogues in some German cities began applying methods of instruction that encouraged more creative participation and interaction. Innovations of this nature gained early support -- mainly in Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin -- but could only be implemented on a large scale after the November Revolution and the subsequent liberalization in the management of public affairs. In the early 1920s the authorities in Bremen permitted the first experimental schools (Versuchsschulen) to be established. Heinrich (1871-1940) and Wilhelm Scharrelmann (1875-1950), along with Fritz Gansberg, were among those who paved the way toward the practice of their pedagogical theories in the new schools. These teachers also wrote children's books that reflected their theories of how children should learn.

¹⁶Schiller describes this triangle of social enlightenment in "Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?" (1784, later retitled "Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet").

¹⁷Peter Aley, Jugendliteratur im Dritten Reich, pp. 153-54; Dagmar Grenz, "Entwicklung als Bekehrung und Wandlung. Zu einem Typus der nationalsozialistischen Jugendliteratur," Literatur für Kinder, Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik, 7, ed. Maria Lypp (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), pp. 123-154; Renate Jaroslawski and Rüdiger Steinlein, "Die 'politische Jugendschrift'. Zur Theorie und Praxis faschistischer deutscher Jugendliteratur," Die deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich. Themen -- Traditionen -- Wirkungen, ed. Horst Denkler and Karl Prümm (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1976), pp. 305-329; Christa Kamenetsky, Children's Literature in Hitler's Germany, pp. 124-26.

¹⁸Although I use the term "authoritarian personality" here, I do not refer to Theodor W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper, 1950). However, the "authoritarian syndrome" applies to this character by the end of the novel: "Um die 'Internalisierung' des gesellschaftlichen Zwanges zu erreichen, die dem Individuum stets mehr abverlangt als sie ihm gibt, nimmt dessen Haltung gegenüber der Autorität und ihrer psychologischen Instanz, dem Über-Ich, einen irrationalen Zug an. Das Individuum kann die eigene soziale Anpassung nur vollbringen, wenn es an Gehorsam und Unterordnung Gefallen findet; die sadomasochistische Triebstruktur ist daher

beides, Bedingung und Resultat gesellschaftlicher Anpassung." Theodor W. Adorno, Studien zum autoritären Charakter (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), p. 323. This is an abridged translation of the American original.

¹⁹Hansgeorg Meyer, "Prototyp Quex," Die deutsche Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 1933 bis 1945. Ein Versuch über die Entwicklungslinien, Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 7 (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1975), pp. 97-99.

²⁰Karl Aloys Schenzinger, Der Hitlerjunge Quex (Berlin: Zeitgeschichte-Verlag, 1942). All subsequent page numbers of references to this book appear after quotations.

²¹"Horst Wessel was a pimp killed by a colleague, Ali Hoehler, but he had been a Nazi street fighter before he went in for minding prostitutes. He had also written a little poem published in Goebbels' Der Angriff. Goebbels found a tune for the poem. His genius promoted Wessel's death into a martyrdom, while his song became a Nazi anthem..." Alex de Jonge, The Weimar Chronicle. Prelude to Hitler (New York: New American Library, 1978), p. 201.

Herbert Norkus was a "martyred" Hitler Youth repeatedly mentioned in Quex.

²²Max Horkheimer, "Egoismus und Freiheitsbewegung," Traditionelle und kritische Theorie. Vier Aufsätze (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1968), p. 137.

²³Horkheimer, "Autorität und Familie," Traditionelle und kritische Theorie. Vier Aufsätze, p. 143.

²⁴Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, Dialektik der Aufklärung (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1969), p. 15.

²⁵See in this regard Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair. A Study in the Rise of German Ideology, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1974). The first edition appeared in 1961.

²⁶A similar situation appears in a more satirical light in Ernst Erich Noth's (Paul Krantz, 1909-1983) Die Mietskaserne (1931): "Der Student ist ein großer blonder Mensch, der im Raum durch beharrliche Schweigsamkeit auffiel. Jetzt draußen, beginnt er zu reden. 'Der Vortrag hat Sie nicht überzeugen können. Sie müssen sich eingehend mit unseren Gedanken auseinandersetzen. Das ist aber nicht das Wichtigste. Nicht das Wohin, das Ziel, ist das

Entscheidende. -- Wichtig ist, daß wir überhaupt marschieren, wertvoll ist die Begeisterung, die Ergriffenheit für die Sache.' Er steigert sich erregt. 'Die nationale Sache ist das Wahre, das Große -- der entscheidende Mythos [...]' Ernst Erich Noth, Die Mietskaserne (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1984), p. 152-53.

²⁷Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), p. 110. Berger and Luckmann analyze the very structures of social institutions and consciousness that I find significant in Habermas toward the methodology of my study.

²⁸Fordism refers to the innovations of the assembly line and piece work in industrial production. Frederick Taylor's theory of scientific management reduces processes of production to monads of activity and calculates the maximum efficiency of each motion.

²⁹Pro-Americanism was the reason given for the book's banning in 1933.

³⁰Sibylle Durian, "'Kai aus der Kiste' -- ein Straßenjunge wird sechzig," Wolf Durian, Kai aus der Kiste (Berlin: Erika Klopp Verlag, 1984), pp. 78-80.

³¹Wilhelm Matthießen, Das rote U (Bayreuth: Loewes, 1980), p. 8. Further references to this text will appear after the citations.

³²Behrmann's own actions also discredit the novel's veracity when, as a practical joke, he gleefully adulterates information in a newspaper article.

³³Ernst Rudolf Funk, "Vom Verhältnis der Jugend zum Buch. 3. Der Leseantrieb der Jugend -- gemüts- oder intellektbetont?" Die Jugendschriften-Warte, 8, 9 (1956), 60.

³⁴My emphasis.

³⁵In the words of Jürgen Habermas: "Sprachabhängige Verständigungsprozesse spielen sich [...] vor dem Hintergrund einer intersubjektiv geteilten Überlieferung, vor allem gemeinsam akzeptierter Werte ab. Der Kontext, auf den ein Text jeweils verweist, kann dann für das, was Ordnung stiftet, als Modell dienen." Habermas, Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, 2, p. 321.

³⁶My emphasis.

³⁷Kästner, "Emil," p. 72.

³⁸Volker Klotz, Abenteuer-Romane (Munich: Hanser, 1979), pp. 217-218.

³⁹Anneliese Hölder, Das Abenteuerbuch im Spiegel der männlichen Reifezeit (Ratingen: A. Henn Verlag, 1967), p. 157.

⁴⁰"Its [everyday life, LS] privileged position entitles it to the designation of paramount reality. The tension of consciousness is highest in everyday life, that is, the latter imposes itself upon consciousness in the most massive, urgent and intense manner." Berger and Luckmann, p. 21.

⁴¹See the section "Conceptual Machineries of Universe-Maintenance" in Berger and Luckmann, pp. 104-116. In this section they refer to four types of conceptual machineries: mythology, theology, philosophy and science.

⁴²Habermas, Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, 2, p. 288.

⁴³In the industrial age, according to Habermas, members of Western societies internalized structures of religiously principled ethics that engendered a rationalized concept of natural rights. A normative framework of institutions separated views of the world from the dominance of a homogeneous religious order. The individual began to distinguish the normative function of the state (according to legal principles) from the objective existence of the world (according to scientific principles) and from their subjective inner nature (within the private experience of art and religion). Out of these profane spheres of validity emerged the faculty to independently assess and argue assertions according to doctrines set by secular authorities. The division of life into law, art and science further rationalized purposeful activity, organizing a network of legitimized power in the form of specialized, vocational and practical knowledge or skills. Consequently, communicative action operated as normatively controlled interactions with a critical treatment of truth claims -- normative because the sacral "aura" of art retained a ritual, if privatized, function and because modernist ethics and rights maintain the tradition of agape. Only science, the "objective" as opposed to the subjective and normative realms, became institutionalized unambiguously under the one validity claim of

observable verification. See Habermas, "Modernisierung als gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung: Die Rolle der Protestantischen Ethik," Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, 1, pp. 299-331.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUGGLE FOR A HIGHER CULTURE:

THE BOARDING SCHOOL AS THE MODEL FOR SOCIAL REFORM

IN WORKS BY

ERICH KÄSTNER, WILHELM SPEYER AND ERICH EBERMAYER

Im Innern hier ein paradiesisch Land,
Da rase draußen Flut bis auf zum Rand,
Und wie sie nascht, gewaltsam einzuschießen,
Gemeindrang eilt, die Lücke zu verschließen.
Ja! diesem Sinne bin ich ganz ergeben,
Das ist der Weisheit letzter Schluß:
Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern muß.
Und so verbringt, umrungen von Gefahr,
Hier Kindheit, Mann und Greis sein tüchtig Jahr.¹

Demarcations of Justice:

Erich Kästner's Das fliegende Klassenzimmer

In a number of young people's novels during the Weimar period, the boarding school secluded students from the blight of oppression and poverty in the city. Having retreated into a closed community, students in these novels labor to organize and defend their holistic realm against the modern world. Just as Faust proclaims a new paradise, hard wrought from the sea through the daily struggle of the

faithful, the boarding school came to connote a stronghold for securing the culture of Germany's future. While Goethe made it clear that Faust's vision of constructing a utopia was an ironic delusion, that Faust was hearing only the digging of his own grave, Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer were blind to the folly of their utopian programs. In most cases influenced by the cultural mandarins of German nationalism, numerous authors of the Weimar Republic exalted a "new collective," purging in fiction the exigencies of capital and politics and instituting a community of "spirit," always under the aegis of a charismatic leader. Whether the bonds of such communions were subtle or explicit, the charisma of these spiritual communities drew its power from the emotions of homoerotic love. Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer conceived of the boarding school as the repository of German culture, a culture for the initiates of a male society.

Erich Kästner, as I have established in chapter one, was deeply influenced by the European Enlightenment, and by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in particular. A belief in the ultimate goodness and reason in humans, with an appreciation for Greek antiquity and ancient Greek philosophy, characterized the thinking that Kästner admired in the German Enlightenment. In the eighteenth century, a specifically bourgeois class of intellectuals fostered an egalitarian view of society in which philanthropy, justice and a

principled code of ethics should govern human conduct. Kästner clearly applied his enlightenment ideology to his novels for young people. In Das fliegende Klassenzimmer (1934), the school as a fraternal society represents a corollary institution to the Freemasons, which is the quintessential brotherhood of enlightenment humanism. However, such humanitarian organizations function only from within the walls of a hermetic fellowship, allied and protected with pledges of honor.²

Erich Kästner drew material from his own youth when writing Das fliegende Klassenzimmer, as did most German authors who related the experiences of boarding school life. By attending a pedagogical academy, the Fletscher "Lehrerseminar" in Dresden, young Erich promised to raise the Kästner family's social status. However, the pointless adherence to military codes of order discouraged his ambitions, as Helga Berman relates in her biography of Kästner:

So ausgezeichnet der Unterricht war, so sinnlos erschien an diesem Lehrerseminar der Disziplinierungsmechanismus. Der Schüler hatte beiseite zu treten und den Lehrer mit den Händen an der Hosennaht wie beim Militär zu grüßen. Selbst in den Arbeitszimmern hatten die Seminaristen, wenn ein Lehrer eintrat, zackig aufzuspringen, und der Stubenälteste hatte Meldung zu erstatten. Nur zweimal in der Woche gab es eine Stunde Ausgang.

Die geringsten Verstöße gegen die Hausordnung wurden streng bestraft. Erich Kästner bezeichnete diesen Drill in der Kinderkaserne rückschauend als Erziehung zum Gehorsamsautomaten mit dem Zweck, Leute zu schaffen, die blind tun, was ihnen

befohlen wird, und die sich nicht mehr trauen, selbständig zu denken, geschweige denn zu handeln.³

Near the end of World War I, Kästner received his draft notice and entered an artillery company. Bemmann continues: "Die Ausbildung, der er nun unterzogen wurde, war die folgerrichtige Fortsetzung der Erziehung im Lehrerseminar plus sadistischer Menschenschinderei."⁴ The injustice and absurdity of militaristic schooling, then of military training, left him with a loathing for mindless submission and regimentation, and with a weakened heart that plagued him for the rest of his life.⁵ Kästner sought correctives to the injustices that he had suffered as a youth by presenting in a novel a counter-model to modern society. Always the hidden teacher in his texts, Kästner wrote Klassenzimmer in order to demonstrate specific concepts of an ethical education, in which young people develop faculties for independent judgment and moral convictions. In Klassenzimmer, critics commonly discern strong pedagogical intentions in the lessons of rational egalitarianism. Kurt Beutler's comments are representative:

Mit der Erörterung komplizierter psychologischer Vorgänge und "heikler" Probleme in einem Jugendbuch liefert Kästner selbst ein praktisches Beispiel für die in seiner Jugendliteratur durchgehend vertretene Pädagogik der Gleichheit und Rationalität: Die Kinder haben einen Anspruch auf die Erörterung aller Probleme ihrer Umwelt, um

fähig zu werden, nicht nur fertige Urteile zu übernehmen, sondern Einsicht in die Probleme und durch die Begegnung mit verschiedenen Wertungen zu einer eigenen Urteilsbildung zu finden.⁶

Kästner supplanted his recollections of the boarding school, in which everyone is forced to obey, with the rational ideal of a brotherhood, in which everyone wants to obey. Learning about their environment and its problems actually means to accept the world as unjust and to assimilate a private code of ethics in order to distance oneself individually from injustices. The young characters in Klassenzimmer develop as they internalize authority.

Kästner constructed an alternate reality, presenting an "anheimelnd insulares Refugium"⁷ rather than the sadistic, dehumanizing children's penal colony commonly depicted in novels by Kästner's contemporaries, such as Robert Musil (1880-1942) and Hermann Hesse (1877-1962).⁸ In Klassenzimmer, the Internat des Johann-Sigismund-Gymnasiums zu Kirschberg furnishes asylum from the outside world and an idyllic setting where justice prevails. Within this idealized refuge resides the inherently good youth; the evils that torment the pupils manifest themselves only in the outside world and penetrate the insular barriers from without. In the students' segregated environment, Kästner staged the lessons of courage, prudence (Klugheit), justice, friendship and the glorification of youth, primarily through the five

Stubenkameraden who embody exemplary character traits.

Kästner idealized social interactions by ascribing both to adults and young people equal claims to competence and reason, rights that are upheld only within the boarding school. In this way the author created moral polarities between school and the outside world, corresponding to the conflict between the traditional continuity and permanence of "truth" and the alleged degeneration and chaos of values of modernity. As did Emil, this novel presents a disinfected reality, despite the narrator's claims that the young person's world is not insulated from strife. Again, young people's internalized principles, rather than oppressive adult intervention, control behavior.

Serious personal problems do beset the characters, however, despite their inherent "goodness." In the second preface to Klassenzimmer, Kästner emphasized that many young people have troubled lives. He introduced here the theme of remembering one's own youth, without nostalgia, so that one can understand and sympathize with the realities of being young:

Schließlich nahm ich ein Kinderbuch vor, das mir der Verfasser geschickt hatte, und las darin. Aber ich legte es bald wieder weg. So sehr ärgerte ich mich darüber! Ich will euch sagen, warum. Jener Herr will den Kindern, die sein Buch lesen, doch tatsächlich weismachen, daß sie ununterbrochen lustig sind und vor lauter Glück nicht wissen, was sie anfangen sollen! Der

unaufrichtige Herr tut, als ob die Kindheit aus prima Kuchenteig gebacken sei.

Wie kann ein erwachsener Mensch seine Jugend so vollkommen vergessen, daß er eines Tages überhaupt nicht mehr weiß, wie traurig und unglücklich Kinder zuweilen sein können? (Ich bitte euch bei dieser Gelegenheit von ganzem Herzen: Vergeßt eure Kindheit nie! Versprecht ihr mir das? Ehrenwort?) (13)⁹

Kästner believed that he owed his success as a young person's author to continued intimacy with his own youth, and that his remembering resulted in authentic portrayals of young people in his novels.¹⁰ According to Kästner, contact with childhood makes for a better world, "(d)enn Kinder seien dem Guten noch nahe wie Stubennachbarn. Man müsse sie nur lehren, die Tür behütsam aufzuklinken."¹¹ Kästner explored this children's world in Klassenzimmer by writing about ideal youths under the tutelage of ideal adults, all of whom had retreated from civilization (Berlin) to their own stronghold of male culture in the Internat. The young characters are sequestered from the historical events of Germany in 1934, when the everyday life of all Germans was affected by the "new order," and social commentary about troubled youth is saturated with sentimentality.¹² In Weimar culture, the consecration of youth was a cult of purely adult invention that suggested spiritual renewal and a new morality. In Klassenzimmer, the figures of Martin

Thaler, Johnny Trotz and the adults Dr. Bökh and "der Nichtraucher" are vessels for Kästner's moral ideals.

The setting itself of Klassenzimmer establishes general parameters of exclusion. Problems of family, sexuality and society exist almost exclusively outside the boundaries of the Interat. While Kästner acknowledged problems of family and economy, he avoided sexuality altogether.¹³ Within the closed structure of the boarding school, the social denominators shift from complex familial, social and sexual relations to a communal unit in which righteousness and diligence hold supreme value. The main characters of the novel exercise their virtues from within physical and emotional fortifications erected against a harsh outside world. Personal fortitude, group solidarity and respect for the integrity of the institution are defenses that together sustain the world of the Internat, ensuring that righteousness prevails. These defenses, or maintenance mechanisms, create fertile ground for enduring male friendships, which Kästner regarded as the noblest of all human relations.

Synopsis: Das fliegende Klassenzimmer relates how five students, Martin (the leader), Johnny, Uli, Matthias, Sebastian, and the headmaster Dr. Bökh (also known as "Justus") learn about each other and themselves through conflict and understanding. In the first major episode, the boarding school does "battle" with the boys of the public school in town. After their final victorious snowball fight, Martin and the others must answer to "Justus" for leaving the school grounds without

permission. The headmaster agrees that the boys had to defend their honor and imposes only a nominal punishment. After the disciplinary meeting, the five realize that their other adult confidant, the gentle recluse who lives in the old "no smoking" traincar next to the school grounds, is the long-lost friend of Dr. Bökh. Through the intercession of Martin and the group, the two adults are reunited. In the meantime, woven in with interludes of practical joking in the classrooms and dormitory, timid little Uli transforms from the butt of practical jokes into a leader of his class. Martin grieves because he is too poor to go home for Christmas until "Justus" learns of his predicament and gives him the little money he needs. The novel concludes on a joyous note with the performance of the Christmas play, which Johnny had written, entitled "Das fliegende Klassenzimmer."

The Maintenance of Subjective Boundaries

Kästner preached personal fortitude in dealing with oneself and the world. Although drill and militarism embittered him against regimented physical exercise, he valued fitness and self-discipline as shields against adverse situations. In Klassenzimmer, Kästner addressed the reader directly, asserting that tempering courage with intelligence maintains personal integrity in the face of injustice. Above all, according to the author, a young person must learn to toughen the emotional constitution:

Also: Ohren steifhalten! Hornhaut kriegen!
Verstanden? Wer das erste heraus hat, der hat

schon halb gewonnen. Denn der behält trotz der dankend erhaltenen Ohrfeigen Geistesgegenwart genug, um jene beiden Eigenschaften zu betätigen, auf die es ankommt: den Mut und die Klugheit. Und schreibt euch hinter die Ohren, was ich jetzt sage: Mut ohne Klugheit ist Unfug; und Klugheit ohne Mut ist Quatsch! Die Weltgeschichte kennt viele Epochen, in denen dumme Leute mutig oder kluge Leute feige waren. Das war nicht das richtige.

Erst wenn die Mutigen klug und die Klugen mutig geworden sind, wird das zu spüren sein, was irrtümlicherweise schon oft festgestellt wurde: ein Fortschritt der Menschheit. (16)

Kästner contended that a balance of moral strength and reason claims universal validity as the social animal's most redeeming quality. In the maintenance of an individual's identity, however, the personal shields against tribulations become barriers to mutual understanding.

In Klassenzimmer, self-control dams rebellious emotions, channeling energies toward "productive" activity. In this "antipode" to the military academy (and to most boarding schools), Kästner rejected strict hierarchies and regimens. However, he replaced rank, uniform and training with internalized imperatives of duty. In his novel, Kästner did not essentially change the activities, rules or even the military consciousness of the boarding school. He merely created teachers and students who adapt well enough to controls without the external accouterments and formalities of militarism. The soldier's ethic is evinced by the discipline and comradeship among students in the "war"

against the schoolboys of the local town. Moreover, cooperating with authority is a primary moral obligation in the group's code of honor; the clique of five harbors unconditional admiration for the school's principal ("Hauslehrer"), Dr. Bökh, known as "Justus" for his most outstanding attribute of justness.¹⁴

The five students display self-control and self-conquest, each according to his character. As a result, superior personal qualities in Klassenzimmer function more to impede than to facilitate open interaction. As others have noted, the context of this boarding school precludes communication because the pupils must repress weaknesses and strive to excel in whatever form.¹⁵ The building of an identity proceeds through the accumulation of personal achievements that others recognize. Identification with a group, whose members mutually nurture each other's self image, forms an external preservation mechanism for the personality.

Martin, the leader, strives for perfection in compensation for his unjust, underprivileged status. When his parents cannot afford the travel expenses for Christmas holidays, his defenses crumble. The letter from his mother opens a chink in his "armor," even though she admonishes him to be "recht tapfer" and "kein bißchen weinen" (81). Martin becomes suddenly asocial, can no longer eat and loses his

concentration. Perpetually (even in his sleep!) he mutters "Weinen ist streng verboten" (92, 93, 99), until, when "Justus" finally confronts him, he breaks down:

Da war es mit Martins tapferer Haltung endgültig vorbei. Er nickte. Dann legte er den Kopf auf die schneebedeckte Brüstung der Kegelbahn und weinte zum Gotterbarmen. Der Kummer packte den Jungen im Genick und schüttelte und rüttelte ihn hin und her. (104)

The stress resulting from Martin's self-denial causes a breakdown that could have been, and finally is, easily remedied through simple openness. The eight marks for train fare represents a significant sum of money only for Martin.

Johnny Trotz has a gloomy personality because his parents had abandoned him at age five. Other than the boarding school, he has no home or family. Johnny retreats into lonesome brooding, meditating and writing, which belie his amiable façade. Classmates believe that within this melancholic stirs the talent to become a great writer. In his special friendship with Martin, who hopes to become an artist, Johnny finds a soulmate and solace. Although Kästner indicates that Johnny's experiences have scarred him for life, the boy has adapted to spending holidays alone at the boarding school: "Es ist alles Gewöhnung," he assures Martin as the latter departs for a Christmas visit with his parents (106).

Matthias assumes responsibility as the strong guardian for Uli (while their contrasting physiognomies contribute to humorous interludes in the novel). Matthias has melded his personality to his physical "armor." The muscular one in the group, he aspires to build upon his childhood role and become a professional boxer. A compulsive, insatiable appetite augments this mesomorphic stereotype. Little, faint-hearted Uli despairs because he lacks courage. His foolhardy leap with an umbrella as a parachute marks the momentous accomplishment of overcoming himself. His daring, despite a broken limb, spares him a lifetime of insecurity and self-castigation. "Justus" observes that Uli's stunt exemplifies the difficult process of becoming a "whole" person:

Vergeßt nicht, daß so ein Beinbruch weniger schlimm ist, als wenn der Kleine sein Leben lang Angst davor gehabt hätte, die anderen würden ihn nicht für voll nehmen. Ich glaube wirklich, dieser Fallschirmabsprung war gar nicht so blödsinnig, wie ich zunächst dachte" (79).¹⁶

The foolish act garners profound respect from the others and elevates his self-image -- a transformation resulting from a purely symbolic action, as Alwin Binder points out: "er transformiert die Selbstüberwindung in das Goldene Kalb seiner Gesellschaft: in abstrakte Höchstleistung. Deren Höhe bestimmt sich nicht dadurch, was sie einem Menschen konkret nützt, vielmehr durch den Grad an Risiko, das der

Betreffende eingeht."¹⁷ The transfigured Uli draws power and recognition solely from a newly won charisma. No one, not even Matthias, would have exposed himself to such danger; Uli's prestige as a survivor raises him above the crowd. After his jump, Uli's relationships with Matthias invert, showing strength of will to be more powerful than physical power.

In light of the special friendships that unfold, Sebastian's marginality appears striking. He has detached himself from most regular school activities, independently pursuing his interest in scientific questions. An almost negative figure, he portrays the insensitive cynic and recluse:

Er war heute merkwürdig gesprächig. Wahrscheinlich war Uli's Unfall daran schuld. Sonst sagte er immer nur spöttische und befremdende Dinge. Er hatte keinen Freund. Und sie hatten stets gedacht, er brauche keinen. Aber jetzt spürten sie, daß er doch unter seiner Einsamkeit litt. Er war bestimmt kein sehr glücklicher Mensch. (82-83)

Of all the main characters, Sebastian remains without a special friendship like those that form between Dr. Bökh and "der Nichtraucher," between Martin and Johnny, and between Matthias and Uli. Sebastian's command of pretenses ("Mich stört mein Mangel an Mut nicht besonders. Es kommt nur darauf an, diese Fehler nicht sichtbar werden zu lassen"

[82]) prevents even the mutual support of a single "best" friend that the others enjoy.

Kästner shows how each of the five girds himself against his weaknesses, developing the "thick skin" that wards off emotional breakdown. Beneath their show of courage lurks a gloomy pensiveness. The unarticulated despair indeed underscores Kästner's insistence that young people bear the weight of many troubles in their lives. Rather than expressing openly their pressures, confusions and consternations, these five youths suppress their personal problems. "Justus" admires this group, individually and collectively, as perfect members of his community because the outward expressions of valor and solidarity validate both the clique and himself.

Maintenance of the Group

Martin's group maintains itself both through individual friendships and the broader web of relationships. Rules of behavior, territorial boundaries and symbolic utterances of solidarity (such as the team cheer "eisern!") demarcate the school, the class and the clique itself. In the first climactic episode, these five Gymnasiasten coordinate the class in a collective venture, the battle with the Realschüler of Kirschberg. Through their actions, the students quite

literally imitate military maneuvers in service to a "state."¹⁸ An enemy that violates the group's domain must be sought out, confronted and routed in order to protect the honor of the boarding school. The unified retaliation reinforces an identification with the school and group.

Martin and other Gymnasiasten had earlier captured and desecrated the town gang's banner, an emblem of unity. The Realschüler retaliate brutally against this violation of their sovereignty. The pupils from the "lower" school must reinstate the integrity of the group and defend their collective identity by forcing Martin's troop to recognize and respect boundaries. This "prehistoric" (33) conflict, that is, traditional rivalry between schools, escalates to "warfare," when the enemy from the town kidnaps a pupil of the boarding school, Kreuzkamm, while he is delivering dictation notebooks to a teacher. As conditions for return of the hostage and booty, the Realschüler demand no more than a letter of apology and a written request for return of the notebooks. Martin could never concede to humiliating surrender and he does not capitulate in any way, even though this would prevent the brutal treatment of the hostage ("Ohrfeigen kriegt er außerdem. All zehn Minuten sechs Stück." [38]). Neither side seeks material gains; the conflict reinforces group identity by destroying the functional unity of the opposing gang. That is, defeat arrives for the

Realschüler when their order breaks down, while the esprit de corps of the Gymnasiasten grows when their adversaries scatter before them.

It is remarkably ironic that Kästner inadvertantly encourages in Klassenzimmer the mentality of a soldier, contradicting his expressed antipathy toward militarism. The aggression of schoolboy raids are in fact a manifestation of warlike thinking. In the preface to the novel, Kästner unconsciously establishes the advantages of a martial personality when he admonishes the reader to acquire a callous hide against the thrashings of life. In a military order, a soldier preserves himself by toughening his physical and emotional constitution, eliminating adversaries and integrating well into his social group.¹⁹ Martin and the others do not experience corporal punishment from their teachers as boys would in many other schools or academies. Rather, each individual commands himself, forging an emotional sheath and submitting to authority without military drill. Duty to the group becomes a personal dictate, coordinating the collective undertaking of the Gymnasiasten through discipline. These internal controls rest on imperatives of principled behavior. In contrast, the functional cohesion of the Realschüler fragments, causing anarchy. As soon as internal order breaks down, the troop reduces to a "mass" and the numerical superiority of the town students loses

significance. Moreover, in this "war," as Kästner depicts it, chaotic assaults and easily broken allegiances demonstrate moral weaknesses as well as organizational flaws. While their rivals allow disunity to defeat them, Martin and his gang maintain the integrity of the boarding school, the class and their own clique.

Through the stages of conflict between the two schools, Kästner systematically demonstrates the power of ethics in the marshaling of group efforts. First, the town gang overruns Kreuzkamm and captures the notebooks in a surprise attack, an act of unethical cowardice. The hostage is then bound to a chair and subjected to periodic beatings. To avoid attracting undue attention, the "higher school" proposes that two champions decide the matter through single combat in a fist fight. Matthias, the future boxing champion, avenges the honor of his school, allowing members of the class to defend the group vicariously. When Matthias defeats Warwerka, the defending champion, the losers refuse to submit to the conditions of the agreement and do not capitulate, defiantly disobeying leader's orders. The Gymnasias-ten finally prevail by not faltering in either their ethics or chain of command; the Realschüler lose because they deteriorate from a troop to an unprincipled, anarchistic mob. Delinquency appears not through the example of a single character, such as Petzold in Emil or Gottfried Klepperbein

in Pünktchen und Anton, but as a collective deviation from the essential "goodness" of youth (Martin: "Haben die Kerle keinen Anstand im Leibe?" [43]; "der Nichtraucher": "Solche Strolche gibt es unter den Jungens von heute?" [44]). Without principled authority, the Realschüler become individually and collectively immoral.

Whereas any remnant of righteousness among Realschüler disappears with the last vestige of an orderly chain of command, the moral rectitude and restraint in Martin's group guarantee organizational cooperation. Egerland, the deposed leader of the "enemy," proves to be the only redeemable rival character:

"Mir ist die Geschichte entsetzlich peinlich", meinte Egerland. "Ich bin zwar eurer Ansicht, aber ich muß doch zu meinen Leuten halten. Nicht wahr?"

"Natürlich", sagte Sebastian. "Du hast eben Pech. Du bist ein typisches Beispiel für den Konflikt der Pflichten. Das gab's schon öfter."

"Das einzige, was ich tun kann, ist, daß ich mich dem Gymnasium als Geisel zur Verfügung stelle. Martin Thaler, ich bin euer Gefangener!"

"Bravo, mein Junge", sagte der Nichtraucher. (43-44)

The leadership of the Gymnasiasten, the cultural elite, is approved by a respected adult who does not infringe upon their activities. "Der Nichtraucher," a gentle recluse who lives next to the boarding school, recognizes in Martin a competent authority for the class: "Ihr habt ja den Martin.

Da braucht ihr mich nicht" (45). Martin is the undisputed, rational leader; all agree to Martin's strategy that the final clash in the snowball fight begin with an initial retreat as a diversion. This ruse allows a detachment to free the hostage Kreuzkamm. Kästner highlighted the virtue of prudent, rational forethought by introducing a negative character from within Martin's force, the younger, over-zealous "Fäßchen:"

Sebastian fegte von einer Gruppe zur andern. Die Gymnasiasten waren wegen des Wortbruchs total aus dem Häuschen und hätten die Realschüler am liebsten über den Haufen gerannt. Das Fäßchen war besonders ungeduldig.

"Du hast zwar nicht kapiert, warum wir jetzt nicht gewinnen dürfen," sagte Sebastian. "Aber gehorchen mußt du trotzdem." (45)

After they vanquish the enemy, "Fäßchen" loses self-control, compelling Martin to demonstrate correct principles of warfare:

Nur Egerland hielt stand. Er blutete; er zog ein finster entschlossenes Gesicht und sah aus wie ein verlassener, unglückseliger König. Das Fäßchen rannte auf ihn los.

Aber Martin stellte sich vor den feindlichen Anführer und rief: "Wir bewilligen ihm freien Abzug. Er allein war anständig und tapfer bis zuletzt." (48)

Ethically guided reason distinguishes the self-imposed control of Kästner's figures from military discipline. These internalized rules include moderate applications of

violence, justified as serving vital interests of the "state." Adults may approve of the students' actions, but Martin's group takes its own initiative. The protagonists deny even their beloved Dr. Bökh any infringement on their sovereignty. For the Gymnasiasten, the involvement of adults, whether police or a revered role model, would diminish their own claim to civil courage and weaken their group identity.

The Maintenance of Institutional Integrity

The boarding school encompasses the entire social world of the young people. Insofar as these students practice ethical restraint, they preserve their own emotional constitution and function well together as a unit. The school itself delimits and unifies interpersonal formations by equalizing students under a "just" system. In Kästner's novels for young people, justice results from an ideal understanding between authority and individuals. Klassenzimmer also demonstrates Kästner's concepts of ultimate good, personal achievement and principled cooperation with structures of authority. As in all of Kästner's books, adults and young people continually admire and commend one another, while effacing or even chastising themselves. After the battle with the Realschüler, Martin and the other four must

answer to the headmaster, "Justus," for leaving the building without permission, and worse, for their breach of trust. The five fail to take their beloved Dr. Bökh into their confidence before the campaign against the town gang. The problem is not disobedience, but the dilemma of reconciling the heroic infractions with the rules of the institution.

Dr. Bökh proceeds in a pedagogical manner:

"Wie heißt der einschlägige Artikel der Hausordnung, Uli?"

"Den Schülern des Internats ist es verboten, das Schulgebäude außer während der Ausgehzeiten zu verlassen," antwortete der Kleine ängstlich.

"Gibt es irgendwelche Ausnahmefälle?" fragte Bökh. "Matthias!"

Jawohl, Herr Doktor", berichtete Matz. "Wenn ein Mitglied des Lehrkörpers das Verlassen der Schule anordnet oder gestattet."

"Welcher der Herren hat euch in die Stadt beurlaubt?" fragte der Hauslehrer.

"Keiner", entgegnete Johnny.

"Auf wessen Erlaubnis hin seid ihr fortgegangen?"

"Wir sind ohne Erlaubnis abgehauen", erklärte Matthias. (51-53)

The group's underlying trust both in the righteousness of their "judge's" decision and in their actions against the Realschüler removes the obstacles of remorse and fear, allowing them to report candidly the facts of the issue, no matter how incriminating:

"Warum habt ihr mich, die zuständige Instanz, nicht um Erlaubnis gefragt?"

Sie hätten, der Hausordnung wegen, die Erlaubnis verweigert", sagte Martin. "Und dann hätten wir trotzdem in die Stadt rennen müssen! Das wäre noch viel unangenehmer gewesen!"

"Wie? Ihr hättet meinem strikten Verbot zuwidergehandelt?" fragte der Justus.

"Jawohl!" antworteten all fünf. (55)

Mitigating circumstances turn the entire hearing around.

Sebastian states their case with a line of reasoning that establishes accordance of their actions with principles of honor, if not with regulations. "Justus" strives to locate any extenuation that can absolve the accused and restore the harmony between institution and morality:

Das war wieder einmal etwas für den neunmalklugen Sebastian. "Die Sache ist doch ganz logisch", erläutert er. "Es gab nur zwei Möglichkeiten. Entweder konnten Sie unsere Bitte abschlagen: dann hätten wir Ihrem Verbot zuwiderhandeln müssen. Oder Sie konnten uns wirklich fortlassen; und wenn dann jemandem etwas zugestoßen wäre, hätte man Sie dafür verantwortlich gemacht. Und die anderen Lehrer und die Eltern hätten auf Ihnen herumgehackt!" (55)

As nominal punishment, the "bandits" are to forfeit the first afternoon of liberty and join Dr. Bökh for coffee and cake. In this "disciplinary" meeting of model youths, with a model adult presiding, the two sides exchange admiration and show self-effacement. Indeed, the task in this disciplinary meeting is not to mete out punishment, but to interpret the rules so that justice and the law are in harmony. This "perfect" handling of the matter answers

Kästner's highest conception of human conduct: Individuals of impeccable integrity compliment one another with affection and honor.

Through "Justus," Kästner illustrated the lesson to be derived from the discussion between the students and headmaster: The frictionless proceedings in this affair, even if ideal, do not represent the norm. In a parabolic anecdote, Dr. Bökh relates his own act of truancy (which Kästner adapted from his own experience at the Lehrerseminar) committed in this very same school twenty years earlier. His headmaster's strictness prevented young Johann Bökh from explaining that he had been visiting his seriously ill mother in the hospital. This lack of understanding led to a traumatizing injustice: Sentenced to two hours incarceration, he would not have been able to return to his mother, the most severe deprivation when one recalls the import of the mother figure for Kästner. This incident inspired Bökh to pursue his vocation as an educator in order that he might spare other children similar agony. Hence, "Justus" has been waiting for this very moment for twenty years, dedicating his efforts toward cultivating bonds of sympathy and influence with his charges: "Damit die Jungen einen Menschen hätten, dem sie alles sagen könnten, was ihr Herz bedrückte" (58). All these preconditions fulfilled, "Justus" creates the optimum situation for communication and

rational consensus. This rationality, however, requires that as individuals and as a group, the youths adhere to a mechanics of self-containment and control. Agreement of the school's imperatives with individual needs is pre-established as much by repression as by ideal understanding of the governing authority.

Friendship and a Just Order for Society

The deliberation and verdict in the "disciplinary action" indicate a singular exception to the normal course of mental and moral training. In Kästner's own experience, teachers and guardians imposed an arbitrary order upon children, usually enforced by tacit or explicit threats of violence. This echoes Dr. Bökh's experience as a pupil. Yet the story has a fortunate outcome for him as well:

Und der [Direktor] bestrafte ihn mit zwei Stunden Karzer. Als sich nun der Direktor am nächsten Tage vom Hausmeister den Karzer aufschließen ließ, um den Jungen zu besuchen und ins Gebet zu nehmen, saß ein ganz anderer Junge im Karzer! Das war der Freund des Ausreißers, und er hatte sich einsperren lassen, damit der andere wieder zu seiner Mutter konnte. (57)

Two allies took an active interest in each other's welfare and alleviated the burden of injustice. Beyond this act of gallantry, the friendship between these school companions binds them together in adulthood:

"Ja", sagte Doktor Bökh, "das waren zwei Freunde! Sie blieben auch später beieinander. Sie studierten zusammen. Sie wohnten zusammen. Sie trennten sich auch nicht, als der eine von ihnen heiratete. Dann aber bekam die Frau ein Kind. Und das Kind starb. Und die Frau starb. Und am Tage nach dem Begräbnis war der Mann verschwunden. Und sein Freund, dessen Geschichte ich euch hier erzähle, hat nie wieder etwas von ihm gehört." Doktor Bökh stützte den Kopf in die Hand und hatte sehr, sehr traurige Augen. (57)

The tragedy of this lost companion turns to rejoicing when "Justus" is reunited with his friend -- a meeting that Martin's clique orchestrates. The group discovers that the lost friend is "der Nichtraucher," the recluse who lives in a "no smoking" traincar next to the boarding school. Kästner sentimentalizes the enduring childhood friendship as the only reliable, personal social institution. This special covenant between two males transcends solidarity; the affinities between Dr. Bökh and "der Nichtraucher" (now also known as Dr. Robert Uthofft) evinces a perfect relationship upon which a just and reasonable society could build. Through their example, the two adults also bequeath this tacit, emotional understanding to their protégés, Martin and Johnny:

Vielleicht zieht Martin zu mir ins Haus. Er wird Bilder malen. Und ich werde Bücher schreiben. Das wäre ja gelacht, dachte Jonathan Trotz, wenn das Leben nicht schön wäre! (66)

Martin und Johnny rannten schweigend zwischen den Gärten hin. An dem Zaun, der zum Gymnasium

gehörte, blieben sie aufatmend stehen. Sie sprachen kein Wort. Doch ehe sie über den Zaun kletterten, gaben sie einander die Hand.

Es war, als gäben sie sich ein stummes Versprechen. Ein Versprechen, das sich mit Worten gar nicht ausdrücken läßt. (74)

The conditions and responsibilities of this unarticulated pact facilitate the feeling of becoming "whole." Within a realm apart from the world, the adults "Justus" and "der Nichtraucher" recover a wholesome totality of childhood, which they had lost after their separation; the two youths shelter and assist one another from disadvantages of poverty and loneliness. This special relationship runs deeper than mutual aid within a comradeship. "Genuine" friendship secures affection and trust between individuals -- a condition superceding both material and emotional values of exchange: This relationship has moral import.

Kästner's concept of true friendship rests on his reception of Lessing and Rousseau. These representatives of the European Enlightenment emphasized the political aspect of friendship, the aristotelian philia, which demands citizens of a state to achieve understanding through amiable discourse.²⁰ Gestures of endearment among men bespeak an excellence of character.²¹ Practical and ethical virtues that Kästner typically exalts, such as industry, tolerance and reason, describe a moral character in itself, a personality that of its very nature is useful and pleasureable.

The silent pact between Johnny and Martin demands no further deliberation than the mutual unexpressed love and commitment to each other's well-being. In a solemn moment, "Justus" and "der Nichtraucher" renew their friendship before the five youths:

Der Nichtraucher hakte sich beim Justus ein. "Um die Hauptsache nicht zu vergessen", erklärte er, "bitte ich euch in dieser hoffentlich unverlierbaren Stunde: Vergeßt eure Jugend nicht! Das klingt jetzt, wo ihr Kinder seid, recht überflüssig. Aber es ist nicht überflüssig. Glaubt es uns! Wir sind älter geworden und trotzdem jung geblieben. Wir wissen Bescheid, wir beiden!"

Der Doktor Bökh und der Doktor Uthofft schauten einander an.

Und die Jungen beschlossen in ihrem Herzen, diesen Blick nie zu vergessen. (99)

This plea to keep the experiences of childhood and the bonds of amity alive arises from an aristotelian notion of friendship: The noblest relationship develops between two similar natures that express good intentions toward each other, not out of a desire for ephemeral pleasure or profit, but solely out of an affinity between characters. According to an aristotelian view, such dispositions emerge more commonly from the seeds of youthful passion than from mature rationality. The love that usually flares when young and that dissipates with maturity is occasionally preserved, and through time and propinquity, gives rise to ideal human relations. Moreover, only exceptional individuals cultivate

a perfect friendship. Those who display nobility as friends not only respect and think well of themselves, but possess an ethical bearing with regard to larger social complexes, that is, they have a sense of justice through compassion: philanthropia. For Kästner, the highest manifestation of friendship implied internal emotional stability and external morality. Ideally, a community should realize justice based on equality, moral worth and "human excellence." "Justus," "der Nichtraucher," Martin and Johnny embody this classic model of social integration. Even in the family, significant for purposes of procreation and early education, authority, responsibility and even affection is distributed disproportionately among the members. In his own way, Kästner promoted a model system of social values that emanated from the "noblest" relationship between two equal males.

The unequal attraction between Uli and Matthias strongly contrasts with the harmony of the "ideal" friendships. Matthias, the champion in the fight with the Realschüler, protects the timorous little Uli, who is the brunt of pranks and occasional teasing. Yet Matthias is aware of his own significant weaknesses: "Ich werde später mal Boxweltmeister, und da brauche ich keine Orthographie. Aber daß du ein Angsthase bist, das kannst du, wenn du willst, ändern!" (31). Matthias compensates for his shortcomings while Uli lives in perpetual shame. Before the boy's foolhardy plunge

from the ladder, the narrator repeatedly underscores Uli's physical and emotional delicateness: He chills easily, continually expresses anxious caution, and in the school play he receives the role of the little sister: "Er hatte zum Verwechseln einem Mädchen geglichen!" (23). The final stroke arrives when he flees during the snowball fight. Uli's cowardice, which violates the martial ethic of the group, torments him to the point of near self-destruction.

Uli "overcomes" his fears and weaknesses by senselessly exposing himself to serious injury, after which Matthias suddenly transforms from the hulkish protector to an obsequient admirer. Uli experiences a charismatic transformation, gaining the awe of classmates and asserting himself through the force of his will. This dominating behavior, drawn from an abstract image of power, corresponds to fascist typologies. Alwin Binder perceives such a type in Uli's character: "Kästner's eigene Antipathie gegen Heldentum hinderte ihn nicht, im kleinen Uli von Simmern den Prototyp eines Helden, wie man ihn im Dritten Reich brauchte, darzustellen."²² In the epilogue, Johnny reports to the narrator that Uli dominates Matthias and commands an awesome respect from the class through the mysterious force of his personality:

"Uli ist ein sonderbarer Kerl", meinte Johnny. "Er ist noch immer der Kleinste in der

Klasse. Aber er ist ganz anders als früher. Matthias steht völlig unter seinem Pantoffel. Und uns anderen geht's fast genauso. Uli bleibt zwar klein, aber in ihm steckt eine Kraft, der sich niemand widersetzen kann. Uli will das gar nicht. Aber wenn er wen anschaut, hat er's schon geschafft."

"Er hat sich damals selber überwunden", sagte der Kapitän nachdenklich. "Und da ist dann alles übrige eine Kleinigkeit." (117)

The narrator mentions Uli's reluctance to dominate, but otherwise the boy's Selbstüberwindung and charismatic hold over others indicates a Führer figure. The example of Uli, as a proper achievement of respect and self-confidence, contradicts the narrator's statement in the introduction of Klassenzimmer, in which he asserts that courage without intelligence (and Uli's fall does not display intelligence) is "Unfug."

For the title of the novel, Kästner selected "Das fliegende Klassenzimmer," the name of the Christmas play that Johnny had written and that Martin's class performs. The play contributes only a marginal episode and little significance to the action. The "flying classroom" projects the school of the future, in which the students learn geography and history by flying through space and time to the original scenes. Such an immediate experience of places and events would render superfluous, or at least diminish, the roles of textbooks and teachers. Kästner conceives an analogous immediacy for ideal social relations: The

sympathetic, faultless understanding among individuals and groups would cause the media of formal rules, dogma and structures of coercive sanctions to become outmoded. For his model, however, the author had to construct demarcations: The boarding school separates people from the outside world, far from the city; the clique enjoys special guardianship of the headmaster, setting the five apart as the aristocracy of the boarding school; each of the five individuals maintains a stalwart psychological periphery to rein in emotions and channel activity to "constructive," that is, adaptive behavior.

In the epilogue, the author sets the date of narrated events at two years before publication, thus 1931, yet no other references to time, place or current events appear. The students live in their own world apart from adult institutions, isolated from the course of world affairs during the last years of the Weimar Republic. Events of the five years after the publication of Emil had contributed to this regression to the sanctuary of a closed community. Kästner's work had been banned and his German publisher, Edith Jacobson of Williams Verlag, had to emigrate because she was Jewish. The Swiss firm Atrium published Das fliegende Klassenzimmer, the first of Kästner's works to appear after the National Socialist accession to power in Germany. Kästner had witnessed in person the public

condemnation of his own work at the infamous book burning in Berlin, 10 May 1933. Chaos and uncertainty created a need for harmony in his young people's books. Because institutions and ideologies failed to create a just and stable order, Kästner urgently called for justice and principled moral imperatives among individuals in Das fliegende Klassenzimmer. Yet were it not for his past literary activity and reputation as a social critic, Klassenzimmer would unlikely have caused objections in the Nazi Reichskulturkammer. Kästner adapted quickly, if reluctantly, to the new strictures on literary production, continued to live in Germany and published abroad relatively unimpeded until 1940.

The Heritage of Blood, Beauty and Naturé:

Wilhelm Speyer's Der Kampf der Tertia
and Die goldene Horde

Scholarship and literary histories typically mention Wilhelm Speyer's (1887-1952) Der Kampf der Tertia (1928) in relation to Kästner's Emil und die Detektive.²³ Klaus Doderer, for example, summarizes the similarities, such as time of publication, group solidarity against adult transgressors, and great popularity of both works in their time, and then proceeds to elaborate on the differences -- an easy task considering the substantial disparities between the two works.²⁴ Speyer's völkisch romanticism obviously contrasts with Kästner's Vernunftrepublik of young people in Emil. Because these novels all take place at boarding schools, Kästner's Das fliegende Klassenzimmer has more in common with Der Kampf der Tertia and Die goldene Horde (1931) than does Emil. In particular, Speyer's two novels share with Klassenzimmer depictions of ideal, insular educational environments. However, Kästner fabricated an ideal pseudo-alternative to the militaristic schooling he had experienced, while the bucolic idylle in Speyer's novel arises from his fond memories of Hermann Lietz's Landerziehungsheim

(LEH). In their refuge from a pernicious outside world, the Tertianer in both of Speyer's books, students aged thirteen to fifteen, administer their own province within the "school-state." Speyer recreated a glorified version of the LEH, admixing into the Tertia's heroic campaigns lessons of world history that Lietz had hoped to instill into his students.

Völkisch History and the Holistic State:
Hermann Lietz's Influence on Wilhelm Speyer

Wilhelm Speyer attended the Landerziehungsheim at Haubinda in Thuringia. Hermann Lietz had established this school in 1901, his second LEH after he founded the Isenburg school in the Harz Mountains in 1898. By correlating dates, I presume Speyer studied at Haubinda between 1901, when he turned fourteen, and 1903 or 1904 when he would have graduated from the Untersekunda, the next class above Obertertia and the most advanced class attending Haubinda at the time. For the remaining three levels he would have had to transfer to Lietz's LEH at Schloß Bieberstein near Kassel (est. 1904), but evidence shows that Speyer did not continue in Lietz's system and took his Abitur in Berlin.²⁵

Lietz separated the nine class levels after elementary school, beginning at age nine, into three separate

institutions. For the first levels after primary school -- called the Sexta, Quinta, and Quarta in the old German system -- instruction began in the LEH at Ilsenburg. He assigned the Untertertia, Obertertia and Untersekunda to Haubinda. For the last years -- the Obersekunda, Unterprima and Oberprima -- studies continued at Schloß Bieberstein. Lietz selected for each school what he proposed as the proper landscape for the social, biological and mental ages of the students:

Auch der Schauplatz der Erziehung ist mit Rücksicht auf die jeweilige Stufe gewählt: Für die untere ein kleines, idyllisch am Flusse gelegenes Landgut, auf dem hauptsächlich Gartenbauwirtschaft und ein wenig Viehzucht getrieben wird. Es liegt in der Nähe des Gebirges, so daß reichliche Gelegenheit zu Wanderungen vorhanden ist. Die mittlere Stufe befindet sich dagegen auf einem ausgedehnten Landgut und hat so die Möglichkeit, nach der auf dem kleineren Grundstück erfolgten Vorbereitung den gesamten Kreis der wichtigen, praktischen Arbeiten des Landmanns und Handwerkers zu überschauen und wenigstens das Wichtigste mit auszuüben. Die Knaben haben Gelegenheit, von fast allem, was eine Gruppe von Menschen zum Lebensunterhalt gebraucht, zu sehen, wie es gewonnen und hergestellt wird, und leben so, wie in einem kleinen abgeschlossenen Staate (my emphasis) als dessen Bürger. Die 3. Stufe dagegen lebt in größerer Stille und Abgeschlossenheit der Gebirgsnatur und hat stets das Bild einer erhabenen Welt der Berge und Täler vor Augen, die zur Sammlung und Vertiefung der Gedanken gewissermaßen einladet.²⁶

Influenced by a year of teaching at the public school in Abbotsholme, England, Lietz conceived a pedagogical reform for a German national education that bore a völkisch

esteem for rural landscape, physical purity and German ancestral heritage.²⁷ For Lietz, the city represented not only physical and moral decadence -- fornication, alcohol and tobacco -- but also lacked the necessary spirit of community and rootedness that, in his view, future citizens of the German nation required. Many of his educational concepts appear at first glance to embrace liberal, egalitarian intentions: Lietz adjusted tuition costs to meet the means of the parents, emphasized skills and knowledge directly applicable to life in the world outside school and insisted that pupils, insofar as they were capable, bear the responsibilities of self-administration and participate with teachers and staff in determining school policy. However, Lietz's schools flourished because of the "romantic anticapitalism" that proliferated in Germany before World War I and during the Weimar Republic; such schools furnished havens for conservative reactions against the modern infringements of economy and technology.²⁸

In a retrospective evaluation of the first years of his schools, Lietz enumerated four pedagogical objectives, which indicated his conservative inclinations: First, "Nationale Gesinnung und Tat" he regarded as the foundation for German life. National consciousness included caring for the German soil and cultural heritage in clear recognition of the threats of modernity, with faith in and dedication to the

"Erneuerung unseres Volkstums." Second, through "soziale Gesinnung und Tat" the pupil developed into a worthy member of the nation who respected the rights of others belonging to the Volk and who practiced charity for them. Third, "Sittliche Welt- und Lebensauffassung" expressed Lietz's notion of "ethical idealism," his conviction that moral ideas inspired strength of character and selflessness toward a rebirth and progress of a nation, and "daß einem von ihnen verfochtenen nationalen Ideal doch schließlich der Sieg werden muß, wenn auch die Vorkämpfer im Kampfe verblutet sind." Fourth, under "religiöse Gesinnung und Tat," Lietz professed his version of an anthroposophic pantheism -- decidedly removed from his earlier, more Christian convictions.²⁹ In fact, the asceticism of medieval Christianity had been, in his view, directly responsible for the decline of the German Reich and for the physical debilitation of the individual. Lietz contrasted Christian repression with the antique cult of beauty -- an exhaltation of body and spirit, which he believed resurfaced sporadically throughout history, such as in secular knighthood of the courtly age.

The curriculum of the LEH Haubinda in 1904 left very little free time for students. The pubescent members of the Tertia under Lietz acquired more diversions for their bodies and senses than any other class: The plan assigned adolescents more "practical work" in the fields and workshops,

more hours of art class, and it was the only class to receive instruction in art appreciation and hygienics. The increased demands on time and energy at this age intended to harness the energies of puberty for wholesome pursuits and steer their attention away from moral and physical pollutants such as alcohol, tobacco and precocious sexuality. In Wilhelm Speyer's novels, causes and crusades distract students from unhealthy influences and conditions them to be disciplined warriors of the Tertia.

Synopsis: Much is afoot around the school. The Tertia is building makeshift kennels; the class carries out raids into the town by night, smearing slogans in red paint such as "save the cats," and "love your animals." The students have learned that an evil merchant, Biersack, is conspiring with a corrupt politician, Knötzinger, to exterminate all cats in the region on contrived evidence of a rabies infection. Biersack is motivated by revenge and greed: He hates cats because one attacked him and he plans to somehow convert the skins into a profit. The animal-loving Tertia plans to rescue the persecuted beasts at any cost.

Internal strife, however, besets the Tertia. The most powerful warrior and only female of the class, Daniela, feels betrayed because she overwhelmingly lost the election to chief of the Tertia. With bitter fury she threatens death for anyone who trespasses on her territory, where she broods accompanied only by her two Great Danes. Borst, the smallest in the class, braves the arrows and hounds. He alone gains the sympathy of the young Amazon.

The day of collecting and eradicating the cats arrives. The town youths, portrayed as immoral brutes, eagerly await the opportunity to collect and kill the animals for ten Pfennig per pelt. The Tertia intercepts the animals and brings them to safety. A vicious battle ensues.

The enemy's superior numbers overwhelm and nearly vanquish the Tertia. At Borst's entreaty, Daniela arrives to turn the tide of battle. The Tertia wins reprieve for the animals, the heinous plot is exposed and the boarding school is vindicated of malicious mischief.

Two main aspects of Lietz's thinking elucidate how Speyer conceived Der Kampf der Tertia and Die goldene Horde. First, Lietz believed the school should govern its own affairs as a self-contained state, primarily in order to train healthy, enthusiastic patriots to lead Germany in the future. He also hoped that independent sufficiency would weaken the control that bureaucrats and politicians could exercise over his schools. Second, instruction in history, central to the curriculum of the LEH and the subject Lietz himself taught at Haubinda, offered parables and models for everyday life and for conducting affairs of state -- whether the state be a horde of young people or the German Nation itself:

Muß er [der Lehrer] ihn [den Schuler] z.B. belehren über die richtige politische Gestaltung eines Gemeinwesens, über die Pflichten seiner Bürger, will er das Verhalten dieses und jenes in der Vergangenheit beleuchten: so mag er einen Schulstaat im kleinen schaffen, in dem sein Zögling seine ganz bestimmte Stelle mit seinen Rechten und Pflichten einnimmt und in dem es ihm im täglichen und stündlichen Zusammenleben mit einer ganzen Anzahl von Altersgenossen und älteren und jüngeren ermöglicht wird, Menschencharaktere genau kennenzulernen. Umgekehrt kann auch und wird zuweilen eine bestimmte Gestaltung des Schullebens aus dem Unterricht spontan eintreten,

nachdem der Lernende mit fortgerissen ist. So wäre z.B. eine gute Probe eines Geschichtsunterrichts in IV., wenn Knaben, nachdem sie von Lykurgs Verfassung gehört, einzelnes auf ihr Leben anwenden: Abhärtung u.ä.³⁰

Imitations of history and state determine the leadership, organization and purpose of the Tertia at Rockensußra, Speyer's fictional name for Haubinda. If these young people were to represent life and government as Speyer envisioned it for the future of the German nation, then this author operated under rather curious images of power and human interaction. Compared to Kästner's young fighters in Klassenzimmer, the citizens of the Tertia excel in the art of pretention and hyperbole. If at times Kästner exaggerated the gravity of the conflict with the Realschüler, he did not overdramatize the event to world historical consequence. Speyer, on the other hand, continually adduces historical examples in order to justify or clarify the actions of the Tertia. Speyer's text is replete with trite comparisons that evoke the heroes and legends of the past. The following represent only a small selection of references from Der Kampf der Tertia:

So hatten die Truppen des Hannibal in Capua und die Ostgoten in der Romagna gehadert, wenn es nichts zu erschlagen, zu stürmen und zu plündern gab (7); Der Große Kurfürst aber zeigte nun wieder seine antike Gefäßtheit in den kritischen Augenblicken der Schlacht. Er kannte seinen Wellington und seinen Napoleon. (36); "Meine Herren",

erklärte er mit einer Gebärde, als gebe Wallenstein den Pappenheimer Reitern Max Piccolomini frei. (45); Sagte man nicht, Themistokles habe, nachdem er von den Athenern ausgestoßen worden war, aus Vaterlandsliebe den Versuch gemacht, den Großkönig für sie zu gewinnen? (67); "Euch lasse ich noch alle hier barfuß knien, -- wie der deutsche König in Italien", sagte Daniela düster. (81); Es sind noch zwei Minuten, dann ist die erste Halbzeit beendet. Dreiunddreißig Minuten lang hat die Tertia das Tor der Sekunda berannt, wie die Griechen unter Agamemnon die Tore der heiligen Ilios. Doch hier ist der zürnende Pelide nicht mehr in seinem Zelt. Achill in den Reihen der Trojaner! Achill unter dem Schutze des Priamos und des Hektor! (104); so standen sie wie die Nibelungen gegen die Wand des Hauses gelehnt (143)³¹

A striking congruity emerges from even a casual comparison between the ways Lietz and Speyer understand and apply history and legends. To convey his world views most efficiently through history lessons, Lietz emphasized the monumental and legendary episodes in order to capture the young imaginations and make the lessons of the past endure in students' minds. Factual details dulled the glorious passages even if they did sharpen the sense of historicity; for Lietz, the purpose of studying history was to cultivate love for the fatherland in children, developing in them an appreciation for the highest values.³² The predominance of classical images in describing the members of Speyer's Tertia correlates to the influence of history lessons at Haubinda. The Tertia at Haubinda, after three years of folklore, legends and mythology in the lower classes,

received instruction in antique (especially Roman Imperial) and German history.³³ Correspondingly, in Der Kampf der Tertia, the leader of the class is known only as "Der Große Kurfürst," and is distinguished by his "Cäsarkinn" (7), "imperetorisch fettes Haupt" (30), and "ciceronianische Ansprachen" (139). Most of all, historical commonplaces pervade the text because they legitimize actions and determine the thinking of the characters.

Channeled Sexuality and the Struggles of Young Warriors

The decisive event both in the "great" moments of history and in the triumph of Speyer's Tertia is war -- the more desperate and savage the human conflict, the more enduring and celebrated the vanquishing state. (One cannot miss the connotation of Kampf here that formed a keystone in völkisch ideologies, including the National Socialist.) For Speyer, war had to seek more than material and territorial gain. An enemy's immorality and injustice provoked rage that unified and mobilized a movement. In Der Kampf der Tertia, the "depraved" youths of the city (references to their use of tobacco and alcohol appear on pages 32, 34, 61 and 140), plan to stage a pogrom against all the cats in their town, with the objective of exterminating the animals with heartless brutality. A corrupt high official of the

city, Knötzinger, conspires with a merchant named Biersack. Knötzinger warrants this eradication on contrived evidence of rabies in the region. Biersack, whom all creatures instinctively despise, seeks to avenge himself on the animals while converting the slaughter to a profit by utilizing the skins (for precisely what we can only surmise). Indeed, the Tertia crusades against a formidable, evil foe.

This war acquires an additional moral dimension because the Tertia, on the side of the meek, wages an underground resistance campaign against a far superior force. Animals must be defended because they do not possess the human power of calculated destruction. Like the pastoral landscape, they connote the intrinsic goodness of nature. The Tertia invokes the innocent virtuousness of primitive creatures in their cause: The class tends a large assortment of dogs and one cat, named Karleman (25); the creatures of the forest do not fear them; when "Der Große Kurfürst" describes to a prefect of the upper class, in detail and with grand indignation, the planned atrocities, "hatten alle Tertianer Tieraugen, und Karlemann und die Hunde Menschaugen" (62). The author exploits youth, land and primitive nature -- a typical symbology of mass movements -- in order to justify retaliatory aggression. Speyer built the moral rectitude of the students' cause upon the pillars of natural right and idolized deeds from the annals of history.

The secondary conflict in Der Kampf der Tertia involves the quarrel between Daniela and the horde.³⁴ Speyer forges the character of Daniela from all the superlative traits of the goddess Artemis, especially her youthful strength and violent fury. Flanked by two Great Danes, named appropriately enough Atalanta and Meleager, Daniela strikes an imposing figure. As Klaus Doderer also points out, Speyer repeatedly refers to her as a higher, hallowed being.³⁵ She runs the fastest, fights most fiercely, presents the most formidable opponent in a soccer match and never misses her mark when she aims her wooden arrows. The Tertia, however, elects "Der große Kurfürst" to be their chief. The Amazon, regarding the defeat as rejection and insult, reacts with such rabid violence that the band feels compelled to bind her to a tree until her wrath abates. Filled with terrible, morbid resentment, Daniela denounces the class and withdraws to her own tent on the Hexenkuppe, barring all from approaching her domain under the pain of torture and death. She does not appear to be playing games. Daniela inflicts at least one serious injury on a fellow classmate who ventures too close. Such severity underscores the novel's premise that the school and all the young people's activities comprise real life in their own world, and not simply childish imitations.

In the course of the novel a subtle affinity does emerge between one of the patricians of the Tertia and Daniela: Otto Kirchholtes represents an adequate counterpart to the wild huntress. His serene disposition and graceful vigor complements her hard ferocity as reverse sides of a völkisch ideal of youth:

Otto Kirchholtes war von seiner Weidenkrone herabgesprungen. Ziellos begann er sich in der Gegend des Sportplatzes herumzutreiben, immer lächelnd, immer singend. Er war keiner von den zarten, von den Botticellischen Engeln, er war mit einem kräftigen Leib, zumal mit einer kräftigen Brust begabt. Auch waren die Beine nicht besonders schmal und auch nicht hoch, sondern stark und fest, weder zu lang noch zu kurz. Er stellte überall seinen Mann, er war gewandt und muskulös, und dennoch hatte er eine leichte, fast mädchenhafte [my emphasis] Grazie. Und engelhaft war sein Haupt, das ebenfalls breit war, mit einem breiten Mund im Gesicht. Die blauen Augen hatten immer ein verwöhntes, lebenswürdiges Lächeln in ihren Tiefen, und das blonde Haar loderte in feinen, leicht wehenden Locken raffaelisch über seiner Stirn und an den Schläfen auf. Sein Oberkörper war jetzt zum Fußballspiel bis zum Gürtel nackt, wie die Oberkörper aller Mitspielenden. Das Fleisch dampfte rötlich, es war rötlich durchblutet. (94)

Whereas Daniela portrays the warrior goddess incarnate, Otto's sensitive, sensual nature manifests that very ideal of erotic beauty and purity that the artist Fidus enshrined in graphic conceptions such as the "Lichtgebet."³⁶ Others in the novel react to Otto's presence, his "engelshohe Stimme" (124) with a sense of awe: "Reppert stellte diese

Frage on Otto Kirchholtes höflich, als spreche er zu einem Wesen höherer Art. Überhaupt hatte jeder in der Tertia, der mit Otto Kirchholtes sprach, diesen ganz besonderen Ton, in dem auch die empfindungsloseste und raueste Jugend mit der Schönheit spricht" (95). Both figures, Daniela and Otto, stand out as sublime beings, or more accurately, two facets of one vision of youthful perfection, alternating between images of apollonian beauty and light with lyre and laurels (Otto is an accomplished musician) and sister Artemis who accompanies him with quiver and arrows. When Speyer describes Daniela, the martial overshadows the erotic imagery with which he surrounds Otto:

Die Sehne des Bogens hing schräg über ihrer Brust dahin, und hinten auf dem Schulterblatt hing der Köcher mit den sechs gefiederten Pfeilen. Sie hatte kurzgeschnittenes Haar, von mykenischem Hellgold. An den Rändern der hohen kriegerischen und kühn gewölbten Stirn, im Nacken, an den Brauen und Wimpern leuchtete dieses Haar mit blonden Lichtern hart und herrisch [my emphasis] auf. Ihre Augen waren so grau, wie der Leib jenes Vogels, der jetzt mit einem pfeifenden Warnungsschrei über ihrem Haupte daherzog. (70)

Otto and Daniela remain clean and unscathed in their battles, above the blood and dirt of the rest. In the end, when she is reconciled with the Tertia, Otto and Daniela move in symmetry: "Wir wollen beide stürmen, Daniela. Du rechts außen, ich links" (152).

Until the last moments, however, Daniela's scorn for the Tertia disrupts this divine harmony, leaving the congregation bereft of its most vital member: "Dem Leibe der Tertia war ein Arm abgehauen worden. Fast konnte man sagen, daß es der rechte Arm war, der ihr fehlte: Daniela" (65). The group reaps more than Daniela's disfavor. The desecration of her pride causes her to withdraw to brood upon visions of bloody revenge. With apparent resolve, Daniela longs for violent reprisal and would not be satisfied with less than a massacre: "Und mochten die Knaben sich zerfetzt in ihrem Blute wälzen!" (71). While she occupies her thoughts with bloodshed, Otto's sensual vitality exudes from his sanguine flesh. In these two figures, Speyer poses a classic dichotomy of potency and receptivity that keeps the juices of life flowing. Although the sexual inversion of the potent female is not unique in German literature of the Weimar period, rarely does she also remain pure and noble.

Speyer's female aggressor has adopted, emulated and surpassed the male while forfeiting none of her grandeur.³⁷ With her bow and arrows she longs to temper her steel psyche by reducing the body of the horde to dismembered parts and fluids. Daniela incorporates masculine ideals of physical tone, purity, charisma and forceful will. She does not symbolize the "woman with the penis," but rather becomes

herself the penis of the Tertia that, severed from the "body," literally causes the impotence of the group. The maintenance of a psychological armor, lubricated with blood (Speyer's favorite modifier), underlies all motivations of the heroes. The bloody campaigns -- from the slogans on the buildings of the town that the group smears with red paint to the climactic final skirmish -- must be fought in order to reintegrate Daniela into the fold. Otherwise, the void left by Daniela in the group's identity threatens to sap them of life and render them phlegmatic and impotent.

Certainly evident in Der Kampf der Tertia is the fascination with might and beauty. Speyer preoccupied himself with bodies and blood in his depictions of youthful vitality and warrior mentality, recalling typical imagery in the war novels published during the Weimar Republic. Why does Speyer create this inversion of Otto as the finer, even feminine tranquil beauty and Daniela as the explosive demi-god of war? Why does the male temperament evoke images of art (Botticelli, Raphael, music, physical grace) while the female has mastered the art of war?

Eroticism, as already noted, forms an essential component of the youthful relations in this novel. In the 1920s, the taboo against depicting erotic relations in any fashion in young people's literature (other than in the subtle homoerotic gestures called "platonic") demanded that this lone

female enforce an emotional distance from the male society. Speyer could only relate the sexuality of this "other" in uncompromising acts of dominance and violence. Daniela rises above and becomes the strongest exponent of the group. In the all-male society of the Tertia, female students are otherwise nameless and inactive. Otto, in contrast, creates a vessel that channels impulses of affection, binding males together:

Reppert stand von seinem Bett auf und setzte sich auf das Bett des jungen Kirchholtes, so, daß er Schulter an Schulter neben dem älteren saß, und er nahm Ottos Hand in seine Hand. Auf diese Art hatten sie beide ihren Teil an dem Knaben, dessen Haupt auf den Knien des Bruders ruhte, während seine Hand von der Hand des Klassenkamaraden umschlossen wurde. So bildete der Leib des lässig und schmeichlerisch daliegenden Kindes eine Verbindung zwischen den beiden andern, wie der Leib eines Kindes den Streit der Eltern lindert und den Vater zu der Mutter und die Mutter zu dem Vater zurückführt.

Und noch ein anderer Blutstrom wurde zwischen Reppert und dem älteren Kirchholtes geschlossen: denn ihre vier Füße lagerten auf der schmalen, hart abgestuften Wirbelsäule der Wolfhündin Lama.
(56)

While the Amazon warrior secures the peripheral barriers with cold command and bloody retribution, the aestheticized male youth stabilizes the internal "fluids," converting libidinous urges into innocent appreciation for beauty and feelings of friendship. These friends, however, need Daniela in their war against the town.

In the final battle Daniela, with the few "survivors" rallied about her, clashes against the overwhelming mass of town youths, until, "Nur Daniela stand in ihrer Mitte, stand aufrecht, mit der gekrümmten Hüfte des Bogenschützen, den Daumen der linken Hand im Bügel, die rechte Faust and der Sehne" (146). The unyielding warrior stems the tide against the onslaught of a three-to-one disadvantage; Daniela's reunion with the Tertia follows after the cathartic impact against the rival youths.³⁸ The "love currents" flow after Daniela shares leadership (domination) of the Tertia, even then only through the channels of music and sport. Unlike the males, she never touches anyone except to attack. The girl of the class opposes the male onslaught with weapons, that is, with "arms." From within she feuds with her classmates, from without she overruns the enemies of the group. Yet Daniela does not convey the image of the depraved, dirty and infected woman, as depicted in reactionary war novels of the time. She remains immaculate from the "stain" of sexuality that men often perceived in women, and emerges aloof and spotless despite her combat. This image of the young female represented a configuration unique to young people's literature: In this and many other cases, such as in the work of Karl May, the void left by "filthy" sex, which did not even appear as an object of terror and disgust, was filled by virtuous violence.

Sentimental Irony in Die goldene Horde

Daniela and, in a subtler manner, Otto tower above the Volk of the Tertia. With these "higher beings" contrasts the smallest and weakest of the class. A newcomer from a poor shoemaker's family, known only by the nickname "Borst," strives to gain favor, recognition and status in the horde. This naive little jester of Der Kampf der Tertia has yet to grasp the workings of the school's world. His zeal to gain approval ("Er träumte davon, durch eine odysäische List der Held und Erretter der gefährdeten Tertia zu werden" [37].) brings only trouble and misunderstanding from the group. Yet Borst alone succeeds in entering Daniela's territory and establishing contact with her. Initially Daniela attacks, binds and tortures the intruder by thrusting his face nearly into the campfire. Because Borst offers no resistance, submitting to any command from his "goddess," she allows him brief audience at her feet. From that moment "Borst war ihr zum Eigentum geworden wie Meleager und Atalanta unten" (79). Later, in the decisive moment of the final battle, it is Borst who finally convinces Daniela to enter the skirmish and assure victory for the animal lovers. Therefore, his contact with the raging Amazon, based on his slavish

devotion to her, proves to be his greatest contribution to the campaign.

Borst submits totally to Daniela, not to the exclusion of the rest, but precisely out of dedication to the Tertia, while harboring dreams of becoming the leader. Unlike Kästner's Uli von Simmern, Borst does not refrain from overcoming himself and, in fact, does so on numerous occasions. The goals of their self-command differ as well: Uli acquires the respect for himself that accompanies the genuine respect from others; Borst has sufficient regard for himself, but never actually gains admiration outside of the ephemeral jubilation at the end of the first novel. In Speyer's second book about the Tertia, Die goldene Horde, Borst grows into a pivotal role as the class makes the transition from a state of war to the politics of their "state."

Speyer's sequel to his most popular book for young people appeared in 1931. As with most sequels, his met with considerably less popular success than the original. Der Kampf der Tertia closes at the end of spring, just before summer vacation. Die goldene Horde opens with the beginning of the new school year the following autumn. In this book, the author introduced a welcome element of irony to the histrionics of his characters as the naive little Borst schemes for power. Moreover, the tenor of the sequel

changed from that of Der Kampf der Tertia; erotic heroism of the boarding school yielded to sentimental bonds of friendship and community.

Synopsis: The beginning of the new school year finds significant changes in the disposition of the Tertia. After all, as the author notes, one year in the Tertia compares to ten adult years (GH 72).³⁹ The leadership now wishes to promote its Realpolitik. The crusade of the previous spring exacted financial sacrifices, has left them in a delicate position with the school's administration, and the class is under pressure to pass the general exams for graduation to the Untersekunda. Borst had grown a bit, so that he is now only the tenth smallest of the class. The magnification of the battle and of his own contributions keeps alive the warlike sentiment so that he quickly attracts a following for his "political party." The circus enters the region, bringing a figure from the Tertia's past. Annemarie, Daniela's dearest friend, had run away from Rockensußra a year earlier and has been working in the circus under life-threatening conditions as a lion tamer's assistant. Richard Erbsaß, a Realschüler who had fought against the Tertia, but who is in reality of noble character, loves Annemarie and hopes to enlist the aid of the class to rescue her, initially appealing to Daniela and "Der große Kurfürst." Not gaining the support of the leaders, he exploits Borst's ambitions for power in order to manipulate the Tertia to kidnap Annemarie and hold her until she realizes where her true home is. Richard falsely informs her that the class plans to create a disturbance and embarrass her during the show. She cooperates with Richard by bringing the hallowed banner of the Tertia into the lion's cage during her act, and calls for a courageous soul to retrieve the flag from the lion's paws. Borst, having assisted Richard in purloining the class colors in the first place (high treason!), surreptitiously plants himself in the front row and reclaims the flag to become the hero. Later that evening, Richard lures Annemarie into a trap and she becomes the prisoner of the Tertia. Borst, appearing to have orchestrated the

kidnapping, becomes class chief -- with the strongest voices of praise coming from the opposing faction: The patricians wish the petty intrigue to run its course. After escaping from the school again and then returning of her own accord, Annemarie reconciles herself with the school and with Daniela. After being chief for one day, Borst reveals the machinations and abdicates without dishonor. Richard and his sidekick obtain scholarships to attend Rockensußra.

The conflict now alternates between internal strife and the school's struggle to reclaim the prodigal daughter. More explicitly than in Kampf der Tertia, the author underscores that life at the boarding school follows an ideal social order. The emphasis in the novel on class and school politics reveals the conception of Rockensußra as neither a preparation for life nor as an experimental model of an ideal society, but as an immediate, living reality. The citizens of this state organize as a community according to their own class or caste system with the corresponding divisions of labor, the fields and workshops provide the means to sustain a complete existence, and the classmates congregate on their campgrounds for regular meetings. These convocations resemble either an ancient Germanic "Ding" or at times an American Indian war council as one finds in popular stories of the Wild West. In Die goldene Horde, the author satirized rather than glorified these imitations of primitivism. In the novel's opening scene, Borst

ceremoniously (and with comical ostentation) recites the history of this microcosm of a nation:

Borst schien überhaupt nichts gehört zu haben. Wahrhaftig, es ging bei ihm streng nach der alten Indianerregel zu: er fing mit Adam und Eva an.

"Wir haben oft genug gehört, was vom Doktor in der Kapelle gesagt wurde: Rockensußra ist ein Staat im Staate. Was gebraucht wird, erzeugt man selber -- das ist ganz einfach."

Im Morgenrot unserer Geschichte, vor mindestens fünf Jahren also, haben die Väter oder patres, zum Beispiel der große Kurfürst, Daniela, Otto Kirchholtes, Lüders, Reppert und andere, zusammen mit dem Doktor und ein paar Lehrern diesen Schulstaat gegründet, einige waren neun Jahre alt, andere, wie der Doktor, fast dreißig. Und vor einem Jahr sind diese selben Väter die Gründer unserer Horde geworden. Spricht meine Zunge wahr?

"Der Doktor in der Kapelle hat es uns oft gesagt, und die Leitung im Wald hat es bestätigt: nicht als Vorbereitung zum Leben sind wir hier in Rockensußra. Sondern Rockensußra hier stellt unser Leben dar, Rockensußra ist unser Leben und nicht nur ein mehr oder weniger Abschnitt davon." (GH 8-9)

In the manner of a tribal oral historian, Borst is claiming his right to public representation, exercising his duly earned privilege to speak so that he may exert his status above the nameless nonentities of the class, literally known only as "die Namenlosen." Acquiring a name indicates power earned through an extraordinary deed, lending one the authority expressed in the very act of public speaking.⁴⁰ Borst relives the now legendary battle against the town, the action that erected and secured the

constitution of the group's psychological periphery and earned for him his "name."

In peacetime -- the Tertia is "at peace" in Die goldene Horde -- the "nation" must locate an adequate substitute for an enemy, a vacancy that the scapegoats of society often fill. Even abusing "die Namenlosen," however, cannot adequately replace the ecstatic collision with and elimination of an opponent in battle. Around Borst forms a party of nameless others who see no chance to earn a name without war. Two from the ranks of the patricians, "the forceful" Lüders and the "order-loving" Reppert,⁴¹ who also prefer continual struggle to the disunity of peacetime, cast their lots with Borst. The narrator summarizes the "disuniting" effect of pacification on the Tertia as a culture and state, that is, as a nation: "Es geschieht bei Völkern mit fortgeschrittener Kultur [my emphasis], daß nach einem errungenen Sieg das Staatsbewußtsein geschwächt zurückbleibt" (GH 26). The developments unfold thereafter as Borst, the caricature of a martial personality, schemes to re-instill the warrior spirit and unity into the flagging cohesion of the "horde."

In Die goldene Horde, Speyer spared the reader from the somber tone of the first novel, at the first time mercifully retaining comical features in the characters of the two fanatics, Borst and Richard Erbsaß' compatriot, Hans Durst.

In the first novel, the author describes the countenance of the smallest and weakest fighter, Borst, as alternating between that of a monkey and a bird (41). In the sequel, Borst has outgrown the bird's face, but still bears his "Äffchengesicht" (GH 7, 115, 140) with its "Äffchenstirn" (GH 55), "Affenbacken" (GH 84), and "Äffchenaugen" (GH 109). The older and wiser students -- "Der große Kurfürst," Daniela and Richard Erbsaß -- largely dismiss Borst's pretensions and affectations of mock-Indian speech ("Spricht meine Zunge wahr?") until he actually manages to attract a following within the group. On the other side, the adjutant for Richard revels in his wild affectations of Wild West hero worship. Always designated by both first and last name, Hans Durst (compare: Hanswurst) perpetually spies, stalks and speaks exclusively in the Winnetou manner.

The connection between the influence of Karl May's novels (direct references: GH 8, 12, 14, 45, 50, 104, 123, 126, 138) and the comically misguided actions of Borst and Hans Durst reflect Speyer's estimation of cultural models in the formation of attitudes and behavior: May's champions of righteousness pale before the pantheon of great figures of history and legend. Daniela and "Der große Kurfürst" remain aloof to the petty machinations of this plebian, allowing their distaste for the whole affair be known in symbolic gestures: The chief's choice of password for the camp

meeting that is to end with Borst as leader, "ad absurdum," voices his impatience, while Daniela mocks the Wild West jargon by punctuating her language with "Howgh" (GH 109). As a leader, Borst fails miserably. "Der große Kurfürst's" leadership qualities, after all, rest not only on his eloquence and perspicacity. These traits show outward manifestations of abilities that flow in his blood and rise from the very nature that bestows him with his caesarean chin and "kurfürstlich-barocke Locken" (109). As we have already observed with Otto and Daniela, inborn talents and dispositions radiate through their physical beauty, noble carriage and aesthetic sensibilities. The monkey-faced Borst fosters unnatural aspirations and only manages to further disrupt the solidarity of the group's order.

Borst performs one service for the Tertia in his collusion with Richard Erbsaß: He helps to capture the errant Annemarie and return her to the school. She returns permanently, however, only after Daniela convinces her that they belong side by side, inhabiting the grounds of the institution that comprises a total and real existence. The circus, which Annemarie believed to represent real life, allegorizes the transience, brutality and perfidy of the modern world. The glitter and sensation veil a collection of misfits who live as rootless nomads. In her year away, Annemarie had

suffered all manner of cruelties, including the sexual advances of men with whom she had to live and work:

"Und ich habe mich mit dem Futtermeister in bösen Worten um jedes Pfund blutigen Pferdefleisches herumstreiten müssen und Geldsorgen und Hunger gehabt und manchmal die Peitsche bekommen und so böse Reden von Erwachsenen und Kindern gehört und Miß Violets Liebesgeschichte mitgemacht. Und ein Athlet hat mich bedrängt und mir zugesetzt und mich fast am Hals gewürgt -- in seiner brennenden Liebe, weil er mich heiraten wollte." (GH 132-133)

Guilt for her own poverty first drove the orphaned Annemarie out of the young people's world into the degeneration of the circus. Daniela cannot initially convince her friend that the circus distorts reality and will certainly disfigure Annemarie's person. Her argument finally appeals to the roots that the soil of the Tertia claims, that she cannot long survive outside of her land and community where she had first planted her soul:

Nur eine Pflicht hast du, Annemarie: das Gesetz
der Horde! Kennst du das nicht?
Dies sind die Gesetze des Dschungels,
So alt und so klar wie das Licht,
Der Wolf, der sie hält, wird gedeihen,
Und sterben der Wolf, der sie bricht!
(GH 131)

The jungle, as in nature itself, determines the laws that, "old and clear," engender the relations of power, social action and territory, just as the wolf runs with its

pack in a natural habitat. Blood, land and soul, "die Kräfte und die Säfte des Lebens" (28), form the vital bonds between people and nature. The closing image sentimentally portrays Annemarie and Daniela, arm in arm and temple pressed against temple, basking in the jubilation of the Tertia: Their lives and friendship flourish again on fertile ground.

Even in a casual reading of these two books by Wilhelm Speyer, one cannot mistake the Weltanschauung that underlies the formation of the young people's social world. In terms of communicative action, Speyer's works depict a social organization according to "metaphysically oriented attitudes toward life." The Tertia performs a number of rituals, such as smoking a peace pipe at each gathering and observing a strict order in claiming the right to speak. They submit to a strict hierarchy, form a holistic congregation and direct activities toward fulfillment of their missions. Unlike Durian's Kai aus der Kiste, this mode of relations obtains a fully structured ideological fundament from Speyer's völkisch thinking. Nation, here a projection of the school-state, implies the Volk with boundaries and an administrative apparatus. Blood is to be shared, shed and drawn, for it contains the potential destiny of both the individual and Volk. One should also commune with, cultivate and defend the land and live by the doctrines and highest values that

tradition upholds. Moreover, the body -- erotic, even if desexualized -- must maintain purity, strength and beauty. Behind the exalted youth and primitiveness lurks the fear of fragmentation. Therefore, besides worldly impulses, this community yearns for what is "higher" or "deeper," which imparts unity and destiny. The young people in Speyer's work reaffirm their collective identity and meaning in life through their rites and struggles.

In his work, Speyer structures aestheticized relations in a society of young males upon a distinctly German ideology, upon a völkisch religion.⁴² Conservative philosophies such as Paul Lagarde's (1827-1891) concept of a German National Religion⁴³ or Ludwig Klages' (1872-1956) primeval Germanism,⁴⁴ for example, express sentiments that would support Speyer's idea of a nation of young people. However, the new culture represented here remains grounded in race and concepts of pristine goodness. Speyer does not offer young readers a doctrine of "higher" culture, but favors action and suspense to intellectual deliberations. Der Kampf der Tertia, despite its pastoral setting, shared with German war novels by authors such as Edwin Erich Dwinger (b. 1898) or Ernst Jünger (b. 1895) the message that war is necessary, productive and more real than other modes of human interaction because it defines history, tradition and culture. The discussion of völkisch ideology, race,

nationalism and war, becomes all the more disturbing when one considers that Wilhelm Speyer was himself an assimilated Jew. His Jewishness was not simply obliterated under the influence of the anti-Semite Hermann Lietz. Speyer, moreover, does not represent an unfathomable contradiction, but a tragic double-bind in the history of anti-Semitism and Jewish assimilation.⁴⁵ Although Speyer never condemned Jews, nationalism and devotion to the Germanic ideal contributed to the theoretical framework of Hitler's genocidal politics. In reaching for the "higher culture," Speyer played out his most tragic irony.

Charisma and the Covenant:

Erich Ebermayer's Kampf um Odilienberg

Erich Ebermayer (1900-1970), in his fictional portrayal of Gustav Wyneken, observes a unique intellectual perspective toward the cult of youth and the "higher culture." Ebermayer's Kampf um Odilienberg (1929) was based on events from approximately 1927 to 1929 surrounding Gustav Wyneken (1875-1964) and his Free School Community at Wickersdorf. Through this novel, Erich Ebermayer depicted and appraised conflicts in pedagogy between modernism and mysticism, between "Massentheorie und Persönlichkeitslehre,"⁴⁶ that actually took place. Wyneken was the quintessential representative of the abstruse, intellectualized theories of pedagogy and of life, that characterized the metaphysics of anti-modernist thought. Ebermayer later published a memoir of his relationship with Wyneken, Gustav Wyneken. Chronik einer großen Freundschaft (1969), in which he recounted his forty-one-year association with the founder of the Freie Schulgemeinde. Here the author confirms that he directly adapted for Odilienberg the battles Wyneken waged for control of the school at Wickersdorf. In this novel, two forceful wills clash not merely for bureaucratic, rational

control of the school, but for the allegiance, in the case of Dr. Manfred Mahr/Gustav Wyneken, for the devotion of their students. This venerated figure espoused a charismatic faith in the "greatness" of his cause, fostering this greatness through covenants of friendship with his protégés.

Gustav Wyneken and the Free School Community

Erich Ebermayer met Wyneken in 1923. Ebermayer had just concluded his law studies and had begun his second career as critic and writer. The author of Odilienberg therefore never experienced the special friendship that Wyneken cultivated with his select circle of pupils. The two came together for the first time at one of Wyneken's many speaking engagements. The school reformer's commanding presence and oratory enchanted this cultured son of Ludwig Ebermayer, the well-known state prosecutor and professor of law. The young lawyer heard the scandalizing "revolutionary" preaching a sermon on the virtues of youth culture and on the evils of bourgeois materialism. I quote here Ebermayer's summary of Wyneken's basic attitudes and concepts as expressed in the speech heard that evening:

Worüber sprach Wyneken an diesem Abend, dem ersten von unzähligen, an denen ich ihn hören sollte? Über alles und nichts, könnte man sagen. Natürlich über die Jugend, über die neue Jugend,

an die er glaubte und die er immer wieder rief. Über die Sendung der Jugend, über ihre Revolution gegen die Eltern, gegen die Bürger, gegen die Saten, die Materialisten, die Lügner und Heuchler.

Er war nicht zimperlich, dieser Redner. Er griff pausenlos an, er forderte Widerspruch heraus, auch den Widerspruch der Jugend, denn 'Alte' waren kaum gekommen, um ihn zu hören. Er wettete gegen die Geistesträgheit, den Stumpfsinn, die Oberflächlichkeit, die Genußsucht der Jugend und stellte ihnen, den 'Pennälern', wie er sie verächtlich nannte, die Freiheit, Selbstverantwortung, Selbstzucht seiner Jugend, der Wickersdorfer Jugend, gegenüber. Er verkündete und forderte nicht nur ein freies, glückerfülltes, naturhaftes, jeder Kunstart aufgeschlossenes Leben der neuen Jugend -- er verlangte von ihr auch Entsagung und Selbstzucht, Verzicht auf die kleinen, dummen, unwürdigen Vergnügungen wie Rauchen und Alkohol. Mit beißendem Spott zeichnete er das Bild des jungen Menschen, der noch nicht die Gnade der Erweckung und Erlösung zum echten jugendlichen Leben erfahren hatte: den Jüngling in langen Hosen, Stehkragen und Schlips, in Hut und Mantel, den zigarettenpaffenden, biertrinkenden Angeber, den poussierenden Tanzstundenjüngling -- und stellte ihm entgegen das Bild adeliger Jugend in ihrer ganzen von ihm geschauten und -- wie er behauptete -- in Wickersdorf bereits verwirklichten Schönheit.

Nie vorher und nie nachher habe ich einen Menschen erlebt, der dieses Wort: Schönheit so erfüllt, so zutiefst beseelt aussprach wie Gustav Wyneken. Es war, als blühe da etwas Unsagbares auf, wenn er von der Schönheit der Jugend, den schönen jungen Menschen sprach, bei denen Leib und Seele, Körper und Geist, von den Griechen uns vorgelebt, ein Einziges seien. Er zitierte und variierte Stefan Georges Wort, daß der der größte Diener aller sei, der seine eigene Schönheit bis zur Vollkommenheit steigere. Und auch das andere George-Wort hörte ich nun aus seinem Mund zum ersten Mal -- wenig später schrieb er es mir in sein Buch "Eros": "Das neue Heil kommt nur aus neuer Liebe". Was für ihn -- wie für Stefan George -- die "neue Liebe" war, war unmißverständlich.⁴⁷

The second quote above from Stefan George, charging a "new love" with the power of "new salvation," recurs in Wyneken's work as a kind of motto. Contrary to Ebermayer's last statement here, Wyneken's concepts of "love" and "eros" are not self-evident. Love, eros, the cult of young male beauty and the spiritual contact with the Geist pervaded Wyneken's doctrine of salvation (Heil) that he declared as the mission (Sendung) of the New Youth. Although he propagated his ideas through numerous speaking tours, he actually regarded only himself as the rightful visionary leader and only his Free School Community as the legitimate herald for the new faith. Wyneken sought radical reforms in the culture and lifestyle of German youth, whom he recognized as an ultimate, inherent revelation of divinity. The shaping of a new youth culture became the religion into which Wyneken wished to breathe the spirit of a new mythology. He conceived this myth as a kind of primal ardor for a holy cause that supposedly existed in early Christianity and Wyneken hoped to revive the early Christian religious community in a new form. With his chosen disciples, Wyneken reintegrated the differentiated spheres of art and life under a new concept of education, extending student-teacher relations to all facets of daily existence. He believed his school should encompass the total person by attending to physical and moral development, rather than limiting

education to dry, cerebral activity and rote learning.

"Eros" expressed Wyneken's advocacy of hygiene and pedophile relations in his educational program.⁴⁸

Although he did not feel outright contempt for the average youth of the populace ("braver Durchschnitt" in Wyneken's/Mahr's words), this "prophet" sought the singular, unequaled traits of beauty and sensitivity in outstanding students. Wyneken's comrade system (Kameradschaften) served this end structurally in that the ideal adult molded the personalities of a select group of young disciples. The lives of the mentor and pupils were entwined, bound in unconditional dedication to one another. These "friendships" manifested, according to Wyneken, the highest love of which humans are capable -- the very flow of "holy" love that Jesus had shared with the apostles and that had once flourished in the Christian religion.

Wyneken's aesthetic love included physical contact. Awareness of the body in Wyneken's philosophy was nothing new, considering the nudist cults and other forms of "erotomania" in Germany during the first third of this century. However, Wyneken's "eros" brought him censure and indictment in 1919, after his practice of embracing his unclothed young friends before bedtime came to the attention of the local authorities. In 1925 he managed to regain the position of financial director at Wickersdorf, but was never

again permitted to resume officially his pedagogical activities -- which did not prevent him from privately continuing to lead his own Kameradschaft. In 1921 Wyneken published Eros, a moving defense of his allegedly homosexual practices. In his rebuttal to critics and accusers, he declared eros to be a "geistiges Urphänomen," and "Paiderastia" (a platonic love for young males, not pederasty) as its purest form. He claimed that his eros nonetheless expressed itself in affectionate physical contact, albeit far removed from sexuality:

Muß ich es noch deutlicher sagen? Übersetze ich die Umarmung in Worte (profanere, als der Wahrheit entsprechen), so besagt sie etwa: Du hast dich in meine Arme geworfen, willst in den jungen Jahren deines Suchens und Lernens mir angehören, in meiner Sphäre leben; so will ich auch dir gehören, zwischen dir und mir besteht jetzt ein heiliger Bund; ich bin nicht dein Lehrer, dein guter Freund, dein Erzieher, sondern wie durch Blutsgemeinschaft dir verbunden, aus meinem tiefsten und persönlichsten Leben sollst du schöpfen und will ich dich nähren. Das alte geheimnisvolle Wort von dem Leib des Meisters, der für die Jüngere gegeben wird, enthüllt einen neuen Sinn.⁴⁹

The eschatology of this "communion of blood" ultimately was to rejuvenate humanity and lead to the new "Reich." Wyneken's assertions typified his rhetorical defense as the martyr-figure, whose person and ideas the profane authorities condemned because they could not comprehend them. Initiation into this community, whose "Führer" claimed a

gnostic contact with ultimate principles of the world, demanded youthful potential for greatness, total self-sacrifice for the "idea" and unconditional submission to the will of the leader. Wyneken oriented such vague concepts of education on his own personality more than on a concrete program. In the pathos of his language, this charismatic figure laid claim to sanctity, truth and the extraordinary destiny of his and his disciples' calling, while declaring the homoerotic gesture a kind of sacrament. The religious conceptions, resounding in this and in other writings by Wyneken, militantly opposed criticism and compromise. In a study of Wyneken's life and work, Heinrich Kupffer described this struggle against the world for the sake of the "Geist:"

Die im Sinne Wynekens durch Heiligkeit, Adel und Instinkt qualifizierte Haltung steht der profanen Welt gegenüber und sieht sich zum Wettstreit mit ihr herausgefordert. Wyneken spricht daher immer wieder auch vom "Kampf" und führt damit einen weiteren Begriff ein, durch den die neue religiöse Gemeinschaft einen militanten Charakter erhält. "Kampf" ist das Klima, in dem der Gefolgsmann des "Geistes" in der Welt lebt. Damit soll zum Ausdruck kommen, daß die Schule keine selbstgenügsame Veranstaltung der Erziehung und des Unterrichts sei, sondern ein Instrument zur geistigen Formung der Jugend auf ein höheres Ziel hin. Die Jugend wird danach nicht durch den Erziehungsprozeß in die Gesellschaft eingegliedert, sondern tritt dieser Gesellschaft gegenüber und erkämpft sich aus eigener Kraft eine neue Wirklichkeit. Dieser Kampf gewinnt seinen Sinn weniger von definierbaren Belangen her als vielmehr durch die Berufung auf jenen ungreifbaren "Geist", in dessen Auftrag er geführt wird.⁵⁰

Max Weber's statement that "the charismatic leader gains and maintains authority solely by proving his strength in life," sums up the standard that fortified Wyneken through his struggles, scandals, internal disputes and political upheavals.⁵¹ Throughout his long life, he continually fought for control of his school. Even after World War II, he appealed to authorities in the Soviet Occupation Zone for permission to re-establish the Free School Community, pointing out the anti-capitalist, communal way of life and the great interest the early Soviet government had shown for the school and for his ideas in the 1920s.

From his first teaching appointment at Hermann Lietz's LEH at Ilsenburg, and throughout his participation in the Freie Schulgemeinde from 1906 until 1931, the year another sex scandal forced him to retire from pedagogical activity altogether, Wyneken battled every authority and colleague who interfered in his work or criticized him. During his career at Wickersdorf he alienated virtually every associate and director. Some, like Paul Geheeb and Martin Luserke resigned and founded their own boarding schools. Others, such as Peter Suhrkamp, who clashed with Wyneken while Ebermayer was gathering material for his novel, gave up teaching altogether and pursued other professions.⁵² Wyneken would not allow other directions, programs and ideas to infect Wickersdorf, which he had come to regard as a

vital component of his very person. Consequently, the founder of the Free School Community spent much of his energies purging the "Ungeist" from within and fending off the invasions of external politics and bureaucracy.

The elitism, cult of personality and acceptance of some völkisch ideas did not prevent Wyneken from deploring crass nationalism and militarism. In fact, many leftists and liberals regarded him as the one progressive, revolutionary figure of the Youth Movement and of educational reform. He had been sympathetic to the German Socialist Party (SPD), and occasionally referred to his politics as socialist. In 1918, after the new Prussian Cultural Minister, Konrad Haenisch, appointed Wyneken to his staff, the school reformer worked to remove compulsory religious instruction from the schools and to establish councils of students and teachers that would democratize the administration of school policy. These violations of traditional authority drew protest and outrage from educators, from clerics and even from the Free German Youth (The Freideutsche Jugend was the confederation of Wandervogel and other German youth groups that in 1914 had expelled Wyneken from its movement⁵³). From the left wing of the Youth Movement, Siegfried Bernfeld (1892-1953) and the Akademisches Committee für Schulreform of Vienna identified with Wyneken's ideas of granting young people a voice in the administration of schools. In his view, the

school community removed the influence of the upper class (Großbourgeoisie) and formed a left-liberal "Kulturfront."⁵⁴ Other historical accounts of Wyenken's work and theories stress his intellectual humanism, portraying him as a renegade whose innovation of the objective spirit of Youth rested on Hegelian concepts rather than on the Germanic eschatology that the George circle prophesied. Wyneken is difficult to pigeonhole as liberal or reactionary, political radical or romantic nationalist. He was indeed consistent only in his commitment to Wickersdorf. This reformer, who combined incompatible concepts into a theoretical amalgam of spiritualistic anti-capitalism and democratic modernism, represented a fascinating and enigmatic exponent of Weimar culture.

The Struggle of Race and Ideology in Kampf um Odilienberg

Synopsis: Erhard Fischer arrives at Odilienberg eager to experience a way of living and learning without the tedium and shallowness of the public schools in Munich. In this unique environment, hopes to "find himself." But first he must grow into the ways and mindset of Odilienberg. The problem is, Erhard's tender, idealistic psyche becomes caught between a political feud, truly a war of nerves, between the school's director (Dr. Wenzel Silberstedt) and the financial administrator and controversial founder of the school (Dr. Manfred Mahr). Erhard must choose a mentor. While his romantic and spiritual sensibilities

draw him to Dr. Mahr, he joins Silberstedt's following because Mahr is aloof to all others except to the two students in his Kameradschaft, Peter and Olaf. Rejected and frustrated, Erhard casts his lot with the motorized, political and thoroughly modern faction (Jewish communists who own motorcycles). Most of the novel focuses on the two directors, who have pitted their wills against one another. Despite a tragedy that breaks up Mahr's Kameradschaft, he proves stronger in body and willpower than the sickly Silberstedt. While Mahr is winning the struggle for influence in the school, he loses his two disciples. Mahr finally accepts Erhard into his care, heralding a new beginning for both the school and for himself. Silberstedt marries a wealthy young female student and leaves with plans to establish his own boarding school.

As much as the author admired Wyneken, they differed on several issues. Wyneken rejected Ebermayer's literary models: Ebermayer considered Thomas Mann's (1875-1955) Tod in Venedig (1912) an unparalleled masterpiece, whereas Wyneken dismissed the work as contrived and "dilettantisch."⁵⁵ As a lawyer and bureaucrat, Ebermayer participated, in Wyneken's opinion, in a degenerate legal system. They also differed over the idea of total abstinence from tobacco and alcohol. In Ebermayer's novel, the character of Dr. Mahr remains the ascetic admirer of Stefan George, yet in small ways, Mahr gradually softens his contempt for those outside his circle. In the fictional account, the old soldier of educational reform gains new insights from his clash with modernist pragmatism. Still, Mahr appears in a much more favorable light than his opponent, the advocate of

rationality and modernity, Dr. Wenzel Silberstedt. For Odilienberg, as for Wickerdsorf, the author emphasized that the intransigence of the elders in their conflicts, more than any flaws in theory, method or ideology, disrupts school life and poses the actual dilemma. Ebermayer reflected on the crisis of communication between Wyneken and Suhrkamp that originally inspired his novel:

Der Kampf der Giganten war zwar amüsant und lieferte mir pausenlos 'Material' zu meinem Roman, der langsam wuchs -- aber was sollte, was konnte der Aufsichtsrat da tun? Mit ein wenig Vernunft und Toleranz wäre das Lehmfuhr-Problem und wären alle anderen Streitigkeiten leicht zu lösen gewesen, zumal es ja ein Haustelefon zwischen Wynekens Wohnung und Suhrkamps Wohnung gab. So aber wirkte sich der Kleinkrieg immer mehr auch auf die Schülerschaft aus, die bald wieder gespalten war, wie vor der Sezession von Luserke und seinem Anhang.⁵⁶

Although much material filtered into the novel from real people and occurrences, Ebermayer denied that he modeled the figure of Silberstedt on Peter Suhrkamp, whom he detested. The author maintained that he fashioned the attributes of Odilienberg's director from another teacher, Willi Appelbaum. This piano teacher, according to Ebermayer, was a respectable person who cultivated good relations with Wyneken and with the young people of the school. Appelbaum lent Silberstedt his commendable sensitivity, dedication -- and Jewishness. Mahr's strength in the battle emanates not from superior integrity or insight, but from a physical

constitution and visionary fervor that simply wears his opponent down. This power arises in the novel as much from race as from lifestyle and philosophy, as Ebermayer himself explains:

Appelbaum war Jude, und 'Silberstedt' im Roman ist es auch. Vieles von der Tragik des Kampfes gegen 'Mahr' -- im Roman! -- resultiert auf seinem Judentum und ich glaube, die Figur des Gegenspielers Mahrs hat Würde, ja Größe -- was ich beides dem Gegenspieler Wynekens in der Realität Wickersdorf nicht hätte zusprechen können.⁵⁷

Silberstedt's breakdown and defeat at Odilienberg results from poor physical condition and from utter exhaustion as he labors to secure the welfare of the school on his own terms. As the founder and financial director, Dr. Mahr grinds Silberstedt down psychologically, despite the insurgent's strategic advantage: "Hinter ihm stand die Regierung, der Dr. Mahr verhaßt war, hinter ihm stand der größere Teil der Schüler und Eltern" (54). "Silberstedt war der Sieger, in jedem einzelnen Fall, Exponent des Fortschritts, der Zukunft des Zugs der Zeit. Silberstedts Sieg aber -- er wußte es wohl -- war nur ein Scheinsieg" (58).⁵⁸ Mahr's gradual victory appears inevitable even as the contest begins because Silberstedt's inborn infirmities predetermine his disadvantage in the war of nerves: "Die Waffen waren ungleich. Zuletzt entschied doch das Blut, die Rasse. Silberstedts Blut war müde, spät und verpfuscht, seine

Energie war Krampf, seine Zähigkeit in Wahrheit Verzweiflung. Der Kreis, der ihm nahestand, sah es" (60). Mahr scores subtler conquests in this war by tapping on all the superior physical resources that his "race" and moral hygiene grant him. Moreover, Silberstedt lacks mystery, sublimeness and all the revolutionary zeal and charismatic enthusiasm for monumental endeavors that idealistic young people relish. While the older guardian of Odilienberg devotes his attention exclusively to his own work and to his two chosen ones, prime specimens of Germanic boyhood beauty, the younger director divides his time between teaching, administrating and leading his own Kameradschaft.

Silberstedt, with fourteen students in his group, commands the largest following and, although he sets few standards for membership, it assumes a character of its own:

Juden herrschen in der Kameradschaft Silberstedts vor und geben ihr das Gepräge. Es handelt sich meist um Söhne wohlhabender Kaufleute aus dem Berliner Westen, aus Frankfurt, Breslau. Sie sind aus natürlichem Anstand und aus Haß gegen ihre reichen Väter zunächst einmal Kommunisten. In ihren Zimmern hängen Sowjetsterne aus Goldpapier und Öldrucke, die Lenins Haupt auf dem Totenbett zeigen. Aber sie tragen beim Sport rohseidene Hemden, fahren im Sommer mit ihren Eltern nach St. Moritz, ihre Fußballstiefel lassen sie sich direkt aus London von Bentham & Co. kommen. Auch ein paar Russen sind in Silberstedts Gruppe, Söhne hoher Sowjetbeamter, die in Deutschland ihre Erziehung erhalten, um später deutsche Universitäten zu besuchen. (60-61)

Race gravitates to race, and in this book the wealthy, Jewish communists form the mass around their sickly, mundane "bloodfellow." Although Wyneken and Ebermayer were not vociferously anti-Semitic in any völkisch and fascistic sense, Wyneken conceived a racial ideal of youthful beauty. Moreover, the common prejudice that associated political consciousness and urban modernism with a Jewish cultural influence no doubt colored their attitudes toward Jews, although the historical accounts show Wyneken adamant in his acceptance of all races and creeds. Ebermayer's divisions of the heroic personality and the man of the masses along racial lines betrayed his own elitist position and susceptibility to popular misconception circulating during the Weimar Republic.

While Silberstedt enjoys a temporary advantage, Mahr, always above the common lot, simply retires from active participation in school functions. He breaks his remoteness only when the contamination from modern civilization breaches the code he had established. For example, Silberstedt enrages Mahr by violating basic school precepts, allowing smoking for the upper classes and permitting a loud party at which students listen and dance to "Niggersongs" (57).⁵⁹ After these incidents, Mahr counters every authorization the director undertakes, with either economic strictures or with the force of his personality alone.

Factions form; the two sides cut off all but the most essential communication. Because Mahr's lifetime contract secures his position, he may now bide his time and wait for the enemy to break down and leave, just as others have done before. This skirmish, however, disrupts the community spirit of Odilienberg.

Factionalization alienates the newcomer, Erhard Vischer, who joins Silberstedt's circle, even when he most yearns to follow the "stalking Tiger," as detractors refer to Dr. Mahr. Besides the feud between the two worlds of the directors, Kampf um Odilienberg relates Erhard's struggle for his place in the scheme of school life. After the dreariness of state education, with its uninspiring programs of instruction (teachers are "Pauker" who cram and drill rather than encourage learning), Odilienberg stimulates activity, creates enthusiasm, provides freedom while demanding total participation. Here, school becomes a way of life. Erhard's curiosity for the enigmatic teacher transforms into a passion at first visual contact with this living legend, just as Ebermayer himself had befriended Wyneken in 1923 from the first "Augen-Blick."⁶⁰ From that moment, Erhard wanders alone and in despair in the surrounding forest, longing to follow his new idol, yet attracting no notice. For Mahr, all members of the school outside of the two angelic disciples under his tutelage are "Luft mit

Spucke." Mahr believes that only extraordinary persons, such as himself and his "chosen ones," who are totally committed to one another in pursuit of an ideal, can achieve the rare phenomenon of "heroic greatness."

Erhard adheres to the popular group solely out of frustration. Silberstedt, on the other hand, grows immediately fond of the handsome newcomer from Munich, finds refreshment in his presence and actively recruits him. However, just in his battle of nerves for control of the school, the director looses this conflict long before Mahr was aware of any challenge. On the way to the school's summer solstice celebration, Silberstedt and Erhard debate the "neusachlich" view as opposed to neoromantic aestheticism. Erhard already disdains "Sibbi" as a petty ideologue for mass culture and "overcivilization" who has a sense only for profane commonplaces. Once again, the opposing sides venerate and reject Stefan George:

"Kennst du Stefan George?" fragt Erhard aus dem Dunkel. Seine Stimme klingt aggressiv, er ärgert sich noch immer, er weiß, daß George ein wunder Punkt bei Sibbi ist.

Silberstedt möchte nicht wieder scharf werden, er möchte überhaupt nicht streiten jetzt, die Welt mit diesem Jungen da ist so durchaus in Ordnung in diesem Augenblick, daß es keines Streites bedarf.

"Ich schätze ihn nicht", sagt er spitz und vorsichtig.

"Ich liebe ihn!"

"Verstehst du ihn?"

"Noch nicht alles. Gerade das ist so schön, daß ich es nicht verstehe, nur höre."

"Er ist dumm und eitel." Silberstedt ärgert sich, daß der Streit sich schon wieder zuspitzt.

"Nein, Sibbi, das ist er nicht. Dann verstehst du ihn noch weniger."

"Ich hasse diesen Schwätzer!"

Sibbis Stimme überschlägt sich. Ein kleiner, schimpfender Pauker, denkt Erhard, und Silberstedt fühlt, was der Junge denkt. Erhard weiß aber zugleich, daß Sibbi ja gar nicht diesen Stefan George haßt, er haßt ja nur Mahr in ihm, überall nur Mahr.

"Das ist aristokratische Vereinsmeierei, weiter nichts. Gäbe es noch einen Kaiser, würde dieser einsam-kalte Dichter sich längst am Freiherrntitel wärmen..."

"Er ist ein Dichter. Sie sind selten", sagt Erhard.

"Wenn Dichten Umnebeln des Einfachen wäre, künstliches Brauen von Worten, Schwulst um ein Nichts. Aber zufällig ist es das Gegenteil: Klären, Deuten, Sichten, Erkennen, Berichten, Darstellen."

"Das ist Wissenschaft!" (169)

The same arguments resurface here that circulated during the Weimar period in many forums. Abstract, "higher" truth, beauty and goodness posit an irrational set of values that, for the believer, remain impervious to logical analysis or criticism. The transcendent argument claims infallibility and the superiority of its advocate. The most distinguished literary confrontation between pragmatic humanism and reactionary romanticism occurs in Thomas Mann's Der Zauberberg (1924). In the arguments between Lodovico Settembrini, "eines Politikers Enkel und Sohn eines Humanisten,"⁶¹ and Leo Naphta, "der kleine Jesuit, der Terrorist,"⁶² Mann articulated with remarkable erudition the

debate between exponents of social progress and those who believed in a new era of re-enchantment of the world -- for Naphta the "kommunistischer Gottesstaat."⁶³ Significantly, this disputation concerns education. Their philosophical antagonisms culminate in a duel after they accuse one another of "pedagogical crimes" and posing a threat to youth with their ideas. Mann's incisive characterization of Naphta is all the more impressive in retrospect, because the author associates mystical rapture for European Romanticism with a vision of revolution and a "holy terror" to follow,⁶⁴ clearly portending the rise of fascism. The pedagogical import of Settembrini's dispute with Naphta expresses Mann's intention to educate the German Bildungsbürger toward political awareness and sympathy for the unpopular republic. Although Ebermayer never mentions Der Zauberberg in his recollections of writing Kampf um Odilienberg, the controversy that was entrenched in the pedagogical community of the Weimar period finds expression in Mahr's solemn exultation of spiritual grandeur and Silberstedt's materialism.

So endemic were these positions in Germany at the time that Erhard already fully commands the rhetoric of Mahr's views before he even exchanges a word with him. His reasoning is rooted in the emotions; poetry and poetic moments delight, enrapture him; the happiness that moves him "ist Bewegung. Glück ist Angerührtsein. Glück ist Rausch"

(173). Erhard is preconditioned for Mahr's rebuttal to Silberstedt's address at the bonfire that evening -- when the old master answers the call to mass consciousness in the form of a short quote from Stefan George. As Mahr recites, emotions erupt in Erhard that irrevocably bind him in homage to the "old aesthete": "Sein Herz ist mit nichts ausgefüllt als mit Liebe und Verehrung für Manfred Mahr. Hinknien möchte er und dem alten Mann den Kopf in den Schoß legen und gar nichts mehr denken, nie mehr, nur noch fühlen und lauschen" (182). Furthermore, in this duel of words, nearly all attending the ceremony acknowledge Mahr's decisive victory. In comparing the two speeches, one easily imagines how Silberstedt's call to serve the masses, deny one's self and dispense with aristocratic attitudes, in his awkward delivery, would alienate young people who have gathered to celebrate an ancient Germanic ritual. "Sibbi" further admonishes: "Nehmt euch nicht wichtig! Schwatzt nicht ewig von Liebe: Seid stark, kalt, hart, gehämmert für den Kampf. Was seid ihr einzelne? Nichts" (178). In contrast, Mahr reads from a book of "truth," from the preface to George's Maximin.⁶⁵ Ceremoniously and with flawless diction, he declaims the poetic prose that concludes: "denn der ist der größte wohltäter für alle der seine eigene schönheit bis zum wunder vervollkommnet" (181-82). Erhard, along with the congregation of idealistic students, reacts far more

receptively to affirmation of individual beauty and the call to occupy oneself with personal perfection than to self-denial and dissolution into the masses. Camps stay divided, but Mahr has now garnered new admiration from everyone at Odilienberg.

In depicting the struggle of race and ideology, Ebermayer exploited archetypes. Certainly the characterization of the Jewish Silberstedt -- a febrile hedonist inclined to marxism and the decadence of foreign jazz -- exploits anti-Semitic expectations. Mahr occupies the opposite pole of the ideological dichotomy with his ascetic higher values, cult of personality and aestheticization of the body. In their pedagogical programs, Mahr and Silberstedt promote conflicting ideals. While Mahr seeks the fanatic devotion of an elite youth, Silberstedt exhorts his students to conform with the social collective in progressing toward the world of the future. As radically opposed as these views are, the Nazi movement was at the time using both sides to its advantage. On the romantic side, charismatic authority of the Hitler cult promoted fascist myths, while mystical veneration of racial purity and physical beauty contributed to intellectual legitimization of the Nazi program. Pragmatically, Nazism was a mass movement, a reactionary socialism, which extolled technological progress as a link to Germany's "destiny." The two directors themselves,

however, contributed to Gleichschaltung most by pursuing their ideals within the lofty confines of their separate society, cooperating with whatever government authority that they believed would not interfere with their "mission."

The Decline and Rebirth of the Covenant

Dr. Mahr does not notice Erhard nor does he seek any converts. Many come, he chooses few. Many feel attracted to him through a personal magnetism he describes as eros -- a quality that Silberstedt lacks entirely and does not even understand. In Mahr's world view, this mysterious concept is the fulcrum for ideal human relations. Silberstedt, however, does perceive a dark side to this eros, a quality that Mahr himself has yet to grasp.

Without pathos or sentimentality, a tragedy unfolds for Mahr, which arises from both his radical elitism and his passion for young male beauty. Peter's chestnut eyes and raven hair had first attracted Mahr's attention, under whose influence the boy soon developed into the model student for Odilienberg. By the time Erhard arrived, Peter had attained a leadership role in internal politics, acted both as a delegate representing Odilienberg to important visitors and as emissary to the outside world. He promises to mature into an exemplary adult. The other boy, Olaf van Beek -- a

complementary opposite to Peter in his reserved, fair

"Knabenschönheit" -- is "als Mann nicht zu denken" (74).

"Eros" overwhelmed Mahr in the form of this divine vision of perfection:

Manfred Mahr erkannte, als er Olaf v. Beek zum erstenmal erblickte, daß aufs neue und noch einmal in seinem bewegten Leben in diesem Knaben ihm der Gott leibhaftig entgegentrat. Sein Herz wurde bewegt von dieser holden, herben Schönheit in schon kaum mehr für möglich erachteter Weise. Auch der Kampf um Odilienberg, -- längst für Mahr nur noch spielerische Plänkelei, hatte jetzt wieder Ziel und Richtung, wurde innere Notwendigkeit, heilige Pflicht. Seine Müdigkeit fiel ab von ihm. Das lebendige Leben brach noch einmal auf. Olaf von Beek war der Erwählte. (71)

Mahr's homoerotic passions never stray into the realm of "animalistic" sexuality; physical gratification, beyond the gesture of an embrace, would only denigrate the sanctity of his eros. This ascetic, enraptured by "divine boyhood beauty," is blind to Olaf's credulity and impressionability.

The downfall begins when a visitor to Odilienberg, Henri Bernard, and Olaf become fascinated with one another. The man's wit, stylish dress and new "LaSalle" automobile, eclipse even the boy's love for Dr. Mahr. Bernhard claims to be a friend of Olaf's family and soon seeks every opportunity to draw the boy closer. Ebermayer indicates the man's intentions without overly subtle circumlocutions. For example, Bernard takes an abundance of photographs of Olaf:

"Er knipste Olaf in allen erdenklichen Stellungen, lächerlicherweise auch mehrmals von hinten, so etwa beim Binden des Schuhs, der gar nicht aufgegangen war, was Olaf für sinnlose Verschwendung und richtige Albernheit hielt" (215). Later, when Olaf blushes at the question of his relationship to Mahr, Bernhard can hardly contain his desire:

Vielleicht war er in diesem Augenblick schöner, als der Mann da vor ihm ertragen konnte. Bernhard jedenfalls verlor alle Beherrschung. Er begann zu zittern und schwer zu atmen, als hätte er eine Herzattacke. Dann riß er die Hände Olafs zu sich empor, beide Hände, an seinen kleinen Mund mit dem schwarzen Bärtchen. (217)

The pederast cunningly entices Olaf to take a pleasure cruise in the LaSalle, a ride that ends up in Venice. This adventure to Italy results not in the death of the man, as in the classic Thomas Mann novella that Ebermayer cherished, but the object of passion suffers pneumonia and dies. With Olaf's abduction, Ebermayer illustrated how "Paiderastia" differed from pederasty by opposing true love to lust, presenting these relations as if they were mutually exclusive inclinations. Sexuality, not homoerotic attraction itself, causes the downfall. Olaf thrived in Mahr's care. However, physical perfection blinds the "great" educator to Olaf's physical and moral frailties.

After the incident with Bernard and Olaf, Silberstedt observes: "Die Entführung, die Reise, die unfreiwillige Rückkehr hatten deutlich bewiesen, daß diese edle Frucht bereits angefault war und daß Mahr wie immer, auch in diesem Fall, keinen Funken Menschenkenntnis und pädagogisches Talent bewiesen hatte. (253) The old man invests so much affection into this friendship that his grief appears to end the struggle for Odilienberg. Peter transfers to study architecture in Berlin, leaving the visibly older and grayer Mahr without a Kameradschaft. Many believe the sequestered mourner would retire. Mahr returns from his retreat, however, because he still considers himself, as always, the prime mover in Odilienberg, and not merely an interchangeable component. A broken heart cannot halt him from his mission, for which he soon gains new, qualitatively different disciples.

By the time of Olaf's death, Erhard's qualifications to become a disciple of Dr. Mahr surpass even those of the "chosen one," except of course in the superficial aspect of boyish beauty: "Wie er Olaf ähnlich sieht, denkt Peter. Erschreckend. Olaf noch einmal, nur stärker, gesünder, wirklicher, mehr Junge, mehr wie er selbst und alle anderen" (235). With all his qualities, Erhard still does not radiate the extraordinary attributes; in Mahr's eyes he belongs, now as before, to the "braver Durchschnitt." He therefore

does not attract his idol's attention and, intimidated by his awe for the man, cannot assume the initiative to petition for acceptance into his fold. The most significant of Erhard's advantages, his total devotion to Mahr's person, can not simply radiate from the youth's being. He must demonstrate his fealty through actions.

Herbert Faber, an energetic and street-wise newcomer from Berlin known as "Flaps," provides the impetus to bring the situation down to earth and open the channel of communication between Erhard and the bereaved pedagogue. "Flaps" is assigned to share with Erhard the room that Mahr's previous Kameradschaft had occupied. Urban impudence, ready wit and casualness introduces a welcome relief from the gloom in the wake of power-struggles and the death of the innocent:

Seine Frechheit war beispiellos. Ehrfurcht vor Odilienberg, vor Mahr, vor Silberstedt, der "Tradition", der "Haltung" oder ähnlichen großen Worten ging ihm völlig ab, wenigstens tat er so, als ob ihm überhaupt nichts auf der Welt imponieren könne. Wenn man genauer hinsah, war zu erkennen, daß hinter dieser frechen Respektlosigkeit sich ein unbeirrbarer und durchaus gesunder Blick für das Echte und Wesentliche verbarg, dem er sehr wohl sich beugte. (259-260)

Here the city, through "Flaps," does not infect the holy institution with its "unculture," but rather contributes a healthy sense of irony and irreverence to the poisoned

atmosphere at Odilienberg. The Berliner convinces the brooding Erhard that they would be ideal members of Mahr's new following, as Flaps dictates in the raw version of their letter of introduction: "Flaps allein wäre übrigens nicht für Sie, viel zu doof. Erhard allein genügt nicht. Man will doch auch seine Lebensfreude haben. Aber wir beide zusammen, -- Mensch, da wär'n Se gut bedient" (266). Letters are exchanged and the trial period begins.

These two new elements interact with Dr. Mahr differently than Olaf and Peter did, depending more strongly on dialogue between teacher and pupil. With Olaf and Peter, Mahr sought the magic of the encounter, "immer nur das Einzelne, Zufällige, Vorüberhuschende, ein Händedruck, ein Blick, ein freies Lachen, ein Senken des Hauptes, der Glanz eines Haares" (77). Interludes of playful rapport and exchanges of cultural trivia are incidental; they maintain their bonds of friendship primarily "in schweigendem Einverständnis" (145). Erhard and especially "Flaps" reach an understanding not through enchantment, but through more rational, discursive interaction. At their first meeting the conversation wanders to the topic of overpopulation, unemployment and social reform. The old aesthete enthusiastically engages in conversation with Flaps about the boy's unrefined communist convictions. Mahr changes in the company of students more mundane than his previous acolytes, a

transformation that Ebermayer proffers as a more just and productive attitude toward youth.

As Flaps is expressing his views, Erhard begins perusing a book by Stefan George. Mahr notes this interest and uses the occasion to preach a short sermon on the value of political consciousness:

Aber der brave Durchschnitt muß Bescheid wissen in den Dingen des Tages und in den großen Fragen, die während der nächsten Jahrzehnte die äußere Welt bewegen werden. Viel ist in der Umwandlung begriffen, gerade jetzt. Ich weiß, daß ein großer Teil der neuen Jugend keinen Sinn für Politik hat, man -- 'lehnt das ab' -- Mahrs Mundwinkel zogen sich spöttisch herab --, "man lehnt ja überhaupt alles ab, was unbequem ist, man interessiert sich für die Monatsraten und für das Hubvolumen seines Motorrades, allenfalls noch für die letzten Schlagertexte und für das Lebengewicht der Anwärter auf die Schwergewichtsmeisterschaft ... Aber wen interessieren politische Details, ohne die kein politisches Denken möglich ist? Die Verteilung der Sitze im englischen Unterhaus, die Kurve der Außenhandelsbilanz, der letzte Schiedsspruch des Schlichtungsausschusses des Transportarbeiterverbandes? Nun, -- es wir sich rächen. Egoismus rächt sich immer. Es ist schwer, die richtige Mitte zu halten. Der politisierte Jüngling mit Abzeichen und Armbinde ist natürlich ebenso ein Brechmittel wie der Snob, den nichts irgend etwas angeht. Die Politik, und zwar die richtige, vernünftige (welche ist es!), muß das ganze Leben, die Existenz des Menschen so durchdringen, daß es nach außen kaum mehr spürbar wird. (273-74)

Of course his conviction that the common man must develop awareness of politics does not alter Mahr's basic attitudes. He had never rejected knowledge of government; he himself

has had to rely on practical, political sense in order to establish and defend his school. Technology, popular culture and politicized youth continue to move him to disgust. If Flaps and Erhard do not bear the mark of greatness, he may, at least, shape them into individuals who as adults will be sensitive to his mission, a political act in itself.

To mold a person describes exactly Mahr's intention in his friendship with young males: "Mahr formt sich die Menschen, die er liebt. Jedenfalls ist klar, daß bei Mahr heißt: alles oder nichts. Wen der hat, den hat er. Aber wer ihn hat, der hat ihn auch. Ganz" (147). Total, mutual commitment of master and novice demands a responsibility that Mahr hesitates to accept after the tragedy with Olaf. Erhard's Kampf for friendship progresses with the successful petition to enter the circle; attainment of his goal ultimately comes from his own initiative. Erhard challenges Mahr to accept him:

Ja, -- ich such und fordere Sie, weil ich weiß, daß es so sein muß! Wir gehören zueinander, so dumm es klingt. Sie brauchen mich, und ich brauche Sie. Fühlen Sie das denn nicht, -- wie nötig wir einander sind? Reden Sie doch nicht lange hin und her! (297)

The formation of a special devotion between teacher and youth -- according to Mahr more difficult, more decisive and

holier than marriage -- charges the divine task of Odilienberg with its vital impulses. Erhard's declaration culminates Ebermayer's novel. This high point suggests that the actual battle for Odilienberg does not take place as the hostility between the two directors, but as the struggles of Erhard and Dr. Mahr to reach one another. This union fills the friendless void and signals a propitious future: "Noch einmal einer der ihm verfallen war, mit ganzer Seele. So mußte es sein. So begann alles Große" (298). This moment redeems Mahr. Only such a powerful, true discipleship reaffirms his authority. The uniqueness of this erotic "friendship" distinguishes Erhard, but especially Dr. Mahr, as eminent, even monumental personalities. Above all, Kampf um Odilienberg presents eros and physical vitality as the sources of power for a charismatic personality.

Dr. Manfred Mahr exemplifies charismatic authority. His fortitude, command, missionary zeal, and ongoing renewal of his followers form an integral property of the charisma that legitimates his power at Odilienberg. A leader must survive, overcome and triumph in order to retain an elevated status. Moreover, this superiority always implies a conflict with norms. A charismatic leader either revolts against or transcends routine or commonplace existence. Mahr's nonconformity alienates him from everyday structures such as family and public institutions. This

"revolutionary" force legitimizes its power through its "calling," "mission," or "spiritual duty." Most importantly, as Max Weber notes, charismatic authority is inherently unstable and is an effective force only in the struggle of a movement to be born.⁶⁶ When social change is needed, according to Weber, charisma introduces an innovating force into the institutional sphere. No one who has examined the life and work of Gystav Wyneken denies that he was an innovator. However, a leader's heroic personal magnetism requires endless striving and redemption in order to prevent power from becoming, in Weber's words, "routinized" or "bureaucratized."⁶⁷ In the personality of Mahr and Wyneken and the mission of Odilienberg and Wickersdorf, we encounter one of the purest manifestations of a charismatic authority that thrives on struggle. One of Mahr's allies in Odilienberg's faculty observes:

Nie ging es Odilienberg besser, als wenn es gegen die ganze Welt zu kämpfen hatte. Nie war Odilienberg geschlossener, tiefer gebunden, leidenschaftlicher bewegt, nie war seine Sendung deutlicher sichtbar und nie unsere Beglückung reiner, als wenn wir alles und alle zu Feinden hatten.
(191)

The mentality of conflict, "the good fight," transfers to standards by which the leaders judge the value of young people. In contrast to comfortable ("bequem") youth, which

rushes to modern convenience and exploits easy solutions to problems, stands "heroic" youth. Young heroes in this case recognize their leaders and persevere in steadfast loyalty to the cause.

Mahr's heroism elevates eros to a lofty, rare experience, with which he sets himself apart from all other common human relations. He displays a strength of will in his restraint, coupled with the channeling of sexuality to what Michel Foucault calls "the care of the self."⁶⁸ Since the time of Max Weber, sociological studies attribute to charisma the force of libidinal energy not present in other forms of legitimate power, such as rational and traditional authority. According to Foucault, sexuality is itself "an especially dense transfer point for power."⁶⁹ If one understands Wyneken's brand of aestheticized and asceticized eros as "an intensification of the body, a problematization of health and its operational terms,"⁷⁰ it becomes evident that Wyneken's/Mahr's magnetic appeal emanates from channeled sexuality: At Odilienberg, Mahr's students devote their energies completely to Mahr and to his lifestyle, whereas members of Silberstedt's Kameradschaft, males and females, are occupied with more "traditional" sexual awakenings.

Bourgeois sexuality serves to ennoble class and race (often encoded as "blood"). Ebermayer designated Silberstedt as the dark, frail Jew in contrast with the physical

fitness and mental acuity of Mahr, and even compared the blood of the two men. Mahr's soundness of mind and body, his charismatic strength of will and even his "eros" preclude racial outsiders. In addition, preoccupation with cultivating the magic of his own personal aura and immoderate refusal to compromise -- and I believe herein lies Ebermayer's critique of Wyneken -- causes Mahr to treat Odilienberg as a monument to himself, neglecting the primary function of a school as an educational institution.

Conclusion: Sexuality and Communication
in a "Higher Culture"

In the "boarding school" novels by Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer, the school does not merely instruct, but it encompasses the total existence of the students and prepares them as adults who are to revive German culture. First, the borders of school, class, group and even personal demarcations (in the sense of self-repression) divide the world into an "us" and an "outside." Second, "sublime" emotional attachments to the school and among its members -- kinds of love -- consolidate students into a social unit more tightly knit than the family.

The patterns of communal bonding in the three novels are reconstructions of a lost ideal. Kästner believed that friendships of childhood, if maintained throughout life, would assure a just society. Speyer's Tertia forms an organic community that savors physical expressions of conflict and solidarity. Descriptions of students' passions in terms of their blood and flesh underscore adolescent sexuality, even if subdued and rechanneled. The concept of eros, which binds Dr. Mahr and his followers as a Kameradschaft in Ebermayer's novel, elevates the love

between a teacher and student to the source of all that is "great." A silent pact of friendship, the communion of blood and nature, and "eros" all establish codes of mutual understanding -- trusts that adhere to the norms and morals of the school. Bonds of affection and unspoken commitments establish the manners with which characters communicate with one another.

The history of sex education and the treatment of sexuality in German young people's literature, from the Wilhelminian through the Weimar period, greatly influenced how Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer portrayed the emotional bondings of adolescents. Pedagogues, authors and other adult authorities during this time hastened to stem and redirect pubescent urges after premarital sexual activity came to be viewed as a national health problem (and often viewed as a symptom of urban decadence enroaching on German life). Already by the late nineteenth century, educating youth on the dangers of sex became an urgent matter because of an upper and middle-class male dilemma: Workers, tradesmen and farmers typically married young, while academics, military officers and other professionals had to establish careers before they could fulfill their social obligations as *patresfamilias*. Therefore, prostitution flourished, as did the frequency of venereal disease among the Großbürger.⁷¹ (Germans were not so much concerned whether women were

depraved or were forced into prostitution by dire poverty. They were desperate to preserve the German race and male culture from decline.) Studies on adolescent sexuality and literature for educating youth on sex proliferated. However, most of the literature shrouded sex in mystical images, warned against moral and medical deterioration, and glorified sports and hygiene as healthy substitutes for sexual gratification.⁷²

The boarding school novels partially obviate sexuality because the friendships in these male societies transcend sex. Each book also had a mission, or "war," that redirects sensual and physical energies from the self toward a collective goal. Most notably, the authors transformed the love between characters into a "sublime" beauty surrounding youth, converting emotional attachments into an aesthetic. Yet no matter how they transformed, inverted and channeled adolescent emotions, these writers, Speyer and Ebermayer in particular, did not submit to traditional taboos or prudish censures and simply ignore sexuality. Indeed, the authors charge their evocations of highest principles, work ethic, duty and sacrifice with the vitality of youthful passions, harnessing the "erotic" fervor for building a "higher" culture.

Communication within the insular environments of these fictional boarding schools acquires its own idiosyncracies

because each author embraced a different notion of culture. In these four novels, symbolic and ritual actions confirm the group as such in dedication to its ideal. As the essential medium for communicative action, rituals stimulate the senses while creating or confirming a purpose for belonging.⁷³ Ritual overshadows discourse in Das fliegende Klassenzimmer only when "Justus" and "der Nichtraucher" reconfirm their lifelong friendship with an unspoken vow. Otherwise Kästner's characters uniquely carry out their actions after consciously weighing ethics rather than yielding to command. Speyer's Tertia forms a tribe in which the chief is a leader by his nature; speech and actions acquire cultic symbolism. Ebermayer shows how Dr. Mahr's spiritual self-beatification created a schismatic sect within Odilienberg. Mahr molds his followers by ritualizing their every activity at the school, so that teacher and students bask in one another's presence. In particular in the novels by Speyer and Ebermayer, we encounter once again the holism, missionary consciousness, and ritualistic behavior that evince religious-metaphysical Weltbilder. The "doctrine of salvation" underlies the sense of ultimate purpose -- the grand idea -- for which the students must struggle, resisting the injustice, depravity and mediocrity of the outside world. The word Kampf in the titles Der Kampf der Tertia

and Kampf um Odilienberg already indicated conditions of labor and warfare for a cause.

As with ritual, struggle occupied the body and senses, establishing demarcations of identity. In the four books here, young people identify with a leader, group or clique and with the larger community of the school. In all cases the boarding school functions as a "state within a state," as a free and separate entity within Germany. Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer had indeed rejected crass nationalism. Nevertheless, these fictional schools performed an implied patriotic role: The graduates from these "ideal" institutions of learning were to redeem German society. Kästner's solidarity of upright citizens, Speyer's contact with nature, Volk and history, and Ebermayer's portrayal of Wyneken's devotion to an absolute Geist in manifestations of beauty and greatness -- all conceived an alternative to life in their contemporary Germany. The microcosms in which these young people live and fight do not eradicate contact with modern things; even in Speyer's pastoral community the older students owned motorcycles. Dr. Mahr, after a long retreat from the business of Odilienberg, suddenly deliberates on the value of knowing history, economics and politics. Although none of the authors pardoned the amorality they perceived in advanced capitalism and Weimar

bureaucracy, they were willing to assimilate enough of the modern world to protect and nurture their existence.⁷⁴

In each text, the institution and group organizations constitute a male culture, even when a female character is prominent, as in Speyer's two books. In the language of the German men's world, according to Klaus Theweleit, culture implied not only a male but a militaristic heritage: "Man sieht, 'Kultur' funktioniert als ein wirklicher Kernbegriff des 'Männlichen', der in einem Wort die gesamten Traditionen des Soldatischen zusammenfaßt."⁷⁵ In most cases, military culture conflicted with the educational priorities of pedagogues and young people's authors. Yet in these four novels, struggles and wars create and preserve the heile Welt, if not from a distinct enemy, then from dissolution into the mass -- the common lot, base emotions, or mundaneness. The authors expressly abhorred militarism and drill, but all three wished to force back the tide and uphold eternal truths. Kästner instructed his readers on the importance of fortifying against material and emotional hardships and on propagating the "higher" value of true friendship. Speyer depicted a group of young people that forms a primal commune with ties of blood and earth. Ebermayer's Odilienberg offered students an asylum to shed the crusting of modernization so that they may experience the fullness of youth culture -- however vague the concept.

All four novels present young males as the keepers of these emotionally charged standards and virtues.

Such an environment confines communication and social action within closed parameters: In Kästner's egalitarian society of tolerance and duty, young people repress fears and distress in favor of displaying courage and fortitude. The primitive hierarchy in Speyer's books arises from a common belief in a person's inborn, natural traits, which determine irrefutable moral authority for the leaders and the submissive roles of subordinates. At Odilienberg disciples celebrate the person of Dr. Mahr by behaving and speaking according to his precepts. These boarding school novels expressed the beliefs and betrayed the fears of many Germans during the Weimar period: The beauty, glory and justice that many felt was inherent in the German culture could only be revived by turning back a sea modernity and foreign influences. Within the tight authorial control of fictional boarding schools, Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer were able to ignore the intrusions of real life and projected their visions of perfect alternatives to a very imperfect world.

Notes

¹Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Faust. Der Tragödie zweiter Teil, ed. Erich Trunz (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1972), p. 348.

²Kästner himself was not a Freemason.

³Helga Bemman, Humor auf Taille. Erich Kästner. Leben und Werk (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1983), p. 31.

⁴Bemman, p. 38.

⁵German militarism later became a favorite target of satirical barbs in his writings. While brandishing his caustic sarcasm and truculent wit against adult society on the one hand, on the other hand Kästner improved on reality in his novels for young people. The sergeant who overdrilled young Kästner appears by name as the brutal figure in one of the author's poems: Wer ihn gekannt, vergißt ihn nie./ Den legt man sich auf Eis!/ Und Sergeant Waurich hieß das Vieh,/ damit es jeder weiß." Bemman, p. 39. See also "Marschliedchen" from his collection Gesang zwischen den Stühlen (1932).

⁶Kurt Beutler, p. 240.

⁷Marianne Bäuml, p. 161.

⁸In the German literary canon, from the late nineteenth century and throughout the Weimar period, boarding schools set the scene in novels at a time when sexual awakenings, frustrations and even perversions of youth permeated the writings of well-known authors: Frank Wedekind's (1864-1918) drama Frühlings Erwachen (1891) stood out as an early example of a treatment in literature of pubescent discoveries. Hermann Hesse (1877-1962), Robert Musil (1880-1942), Robert Walser (1878-1956), Ernst Glaeser (1902-1963) and Klaus Mann (1906-1949) all dealt with the consternations of youth. Novels and plays about the problems of young people always contained biographical foundations and included at least some impressions of school life. Among these writers, the boarding school had earned special notoriety for

repressive military regimen, psychological abuses and out-right sadistic atrocities among the students. Hermann Hesse's Unterm Rad (1906) and Demian (1919), among others, describe how the educational institution overtaxed pupils, expunging from them all fantasy and sensitivity. Robert Musil's Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törless (1906), and later, Peter Martin Lampel's (1894-1965) play Revolt im Erziehungshaus (1929) depicts the rape and degradation of the younger and weaker by the older students, the former in a military academy, the latter in a reformatory. Although settings for these works occupied an overwhelmingly male society, Christa Winsloe's novel (1888-1944) Mädchen in Uniform (1934) portrayed the repression of female sexuality in a Prussian boarding school. The book Mädchen in Uniform appeared after Winsloe's play Gestern und Heute (1930), upon which the novel was based, and after the film Mädchen in Uniform (1931), which was produced by Leontine Sagan and Carl Froelich.

⁹Erich Kästner, "Das fliegende Klassenzimmer," Kästner für Kinder, 2. Further references to this text will appear after citations.

¹⁰Kästner held this view all his life. In the late 1960s he related the following anecdote: "Am 4. Oktober 1953 saßen in einem Züricher Gasthaus drei Kinderbuchautoren beisammen und unterhielten sich über meine Frage. Eine Schriftstellerin aus Schweden namens Astrid Lindgren, eine Dame aus England, Pamela Travers, und ich selber. Schweden, England und Deutschland tranken also in der Schweiz Whisky und erörterten, im Zunftaus "Zimmerleuten", meine -- und natürlich nicht nur meine -- alte Frage. Und wir kamen, trotz einiger Sprachschwierigkeiten, sogar zu einem Resultat. Der tägliche Umgang mit Kindern, als Mutter oder Lehrer oder Großvater, spiele zwar eine Rolle. Er bereichere die Echtheit der Erzählung. Aber die Hauptrolle, die spiele er keineswegs! Der gute Kinderbuchautor habe, fanden wir, den übrigen guten Schriftstellern eines voraus, und nur dies sei entscheidend: Er stehe in unzerstörtem und unzerstörbarem Kontakt mit seiner eigenen Kindheit! Es handle sich um eine uns selbstverständliche, merkwürdigerweise aber seltene Personalunion. Um ein Geschenk, mit dem das Geschick offensichtlich sparsam umzugehen pflege. Und das sei sehr, sehr schade.

Als ich im Herbst 1965 in Stockholm war, erinnerte ich Astrid Lindgren an den Abend in Zürich. 'O ja', sagte sie lächelnd, 'ich weiß es noch genau. Wir haben miteinander Walzer getanzt.'

Sie hatte unsere Unterhaltung vergessen. Ich hatte unseren Walzer vergessen. Aber eines hatten weder sie noch

ich vergessen: die eigene Kindheit." "Einiges über Kinderbücher," Das Kästner Buch. Von und über Erich Kästner in Texten und Bildern, ed. Sylvia List (Munich: Piper, 1986, first ed. 1975), pp. 93-94.

¹¹"Kästner über Kästner," Das Kästner Buch, p. 96.

¹²Dieter Mank noted the following in regard to Kästner's social criticism in Klassenzimmer: "Zudem wird in diesen Sequenzen mit besonderer Deutlichkeit offenbar, in welchem Ausmaß Kästners soziales Engagement mit massiver Sentimentalität gekoppelt ist, eine Konstellation, die schon für seine frühen Gedichte und den 'Fabian' typisch war. Entkleidet man diese Vorgänge ihres sentimentalischen Beiwerks, ist der ideologische Kern von Kästners Aussage ebensowenig zu verkennen, wie in früheren Werken der Weimarer und der NS-Zeit: es gibt keinen gesellschaftlichen Mißstand, keine materielle Not, denen durch eine konsequente Demonstration fester moralischer Grundsätze nicht zu begegnen wäre." Erich Kästner im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1933-1945. Zeit ohne Werk? (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1981), pp. 96-97.

¹³Kästner allows one misogynous remark to escape from Sebastian as the student scorns the upper classmen during their dancing lesson: "Diese Herrn Eintänzer drehen sich in ihrer Tanzstunde mit angemalten Fräuleins und halten sich für die Erdachse. Sie sollten lieber einmal lesen, was Arthur Schopenhauer über die Weiber schreibt" (22).

¹⁴The unconditionality of admiration here becomes boundless: "Auf der Treppe sagte Mattias: 'Für diesen Mann da oben laß ich mich, wenn's sein muß, aufhängen'" (58). "Justus" exemplifies a leadership personality.

¹⁵"Es sollte gezeigt werden, daß Kästner's Roman 'Das fliegende Klassenzimmer' seinen Lesern ein Lebens- und Verhaltensmodell anbietet, das durch Sprach- und Geschichtslosigkeit gekennzeichnet ist und kommunikatives Verhalten durch Leistungsbereitschaft, also durch Mut, Tapferkeit, Selbstüberwindung und Selbstverantwortung ersetzt." Alwin Binder, "Sprachlose Freiheit? Zum Kommunikationsverhalten in Erich Kästner's 'Das fliegende Klassenzimmer,'" Diskussion Deutsch 11 (1980), 302.

¹⁶My emphasis.

¹⁷Alwin Binder, 298.

¹⁸"Die Bedeutung dieses Konflikts wird verstärkt durch die Bemerkung, es handle sich um einen 'Streit zwischen Schulen, nicht zwischen den Schülern', die die Analogie nahelegt zu Streit zwischen Staaten, wo auch Menschen miteinander kämpfen, ohne etwas Konkretes gegeneinander zu haben." Binder, 291.

¹⁹Klaus Theweleit describes the steeling of the martial personality as internal and external, physical and emotional callousing: "Ich hatte vermutet, daß er [der soldatische Mann] ein stabileres Ich quasi angeprügelt bekommt; daß die Aggression seiner verschiedenen Erziehungspersonen ihn nicht 'autistisch' werden läßt; daß jeder fehlenden Besetzung der Peripherie von innen mit einem Hieb von außen nachgeholfen wird. [...] Das 'Ich', das dabei entstünde wäre allerdings ein merkwürdiges Gebilde: es würde eigentlich gar nicht als Instanz der Person begriffen werden können, sondern als ein gesellschaftliches Ich, das ihr in Gestalt ihres ange-drillten, unter Schmerzen zugefügten Muskelpanzers nur verliehen wäre. Der Gefahr, bei der Wahrnehmung von Lebendigem, der Berührung von Lebendigem sogleich zu fragmentieren, könnte es mit Sicherheit nur entgehen, wenn es in ein größeres seine Grenzen stützendes und garantierendes gesellschaftliches Gebilde eingefügt wäre: jede als 'Ganzheit' im dargestellten Sinne funktionierende gesellschaftliche Organisation käme dafür in Frage, von der Familie bis zum Heer." Klaus Theweleit, Männerphantasien, 2, "Männerkörper. Zur psychoanalyse des weißen Terrors" (Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern, 1978), pp. 256-57. Theodor W. Adorno's study observed that the authoritarian type, often battered as a child, requires social demarcations: "Die nachdrückliche Betonung von 'Distanz', die Furcht vor 'enger körperlicher Berührung' darf im Sinne unserer These interpretiert werden, daß bei diesem Syndrom die Trennung zwischen Eigen- und Fremdgruppe ungeheure Mengen seelischer Energie absorbiert. Für Individuen dieses Typus ist die Identifikation mit der Familie und letztlich mit der gesamten Eigengruppe ein unentbehrlicher Mechanismus, um sich selbst autoritäre Disziplin aufzuerlegen und nicht der Versuchung zum 'Ausbrechen' zu erliegen, die durch die bei ihnen bestehende Ambivalenz stets neue Nahrung erhält." Theodor W. Adorno, Studien zum autoritären Charakter, p. 327.

²⁰Cf. Hannah Arendt, *Von der Menschlichkeit in finsternen Zeiten. Rede über Lessing* (Munich: Piper, 1960), pp. 39-51.

²¹See Aristotle, Nichomachian Ethics, books 8 and 9. I refer to the edition Aristoteles, Nikomachische Ethik, trans. and ed. Franz Dirlmeier (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1969), pp. 213-70.

²²Binder, p. 305.

²³Some general works that mention Speyer in comparison with or proximity to Kästner include: Josef Prestel, Geschichte des deutschen Jugendschriftums (Freiburg: Herder, 1933), p. 149; Irene Dyhrenfurth-Graebisch, Geschichte des deutschen Jugendbuches (Hamburg: Verlag Eberhard Stichtnote, 1951), p. 251; Walter Scherf, "Die Kinder- und Jugendbände," Jugendliteratur 4/5 (1963), 163-64 and 211-212; Klaus Doderer, "'Solidarität oder Untertangeist' -- Zu Erich Kästner's Emil und die Detektive und Wilhelm Speyers Der Kampf der Tertia," Klassische Kinder- und Jugendbücher, ed. Klaus Doderer (Weinheim: Beltz, 1969), pp. 35-54; Walter Nutz, "Massenliteratur," Weimarer Republik -- Drittes Reich: Avantgardismus, Parteilichkeit, Exil, 1918-1945, ed. Horst Albert Glaser (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1983), p. 210.

²⁴Doderer, "Solidarität."

²⁵Johanna W. Roden, "Wilhelm Speyer," Deutsche Exilliteratur seit 1933. Kalifornien, ed. John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka (Munich: Francke, 1976), p. 606. Also, in his novelle Wie wir einst so glücklich waren (1911) Speyer refers to his past at the LEH: "Der Knabe hatte seine erste Jugend auf einer Landschule zugebracht und war dort von erfahrenen Männern, zusammen mit einer Schar unermüdlicher und redlicher Jungen, erzogen worden. Nun stand er, einem begründeten Wunsche seines Vaters folgend, allein in dieser Stadt." Wilhelm Speyer, Wie wir einst so glücklich waren (Lindau: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1950), p. 13.

²⁶Hermann Lietz, "Zur Organisation der Land-Erziehungs-Heime," Die Landerziehungsheimbewegung, (Bad Heilbronn: Klinkhardt, 1967), pp. 43-44.

²⁷Two biographies on Hermann Lietz by a former student appeared in the 1930s: Alfred Andreesen, Hermann Lietz. Der Schöpfer der Landerziehungsheime (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1934) and Hermann Lietz. Lebenserinnerungen. Neu herausgegeben und durch Briefe und Berichte ergänzt (Weimar: Hermann Lietz Verlag, 1935).

²⁸The term völkisch refers to a specific conservative ideology, widespread from Wilhelminian times to the Nazi

period. The abstract and often perplexing idea of Volk connected the German spirit to its natural landscape, indicating that the German's union with the land was sublime, mystical and beautiful. The "romantic anti-capitalism" of völkisch thinkers refers to their disdain of the modern, urban world, blaming the alleged materialism and spiritual vacuousness of "capitalistic" civilization for the decline of Germany. Cf. George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, especially pp. 4-5; Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1961, 1974), especially pp. xviii-xxix. Although the völkisch ideologues were averse to the uses of technology in modern industrial society, many conservatives perceived that technical developments could aid nationalist causes, in particular that of warfare. Cf. Jeffrey Herf, Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984).

²⁹Hermann Lietz, "Ein Rückblick auf Entstehung, Eigenart und Entwicklung der Deutschen Land-Erziehungsheime nach 15 Jahren ihres Bestehens," Die Landerziehungsheimbewegung, pp. 43-44.

³⁰Lietz, "Geschichtsunterricht," Die Landerziehungsheimbewegung, p. 26.

³¹Wilhelm Speyer, Der Kampf der Tertia (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964). References to this work appear after citations.

³²"Die Vaterlandsliebe braucht nicht künstlich dadurch gezüchtet zu werden, daß das verhältnismäßig Unbedeutende aus der Geschichte des eigenen Volkes mit stärkerer oder schwächerer Absichtlichkeit immer wieder hervorgezerrt wird, obgleich es niemanden zu erwärmen vermag, während vieles Bedeutende fremder Nationen vernachlässigt bleibt. Die Eigenart, das Wesen von allem Wertvollen, was war und ist, soll man erkennen lehren." Lietz, "Geschichtsunterricht," p. 27.

³³Lietz, "Geschichtsunterricht," p. 30.

³⁴That the LEH accepted female students as an exception remains within the bounds of plausibility. Lietz himself believed that only the second generation of LEH pupils could be coeducated, yet allowed for special circumstances, especially when the parents could afford the highest rate of tuition. Moreover, Erich von Mendelssohn (1887-1913), in

his autobiographical novel Nacht und Tag (1914) reflects his own experiences at Haubinda. As with Speyer, only one female pupil attends the school.

³⁵Doderer, "Solidarität," p. 47. Doderer uses the Roman name "Diana," noting the similarity to the name "Daniela." However, "Daniela" is the feminized version of the name "Daniel" and Doderer gives no evidence of Speyer's intention in naming this character outside of the compelling contextual association.

³⁶Klaus Doderer notes the erotic tenor of Kampf der Tertia, adducing sexuality as another element of Speyer's romanticism in contrast to Kästner's rationalism. Doderer, "Solidarität," pp. 42-43. See also Walter Scherf, "Die Kinder- und Jugendbande (Schluß)," pp. 210-11.

³⁷Daniela suits neither the "castrating proletarian whore" nor the absent, white mother or sister perceptions of women. Cf. Theweleit, 1, pp. 88-253.

³⁸In Theweleit's analysis of war novels from this period, the collision of forces gratifies a drive to reaffirm psychological borders. The testing of one's limits and the defiance of death is a mystical, inner experience; destroying an opponent confirms physical power. These reinforcements of a martial personality eliminate any possibility for emotional or communicative understanding. "Der Wunsch nach einer 'Berührung' setzt sich durch, sofern er den Zusammenprall herbeiführt, die Angst setzt sich durch, insofern er tödlich endet, so daß nicht eine freundliche Vermischung der beiden Elemente zustande kommt, sondern die Vernichtung des einen, anders gesprochen: daß statt der Liebesflüsse der Blutstrom fließt." Theweleit, 1, p. 295.

³⁹Wilhelm Speyer, Die goldene Horde (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1957). References to this work appear after the citation, with page number preceded by GH.

⁴⁰Theweleit couples such assertions of individuality with a mentality he describes as phallic, that is, the fortification of defense mechanisms in relation to social and personal identification, building, as it were, a towering bastion above a diffuse and unrestrained mass, be it a teeming rabble or a flood of emotions. To reinforce the emotional armor, Borst declaims the organization of his "nation," and in so doing extends his person into the body of this state. Theweleit notes in this regard the identifications of self with nation that underlie militant patriotism: "Wenn die deutsche Seele seine Seele ist, dann

spricht er von Deutschland auch als von sich selbst --; das Heer, die hohe Kultur, Rasse, Nation, Deutschland, sie alle scheinen wie den eigenen Körperpanzer umfassende größere, sichere Körperpanzer zu funktionieren; wie sein 'verlängertes Selbst.'" Theweleit, 2, p. 98. Here Theweleit continues on the subject of nation and describes its connection to domination: "Wenn diese Männer also sagen, sie kämpfen für ihr Deutschland, die Heimat, für ihre Lieben, ihr Volk und sie täten das als Nation, so heißt das deutlich sie kämpfen für ihre Herrschaft über den Rest." Theweleit, 2, p. 100.

⁴¹Reppert voices only demands for order and procedure. Speyer understands this obsession for organization as a particularly German trait: "Einen Jungen wie Reppert konnte man in der ganzen Welt suchen, nirgendwo anders als in Deutschland würde man ihn finden. Er wollte nämlich alles organisieren." Speyer, Kampf der Tertia, p. 20.

⁴²George L. Mosse discusses religious foundations of the "Germanic Faith" in The Crisis of German Ideology, pp. 31-51.

⁴³See especially Paul de Lagarde, Deutsche Schriften (1878). In 1934 a collection of essays was actually published under the title Nationale Religion: Paul de Lagarde, Nationale Religion, Deutsche Reihe 17, ed. Georg Dost (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1934).

⁴⁴See especially Ludwig Klages, Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele (1929).

⁴⁵The man who probably most exemplified this dilemma was Theodor Lessing (1872-1933). Lessing, who was for a time in his youth a friend of Ludwig Klages, was one of Speyer's teachers at Haubinda. Lietz eventually dismissed Lessing and purged Jewish students and teachers from the enrollment and staff of his schools. "Lietz's action came as a shock to Lessing and led him back to a greater affirmation of his Jewishness. He went on to become a distinguished philosopher, only to be brutally murdered by the Nazis in the end." Mosse, p. 165. Lessing indeed eventually entered a "zionist" phase, and wrote a book about Jewish self-hatred, Der jüdische Selbsthaß (Berlin: Der jüdische Verlag, 1930). See Hans Mayer, "Jüdischer Selbsthaß," Außenseiter (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), pp. 414-21. See also Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1973).

⁴⁶Erich Dürr, "Kampf um Odilienberg," Die Literatur. Monatsschrift für Literaturfreunde, 32, 7 (1930), 421.

⁴⁷Erich Ebermayer, Gustav Wyneken. Chronik einer großen Freundschaft, Quellen und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jugendbewegung 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Dipa, 1969), p. 14.

⁴⁸Wyneken's ideas bear striking similarities to those of the Gemeinschaft der Eigenen, a homosexual emancipation organization founded in 1902. "The Community looked to ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy as model civilizations and argued that Christian asceticism was responsible for the demise of homosexual relations." James D. Steakley, The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany (New York: Arno Press, 1975), p. 40. Benedict Friedländer, the Community's main theorist, advocated an erotic relationship between a man and a boy as the ideal educational situation, but felt that homosexual relations were unnatural. "Friedländer's views on pedophile relations reproduced this contradiction by asseverating that relations with youths were to be erotic but not sexual." Steakley, p. 42.

⁴⁹Gustav Wyneken, Eros (Lauenburg/Elbe: Adolf Saal Verlag, 1921), p. 64.

⁵⁰Heinrich Kupffer, Gustav Wyneken (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970), pp. 180-81.

⁵¹Max Weber, On Charisma and Institution Building, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 22.

⁵²Peter Suhrkamp (1891-1959), dramaturg, theater director and teacher, became editor of Neue Rundschau of the Fischer Verlag in 1933. In 1936 he became director of Fischer and in 1950 founded Suhrkamp Verlag in Frankfurt am Main.

⁵³Walter Laqueur, in his history of the German Youth Movement, understands Wyneken's break with the organization in 1914 as the decisive disunifying event of the movement: "Wyneken was probably the only man who could have brought clearer ideas into the movement, and he would certainly have guided their cultural endeavours into more productive channels." Walter Laqueur, Young Germany. A History of the German Youth Movement (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1984), p. 37. The work originally appeared in 1962.

⁵⁴Siegfried Bernfeld, Die Schulgemeinde und ihre Funktion im Klassenkampf (Berlin: E. Laubsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 63.

⁵⁵According to both Ebermayer and Kupffer, Wyneken admired the work of Carl Spitteler even more than that of Stefan George.

⁵⁶Ebermayer, Gustav Wyneken, p. 41.

⁵⁷Ebermayer, Gustav Wyneken, p. 55.

⁵⁸Erich Ebermayer, Kampf um Odilienberg (Hamburg: Axel Springer Verlag, 1947). He dedicates his novel: "Gustav Wyneken. dem Freund. dem Kämpfer." Page numbers for further references appear after citations.

⁵⁹Mahr's words.

⁶⁰Ebermayer, Gustav Wyneken, p. 55.

⁶¹Thomas Mann, Der Zauberberg (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982), p. 492.

⁶²Mann, p. 493.

⁶³Mann, p. 620.

⁶⁴Mann, 737-38.

⁶⁵No doubt Wyneken favored this work because George reflects on the highest love of his own past: "George not only expressed his longings for leadership and the elite in his poetry, but tried to give them reality in his own life. In 1902 he thought he had found a person who possessed all the beauties he longed for: a young friend of his named Maximin, who, in the words of one of George's disciples, 'transforms magic into reality.' For George, the young man, who died in his youth, possessed a godlike quality which was not to be found in any of his other disciples." Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, pp. 210-211.

⁶⁶Max Weber's analysis of charisma and institution building identifies charisma, after traditional and legal power, as the third form of legitimate authority. "Charisma knows only inner determination and inner restraint. The holder of charisma seizes the task that is adequate for him and demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission. His success determines whether he finds them. His

charismatic claim breaks down if his mission is not recognized by those to whom he feels he has been sent. If they recognize him, he is their master -- so long as he knows how to maintain recognition through 'proving' himself." Weber, p. 20.

⁶⁷Weber, p. 22.

⁶⁸Michel Foucault, The Care of the Self (New York: Pantheon, 1986) is volume three of The History of Sexuality.

⁶⁹Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality. An Introduction (New York: Vintage, 1980), p. 103.

⁷⁰Foucault, p. 123.

⁷¹"So schien die sexuelle Revolution der bürgerlichen Jugendbewegung endlich das Problem zu lösen, das die erwachsenen bürgerlichen Ärzte und Pädagogen quälte -- das der "geschlechtlichen Not". Diese hatte ihre Ursache nach Heimann darin, daß im Gegensatz zum Jungarbeiter der junge Bürgersohn, ganz gleich ob als Akademiker, Kaufmann oder Offizier, normalerweise erst mit dem Ende des dritten Lebensjahrzehnts beruflich so erfolgreich war, daß er die gesellschaftliche Berechtigung zur Eheschließung erhielt." Ulrich Linse, "'Geschlechtsnot der Jugend.' Über Jugendbewegung und Sexualität," "Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit." Der Mythos Jugend, ed. Thomas Koebner, Rolf-Peter Janz and Frank Trommler (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), pp. 258-59.

⁷²To cite only a couple examples from the vast number: Hans Wegener, in Wir jungen Männer. Das sexuelle Problem des Gebildeten jungen Mannes vor der Ehe: Reinheit, Kraft und Frauenliebe (1906), preached on the patriotic abstinence and the duty of young men to the Volk to abstain from intercourse before marriage. Gertrud Prellwitz, in her novel Vom Wunder des Lebens (1922), clouds issues of conception and birth in "mysteries" of earthly existence. In Die sexuelle Not der Jugend (1923) Georg Manes, who admired Gustav Wyneken, wrote that the Wandervogel and other German youth organizations provide the healthiest diversions of libidinous energies. These and many other books addressed young people.

A number of scholarly tracts, treatises and studies appeared on the social and psychological phenomenon of eros in the German Youth Movement. Foremost were Hans Blüher's studies Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung as erotisches Phänomen (1912) and Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen

Gesellschaft (1917). It was Blüher's work that first attracted Gustav Wyneken to the German Youth Movement: Hans Wolf, "Nachwort" in Hans Blüher, Wandervogel 1 - 3. Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung, Quellen und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jugendbewegung 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Dipa, 1976), p. XIV. For more insights into issues of sexuality and German youth during the Weimar Republic, see articles by Winfried Mogge, Jürgen Reulecke, Ulrich Herrmann, Ulrich Linse and Rolf-Peter Janz in Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit.

The Youth Movement countered premarital sexual desire and intercourse by designating sex as pathological: Heterosexuals risked infection from venereal disease, while homosexuals supposedly suffered congenital disorders or deep-seated psychological disturbances. More pragmatic theories and literature on sex education during the Weimar Republic did approach the topic with information on contraception and hygiene. Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935) and the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft represent the most concerted effort to demythologize sex and to introduce comprehensive legal and educational reforms. Max Hodann (1894-1946), a member of the Institute, wrote sex educational texts for young people, most notably Bub und Mädel (1924). See James D. Steakley, The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany and Joachim S. Hohmann, Sexualforschung und -aufklärung in der Weimarer Republik (Berlin: Foerster, 1985). Most youth leaders, however, elevated abstinence, work and physical purity to an act of heroism. For example, at the historic rally of the "Free German Youth" (Freideutsche Jugend) on the Hohe Meißner mountain in 1913, Gustav Wyneken himself declared their movement free of alcohol and nicotine. He and other leaders considered these substances pollutants to the body that incited unhealthy sexual desires. Patriotic refrain from the poisons of civilization also preserved the collective body -- the "blood" and "race" of Germany -- from contamination. Youth embodied the racial ideal as the symbol of vitality and of the future.

⁷³In regard to sacral symbolism and the Youth Movement, Rolf-Peter Janz cites Mary Douglas's breakdown of cultic behavior: "Rituale lassen sich Mary Douglas zufolge definieren als eine Form der Kommunikation, in der in verdichteter, nichtverbaler Weise Informationen vermittelt werden; rituelles Verhalten ist sowohl Ausdruck wie auch bestätigende Ausschmückung einer Sozialstruktur. Im einzelnen sind im rituellen Verhalten vier Momente zu unterscheiden. In erster Linie also hat rituelles Verhalten einen religiösen Sinn. Daneben ist augenscheinlich die unmittelbare Sinnlichkeit der Handlung, der sinnliche Vollzug von Bedeutung, so die Entgegennahme der Hostie beim Abendmahl,

der Tanz ums goldene Kalb, das Umschreiten des Feuers. Schließlich hat rituelles Verhalten eine soziale und eine ästhetische Funktion; beide sind in der vorangestellten Definition von Mary Douglas besonders hervorgehoben. Rituale bestätigen eine Gruppenzugehörigkeit oder stellen sie her. Wer am Abendmahl teilnimmt, bekennt sich zur Gemeinde derer, die an Christus glauben. Daß Kulthandlungen auf vielfältige Weise ästhetische Reize vermitteln, ist unmittelbar evident." Rolf-Peter Janz, "Die Faszination der Jugend durch Rituale und sakrale Symbole mit Anmerkungen zu Fidus, Hesse, Hofmannsthal und George," "Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit", p. 313.

⁷⁴Jeffrey Herf points out that the decisive trend in the ascension of völkisch ideologies during the Weimar Republic and in the Third Reich was "reactionary modernism." Romantic anti-capitalism transformed during and after the WWI from a bucolic ideal into the belief that technology held the future for the German Volk. This ideology, which hailed the beauty of the machine, glorified the steeling of the human mind and body and paved the way toward developing an advanced mechanized army. Jeffrey Herf, Reactionary Modernism.

⁷⁵Klaus Theweleit, 2, p. 76. Theweleit continues here to observe from the literary texts by fascistic authors of the Weimar period (who, like Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer, grew up in Wilhelminian Germany) that the very flight from reality to romantic refuges of childhood germinated the fantasies of their novels: "Aber die Realität der zusammengefaßten Knabenträume dieser Männer haben wir vor uns, die Knabenromantik der Jugendbewegung, deren Stadtflucht, Indianerspiele, Welteroerungsträume, Adelsphantasien, König Arthurs Tafelrunde; 'einmal noch' = nie gewesen."

Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz war die Herkunft des Traumes bewußt: 'Unsere Knabenträume aus der Karl-May-Zeit sind hier Wirklichkeit geworden; mit gegenseitigem Beschleichen, Abschießen aus dem Hinterhalt, plötzlichen Überfällen und Strafzügen. Statt des Federschmucks in den Haaren tragen wir silbernes Eichenlaub am Kragen, nur für das Skalpieren haben wir noch keinen brauchbaren Ersatz gefunden.'

Vom gehörigen understatement der letzten Behauptung abgesehen, beschreibt Heinz sicher zutreffend den sozialen Raum, aus dem die 'Kultur', die sich im Krieg realisiert, kam: aus den Knabenbünden, in die sich Mädchen nur als an den Marterpfahl gebundene verirrt, aus der vollkommenen Abkapselung der Jugendlichen von der gesellschaftlichen Realität -- dem Eintauch der Stadt gegen

den Wald, in dem sich der 'Welteroberung' wenig entgegenstellte." Theweleit, 2, pp. 77-78.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNICATIVE ACTION AND THE INSTITUTION OF FRIENDSHIP:

ERICH KÄSTNER'S PÜNKTCHE UND ANTON, ALEX WEDDING'S

EDE UND UNKU AND LISA TETZNER'S ERWIN UND PAUL

Wir berichten euch sogleich
Die Geschichte einer Reise. Ein Ausbeuter
Und zwei Ausgebeutete unternehmen sie.
Betrachtet genau das Verhalten dieser Leute:
Findet es befremdend, wenn auch nicht fremd
Unerklärlich, wenn auch gewöhnlich
Unverständlich, wenn auch die Regel.
Selbst die kleinste Handlung, scheinbar einfach
Betrachtet mit Mißtrauen! Untersucht ob es nötig ist
Besonders das Übliche!
Wir bitten euch ausdrücklich, findet
Das immerfort Vorkommende nicht natürlich!
Denn nichts werde natürlich genannt
In solcher Zeit blutiger Verwirrung
Verordneter Unordnung, planmäßiger Willkür
Entmenschter Menschheit, damit nichts
Unveränderlich gelte.¹

Friendship as a Recovery of Purpose and Freedom

from Modern Social Mechanisms:

Erich Kästner's Pünktchen und Anton

In 1931, at a time when Germany was suffering severely from world depression and civil disorder, Erich Kästner addressed the issues of poverty and class distinctions in a book for young people. In that year, the author was

painstakingly shaping the chapters of Fabian, arranging his speaking engagements and supervising stage productions of Emil. Still he managed to set aside a mere three weeks to extend the most lucrative branch of his career. He composed Pünktchen und Anton methodically. After three days of sketching ideas, he dictated the sixteen chapters, one per day, and on the seventeenth day he had the novel delivered to his editors. Kästner calculated a reprise to the phenomenal success of Emil, and even amplified those elements that seemed to have made his foray into young people's literature so successful. In his formula, Kästner retained the "realism" of contemporary urban settings, accentuated the precocious wit of young people and the comical awkwardness of adults, emphasized moral lessons by directly addressing the readers with didactic postscripts to each chapter, added a measure of suspense through an intrigue that exhibited Anton's detective abilities, and concluded with a conciliatory happy ending. In the afterword, the narrator reflects on the similarities between the characters Emil and Anton, asserting that young readers just cannot get enough of this sort of youngster.² However, neither the market nor the critical reception responded as favorably to Pünktchen as it did to Emil. First, books, films and theater had become by 1931 unaffordable luxuries for many in

Germany. Second, didacticism and sentimentality detracted from the novel's "literary merits."

Through the example of the friendship between Pünktchen, the daughter of factory director Pogge, and Anton Gast, the son of a bedridden, widowed charwoman, the author pleaded for egalitarian social conditions. In Kästner's way of thinking, nobility of character transcends lines of class: If members of the propertied elite exercised benevolence while those of the working class maintained a principled work ethic, all would be right with the world. Pünktchen conveys the message that rich and poor should cooperate and assist one another as individuals, and not rely on social institutions for order and welfare.

Synopsis: Pünktchen is the only child of Direktor Pogge and the self-indulgent Frau Pogge. She is alone most of the time and has developed a vivid imagination for escape and amusement. Anton is the son of the widowed Frau Gast. Because Anton's mother is sick, he must sell shoelaces on the streets of Berlin at night. Pünktchen has a nanny, Fräulein Andacht, who is beguiled by "Robert der Teufel," a thief. When Pünktchen's parents are gone in the evening, the nanny masquerades as a poor blind woman, bringing Pünktchen along dressed in rags to hawk matches and beg for her. Fräulein Andacht gives most of the money to "Robert der Teufel." Anton and Pünktchen meet on the bridge and become friends. Pünktchen sees how "the other side" lives when she visits Anton's dreary little apartment. Because Anton's mother is recovering from an operation and is too weak to leave her bed, Anton does all the cooking, cleaning and earns from panhandling just enough to buy a few potatoes and some lard. The boy

maintains a cheerful façade while anxiety churns within him. Gottfried Klepperbein, the local bully, blackmails Pünktchen, threatening to reveal her nightly escapades to her father. After Anton gives Gottfried a sound thrashing, the bully carries out his threat. Pünktchen's father follows his daughter and Andacht to the bridge and spies on them. Pogge then goes to the opera, bruskiy escorts his wife out and back to the bridge so that she can also see what their neglect has led to. At the same time, "Robert der Teufel" had wrested the keys to the Pogge mansion from Andacht and was proceeding to burglarize the house. Warned by Anton, "fat Bertha" the cook clubs Robert from behind and holds him until the police arrive and Pogge returns home. Anton is the hero. Pogge hires Anton's mother, who has recovered, to be the new nanny and he begins spending time with Pünktchen, thus solving both children's problems. Frau Pogge ceases to dominate her husband and assumes a humbler role in the household, while Frau Gast fulfills the duties of mother.

Kästner exploited a number of typologies in Pünktchen und Anton. First, his characters bear inherent, immutable good or bad traits: Anton, who epitomizes Kästner's ideal youth, necessarily gains Pogge's favor and Gottfried Klepperbein ("ein ausgemachter Lümmel," 129; "Schweinehund," 191) necessarily loses all favor because he is a venal, unprincipled brute. Kästner's physiognomy of young people underscores the crude dichotomy of "good" vs. "bad" youth: The corrupt personalities are always unattractive, even repulsive. Moreover, just as Anton and Emil are certain to mature into virtuous adults, Gottfried will inevitably grow to be socially aberrant.³ Second, the relationship between a poor but valiant hero and unhappy little rich girl

associated Pünktchen und Anton with a common motif of fairy tale and sentimental romances. Third, the comical types, the corpulent Bertha and the lanky Fräulein Andacht, remind one of the caricatured servants who provide interludes of mirth in the bourgeois "Lustspiel." As if these clichés did not convey strongly enough the moral lessons, Kästner interpolated didactic commentaries, "Nachdenkereien," between chapters. In these marginal asides the narrator remarks on general themes such as duty, fantasy, and pride. Through stereotypes, commonplaces, and authorial interjections, Kästner prescribed behavioral absolutes of command and prohibition, essentially making Pünktchen und Anton a moral primer.⁴

Unconditional regulations of integrity, as we observe in Das fliegende Klassenzimmer, obstruct channels of interaction and understanding, exacerbating personal problems. Instead of verbal and symbolic action, "spontane, konfliktfreie Verständigung" typically attracts the young protagonists to one another in Kästner's books to create ideal relationships.⁵ In Emil und die Detektive, for example, Emil assumes a leadership role through his evident virtues and through his unspoken affinity with "Der Professor," the leader. In Klassenzimmer, perfecting one's character and upholding the lofty values of friendship form the basis of understanding. No matter what the social barriers

are, young people in Kästner's books understand and sympathize with one another through their essential "goodness." Still, children in Emil and Klassenzimmer never learn what also impedes their ability to communicate openly with one another.⁶ Pünktchen und Anton, Kästner's parable of rich and poor, emphasized material problems of destitute people in Berlin. The pattern of self-denial and self-castigation persists, however, despite the desperate situation of Anton and his mother.

Pünktchen and Anton, whose families occupy opposite poles of the economic and cultural world, find in their friendship a pragmatic, material purpose, quite distinct from the sublime friendships of the "boarding school" novels. While the boarding school provides the adequate surrogate environment where young people find a lost home through emotional bonding, Pünktchen and Anton establish a felicitous exchange between material needs and companionship, a balance that demonstrates a social-integrative function of friendship. Through this relationship the two young persons learn about the world and themselves as they work out their respective problems. Because Anton assumes adult responsibilities after his mother becomes incapacitated, he has little time to study or play. Pünktchen surreptitiously intercedes for him at school and contributes her savings to the Gast household. In turn, Anton's companionship

compensates for Pünktchen's lack of attention from her parents. Kästner demonstrates that as friends, the two children gain an understanding from one another of how people from different social strata can cooperate.

However, the outcome of the story depends as much on the enlightenment of the exemplary adult, in this case Direktor Pogge, as on the mutual assistance between the two young people. Pogge ultimately provides for the needs of the Gast family and begins dedicating time and attention to his daughter. Adults learn, or should learn from young people, according to Kästner.⁷ The author believed that through youth one could discover innocent selflessness and rationality, untainted by rigid norms and the ruthless accumulation of material or power. Precisely the encrusted upper-middle class lifestyle and its goal-oriented rationality cause the stress and fragmented organization of the Pogge family. The shock of discovering Pünktchen pan-handling -- partly due to the influence of Fräulein Andacht and partly for adventure -- awakens Pogge to distortions in his system of values. The mother, however, never grasps how she has erred in her treatment of her daughter.

Kästner portrays Frau Pogge as an especially reprehensible person: The entire list of negative attributes -- selfishness, vanity, dereliction of maternal duties, overbearingness and idleness -- applies to this socialite

wife of a prominent businessman. The narrator repeatedly directs the reader's attention to these faults:

Als sie beim Nachtschisch saßen, erschien endlich Frau Pogge. Sie war zwar sehr hübsch, aber, ganz unter uns, sie war auch ziemlich unausstehlich. Berta, das Dienstmädchen, hatte mal zu einer Kollegin gesagt: "Meine Gnädige, die sollte man mit 'nem nassen Lappen erschlagen. Hat so ein nettes, ulkiges Kind und so einen reizenden Mann, aber denkst du vielleicht, sie kümmert sich um die zwei? Nicht in die Tüte. Den lieben langen Tag kutschiert sie in der Stadt rum, kauft ein, tauscht um, geht zu Fünf-Uhr-Tees und zu Modevorführungen, und abends muß dann der arme Mann auch noch mitstolpern. Sechstagerennen, Theater, Kino, Bälle, dauernd ist der Teufel los. Nach Hause kommt sie überhaupt nicht mehr. Na, das hat ja nun wieder sein Gutes. (127-28)

After presenting Berta's point of view, the narrator immediately reiterates his condemnation of Frau Pogge in the "Nachdenkerei" that follows this passage, entitled "Von der Pflicht." Pünktchen's mother concerns herself with social ritual and decorum. The commentary states outright that Frau Pogge neglects her duties. The parents deputize childcare to the servants and Pünktchen rarely finds a place in either the mother's busy social calendar or in the father's hectic business schedule. Because the parents dedicate themselves to extra-familial pursuits, the family members split off into their own separate worlds. Kästner portrayed the fragmented family as pathological, manifesting itself physically as stress. On the one hand, Herr Pogge shows

symptoms of an executive's ailments: Dedicated above all to his work, he alleviates the tension from the combined pressures of his cane factory and Frau Pogge's social commitments by continuously ingesting a variety of medications (125). On the other hand, Frau Pogge excuses herself from household activities because of migraine headaches. However, Kästner clearly indicates that this "bad" mother feigns her illness (*Migräne sind Kopfschmerzen, auch wenn man keine hat* [131]), whereas the father's ailments are not only "real," but are exacerbated by Frau Pogge's domineering ways.

The parents' preoccupation with the standards of their class splinters familial relations. Throughout the book, Pünktchen never actually exchanges words directly with her mother. Kästner also does not let the reader miss the alienation from the father: Pünktchen refers to him only as "der Direktor" (136). The specialized and deputized system of relations in the Pogge family reduces communication to a dependence on impersonal organizational functions. Here we encounter the functional imperative that occurs in those social strata that embrace a vocational ethic. Values that promote instrumental rationality confine people behind the masks of their normatively defined roles, until little personality remains left for emotional relations that could be described as loving or friendly. So we observe in the case of Direktor Pogge. His public responsibilities create the

managerial malaise of internal distress and alienation from family life. He fails to notice that his inept administration of domestic affairs has claimed a toll on Pünktchen, who begins to show signs of fatigue.

When they delegate the duties of childrearing to an indifferent "specialist," Fräulein Andacht, the Pogges do not question the nanny's competence. The parents never imagine that Andacht exploits this confidence or that their daughter seeks some escape. Before her nightly exploits with the nanny, Pünktchen has no friends other than her dachshund, Piefke. She invents one fantasy after another, exercising her precocious intelligence (with which Kästner always endows his young protagonists) with flights into her imagination. Kästner underscores most poignantly Pünktchen's need to escape from her lonely tedium through the wish for a twin sister:

"Am liebsten möchte ich ein Zwilling sein."

Der Vater hob bedauernd die Schultern.

"Das wäre großartig", sagte das Kind. "Wir gingen dann beide gleich angezogen und hätten die gleiche Haarfarbe und die gleiche Schuhnummer und gleiche Kleider und ganz, ganz gleiche Gesichter."

"Na und?" fragte Fräulein Andacht.

Pünktchen stöhnte vor Vergnügen, während sie sich die Sache mit den Zwillingen ausmalte.

"Keiner wüßte, wer ich bin und wer sie ist. Und wenn man dächte, sie ist es, dann bin ich's.

Hach, das wäre blendend."

"Nicht zum Aushalten", meinte der Vater.

"Und wenn die Lehrerin 'Luise!' rief, dann würde ich aufstehen und sagen: 'Nein, ich bin die andere.' Und dann würde die Lehrerin 'Setzen!'

sagen und die andere aufrufen und schreien:
 'Warum stehst du nicht auf, Luise?', und die würde
 sagen: 'Ich bin doch Karlinchen.' Und nach drei
 Tagen bekäme die Lehrerin Krämpfe und Erholungs-
 urlaub fürs Sanatorium, und wir hätten Ferien.
 (127)

Pünktchen's scenario expresses most explicitly, from among her ongoing stream of fantasies, the desire to collaborate with another, who is like herself, in order to defy the reins of adult control. Pogge's daughter shows defiance in real life by begging in the streets. The friendship with Anton becomes, by the end of the novel, both the collaboration she seeks and the vehicle for teaching Direktor Pogge the duties of fatherhood. Yet Pünktchen's wish for adventure and penchant for fantasy, combined with a special talent for acting out roles, permit Andacht to take advantage of her.

Far from being the identical twin about whom Pünktchen fantasizes, Anton differs morally as well as economically from the rich girl. They nonetheless become friends immediately. When Pünktchen encounters a drastically different way of life in Anton's tenement, her ignorance of poverty bars fear or prejudice. Kästner repeats through Pünktchen's example his earlier directive to young readers: People should learn to live with, understand and assist the less fortunate. The author suggests moreover that poor children do not monopolize misfortune. For one, these

unlikely friends both lack sincere contacts with peers. With Anton, however, the tenor of the narrative shifts from comical depictions of the Pogges' upper-class frustrations, to pathos and near reverence for a boy's struggle against hardship. Upon closer reading, only the characters and events in the Pogge household evoke humor, whereas Kästner's lachrymose depiction of Anton and Frau Gast's problems aims to strike chords of sympathy and righteous indignation in the reader. Therefore, while both children have their problems, Anton is the actual vessel of Kästner's social commentary, while Pünktchen, her family and servants serve as foils for the author's humor.⁸

Anton's real tragedy lies not so much in his poverty (his sterling character implies, in Kästner's system of values, that he would inevitably overcome his economic troubles), but rather in the implied threats he apprehends from the social administrative apparatus. Although Kästner does not explicitly dwell on this anxiety, the youth actually fears that the state's welfare agents may intervene and ruin his life. The welfare system typically demanded organizational efficiency and, logically, the provision of food and shelter had to override private contingencies such as the bonding between a mother and her son. With so much destitution in Berlin at the time, the social rationalization had to remain indifferent to individual

values and emotions. Anton's great unarticulated dread, that an agency might place him in an institution and separate him from his mother, spurs his valiant efforts. In order to preserve the home with his mother, Anton performs all the duties of operating and caring for the household -- despite fatigue, which affects his otherwise impeccable schoolwork. Because the opportunities for earning a living in the Berlin of 1929 were already nearly depleted in the adult employment market, Anton, at age eleven, assumes a formidable task. In essence, because Anton attaches his first priority to staying with his mother, the system of social compensation enforces his "illegal" actions. He withdraws into a pattern of deception and quiet self-sacrifice so that teachers or other public servants do not detect his desperate situation. Only the most corrupt of Kästner's characters, Gottfried Klepperbein, could say to Pogge: "Der bettelt auch. Aber richtig. Anton Gast heißt er. Der gehörte schon längst in Fürsorge" (189). Actually, he does panhandle. As a minor he not only violates ordinances against begging, but implicates Frau Gast herself in the same category of mistreatment of children that Fräulein Andacht is committing, the differences being obvious to the reader but not to the system.

Kästner, as usual, does grant the system a human face: Pünktchen secretly intercedes for Anton at school, where the

teacher proves quite understanding; Herr Pogge, as he observes Pünktchen and Anton peddling, asks a policeman whether the children were breaking the law: "Der Schutzmann zuckte die Achseln. 'Sie meinen die beiden auf der Brücke? Was wollen Sie machen? Wer soll die blinde Frau denn sonst hierherführen? Solche Leute wollen auch leben'" (188). In fact, a happy end to this story results precisely because a "good" policeman and a "good" teacher do not enforce legal strictures. For Kästner, rigid compliance with statutes and legalities precludes "goodness" in persons. This sentiment expresses that the systems governing people are detached from everyday life as a whole (that is, from "die Lebenswelt"). This distrust of the social system permeates Kästner's books; in not one of his three novels under present discussion does a public agency such as law enforcement or children's welfare contribute to a just resolution, at least not until after the children resolve the conflicts on their own.

The dissimilar injustices that Pünktchen and Anton bear originate out of their very different lives. Pünktchen and Anton collaborate against the disruption of interpersonal relations, which are imposed by systems of rational organization. Before the two meet, both had withdrawn in their own way from the process of socialization: Because neither Pünktchen and Anton belong a circle of friends, peers do not

reinforce the barriers between rich and poor; their innocence prevents the prejudices of "proletarian shame" or elitist contempt. Pünktchen retreats into fantasy while Anton strikes out alone, resisting the welfare system, in order to preserve a homelife with his mother. In this way, the author prefigures a complementary affinity between the two. Despite differences, Pünktchen and Anton judge themselves as equals. Each discovers a form of contact and sympathy that primarily activates meaningful communication, which in turn reaps the benefits of instrumental cooperation: Anton attains economic security while Pünktchen gains a good, surrogate mother and an attentive father.

Although the worlds of rich and poor in Pünktchen und Anton touch only on the perimeters of their daily affairs, the problems of both sides emerge from the same system. Pogge operates within a rationalized system of delegated power and performance, dictated by capital. His servants function also as delegates, but many of the accouterments of wealth -- proprieties and material accumulation -- follow traditions of symbolic reproduction: Their lifestyle states their social status. Normative role playing of social rituals and rationalized management of business affairs sap sense from Pogge's world while family life disintegrates. Pogge administers his family with as much indifference as the welfare apparatus does the poor families.

In subtle fashion, Pünktchen und Anton reflects a sentiment that was widespread during the Weimar Republic: The rationalization of life had become hypertrophic. Much due to the influence of sociologists such as Max Weber and Ferdinand Tönnies, many German theorists believed that the individual and the human spirit were being gradually usurped into a dehumanized social mechanism. It was observed that, in modern Germany, ethical principles of charity, of personal development through work and of material accumulation eclipsed the central role of the church in both the conduct of daily affairs and in giving purpose to life. According both to marxists and to representatives of German cultural despair, capital guided the growth of modern government. Under the primacy of capitalism, the new morality of this profane orientation could not withstand the rationalization of life. Institutions and bureaucracy organized, administered and adjudicated, and ultimately removed moral judgment from the realm of individual competence -- and from individual concern. In Pünktchen und Anton, Anton fears that the social welfare system would possibly decide his and his mother's fate according to standardized rules and their expedience, while destroying the pattern of life that his family finds meaningful. Organizational motives direct Pogge's thinking and his habits, so that the imperatives of the system prevent his family from understanding one

another's frustrations. Therefore, both Anton's and Pogge's situations illustrate the loss of freedom and the loss of sense in the modern world; the systems of administration no longer "communicate" with the subjects of society.⁹ Only when Pünktchen and Anton befriend one another and demonstrate to Pogge the need for personal, immediate human contact do the characters liberate themselves from the hegemony of systemized, fragmented existence.

In his social theory of friendship, Igor Kon describes how the specialization of social functions reinforces the individual's dependence upon social structures:

Die Spezialisierung der sozialen Funktionen verstärkt die Abhängigkeit des Individuums von unpersönlichen Organisationsstrukturen, zerstört nach und nach den Kern seiner Persönlichkeit und macht die menschlichen Kontakte immer formaler und unpersönlicher. In der Welt formaler bürokratischer Reglements, Vorschriften und Massenkommunikationen fühlt sich die feine, anfällige menschliche Individualität sehr ungemütlich, und deshalb zerfällt sie zwangsläufig in eine Ansammlung einzelner "Masken" und "Rollen".¹⁰

The friendship between Pünktchen and Anton offers the experience of a mutual emotional affinity beyond the control of "systemic imperatives." No matter that much of the communication between them involves nonverbal symbolic or intuitive understanding. The interest Pünktchen and Anton develop for one another expresses itself in each small act of mutual assistance throughout the story: Anton defends

Pünktchen against Gottfried Klepperbein's extortions; he finds practical solutions to problems such as teaching Pünktchen's dachshund Piefke not to tug at the leash; he deduces that "Robert der Teufel" has extracted the keys to Pogge's house from Fräulein Andacht. Pünktchen, for her part, intercedes for Anton at school, slips him the money she collects selling matches, and helps resolve a misunderstanding between Anton and his mother. Kästner described his idea of friendship in the eighth "Nachdenkerei" of the novel, "Von der Freundschaft:"

Pünktchen braucht keinen Dank. Die Tat selber ist der Lohn. Alles andere würde die Freude eher verkleinern als vergrößern.

Ich wünsche jedem von euch einen guten Freund. Und ich wünsche jedem von euch die Gelegenheit zu Freundschaftsdiensten, die er jenem ohne sein Wissen erweist. Haltet euch dazu zu erfahren, wie glücklich es macht, glücklich zu machen! (172)

Kästner's explicit pronouncement that friendly acts themselves provide a source of happiness adds to the message of the novel: His characters learn and gain from one another in personal, equal relationships and break down some of the "masks" and roles. The author stresses that such friends educate one another and, as Kon also points out, friendships grant feelings of fortitude and self-worth.¹¹

For Pogge, first the shock and bewilderment of discovering his little girl begging, and then his acquaintance

with Anton ("so fleißig, so anständig, so tapfer und so ehrlich..." [217]) open his eyes to the lack of freedom and meaning in his own life. The "Direktor" thereafter dedicates himself to attending personally to Pünktchen's welfare. In addition, for times when managerial duties demand his attention, he secures the services of the perfect mother, accompanied by her "model son." A domineering Frau Pogge, against whom the narrator explicitly incites the animosity of the reader, fails to learn the value of giving of herself for Pünktchen's welfare. In the end Pogge suddenly asserts himself and humbles his wife into a more submissive role in the family. Once again, Kästner remains true to his image of women whose only proper social function is to be mothers and keepers of the home. The "bad" mother is replaced by a "good" one. Pünktchen then becomes more than a servant's responsibility, while Pogge also rescues the Gasts from the jurisdiction of the social welfare agency. However, the narrator does offer a caveat to this "happy" ending. He admits that the case he recounts is an exception, and admonishes the reader to work actively toward mutual understanding among people.

Despite all his charitable statements, reviews and scholarship have repeatedly denounced Kästner's appeal for the alleviation of poverty and class tensions as a poor bromide, that he misconceived the real economic relations of

the time. "'Pünktchen und Anton' ist ein schlechtes Buch."¹² So begins one typical critique of Kästner's second published effort in young people's literature. First, the poor remain in servitude to the wealthy in the end, which was an affront to critics of the left. Second, the book's naive moralizing and striving for effect irritated the pedagogical establishment.¹³ In Pünktchen und Anton, Kästner nevertheless confronted, if subtly, a critical problem of modernity: Rationalization of life disrupted communication between persons and social systems. Beyond the book's simplistic ideology and stylistic flaws, an underlying disillusionment with the Weimar Republic pervades the text. For rich families to adopt the poor ones was not a feasible solution in a mass social democracy. Rather, the moral in Pünktchen fell in line with the convictions of monarchists who wished to return Germany to the era of Prussian socialism. In a crisis, Kästner turned away from the modernism and socialist leanings with which he was associated, and assumed a sentimental, anti-modernist position in his solution to social rationalization.

Although Pünktchen und Anton sold well, and does so even today, critics have always condemned the novel's moralizing, melodrama and distortion of social realities.¹⁴ This depression-age parable of class harmony naively suggests that the wealthy should create a just society by

freely opening their hearts, homes and wallets to the poor. Kästner's specious reality professed a social harmony as a utopia of reason and tolerance -- a modern "Märchenwelt."¹⁵ In this world the rich discover the benefits -- and necessity -- of philanthropy; the poor learn to subsume their grievances under displays of probity and industry, transposing their conflicts into subjective, individual spheres. The locus of social problems and solutions rests with the individual. Kästner's "particularistic" approach allows him to construct a reality on his own terms, removed from real people and events. In his stories for young people, as many have noted, he conveniently omitted consideration of political solutions in favor of depicting one person's masterful surmounting of adverse situations.

In the novel, the actual root of the problem becomes obscured in the rush toward a propitious conclusion. For both the Gasts and the Pogges, the disruptive situations arise from the usurpation of life into depersonalized systems. Pünktchen and Anton resist the power of bureaucracy and propriety, but in the end nothing really changes for the general betterment of young people's lot, except that now Anton may retreat with Pünktchen into the carefree fantasyland of a sheltered child's world: After the unwhimsical Anton moves into the Pogge household, he and Pünktchen embark on an imaginary ocean adventure, during

which they deplete their provisions. When their "boat" finally lands, they pretend to be starving castaways, while in reality they have just gorged themselves with their "food supplies" (212). With this closing episode, Kästner unintentionally elicited a particularly grotesque effect when one recalls the masses of hungry children who were actually living in Berlin.

Three Friends and their Families

as an Ideological Triad:

Alex Wedding's Ede und Unku

Ede und Unku (1931) by Alex Wedding (Grete Weiskopf, 1905-1966) ranks foremost in the Marxist heritage of children's books from prewar Germany. While her novel contains the requisite elements of socialist realism (authenticity, socialist struggle, optimism, the typified and ideal hero), the characters do not forfeit credibility to larger-than-life revolutionary heroics. Instead, Wedding was consciously responding to Pünktchen und Anton, and refuting critical distortions in Kästner's fabricated reality. In real life, social castes did not reach a harmonious understanding and no widespread magnanimity of the wealthy appeared imminent. In contrast to the spontaneous harmony in Kästner's novel, Ede, Unku and Maxe, all from poor families, learn from each other about the material and political struggles of workers and of other underprivileged people. Kästner's Pünktchen encounters but never comprehends or absorbs any part of Anton's experience of poverty. Kästner, who in his time redefined the art of writing books for young people, implicitly denied that young people

understood or should take part in political issues, which incited Alex Wedding's literary retaliation. Wedding stressed that factory owners and their middle-class lackeys, despite specious generosity, exploited workers and would never freely share the wealth.

Born Margarete Bernheim (Alex Wedding composed her pseudonym from the names of two well-known working-class districts of Berlin, Alexanderplatz and Wedding) in Salzburg on 11 May 1905, Wedding left home and began working at age 17. In 1925, after holding various jobs and living in the "Mietskasernen" in Innsbruck, she settled in Berlin and joined the Communist Party. In the German capital she found employment as a stenographer, bankteller and finally as a journalist. In 1928 she married Franz Weiskopf, who was a writer, journalist and later became an ambassador from the GDR. They were both founding members of the Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller (BPRS). Her involvement with Malik Verlag and Die Linkskurve (the journal of the BPRS) inspired Wedding's first major literary effort in 1931, a contribution to young people's literature entitled Ede und Unku. This debut began a career in children's literature that continued throughout the exile years during the war until her death in Berlin, GDR in 1966.¹⁶

Ede und Unku reflects the program of the BPRS in that it portrays the contemporary class conflict of Berlin's

working-class youth. However, Wedding did not extend contemporaneousness far enough for some Marxist critics. One reviewer criticized the lack of references to specific current events, to conditions in city schools and to activities of the communist youth organization, the Young Pioneers.¹⁷ As Hermine Scheibe points out in her monograph on Alex Wedding, these critics essentially accepted documentary literature alone as the acceptable genre for the proletariat.¹⁸ Otherwise, Marxist writers such as Hermynia zur Mühlen and Edwin Hoernle had been relying on fairy tales in order to reveal through analogy the underlying dynamics of class repression, in terms children, and other readers not educated in the bourgeois tradition, could grasp. Although she based her characters on young people whom she actually knew, Wedding trimmed some of the detailed reporting from her story for the sake of economy.¹⁹ Although Ede is compared with Kästner's books, the main characters of Wedding's book do not represent paragons of virtue. Political and social issues affect all facets of personal and familial existence. Wedding demonstrated in Ede und Unku that, depending on circumstances and traditions, the family was not a uniformly structured institution. Kästner intimated in his books for young people that only the family (for Kästner, consisting of a benign or absent father, a saintly mother and a model child) assures security and

social stability. Wedding shows that, in reality, differently disposed families contend with political and economic problems in different ways.

Synopsis: Ede Sperling, twelve years old, lives with his parents and with his sixteen-year-old sister. The father had worked at Turbine AEG as a lathe operator for twenty years, until one day he receives notice of immediate dismissal, leaving the family with no means of support.²⁰ Ede believes he must now seek work until his father finds employment again.

Herr Klabunde, the father of Ede's friend Maxe, actively participates to mobilize the workforce at AEG. Sperling's prejudices against Communists and lack of insight into the worker's condition prevent him from perceiving the causes of his exploitation; he forbids Ede from further contact with Maxe. However, Ede immediately seeks out his older friend for advice on how he might earn some money for his family.

While looking for Maxe in the amusement park, Ede strikes up a friendship with a Gypsy girl named Unku. Ede is intrigued with her, despite the influence of his father's severe prejudices against Gypsies. Because of the novelty and exotic aura of the Gypsies, Ede accepts Unku's invitation to visit her and her family at the wagons that serve as their homes. The next day Ede finally finds Maxe. Maxe's mother works for a local newspaper and finds a position for Ede as a delivery boy. In the meantime, Ede's father is following another lead. That evening the retired "Oberpostsekretär," Herr Abendstund, pays a visit. The author presents Abendstund as a sanctimonious philistine, a typical member of the bourgeoisie who lives from a comfortable pension and a substantial inheritance. The Sperlings bear the intrusions, patronization, platitudes and boorish humor because they believe he may use his influence to regain employment for Ede's father.

On his own, however, Ede begins to learn a great deal about the world. On the day that Ede begins his delivery route, Maxe's father instructs the two boys with a proletarian parable, "Die Insel der faulen Fische." This robinsonade

illustrates that the means of production themselves do not exploit the workers. Rather, it is the exploiters controlling those means who cause oppression: On a deserted island, three strong boys among ten control the fishnet. Only the solidarity of the remaining seven wrests the distribution of production from the power of the few.

Ede does not receive lessons solely from parables. Through the help of his friends he has a small means of income and has even procured the bicycle necessary for his job, which contribute to his new sense of responsibility. By this time father Sperling accepts an offer through Herr Abendstund for temporary employment. Ede's jubilation dims when Maxe tells of the massive strike at AEG and that Abendstund has obviously set Ede's father up in a dangerous operation to send in scab labor (Sperling believes his experience secured for him his preferred status, not his past activity as a strikebreaker). Ede turns off the alarm clock and his father misses work.

Ede Sperling's father has softened considerably in temperament since the beginning of the story: The Sperlings actually receive the Gypsy girl Unku as a respected guest; they even grant Ede permission to spend his summer vacation in the country with Unku's family. Sperling remains unaware that he narrowly misses a clash between strikers and scabs that results in many injuries. Moreover, police are searching for Maxe Klabunde's father, who was fighting strikebreakers. Ede locates Maxe's father and brings him to the Sperling's apartment. When they arrive, Abendstund has returned to offer Sperling another chance at the temporary position. Ede exposes Abendstund's true motives, with the proof in newspaper. Sperling ejects Abendstund and accepts Klabunde into his home. The novel ends with a tableau of solidarity: With a comradely handshake, Sperling declares that he will stand at the strikepost in Klabunde's place.

Ede und Unku deals at length with Ede's learning experiences, which arise after Sperling's unemployment places hardships upon the family. The childhood myth of "delivery

boy to millionaire," a commonplace at that time, fades in the face of harsh reality. Work and ingenuity may keep the impoverished from starvation, but industriousness offers no guarantees. As a reward for his sweat and frugality, Sperling is summarily dismissed from his job:

"Einfach aufs Pflaster ohne Dankeschön. Ich seh' keinen Ausweg. Ich war heut auf der Stempelstelle, da gibt's auch erst in vier Wochen Geld. Weil ich so lang in Arbeit war, haben sie mir gesagt. Naja, es sind jetzt immerhin bald an die zwanzig Jahre her. Das hat man nun davon." (81-82)²¹

Ede eventually becomes aware that his father's prejudices and blind faith in the system contributed to their misfortunes. Sperling does not believe that AEG fails to respect the loyalty and integrity of a senior worker. Moreover, he regards the Communists, who are fighting layoffs and paycuts, as a threat to his meager, hard-earned savings.

Unemployment softens father Sperling's authoritarian attitudes markedly. Ede observes that his father's tyrannical domination of the household relaxes: "Wenn Vater zu Hause war, wurden Ede und Lieschen immer ängstlich und eingeschüchtert. 'Kinder haben zu gehorchen und den Erwachsenen nicht zu widersprechen', war sein Grundsatz" (12). Corporal punishment and brutal patriarchal authority subside when he can no longer provide for the family and must humble himself to Abendstund in the hope of some small

intercession. Ede quickly realizes that Abendstund's optimism and admonitions to humility are insincere. As in many stories, the young person has a naive integrity and senses ulterior motives before adults do: "Überhaupt eine lächerliche Figur, dieser Herr Oberpostsekretär. Nun, das war Abendstund schon immer gewesen, aber Ede merkte es erst jetzt. Denn er sah die Welt, seit Vater arbeitslos war, mit neuen Augen. Und hörte mit neuen Ohren" (90). Ede's family must now reorder their lives in order to avert economic catastrophe. The redefinition of roles in the family, as each member adjusts to compensate for the lost income, erodes the father's hegemony over their lives.

Ede's new role begins with lessons on the benefits and hazards of social responsibility. First he secures work for which he is legally under age, then assumes the risk of purchasing the tool of his trade, a bicycle, on credit. Ede's fortunate breakthroughs occur, however, only because his friends assist him: Maxe leads him to his job, Unku lends him five marks toward the down payment on the bicycle and helps him deliver his newspapers on time.

Maxe and Unku also enlighten Ede about important social issues. For example, they clarify that information should precede agitation in class struggles. Maxe reproaches Ede for not having read about the strikes at AEG, where their fathers were employed (Ede has been reading only the

children's section of the newspaper). The novel presents public awareness and involvement as vital to the workers' causes. Only the printed word finally convinces Ede's father that Abendstund indeed was setting up unsuspecting unemployed workers as strikebreakers. This realization of betrayal in turn forces Sperling's decisive shift of allegiance from the company to the strikers. By inciting interest in current events, Maxe helps draw Ede out of the children's world and makes him receptive to relevant social questions.

Ede's father gradually changes his political convictions and his racial prejudices disappear. By the time Ede announces to the family that he has secured a position as a newspaper carrier, Sperling has in five days transformed from a domestic despot into a benign figurehead (a weak expedient, according to some critics).²² Suddenly, Sperling not only tolerated Ede's contact with Gypsies, but "Vater schien geradezu versessen darauf zu sein, Unku alle Ehren zu erweisen. Abendstund hätte er nicht besser empfangen können" (189). No clear process of conversion accounts for the father's enlightenment. The reader can only infer from the context how and why Sperling modifies his attitudes.

As in Pünktchen und Anton, the novel culminates in the enlightenment of an adult. Although Wedding did not depict emotional upheavals that could have transformed Sperling's

anger and brooding desperation into sympathetic understanding, she aptly arranged circumstances that could contribute to changes in attitudes. At the very beginning of the book, Wedding described the routine of a typical weekend for the Sperlings. Each week father brings home his wages and they celebrate with a special outing. On Sunday the adults regularly meet with friends and associates in the local tavern. But the traditions and hierarchy crumble with Sperling's dismissal because the regimentation of their lives breaks down without dependable income. The loyal company veteran and former strikebreaker loses more than money. The firm that has empowered Sperling to be the provider and as such the ultimate authority of his home and family, shatters the man's power and beliefs -- and in effect his identity. At once he becomes isolated from all previous associates connected with the workplace and his investment club. (Sperling's despair translates at first into a violent reaction: Ede notes that his father has dispensed with his regular Sunday cigar, a mark of his paternal authority. The boy attempts to assuage his father's grief with a half-smoked cigar that Unku purloined from her grandmother. This gesture drives home to Sperling his weakened position in the family. For all Ede's good intentions, he receives a sound thrashing.) Sperling resorts first to humble pleas that

Abendstund intercede in some way on his behalf, to which his respected friend replies only with empty platitudes.

Isolated from former affiliations, Ede's father is open to new associations with those in like situations. Sperling receives a hard lesson when AEG, an impersonal and ruthless corporation, dismisses him. He then begins to see that the 130,000 metal workers, who are striking against wage cuts and layoffs, represent his interests. When Ede exposes Abendstund's deceptive ploy to recruit Sperling for scab labor, the company's indifference to worker's lives and its ingratitude to employees shock the father into solidarity with the strikers. In this respect, Ede does not convert his father the way Pünktchen shocks Pogge into assuming familial responsibilities. The inhumanity and arbitrary abuses in the economic system divert his primary concerns away from the private realm of the family toward the community of workers.

At the risk of psychologizing the character of Sperling, one must note that an improbable short circuit from despotism to benevolence takes place. Such initially narrow views and cold authority in the home would more readily incline toward another kind of "revolution," one in the name of fascism (a reaction we shall observe in Lisa Tetzner's Erwin und Paul). Wedding established the conditions for a shift in consciousness regarding the economic system, but no

evidence arises that would explain the father's sudden abandonment of deep-seated prejudices against Gypsies and Communists. The loss of employment no doubt disturbs or destroys familiar patterns of thought and behavior, yet evidence from the text fails to support conjectures explaining Sperling's sudden graciousness toward Gypsies.

Wedding does emphasize with the character of Sperling that petit bourgeois mentality embraces values and roles inappropriate to the problems and life of the worker. In contrast, Maxe Klabunde, the father of Ede's friend Maxe, represents Wedding's exemplary Communist. Not only do Klabunde's politics distinguish him from Sperling, but the interaction between Maxe and his parents sheds the authoritarian pall that stifles relations in the Sperling household. The equal distribution of privilege and responsibility in Maxe's family facilitates understanding, free exchange of ideas and opinions -- an openness that accelerates their abilities to learn and adapt when calamity strikes. Ede, conditioned by his father's notions, harbors severe apprehensions about meeting Maxe's family:

Auch Maxes Eltern kannte Ede noch nicht, und er war sehr gespannt, zu erfahren, wie Kommunisten eigentlich aussehen. Ob die sich nur im Flüsterton unterhalten, wie Diebe, oder Menschen, die etwas ausgefressen und Angst vor Polizei haben? Ede hatte auch ein bißchen Angst. Der Vater hatte doch gesagt, erinnerte er sich, daß die Roten

alles teilen wollen. Wenn er nun gar ohne Mantel nach Hause käme! (91)

To his pleasant surprise, he discovers that Communists bear no frightful stigmata. Not only may Ede speak his mind with Klabunde, the father himself respects young people's opinions as those of equals: "'Wenn du recht hast, laß ich mich gern von dir belehren,' sagte Vater Klabunde ernsthaft, 'ich hab' schon manches von Kindern gelernt!'" (96) In the Klabunde family, the parents do not impose beliefs and rules of behavior, but exchange ideas with one another. Because the father does not claim special power or truth, the potential for enlightenment liberates the family from a repressive work ethic, from patriarchal domination and from unquestioned obedience to those of higher social station: This openness applies both in the home and at the factory. Klabunde's association with his family allows the freedom to accept or reject assertions of truth and authority. Wedding demonstrates through Maxe, Ede and Klabunde that liberating communication from internal and external censorship must precede correct social consciousness. Only through communicative media, such as newspapers and free discussion, does Ede acquire a sense of justice -- not out of any innate awakenings.

Wedding, however, does not deny that an intuitive ethic plays a role in communism. For instance, Klabunde's parable

of the "Island of Rotten Fish" appeals to a self-evident ideal of equality in a just distribution of labor and goods, without resorting to political jargon. By implying that Gypsies also instinctively understand the kind of social justice for which communism stands, Wedding advocated the rights of a much despised cultural minority.

Through Ede's friendship with a Gypsy girl, Wedding made a statement on prejudice against subcultures and races, a problem not previously confronted in German literature for young people. By accepting Unku and the Gypsies, Ede and Maxe demonstrate that communism is universally tolerant of all ethnic groups and races. Wedding does burden her novel with lugubrious pleas for the plight of the oppressed. Indeed, Unku turns out to be more exuberant than any other character of the novel in spite of privation. The girl's vitality, pride in her family and support for Ede all refute the bigoted image of Gypsies as subhumans. Although they live in even worse poverty than the Sperlings and lead a nomadic existence, Unku and her family dispel the prejudice that Gypsies are mongrels of humanity that prey on the property and even on the children of "normal" citizens: "Donnerwetter! Das ist ja noch interessanter als in einem Indianerbuch!" (51) exclaims Ede at his first encounter with Unku; the author emphasizes Ede's and Maxe's thrill for an

adventure into a new cultural experience, which overrides their superstitions.²³

Ede first encounters the poor girl shivering from the cold as she waits to bring the family's horse back from the amusement park. As he offers Unku his jacket, the voice of bigotry sounds from another passing youth:

"Na, die geht wohl auf Kinderfang aus, die Zigeunersche?" mischte sich ein dicker Junge ein, der bis zur Nase in einem Wollschal steckte.

"Mensch, hau bloß ab, sonst machen die Zigeuner noch Hackepeter aus dir!"

Ede sah den Jungen mit großen Augen an. "Hm? Was sagst du da?"

"Na, das kennt man doch!" rief der Junge und setzte eine wichtige Miene auf, "das pfeifen doch die Spatzen von den Dächern, daß die Zigeuner Kinder stehlen und dann schlachten! Und dann gibts Delikateßwürstchen und Hackepeter zu herabgesetzten Preisen!" Er feixte überlegen.

"Hier hast du deine Delikateßwürstchen!" rief Ede wütend, und der Junge hatte eine kräftige Backpfeife sitzen. (44-45)

Although Ede moves quickly in defense of Unku, she detects his own misgivings:

"Du glaubst also auch, daß wir Zigeuner Kinder schlachten?" würgte sie fassungslos hervor. Dann kamen ihr die Tränen.

"Nee...nee...das nicht gerade", stotterte Ede. "Aber...mein Vater hat mir mal gesagt, daß die Zigeuner Kinder stehlen...und daß sie auch sonst gern klauen."

"Ach, was sollten wir denn mit den Kindern machen? Wo wir doch selbst schon gerade genug sind! Und auch sonst klauen wir nicht! Wir klauen überhaupt nicht!" schluchzte Unku.

"Sei wieder lustig! Mach dir nichts draus!" bettelte Ede verzweifelt. "Ach, was einem die

Großen für einen Quatsch erzählen! Und ich Kamel glaub's auch noch!" (48)

Here as throughout the text, Ede identifies the source of his own bigotry in the closed mentality of adults, especially in that of his father.

When Ede first meets Unku, the reader learns that the Gypsy family exists on means even more meager than any poor worker's family:

"Und wie sieht's denn im Wagen aus?" erkundigte sich Ede neugierig.

Unku seufzte tief.

"Wirst schon selbst sehen. So fein wie bei euch ist's natürlich nicht. Du wohnst doch in einem richtigen Haus. Da wird's dir nicht gerade gefallen bei uns!"

"Bist du 'ne ulkige Nudel!" rief Ede ausgelassen. "Bei euch ist's sicher viel schöner und lustiger. Was soll daran sein, an so einer Wohnkiste?"

"Aber ihr habt doch so 'ne Treppen, wo man rauf und runterlaufen kann?" Unku blickte verträumt drein.

"Na, Fahrstuhl habe wir ja leider nicht! Und die Rolltreppen werden auch erst bestellt." Ede grinste.

Bei uns ist's gar nicht schön", meinte Unku bekümmert. "Ein Schritt, -- und du sitzt schon auf der Großmutter oder trittst der Brabbi auf den Schwanz, bevor du noch Guten Tag gesagt hast! Und ich lauf sooo gern Treppen!"

"Ach, wenn's weiter nichts ist! Treppensteigen kannst du bei uns, soviel du Lust hast!" wollte Ede rufen, doch fiel ihm der Vater ein, und er schwieg betreten.

"Habt ihr auch eine Wasserleitung und ein Wasserklosett mit 'nem Zug, wie in der Schule?" fragte Unku interessiert.

"Klar! Was denn sonst?"

"Na, ihr lebt ja wie die Grafen! Wir müssen das Wasser aus dem Brunnen pumpen und in den Wagen

schleppen. Und auf dem ganzen Hof steht bloß ein Häuschen. Da gehn alle Leute rauf. Es ist immer besetzt. Und wenn der Wind weht, fürcht ich immer, es wird ein Zeppelin daraus und ich mach 'nen Gratisrundflug über Berlin, -- aber ohne Fallschirm!" (53-54)

Through various sources of income, such as peddling their handicrafts and other goods, Unku's extended family manages to live without modern conveniences in three wagons on a vacant lot. Unku's grandmother, the senior member of this clan, presides over the affairs of the family. In fact, no mention of Unku's father appears; the only adult male in the group, Uncle Nucki, is clearly subordinate to the grandmother. The Gypsies in Ede und Unku represent matriarchal proto-communism in modern times. Indeed, the city of Berlin, with its racial animosity and harassments from police, provides only winter quarters and an opportunity for Unku to obtain some formal education. In the summer the clan migrates into the countryside and lives off the land. The connection between the spirit of communism and the lives of the Gypsies becomes evident when Unku invites Ede to join her family in the country during the summer vacation:

"Fein," sagte Ede und verlangsamte das Tempo, "sag mal, geht Turant dann auch handeln?"
 "Nee, da ist doch fast niemand", antwortete Unku und baumelte mit den Beinen. "Die Bauern jagen auch die Hunde auf uns. Aber dort brauchen wir auch kein Geld. Du, die Äpfel und die Kirschen und die Pflaumen von den Bäumen, die schmecken vielleicht! Und die Fische aus den

Bächen, Ede! Die fang ich selbst mit einer Strippe!"

"Also du klaust doch!" rief Ede entsetzt und vergaß vor Schreck in die Pedale zu treten.

Unku wurde ganz rot.

"Mensch, ich würde ganz gern wie ein Millionär ins Hotel gehen und von der meterlangen Speisekarte bestellen", verteidigte sie sich wütend.

"Dir klaue ich nichts. Aber wenn einem der Magen knurrt, und die Äpfel hängen von den Bäumen? Und die Fische schwimmen im Wasser? Du bist wohl doof, Junge?"

"Ja, ja, die Fische schwimmen im Wasser. Eigentlich...Der Herr Klabunde sagt auch, alles müßte allen gehören und jeder, der arbeitet, müßte satt werden", gab Ede zu. "Daran ist schon was Wahres. Mädchen, das muß ich mir ganz scharf überlegen!" (166-67)

Significantly, Ede himself associates the Gypsies' free appropriation of fruits and fish with Klabunde's fable about the island of rotten fish and control over the products of labor. Mother and father Sperling grant permission for the express reason that Ede's health might benefit from rural life. Wedding addressed the urban political struggle with an allegory of the primitive communistic ideal, making the concept palpable to the Berlin youth of 1929 by favorably depicting the communal world of Gypsy clans. Wedding entwines Klabunde's parable and the nomadic subculture of the Gypsies in a novel about a strike at a factory in Berlin in order to convey one truth about modern political struggles: Only the solidarity of all oppressed people, including the young, can contend against economic and cultural injustices.

Wedding organized the literary depiction of Ede's, Maxe's and Unku's families according to three tenets that communism embraced: First, the Sperlings demonstrate that the failure of the capitalist system will force the workers to abandon bourgeois ideals and to join in solidarity with the proletarian revolution. Second, equality and mutual respect between Maxe and his parents associate correct consciousness with openness and the free exchange of ideas. They achieve this freedom of expression when they renounce traditional pretensions of authority and material accumulation. Third, with an insight into "clear truth," in the sense that Maxim Gorki expressed in his famous novel Mother,²⁴ Wedding acknowledges through Unku and the Gypsy clan that communism does not merely exist as a political program. Wedding did not actually proffer the Gypsy life as a feasible alternative to industrialized society. In the novel's ideological triad -- Sperling the unenlightened worker, Klabunde the enlightened worker and the Gypsies as cultural outsiders -- the author conveyed the moral lessons of tolerance and social cooperation most strongly through the example of Unku's family. Although Marxists generally believed that the proletarian revolution could occur only in an advanced industrialized society, Wedding emphasized with Ede und Unku that other cultures, such as an agrarian or nomadic one, could embrace communistic values. By depicting

a communal society outside the context of the factory and tenement, she stressed that class struggle was not only a material conflict, but one of principles as well.

Of course, Unku lived in no primeval idyll. In fact, at the time Gypsies suffered more in Berlin from poverty and alienation from society than any other social group. In writing Ede und Unku, Wedding was reacting against "bourgeois humanism" in young people's literature, specifically against Erich Kästner. She naturally rejected the idea that the upper class would willingly relinquish their wealth. Unku, the poorest of the poor, can afford to offer Ede the opportunity to live with them for a summer vacation in the countryside. Wedding shows that the poor can help themselves with means other than wealth.

In Pünktchen und Anton, Kästner salvaged the sanctity of the children's world as both the rich girl and poor boy retreat into carefree fantasy. Kästner echoed more his adult wishes than concerns for poor young people. In contrast, Wedding underscored that adult problems involved everyone in the family. Moreover, social and familial roles were not fixed and uniform. Families adapted in order to best survive economic depression during the Weimar Republic. Both authors have actually directed more attention toward illuminating adults, with young people doing the educating. Indeed, in all three of these "instrumental friendship"

novels, most adults offer negative examples of social behavior. What stands out most in Ede und Unku is that when the three families are no longer isolated from one another, the future brightens. Young characters contribute most to the cause of social justice because they are able to channel communication and understanding through social barriers and prejudices.

Friendship as a Corrective to
the Indifference of Social Mechanisms:

Lisa Tetzner's Erwin und Paul

Lisa Tetzner's (1894-1963) first stories about Erwin and Paul, like Wedding's Ede und Unku and Kästner's Pünktchen und Anton, focused on the poor working-class of Berlin in the last years of the Weimar Republic. However, Tetzner reflected less on the familial relationships and the education of adults. Instead, she directed her attention more to aspects of life specific to young people. The author's early experiences as a wandering storyteller influenced her approach to writing about the lives of poor urban youth.

Lisa Tetzner defied the wishes of her father, a physician in Saxony, when she insisted on obtaining an advanced education: "Endlich durfte ich die soziale Frauenschule in Berlin besuchen. Das klang nach Wohltätigkeit und erschien meinem Vater 'standesgemäß'."²⁵ She found employment in Berlin at the welfare agency and juvenile courts. Inspired by a wandering Danish storyteller, she dedicated herself to the art of narrating folktales. At the university in Berlin, Professor Emil Milan became her mentor and guided her through coursework in public speaking and acting. Tetzner

embarked on a career as a storyteller after a meeting with the publisher Eugen Diederichs, one of the most prominent sponsors of the German Youth Movement. Diederichs' support led to her first book, Vom Märchenerzählen im Volk (1919). These collected reports of her experiences as a storyteller gained her recognition, awards and financing from ministries of culture throughout Southern and Western Germany. In the very year her first book appeared, she met Kurt Kläber (1897-1959), who was also wandering among the "Volk" as a bookmonger and storyteller. They were married in Düsseldorf in 1924 and collaborated on a number of projects, including books for young people, in particular Die schwarzen Brüder (1940-1941).

By the mid-1920s, Tetzner had become involved in literary circles that included such writers as Béla Balász (1886-1949) and Hermann Hesse. Allegedly through the influence of Kläber (who also wrote "Arbeiterdichtung" and worked as a journalist and editor) and of Balász, she began to alter her approach to storytelling: "Bald fand ich, ohne Charlotte Bühler²⁶ oder Wolgast²⁷ zu kennen, daß ab zwölf Jahren das Märchen der Jugend nicht mehr genügt. Die Lust am Geschichten hören und auch die Leselust sucht nach anderem Stoff."²⁸ She discovered new material even before her association with the "Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller."²⁹ Her collaboration with Balász produced a comedy for young

people, Hans Urian geht nach Brot (1929), from which Tetzner composed the novel Hans Urian (1929), a modern Märchen that incorporated contemporary political issues within a fantastic story. In her later reflections on Hans Urian, she recognized "Schwarzweißmalerei," "groteske Übertreibung," "kindlich(en) Wortschatz," in her early work. At the same time, however, Tetzner clearly demonstrated her leftist perspective in Hans Urian. In 1930, Die Linkskurve published the responses of writers to a survey of political opinions; Tetzner summarized her position as follows:

Aus historischen Notwendigkeiten glaube ich an den Aufstieg und die Befreiung des Proletariats und an einen dadurch bedingten vollständigen Systemwechsel des Wirtschaftslebens.

Die Erfolge im heutigen Rußland, innerhalb seines sozialen Aufbaues -- Liquidierung der Arbeitslosigkeit usw. -- überzeugen mich, daß bei einem solchen Systemwechsel auch in Deutschland und in den übrigen europäischen Ländern die Wirtschaftskrise beseitigt werden kann.³⁰

Despite participation in the proletarian revolutionary culture of Berlin, Tetzner had settled in Switzerland several years before and commuted to Berlin for the most part only to produce her young people's radio program as "Leiterin der Kinderstunde des Berliner Rundfunks." Through her "children's hour" she became involved with the lives of the young people with whom she worked. Tetzner began to record their experiences for her radio shows and books.

These stories and anecdotes eventually grew to the nine volumes of the "Kinderodyssee," Die Kinder aus Nr. 67, which followed the lives of several characters from the end of the Weimar Republic through exile and war:

Nur der Ruf der Berliner Funkstunde zur Leiterin der dortigen Märchenstunde führte mich zwangsmäßig wieder nach Berlin. Dort fand ich eine Berliner Spielschar, die ich dazu veranlaßte, Märchen und eigene Erlebnisse in der Jugendstunde zu spielen. Was geboren wurde, kam aus Stegreifspiel, der Inhalt von den Kindern, die Form von mir. Auf die Art entstanden auch die ersten vier Erzählungen der Kinder aus Nummer 67. Die Kinder waren mein Modell. Sie arbeiteten voll Eifer mit. Diese von mir sehr geliebte Schar flog 1933 in alle Himmelsrichtungen.³¹

The immediacy of storytelling sensitized Lisa Tetzner to an awareness of the individual, personal attitudes and concerns of her readers. Her method of retelling the young people's own stories engendered a remarkably stark realistic style.

Unfortunately, the first episodes of Die Kinder aus Nr. 67 appeared too late for contemporary reviews or significant response from the reading public.³² In the postwar reception of her "Children's Odyssey," neither East nor West German critics received these stories warmly. In one study from the GDR on the history of German children's literature, Ingmar Dreher identifies Tetzner's work after Hans Urian as bourgeois humanistic writing.³³ The use of the category "bourgeois humanism," a term with which Kästner's work has

been identified, misconstrues Tetzner's position toward young people and their literature in the early 1930s, even if the description more aptly applies to her later work. Her subjective, emotional approach allows the anger, determination and anguish of working-class youth to emerge without the moral absolutism and strains of pathos that characterize Kästner's work. According to the Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, because Tetzner was writing against the background of the rise of fascism and exile, her books reminded Germans in the Federal Republic more about the years between 1932 and 1945 than they cared to recall:

Unter Verzicht auf phantastische Elemente ging sie politische und soziale Probleme direkter an als zum Beispiel Erich Kästner (1899-1974). Das gilt in erster Linie für ihr vorwiegend in der Emigration entstandenes Zentralwerk, die neunbändige Kinderodyssee, in der die zwölf Jahre Faschismus und Krieg an den Erlebnissen einer Gruppe von Kindern in all ihrer Brutalität geschildert werden. Die erschütternde Realistik war wohl mit dem Grund dafür, daß dieses vielbändige Erzählwerk in der Bundesrepublik kaum Eingang fand.³⁴

For the first time an author actually listened to the voices of young people in Berlin. In the two stories that comprise the first volume of Die Kinder aus Nr. 67, we find that the problems of adults in the factory and home are not the main focus. Class struggles and family tragedies are not central concerns for the young characters, even if unemployment and domestic violence are evident in the stories. Rather,

Tetzner addressed herself to problems more specific to Berlin's working-class children. Her bleak, authentic picture shows youths stealing food to survive and having no other playground than the streets. (The later volumes, however, forfeited much of the vital intimacy with living subjects that distinguished Tetzner from Kästner and even from Wedding.)

"Das gestohlene Brot," originally entitled simply Erwin und Paul when first published as a separate work,³⁵ introduces the two main characters in the tenement of an unnamed working-class district of Berlin. The "stolen bread" refers to Paul taking bread and milk, an act of desperation in the face of hunger. With the example of Paul the author illustrates a lesson on "mitigating circumstances."

Synopsis: Paul Richter's father loses his position as machinist in a factory where he had worked for fifteen years. Rather than immediately grasp the situation and undertake measures to offset the loss, however, Paul finds himself in a state of hopelessness and confusion. Hunger further distracts and depresses him. His father's unemployment suddenly changes his whole world and estranges Paul from his best friend, Erwin Brackmann: Paul can no longer afford to accompany Erwin and father Brackmann on weekend outings; Paul suddenly resents Erwin's preoccupation with his butterfly collection after hobbies, games and other pastime activities lose meaning under the oppression of hunger. Paul soon resorts to stealing bread and milk from the doorsteps of the other tenants. Erwin overhears the complaints from the baker's customers and offers to play detective in order to solve this scandal. When he discovers that Paul had been committing these "crimes," he

faces a dilemma: Should Erwin expose his best friend? Following the advice of his father, Erwin invites Paul to take his midday meals with the Brackmanns. He is later able to convince the same baker to hire Paul as an assistant to the delivery boy. Paul can now earn his daily "Brötchen" plus a little pocket money. While Erwin arranges things, however, Paul believes that Erwin had betrayed him and runs away, hoping to escape to America. Erwin catches up with him and the story ends on a note of cautious hope.

"Das gestohlene Brot" briefly illustrates two moral and practical lessons: First, hunger and poverty creates mitigating circumstances, though they do not entirely exonerate Paul of his transgressions. Second, social agencies fail to counsel or even feed destitute children. A loyal, resourceful friend such as Erwin learns to understand Paul's dilemma between honesty and hunger and comes to his aid. In contrast with Kästner's Anton, who in the end finds himself comfortably ensconced in a wealthy household, the favorable outcome here holds no glowing promise for Paul's future. Nor does the novel conclude with a hope for eventual change, as Wedding's novel intimates with the gesture of solidarity between Klabunde and Sperling at the end of Ede und Unku. Tetzner dispensed with most of the typologies, on which Kästner and Wedding relied, and which she herself had used in Hans Urian. In Erwin und Paul, moreover, the author's projections are less ambitious than to envision the elimination of poverty or the solidarity of the working class.

Tetzner located a relatively insignificant incident around which she constructed her didactic theme. The two episodes about Paul and Erwin convey the message that productive friendship requires mature insight and sympathy, and that children can grow out of self-centered attitudes and into a social awareness.

Before Paul's father loses his job, both Paul and Erwin live relatively unaffected by any lack of means. Their fathers provide food and clothing, and the youths find adequate distractions through their pastime activities, such as their weekly outings with Erwin's father. Everything changes, however, when one father becomes unemployed: "Nun war das Wort gefallen, vor dem sich Paul so gefürchtet hatte. Ein kleiner Junge, dessen Vater in die Fabrik geht, weiß, daß sich das ganze Leben verändert, wenn die tägliche Arbeit wegfällt" (15). Thereafter, Paul feels estranged from others, including Erwin: "Denn die Sache mit Erwin quälte ihn am meisten. Seit sein Vater arbeitslos ist, da ist das keine richtige Freundschaft mehr" (17). Paul's friends and teacher note his deteriorating condition, yet they do not comprehend the extent of his hunger. When Paul is finally driven to take the fresh bread and milk, the narrator interrupts the story and addresses the reader directly:

In den großen Gerichten, wenn die erwachsenen Leute sich mit diesen Fragen beschäftigen, da gibt es "mildernde Umstände". Wißt ihr, was mildernde Umstände sind? Bei Paulchen sagen wir in diesem Fall kurzweg: der Hunger. Darum bitte ich euch, denkt nur nicht gleich, von jetzt an ist der Paul aus der Geschichte ein schlechtes Kind. Das war er ganz gewiß nicht.

Ich glaube, ihr könnt euch alle selbst an die Nase greifen, wenn ihr ein wenig nachdenkt. Denn wer von euch hat noch nie etwas Unrechtes an sich genommen -- irgendein Stück Schokolade oder ein Stück Kuchen, das er nicht nehmen sollte und trotzdem heimlich und unerlaubt aufschleckte?
(21-22)

Paul commits theft, an act to which Kästner's Anton would never resort.³⁶ Ede could only justify stealing from someone who is wealthy, such as Abendstund. Paul steals from his working-class neighbors and, nonetheless, the author maintains that he does not bear full responsibility for his crime. However, someone must rectify the problem because of the unwarranted hardship that the thefts cause the victims and innocent parties, such as Gustav, the bakery's delivery boy, who becomes the prime suspect. Most importantly, Tetzner's didactic intrusion into the narrative admonishes readers to ponder the circumstances and to reflect critically on their own behavior before passing judgment on Paul. Tetzner did not go so far as to preach self-castigation, as Kästner did in the "Nachdenkereien" of Pünktchen und Anton.³⁷ In fact, where Kästner has created set models of good and bad behavior through his typed

characters, whose personalities are determined by inherent traits, Tetzner emphasized the influence of environment and social context in actions. If any character is at fault, the narrator points out that Erwin bears guilt for not understanding that Paul steals in order to keep from starving.

As the instances of missing bread-and-milk orders become chronic, the baker accuses the delivery boy. He believes the youth's steadfast denials of guilt, suspecting that some transient has been helping himself to an easy breakfast. Erwin eagerly avails himself of the opportunity to play detective. If his venture succeeds and he discovers the thief, the baker will reward him with ten slices of cream torte. Paul scoffs at Erwin's childish antics while concealing his own fears. When Erwin finally observes his friend taking food, Tetzner's authorial advice echoes in Erwin's rationalization of Paul's stealing:

'Aber er ist ein Dieb, ich habe es selber gesehen.' Erwin blickte Paul von der Seite an. So also sah ein Dieb aus. Erst jetzt fiel es ihm auf, wie mager er war. Und plötzlich erschrak Erwin. Natürlich, deshalb nahm er auch die Brötchen. Er nahm sie aus -- Hunger. Daran hatte er gar nicht gedacht. Doch wenn nun jeder, der hungrig war, einfach hinging und sich wegnahm, was er haben wollte, dann käme die ganze Welt in Unordnung. Dann konnte sich keiner mehr auf den anderen verlassen. Dann war nichts mehr sicher.

Außerdem -- überlegte Erwin -- er würde nie trockene Brötchen wegnehmen. Auch nichts anderes. Plötzlich wurde er rot. Er spürte richtig, wie es

ihm heiß unter den Haaren herauflief. Nichts wegnehmen? Er hatte doch kürzlich erst aus der Dose ein Stück Schokolade weggenommen, das Mutter dort aufhob, und einige Tage vorher war er in die Küche gegangen und hatte sich vom Sonntagskuchen heimlich ein Stück abgeschnitten, weil ihn so danach gelüstete. Da hatte sein Vater hinterher zu ihm gesagt: "Was soll daraus werden, wenn man sich nicht mehr auf dich verlassen kann?" (33-34)

As events unfold, the narrator's didactic pleas for human understanding acquire a moralizing tone. In yet another reprise of the author's message, Erwin's father, portrayed as an exceptionally wise adult, remarks that the essential problem of the tenement community arises from the lack of awareness and concern for others: "Denn da wohnen wir nun jahraus, jahrein unter einem Dach und kümmern uns so wenig umeinander, daß der eine nicht merkt, wie schlecht es dem andern geht" (37). At first glance, the call for charity in the cause of one's neighbor, together with the assertion that we must not permit disorder in society, seem to echo the sentiments of Erich Kästner, the self-proclaimed "Schulmeister." The idea of a charitable community connotes the traditional Christian dictate to "love thy neighbor." The capitalist state traditionally supports private charitable initiatives not only to indulge Christian morality, but because private organizations absolve a government of responsibility for the poor. Moreover, if Tetzner had touted a revolutionary line, she would have praised theft

because the hungry should rightfully plunge the capitalist world into chaos. Before dismissing Erwin and Paul as "bourgeois humanism," however, one must recall that Tetzner was indeed condoning an illegal action, implying that, in times of inhuman conditions, moral absolutes change.

Sudden hardships that beset youths such as Paul induce a sudden awakening out of the child's world. Paul's crisis transforms his priorities from the weekend outings to keeping himself alive. Paul's "maturity," arising from the need to fight for survival, causes him to hold contempt for Erwin and the pastimes that seemed so natural before. Eventually, Erwin comprehends Paul's actions in light of mitigating circumstances, and with this knowledge, reflects critically upon his own deeds and motivations. Through his sympathy with Paul, Erwin acquires the competence to recognize that social concerns exist beyond narrow self-interests. Friendship educates both Erwin and Paul in this "interpersonal competence," helping them adapt to life in a modern urban society. In the transition from being a child to an adult, friends learn more about society from each other than from either the family or school. Erwin and Paul are a material asset to one another, they offer each other emotional refuge and they are initiated together into the harsh realities of the world. Igor Kon describes how, in modern

society, friendship socializes young people by enhancing their capacity to communicate:

Um das Verhältnis zwischen Freundschaft und Alter sowie die Veränderung ihrer psychischen Funktionen richtig einzuschätzen, muß man eine ganze Reihe zusammenhängender, aber relativ autonomer Prozesse auf einen Nenner bringen: 1. Wandlungen in der sozialen Lage und im Charakter der Tätigkeit des Kindes; 2. Änderung seines Interaktions- und Kommunikationskreises und dessen Differenzierungsgrades; 3. Entwicklung seines Selbstbewußtseins und seiner Reflexivität; 4. Entwicklung seiner kommunikativen Eigenschaften oder, wie einige Psychologen sagen, seiner interpersonalen Kompetenz.³⁸

"Das gestohlene Brot" is a didactic text that stresses knowledge and sympathy when judging another's actions. Tetzner also conveys the lesson that young people should critically evaluate their own deeds and motivations. Her idea of self-assessment differs from the example of Kästner's young characters, who chastise themselves for inadequate courage and self-control. The virtues in Kästner's novels impede communication; Tetzner showed that interpersonal understanding, not moral absolutes, is the key to overcoming problems.

In "Der Fußball," the episode following "Das gestohlene Brot," Erwin and Paul attempt to overcome the confinement of their housing block and city streets. They struggle to find free terrain and free time outside the demands of school and family, hoping for a chance to enjoy some modicum of

recreational activity. In their search, the two youths encounter the power of legal and welfare agencies over their lives as worsening poverty and the lack of playgrounds further degrades their already bleak existence.

Synopsis: None of the children actually want to play in the courtyard behind number 67, where they bang the trash cans and incur the wrath of adults who live in the tenements. Erwin becomes obsessed with earning enough money to purchase a soccer-ball. To this end he and Paul begin to shine shoes, carry bags, open doors and virtually beg for any pittance they can apply toward the astronomical price of ten marks. Several problems frustrate their efforts. The landlord evicts Paul's family from their apartment and they must move to a shelter for the homeless; Paul's mother contracts an illness. So that Paul's mother can obtain treatment, Erwin and Paul sacrifice money for a medical certificate. Finally, on his own, Erwin accumulates enough for the purchase. To their great disappointment, however, they can locate no legally approved place to set up a soccer match. After many thwarted attempts, Erwin directs his rage at a policeman who chases the gang off the park grounds. The policeman arrests Erwin and confiscates his ball. After a stern warning, Erwin and Paul return home. They painstakingly compose an angry letter to the mayor in which they relate their difficulties. Soon thereafter, Erwin receives a curt notice that he may retrieve his ball. Later that day they read an item in the newspaper announcing that certain streets will be temporarily blocked so that children may have places to play. Nonetheless, the story concludes with Erwin and Paul feeling cynical and embittered, and doubting that anyone actually cares for the youth of the city.

In this episode, the author dwells on the squalor and confinement that young people endured: Packs of children

scavenge for edible garbage; they play in the alleys and in the courtyards of slums. Most of their fathers are now unemployed. Joblessness offers one minor consolation: At least with adults at home, small children would no longer have to be tethered to the furniture in order to secure them while the parents are at work.

Confinement sums up Erwin's early childhood: "Und darum blieb Erwin die ersten vier Jahre seines Lebens angebunden, spielte mit Holzscheiten und Zeitungspapier und lauschte auf Schritte. Manchmal sah die Nachbarin nach ihnen und gab ihnen Brei" (44). Once out of the confines of the apartment, Erwin now rebels against the restrictions of the city, despite worsening conditions. Paul especially suffers from captivity and dejection; because of chronic unemployment his family loses its home, which is the concrete symbol and sphere of existence for the family. Without shelter, parents and children must deposit themselves in the city's human disposal system, the family "Asyle." Already the Mietskaserne, the modular apartment blocks into which the industrial workforce is packed, is debasing; the shelter for the homeless evokes further the conditions of a penal institution:³⁹

Er lief durch die ganze Barackenstadt. Ihm wurde beklommen und ängstlich. Alles hier war fremd und bedrückend. Endlich kam ein kleines Mädchen. Das kannte Paul Richter. Es nahm Erwin mit und führte

ihn durch einen großen Wohnraum. Hier hörte er laute Stimmen. An der einen Seite des Raumes stand ein langer Tisch. Männer saßen daran. Das waren alles Arbeitslose. Sie lasen Zeitung oder spielten Karten. In der anderen Ecke machten die Kinder Schularbeiten. In der dritten Ecke waren Frauen an einem großen Kochherd beschäftigt. Über dem Ofen hingen nasse Kleidungsstücke zum Trocknen und verbreiteten feuchte, dunstige Luft. In der vierten Ecke war ein Vorhang, und Erwin sah dahinter Betten stehen. Die Betten waren übereinander aufgebaut, um Platz zu sparen. Er kam an den Verschlag der Familie Richter. (72-73)

The shelter estranges Paul and Erwin due to relocation and because Paul must now devote all his time to earn anything he can: "Jetzt war er (Erwin) ganz allein. Paulchen sah er nur in der Schule. Dann war er ernst und still. Oder er war müde. Denn er mußte schon am Morgen mithelfen, Zeitungen tragen, und nach der Schule mußte er in die Stadt gehen, Streichhölzer und Schnürsenkel verkaufen" (68). The instrumental power of friendship we observe in "Das gestohlene Brot" now faces a nearly insurmountable conflict with systems of power: The economic and administrative apparatus imposes wretched conditions upon already impoverished people.

When this hopelessness overshadows enough lives, the controls of the social system dysfunction. If these desperate energies become organized into a movement, changes, even a revolution, could take place. Communism holds that a proletarian revolt will liberate the workers

from subjugation. Paul's father, however, harks to another kind of "socialism," to which many in Germany turned at that time:

Paul schluchzte noch immer. Es war zu traurig. Niemand kümmerte sich um ihn. Sein Vater schimpfte mit den Beamten und drohte und fluchte. "Das wird schon einmal alles anders werden", rief er. "Man wird alles verändern. Wartet nur, bis der Hitler und die Revolution kommt."
(65)

Richter vents his rage by invoking the name that in 1932 was associated with an ominous power. With his statement, Paul's father indicates that he expects the fascist mass movement to be the harbinger of his salvation and the revenge against injustice. With this belief, he confirms the futility of any action he might undertake as an individual within the existing economic system. One must keep in mind that at this point in the Weimar Republic, the Reichstag had been dissolved, Brüning was governing by decree, and the NSDAP had gained irresistible momentum. Tetzner saw that men like Richter invested hope in National Socialism as their last resort in order to rise from poverty. In the text, the rantings of Paul's father provide him with little more than hollow gratification. Because he feels crushed by the vagaries of the economic and administrative system, he rebels by casting his lot with the strongest opposing force.

Through Erwin and Paul's quest for their soccerball and for a place to hold their games, Tetzner demonstrates the difference between personal initiatives against injustice and the desperate hope for sudden, sweeping change. The acquisition of the ball attains greater significance as Paul and Erwin painstakingly bring their money together, pennies at a time. Not only does Paul's eviction considerably impede progress toward their goal, but Erwin himself must care for his siblings when not in school. Erwin repeatedly offers to forego the fund and give Paul their collection. Each time Paul refuses. In the first place, Paul believes his father's consolation of an imminent revolution, and when this has happened they would appreciate the ball still more. Second, Erwin cannot really afford generosity because his own family is struggling so desperately, and he may soon join Paul among the homeless: "'Is nicht", sagte Paul und drehte sich um. 'Vielleicht kommste bald nach'" (67). Later, when Erwin has finally achieved his goal, he encounters for the first time the misery of the shelter and insists again that Paul accept the money. Despite wretched living conditions, Paul argues in favor of the soccerball:

"Nee, nee, laß man. Hier raus hilft uns det auch nich. Mit dem Fußball können wir spielen und einen Fußballklub aufmachen mit der Clique. Hier wird doch alles nur zu Essen und zu Trinken. Man kann auch mal ohne das schlafen gehen. Mit dem alten Anzug mach' ich vielleicht bessere Geschäfte

als mit einem neuen. Denn zur Arbeit muß ich ja ohnedies gehen. Aber ein Fußball, das bleibt eben ein Fußball, den kann man sein Leben lang haben. Da hat man mal einen Sonntag damit." (74-75)

The importance of an "occasional Sunday," even when one lacks adequate food and clothing, lends the project of earning money for the ball a higher magnitude of priority: Tetzner understood that recreation ranks not as a frivolous luxury in the order of human needs, but as a necessity for the mental and physical well-being of young people.

In "Der Fußball," the administration of Berlin has the obligation to organize and allocate areas for all the city's activities within a densely populated area, yet neglects the recreational needs of its young citizens. Construction sites, streets, courtyards, parks and alleys provide no areas for their games. Ordinances that police rigidly enforce restrict them to athletic clubs or to far-distant grounds:

"Is wirklich, wie Heiner sagt. Wir müssen in einen Sportverein oder nach Treptow auf die Spielwiesen fahren."

Aber jetzt wurde Erwin wütend.

"Wie denkste dir denn das? Auf die Spielwiesen? Det kostet doch Geld. Det kann man einmal im Monat. Is ja viel zu weit von uns. Alles kostet Geld. Ich will spielen, wenn ich gerade Zeit und Lust habe." (83)

Erwin insists on his right to a playing field. After being chased away repeatedly by police and other adults, a

patrolman finally loses patience, reacting with severity when Erwin resists violently.

Erwin becomes a victim of a law enforcement system that is distant and hostile to those under its jurisdiction. The police brand him delinquent and they admit no protest or opposition. Pathways of communication follow only the perfunctory motions of legality from behind the barrier of an administrative structure, exemplified even in the furnishings: "Der Polizeioberwachtmeister saß hinter einem langen Tisch, und der Tisch stand noch hinter einer dicken Bretterschranke. Paul dachte: Das ist so eingerichtet, damit man den Mann nicht anfassen kann oder ihm nicht zu nahe kommt" (87). From behind his desk, the officer perceives Erwin's actual crime not as trespassing, but in his reaction against the authority of the police:

"Herr Wachtmeister, kommt Erwin jetzt ins Gefängnis?"

"Wahrscheinlich", sagte der Wachtmeister.

"Aber er hat doch keinen totgeschlagen?"

"Beamtenbeleidigung und Widerstand gegen die Staatsgewalt, das ist genau so schlimm, vielleicht noch schlimmer. Wir werden ja sehen, was der Herr Polizeioberwachtmeister sagt." (87)

Even if exaggerated, the officer's assertions make abundantly evident that systemic imperatives constrict communication by arbitrarily imposing a rigid order and executing the powers of office. Because Erwin and Paul rebel against

authority, they forfeit the ball and the little freedom they have is threatened, further fueling their anger.⁴⁰

Only power grants the right to gain contacts and influences, that is, to communicate with the system. As young people, Erwin and Paul suffer an additional exclusion from power because they are not of legal majority age. Paul adopts his father's attitude: "Paul aber hielt eine Rede für die Revolution, wie er es von seinem Vater gehört hatte" (89). In essence, Paul capitulates to conditions with empty declarations of a new order that he believes would build playgrounds and provide steady employment for all. Erwin, on the other hand, suggests they appeal to a higher authority within the system, resulting in a letter of complaint to the mayor. Apparently, the letter reaches the mayor through the mail, a channel accessible to anyone. Still, Paul doubts the mayor's sincerity even if more areas for recreational activity were opened. Whether it is a fortunate coincidence or the result of their complaint, Tetzner does not explicitly indicate the cause of the city's action and leaves the conclusion open:

Auch Paul konnte sich nicht recht freuen.
"Wenn sie das nur auch wahrmachen? Mein Vater
sagt immer, Versprechen ist leicht, aber Halten,
det steht auf ne andere Seite."

Erwin war nicht der Meinung. "Sie werden's
schon tun. Bestimmt werden sie es tun. Warte nur
erst einmal ab."

Und jetzt warten sie weiter. Wer von ihnen
wird recht behalten? (93)

While the author encourages Erwin's approach of personal involvement and communicative understanding with administrative systems, she acknowledges that these institutions are completely indifferent to the subjects of their jurisdiction. In reality the city would likely not have responded to Erwin's complaint so thoroughly. The attitude of Paul and his father suggest, however, that the alternative of a National Socialist revolution becomes more inevitable as the economic and administrative structure fails to attend to needs such as employment, housing and recreation. As such, "Der Fußball" warns against the foreboding consequences of living conditions that dehumanize masses of people and a bureaucracy that oppresses them.

The stories in Erwin und Paul present friendship as the solidarity of individuals whose interests lie in mutual understanding. Sympathy and cooperation develop between these two friends, resulting in the sincerity, truth and fairness that their world otherwise lacks. Erwin and Paul learn through each other and apply this knowledge to their actions. Erwin demonstrates this advantage when he finally realizes the true nature of Paul's need to steal and comes to his aid. In fact, whenever the obstructions to

communication are lifted, the personal contact works to remedy the problems at hand, be it Paul's hunger or the lack of playgrounds in Berlin. Where interpersonal relations deteriorate or fail, such as when Paul begins to go hungry or when the police punish the two youths, conflicts deepen. In the former case, Paul resorts to theft in reaction to his desperate hunger. In the latter, the brutality of the economic and administrative systems fuels support for a fascist revolution.

Conclusion: Enlightenment and Modernist
 Depictions of Friendship as Social Education

Es eifre jeder seiner unbestochenen,
 Von Vorurteilen freien Liebe nach!
 Es strebe von euch jeder um die Wette,
 Die Kraft des Steins in seinem Ring an Tag
 Zu legen! Komme dieser Kraft mit Sanftmut,
 Mit herzlicher Verträglichkeit, mit Wohltun,
 Mit innigster Ergebenheit in Gott,
 Zu Hilf! Und wenn sich dann der Steine Kräfte
 Bei euern Kindes-Kindeskindern äußern:
 So lad' ich über tausend Jahre
 Sie wiederum vor diesen Stuhl. Da wird
 Ein weis'rer Mann auf diesem Stuhle sitzen
 Als ich und sprechen.⁴¹

In dem System, das sie gemacht haben
 Ist Menschlichkeit eine Ausnahme.
 Wer sich also menschlich erzeigt
 Der trägt den Schaden davon.
 Fürchtet für jeden, ihr
 Der freundlich aussieht!
 Haltet ihn zurück
 Der da jemand helfen will!⁴²

In the novels for young people written during the Weimar Republic, friendship not only enhances interpersonal understanding among the characters, but also projects models of social accord in the world. Because friendship facilitates communication and legitimates social activity, it represents a source of political power. This power of individuals was revived by Enlightenment thinkers and embraced

an ideal of dedication to humanistic aims that was to culminate ideally in a spirit of cooperation and tolerance in the conduct of human affairs. In the course of the nineteenth century, this ideal of enlightened individuals eventually succumbed to a despair; ensuring justice and effecting social change began to appear impossible in the modern world. In the eyes of social theorists, the twentieth century is tyrannized by the primacy of capitalist exchange and bureaucracy, the rationalization of the world. To the usurpation of the "life world" by systems of commodity and administration the German novels for young people of the Weimar period posited ideal depictions of friendship. On the one hand, Erich Kästner, Wilhelm Speyer and Erich Ebermayer simply eliminated the immediate presence of politics and economics in the modern German state, positing in microcosm their own conditions for an ideal social world. Friendships in these novels celebrates the "better world" of the boarding school. On the other hand, Alex Wedding and Lisa Tetzner dealt directly with the misery of working-class youth in Berlin. In these novels, friendship offers material comfort and a front against the arbitrary control of people's lives.

Kästner's esteem for enlightenment ideals influenced his conceptions of friendship and social organization in his early novels for young people. Pünktchen und Anton

aggravated leftist reviewers because the author implied that, in a natural order of society, which is also a "reasonable" order, a benevolent "aristocracy" ideally provides for those born to serve. Das fliegende Klassenzimmer, written after the Nazis came to power, clearly expressed Kästner's emigration into a world of transcendent values. In this novel, the boarding school provided a setting where devotion among individuals could be kindled, which to Kästner represented the grandest expression of a harmonious community (of man). As he himself stated, Kästner was a schoolmaster and a grandchild of the Enlightenment. Yet in his didacticism he taught acceptance and assimilation, not resistance to tyranny.

For Alex Wedding and Lisa Tetzner, friendship supported the practical goals of economic survival and political action. Primarily, these leftist authors taught that the system in which German youth lived was inhumane. In both Ede und Unku and Erwin und Paul, young people circumvent, even subvert the indifference of educational, legal and welfare agencies. Together, these characters survive economic hardships, regain a sense of personal participation in social processes, and learn to critically evaluate the rules emanating from the traditions of adults. When Alex Wedding and Lisa Tetzner wrote about working-class youth, they learned from the young people who actually lived in their

community, drawing from these contacts the material for their novels. The learning processes within the urban environment are exemplary, but the milieu is more realistic because the fictional environment relates what young people actually saw every day in the city. The young characters acquire a critical distance from the system as opposed to growing into a "rational" and "just" community as the young people do in the "boarding school" novels. In Berlin, Wedding's Ede and Unku and Tetzner's Erwin and Paul conflict with their families and the administrative apparatus governing their lives. This "critical realism" questions the nuclear family as the only proper social unit, rejects moral absolutes, and identifies welfare and educational institutions as agencies of the state's control. These young friends learn to reflect on their own actions, criticize norms and collaborate in dealing with their poverty. Solidarity of young people represents a collective based on class distinctions, the young proletariat being a correlate to the working class in general. Wedding and Tetzner were not concerned with the young person's acceptance of reality or attainment of Bildung, but suggested models of problem-solving discourse in order to comprehend the modern world and survive in it.

In contrast, the characters of "boarding school" novels receive their Bildung by assimilating the founding ideas of

the school, that is, the ideas of their adult mentors, into their personal lives. The young protagonists develop into proponents of the school, extolling its "mission." In order to carry out this quest, be it Speyer's pre-capitalist agrarian society or Wyneken's pursuit of the aesthetic and intellectual "Geist," the school must inspire enthusiasm and allegiance to the holistic community. Through friendship, the main characters learn to exemplify the values and principles that the authors project onto the model of social organization. For this reason, the novels culminate in the union of friendship: "Justus" reunites with his long lost companion; Otto and Daniela join ranks and Ehrhard commits himself to Dr. Mahr. These friendships are an ecstatic experience, which contributes both to the atmosphere of channeled eroticism and to the subtextual religious fervor. The understandings -- the essential communicative acts upon which these friendships are based -- are the perpetuation of the school and the mutual affirmation of truth and goodness of character. The rationality of this communication, however, is a closed system of verities and ideals that the authors impose upon the young people in their separate world.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Bertolt Brecht represent two literary-philosophical models illustrating the different principles of the communities and friendships evident in

young people's novels of the late Weimar period. Lessing understood very well the importance of communication for an enlightened, egalitarian society. In the eighteenth century, the bourgeois class was educated, worldly and its intellectuals fostered critical perspectives on established truths, resulting ideally in rational discourse among equals that reached for higher truths. On the other hand, Brecht lived in an era during which the developments of the modern state, economy and industrial technology led intellectuals to pessimistic conclusions about the inexorable functional rationality of social systems. While Luddite reactionaries harbored disdain for all that was modern, and other idealists retreated from social issues into apolitical "higher values," Brecht demonstrated that communication was not merely a matter of interpersonal understanding. Rather, the system had to come into agreement with the social collective. Through their dramas, Lessing and Brecht demonstrated the political power of friendship and communication for different historical and social contexts.

The "Ring Parabel" in Lessing's Nathan der Weise (1779) relates a father's bequest of a precious ring to one of his three sons. This jewel made the wearer amiable to all on heaven and earth. In Lessing's view, however, complacently possessing the power to become endeared to others is a false virtue for humans. Only the conscious striving to be "good"

and amiable to all can educate humankind toward a utopia. These values include unconditional love for all, humility and acceptance of one's fate with serenity. In working toward universal human understanding, Lessing proposed that ending racial, ethnic and religious intolerance was the primary concern of each individual. "Truth" would unfold through rational dialogue among enlightened persons, a communicative process that would demonstrate perpetual aspiration to veritas.

According to Lessing, enlightened morality and striving for truth would bring freedom from rationalized utilization, that is, from the arbitrary power of laws, by making power humane.⁴³ He recognized in friendship the social manifestation of goodness and truth. This human relation encompassed rational discourse, tolerance and moral excellence. In this way, the private sphere merges with the public, introducing a bourgeois concept of equality that contends against the indifferences of systems of power. The rationality of power becomes then an amiable, serene venture, not an administrative function. Friendship is inherently contemptuous of political discourse, and insists on the true and good beyond institutions of politically defined realms of understanding. The utopian solution to tyranny is amicability and knowledge, the utopian citizen is the good and wise person.

There are, however, demarcations to this friendliness: This ideal emerges from a religious consciousness, from a piety for a holistic understanding among an educated bourgeois elite. The philosophical utopia of Nathan proposes ecumenical truths that would shatter fundamentalistic dogmas, be they political or confessional. The expression of such truth is in friendship. For Lessing, friendship was the ultimate communicative action because it substantiated the human striving for goodness and tolerance. The religiosity of this communication, however, demands an idealistic ethic that posits a higher existence and an ultimate perfectibility and rationality of things. According to this metaphysical view of life, the individual strips away imperfections to attain the excellence of character lying at the core of human nature. Of course Lessing could hardly foresee the coming dominance of economic power and exchange, or the subsequent hypertrophic growth of functional rationality in everyday life, or even the scientific dogmas of the social and natural sciences. By the twentieth century, general views on German society held that people had no refuge from the utilitarian systems of power. This lack of freedom induced authors such as Kästner to concoct a children's world in his young people's novels; in the confines of the boarding school, for example, the best of a young person's character could be nurtured.

For the uncertain times of the industrial age, Brecht proposed that love and friendship were a material resource, a power for the collective. In the late Weimar period, Brecht was experimenting with his didactic plays, the Lehrstücke. Die Ausnahme und die Regel (1929-30) parabolically suggests the potential humaneness in class relations, while an uncaring legal system and an opportunistic ownership class destroys human justice. Early on in the play, the merchant dismisses the foreman, risking his entire business venture, in order to prevent the friendship between the foreman and the worker. On the journey, the merchant, fearing retaliation against his brutality and exploitation, kills the laborer. When the worker's wife and the foreman prosecute the merchant, the court cites the "rule" of human nature that corroborates the merchant's defense. The merchant fears friendship as a conspiracy; comfortable adherence to norms and rules make the system complacent with itself and indifferent to the widow's plight. By illustrating the problem of rules and exceptions, Brecht advocated a continual reevaluation of assumed values and presumed attitudes, a critical reflection of oneself and the world.

Brecht's critique of assumed truths addressed a collective audience. In all his didactic plays of this period, he sought the public's participation in the creative process. For example, Der Flug der Lindberghs (1929) employed the

mass medium of radio and was intended for interaction with students in the classroom; Das Badener Lehrstück vom Einverständnis (1929) also required audience participation.

Through this new "epic" form of the drama, Brecht emphasized that "goodness" and "truth" were relative, that norms and rationality served to preserve the bourgeois institutions and that the individual's personal code of ethics had to adjust to the will of the collective. The theme of several Lehrstücke was the obliteration of the egoistic individual and the cooperation with the mass. For example, by designating roles according to their function rather than by proper names -- judge, merchant, foreman -- Brecht underscored the overriding dominance of institutions and social roles in modern life. Friendship for Brecht is not an affirmation of a single hero's ideal character, but a paradigm for class solidarity.

Friendships in the books by Wedding and Tetzner represented a radical departure from traditional portrayals of young people. Didacticism was of course not an innovation in young people's literature. Novels that taught rejection of adult institutions, however, diverged from accepted norms of the pedagogical and publishing establishment. Friendship as a paradigm of working-class solidarity taught German youth to criticize traditional values, discrediting images of youth as the halcyon years of cherished experiences and

endearments. Tetzner and Wedding depicted the traditional family and the state as disruptors of human contact. Moreover, in both Ede und Unku and in Erwin und Paul, friendships alter and sharpen young people's perspectives on parents, on the public systems that govern people's lives, and on themselves. This self-criticism differs from the self-castigation of the young characters in Kästner's novels. The guilt and regrets of Emil, Anton or Martin highlight the humility that is part of "moral excellence"; their essential "goodness" denies flaws of character, and each novel unfolds as an ongoing demonstration of the sterling qualities of the hero. In contrast, Tetzner and Wedding created characters with a number of human frailties: Although basically good, they portray youths who lie, steal and disobey their elders. These characters are also not exceptionally talented or mature, underscoring the collective address to a general, contemporary public, using its own language and social context.

The use of young people's vernacular itself contributed to Wedding's and Tetzner's efforts to reach the collective subject of German working-class youth. In contrast, when slang and dialect appear in novels by Kästner, Speyer and Ebermayer, they come out of the mouths of those characters for whom the author wished to express contempt or who were the objects of an author's humor. Colloquial speech also

indicated class distinctions. In Kästner's Emil, for example, Gustav represents the "worker" of the group, a kind of foreman who uses his horn to assemble the children; in accordance with his station, his language reflects the slang-filled repartee for which Berliners were well known. "Der Professor" and Emil, on the other hand, adopt the language and bearing of young professional administrators. In contrast, none of the young people in Wedding's and Tetzner's novels use cultivated language, even when speaking with educated adult authorities. In Tetzner's Erwin und Paul, for example, Erwin's letter to the mayor of Berlin is a document (not unlike the use of montage in Döblin's novel Berlin Alexanderplatz, 1929). Although Erwin's writing is error-ridden and full of slang, this document allows an authentic voice of the Berlin streets to be heard, expressing anger, indignity and desperation.

The social forces and artistic movements that contributed to the rise of the modernist epic also changed how authors wrote for young people. (Certainly the political climate influenced the emphasis of proletarian collectivism over bourgeois individualism.) The realism of the nineteenth century German novel carried over from the Enlightenment the belief in the ultimate rationality of things, that adaptation was better than rebellion. In these novels the authorial voice is authoritative, the heroic individual

follows his teleology, internalizing suffering and injustice. Even the understanding between the author and implied reader was based on the training and expectations of an educated middle class. In the late Weimar period, leftist authors integrated a pre-bourgeois, oral tradition into their theories, most evident in Brecht's theater and Döblin's Berlin Alexanderplatz. They called for a collective, contemporary public to actively participate in the creation of art; both Döblin and Brecht referred to the new forms as "epic."⁴⁴ This new, didactic kind of authenticity, reflected the montage of everyday urban experience.⁴⁵ Thus, when Tetzner and Wedding interacted with the young people of Berlin and, like the more famous leftist modernists, strived to present a collective voice in their narratives, they worked within both a political and aesthetic context.

German literature would not be what it is today without the innovations in form for which Brecht is known in theater and Döblin in the novel. The new forms in literature responded to a new reality and the transformation of the author's public. Since the late 1960s, scholars of German young people's literature have been taking a new look at the Weimar legacy, uncovering a massive and diverse industry, from which emerged new ways of writing for children and adolescents. It is a conclusion of the present study that the presentation of the truly modern and authentic world in

German young people's literature has been overwhelmed by the "Erich Kästner" and Walt Disney images of the world -- in short, an ethic that preaches the value striving toward a guaranteed resolution of conflicts. Kästner, for example, related the "Cinderella" story of Anton as if "Die Erde könnte wieder ein Paradies werden."⁴⁶ Ultimately, the restoration of perfect order in young people's literature is the attempt to restore authority through totalized concepts of community and good will. Indeed, even communist authors such as Alex Wedding did not completely elude the association of youth and the "heile Welt." Yet Wedding, Lisa Tetzner and other leftist authors such as Hermynia zur Mühlen, Béla Balázs and Edwin Hoernle interacted with a specific public, working-class youth. They wrote Märchen, plays, novels and reportages intended to address the everyday lives of their readers and to provoke them. Through their efforts, young people's literature became more authentic and critical, confronting school, child labor, child care, abuse from adults -- the actual subjectivity or "life world" of young people. This realism emerged from the "proletarian-revolutionary" movement of the Weimar Republic, and was revived by the anti-authoritarian movement of the FRG in the late 1960s. It is this critical literature that clearly distinguishes modern German young people's

literature from the idealistic projections of reality under the guise of realism.

Notes

¹Bertolt Brecht, "Die Ausnahme und die Regel," Das Badener Lehrstück vom Einverständnis, Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe, Die Ausnahme und die Regel. Drei Lehrstücke (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975), p. 173.

²Erich Kästner, "Pünktchen und Anton," Kästner für Kinder, vol. 2, p. 217. Henceforth all citations of this text will appear as the page number after the reference.

³In the twelfth "Nachdenkerei" the narrator deliberates on the topic of "Schweinehunde," of which Gottfried Klepperbein is one: "Aus einem solchen Schweinehund einen anständigen Menschen zu machen, ist wohl die schwerste Aufgabe, die sich ausdenken läßt. Wasser in ein Sieb schütten, ist eine Kindererei dagegen. Sie sind als Kinder schon genau dasselbe, was sie später werden. Wie die auseinanderziehbaren Fernrohre. Sie wachsen nur, sie ändern sich nicht. Was nicht im Menschen von Anfang an drinliegt, das kann man nicht aus ihm herausholen, und wenn man sich auf den Kopf stellt" (191).

⁴Dagmar Grenz, "Erich Kästner's Kinderbücher in ihrem Verhältnis zu seiner Literatur für Erwachsene. Am Beispiel eines Vergleichs zwischen 'Fabian' und 'Pünktchen und Anton,'" Literatur für Kinder, Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik, Beiheft 7, ed. Maria Lypp (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), p. 65.

⁵Bäumler, p. 51.

⁶Cf. Grenz, p. 165.

⁷See especially the fantasy of the inverted world, where parents must attend school in which children do the teaching in Kästner's other children's book of the same year, Der 35. Mai (1931).

⁸Compare Bernhard Engelen, "Das kindliche Verhältnis zu den komischen Elementen in Kästner's 'Pünktchen und Anton'. Ein Schulversuch," Zeitschrift für Jugendliteratur, 6-7 (1968), 412-31.

⁹Jürgen Habermas analyzes the alienation of social systems from the subjective "lifeworld" as the major hindrance to communicative action in modern times: "Mit den neuen Organisationen formen sich Systemperspektiven, aus denen die Lebenswelt distanziert, als Bestandteil einer jeweiligen Systemumwelt wahrgenommen wird. Autonomie gewinnen Organisationen durch eine neutralisierende Abgrenzung gegen die symbolischen Strukturen der Lebenswelt; damit werden sie gegen Kultur, Gesellschaft und Persönlichkeit eigentümlich indifferent. Die soziale Realität scheint insgesamt auf eine versachlichte, von normativen Bindungen freigesetzte Organisationsrealität zusammenzuschrumpfen." According to Habermas, the modern subject of society loses powers of self-determination as the coordination of actions come to depend upon the relations of expert and client. The dependency on specialists "colonizes" modern consciousness, fragmenting the conduct of life into areas of expertise. Habermas, Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, 2, p. 455.

¹⁰Igor S. Kon, Freundschaft. Geschichte und Sozialpsychologie der Freundschaft als soziale Institution und individuelle Beziehung, trans. Valeri Danilow (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979), p. 74.

¹¹Kon, p. 65, p. 95.

¹²Fritz Rodrian, "Notizen zu Erich Kästner's Kinderbüchern," Die neue deutsche Literatur, 9 (1960), 123.

¹³For a typical assessment, see Franz Jürgens, "Grundsätzliches zur Frage der gegenwartsbetonten Jugendschriften," Jugendschriften-Warte 37, 3 (1932), 21-24.

¹⁴Although a few early reviews of Pünktchen und Anton expressed appreciation for Kästner's engaging wit and cultural optimism, critics have often decried his naive idealism, his distortions of reality and his contrived - resolution of class contradictions. The following review from Die Linkskurve summarizes this critique: "So kraß die Verlogenheit der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft schon in diesem Stück zeigt, das Buch von Erich Kästner "Pünktchen und Anton" hält fast damit Schritt. Die Arbeiter wollen keine Almosen von Herrn Kästners und der reichen Kinder Gnaden. Sie wollen nicht aufgenommen werden in die Villen der Reichen aus Gnade. Anna Loos, "Vier neue Kinderbücher," Die Linkskurve 3, 12 (1931), 32. Other reviewers, notably those of the Jugendschriften-Warte, predictably objected to stylistic elements that they perceived as inappropriate for

"good" young people's literature: Journalistic style and use of vernacular, platitudes, patronizing tone, and direct didactic address to the reader all "trivialized" the quality of young people's literature. The vehemence of their attacks sharpened as Kästner's prominence as a young people's author grew. A cautious positive review of Kästner appeared early on in Die Jugendschriften-Warte by Wilhelm Mennerich, "Pik, Kai und Emil. Eine Betrachtung 'abseits unserer Grundsätze,'" JW 35, 1 (1930), 7-8. Kästner elicited a sharper critique from Franz Jürgens, "Grundsätzliches zur Frage der gegenwartsbetonten Jugendschriften," JW 37, 3 (1932), 23. Jürgens condemned Kästner again after the Nazis took power in Germany. Accusations of "Courthes-Mahlerei," "Schulmeisterei," and "Schundliteratur" appear by Fr.J. (Franz Jürgens), "Zu Erich Kästners Jugendbüchern," JW 38, 4 (1933), 31.

¹⁵"Im Gegensatz zum 'Fabian' findet im Roman 'Pünktchen und Anton' in märchenhafter Logik die große Harmonisierung von Arm und Reich statt." Bäuml, p. 40.

¹⁶The best, most accessible biographical sources are: Alex Wedding. Aus vier Jahrzehnten. Erinnerungen, Aufsätze und Fragmente. Zu ihrem 70. Geburtstag, ed. Günter Ebert (Berlin: Der Kinderbuchverlag, 1977); Hermine Scheibe, Alex Weddings Beitrag zur sozialistischen deutschen Kinderliteratur, Schriftenreihe zur Kinderliteratur 2 (Berlin: DDR-Zentrum für Kinderliteratur, 1976); Marianne Lange, "Alex Wedding," Beiträge zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, 34 (1975), 16-24.

¹⁷"Das proletarische Kinderbuch," Die Rote Fahne, 233 (1931), 9.

¹⁸Hermine Scheibe, p. 11.

¹⁹According to Reimar Gilsenbach, the photographs that accompanied editions of Ede und Unku picture actual acquaintances of Wedding, around whom she weaved a fictional account. Gilsenbach traced the whereabouts of Unku, who was murdered at Auschwitz. Aus Vier Jahrzehnten, pp. 292-304.

²⁰Wedding avails herself of actual events of the time. The headline of the Die Rote Fahne, 11, Wednesday, 14 January 1931, read: "Mit Hunger getriebene Maschinen der AEG. 3500 aufs Pflaster geworfen -- 5000 mit Elendslöhnen und Kurzarbeit -- Der ungeheure Verrat der Reformisten."

²¹Alex Wedding, Ede und Unku (Berlin: Basis Verlag, 1972). Facsimile reproduction of the original edition,

Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1932. Page numbers of all further references from this source will appear after citation.

²²"Während bei dem Jungen die Stufen des Erkennens und damit seiner Entwicklung genauer verfolgt werden, erhält der Leser in den Entwicklungsprozeß des Vaters keinen Einblick." Scheibe, p. 26.

²³Between 1929 and 1932 Walter Benjamin delivered radio addresses for children in Berlin on various topics. For one show he elaborated on the history and significance of the Gypsies in Europe and dispelled some of the superstitions about and prejudices against this nomadic culture. Walter Benjamin, Aufklärung für Kinder. Rundfunkvorträge, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), pp. 103-108.

²⁴Gorki's Mother was also a popular novel among the urban youth of Berlin at this time. The "mother" is an uneducated woman who perceived the "clear truth" of the communist revolution in Russia.

²⁵Lisa Tetzner, "So kam ich zum Jugendbuch," Jugendliteratur 1 (1955), 14.

²⁶Charlotte Bühler published her theory of childhood stages of reading development, corresponding aptitude and age with reading preferences. The Struwwelpeter age, the fairy-tale age, the Robinson age, and so on, are some of the labels that designate age groups of readers. Bühler popularized the concept in her psychological study "Das Märchen und die Phantasie des Kindes," Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie, special supplement 7 (1918).

²⁷Heinrich Wolgast (1860-1920) was founder and guiding light of the Jugendschriften movement (see the introduction). From 1893 to 1920 he was editor-in-chief of the movement's journal Die Jugendschriften-Warte. The following is his oft-cited statement on "good" literature for young people. "Die Jugendschrift in dichterischer Form muß ein Kunstwerk sein. Literarische Kunstwerke gehören aber der allgemeinen Literatur an, und so würde die spezifische Jugendliteratur keine Existenzberechtigung besitzen. Das ist in der Tat ein Punkt von der allergrößten Bedeutung. Der Begriff der Jugendliteratur in dem Sinne eines Schriftums, das eigens für die Jugend geschaffen ist und im allgemeinen auch nur für die Jugend Interesse haben kann, muß fallen. 'Wenn du für die Jugend schreiben willst, so darfst du nicht für die Jugend schreiben.'" In diesem Paradoxon formuliert sich Theodor Storm die Aufgabe der

Jugendschriftstellerei, als er, einer Aufforderung Julius Lohmeyers folgend, die köstliche Novelle 'Pole Poppenspärer' für die 'Deutsche Jugend' schrieb. Nur unsere echten Dichter sollen unsere Jugendschriftsteller sein, und was sie nach Stoffwahl und nach Art ihrer dichterischen Ausdrucksmittel 'für das Verständnis und die Teilnahme der Jugend' Geeignetes schaffen, kann durch diese Erweiterung des Hörerkreises nichts von seinem allgemein literarischen Wert verlieren. Storms 'Pole Poppenspärer' und Goethes 'Der getreue Eckart' bleiben Kunstwerke und werden immerfort jeden künstlerisch empfindenden Leser mit dem Zauber der Poesie überschütten, ob sie gleich Jugendlektüre sind." Heinrich Wolgast, Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur. Ein Beitrag zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend, 7th ed. (Worms: Wunderlich, 1950), pp. 25-26.»

²⁸Tetzner, "So kam ich zum Jugendbuch," 16.

²⁹Inge Weber, "Lisa Tetzner: 'Hans Urian oder die Geschichte einer Weltreise,'" Beiträge zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, 70 (1984), 43. Tetzner never actually joined the BPRS, even though Kläber was a founding member.

³⁰Die Linkskurve, 2, 9 (1930), 8.

³¹Tetzner, "So kam ich zum Jugendbuch," 16.

³²Unlike Hans Urian, which received considerable critical attention in the press. For a comprehensive discussion of the reception of Hans Urian geht nach Brot and of Hans Urian, see Bernd Dolle-Weinkauff, pp. 130-43.

³³"Allerdings muß sogleich gesagt werden, daß diese Hinwendung zur proletarisch-revolutionären Literatur unzureichend politisch und weltanschaulich fundiert und stark gefühlsmäßig bestimmt war. Das ist auch der Hauptgrund dafür, daß L. Tetzner gewonnene Positionen schon bald aufgab und sich schließlich wieder den Grenzen der bürgerlich-humanistischen Literatur unterwarf. Diese Abwendung von proletarisch-revolutionären Positionen zeigt sich bereits an den Erzählungen 'Der Fußball' (1932) und 'Erwin und Paul' (1933) und wird dann in der Romanfolge 'Erlebnisse und Abenteuer der Kinder aus Nr. 67. Odyssee einer Jugend' (1933/1949) überaus deutlich." Ingmar Dreher, Die deutsche proletarisch-revolutionäre Kinder- und Jugendliteratur zwischen 1918 und 1933, Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 6, ed. Horst Kunze (Berlin: Kinderbuchverlag, 1975), pp. 37-38.

³⁴Erich Eberts, "Lisa Tetzner," LKJ III, p. 521.

³⁵The chronology of publication of these two stories remains confusing. Although "Der Fußball" first appeared as Der Fußball. Eine Kindergeschichte aus Großstadt und Gegenwart, ill. Bruno Fuk (Potsdam: Müller & Kiepenheuer, 1932), Erwin und Paul is clearly the introductory episode of what ultimately became the first volume of the "Kinderodyssee," Erwin und Paul. Die Geschichte einer Freundschaft. In the introduction to the collected edition, the author herself confesses that she no longer recalls the exact dates and circumstances of the original stories. Lisa Tetzner, "Liebe Leser!" Die Kinder aus Nr. 67, 1 and 2 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1985), p. 5. All subsequent references to Erwin und Paul will appear as a page number after the citation.

³⁶In the film version of Pünktchen und Anton (FRG and Austria, 1953 by Thomas Engel with Sabine Eggerth as Pünktchen and Peter Feldt as Anton), forgetting his mother's birthday probably did not seem severe enough to cause Anton adequate grief. The film alters the scene so that Anton's mother suspects him of stealing the money that Pünktchen had secretly placed into Anton's jacket pocket. His mother's suspicion distresses Anton to the point of leaving home and contemplating suicide by jumping into the river.

³⁷See especially the fourteenth "Nachdenkerei" entitled "Vom Respekt:" "Manche Kinder tun von selber fast immer das Richtige, aber die meisten müssen es erst lernen. Und sie bedürfen dazu eines Barometers. Sie müssen fühlen: O weh, was ich da eben getan habe, war falsch, dafür verdiene ich Strafe."

³⁸Kon, p.101.

³⁹In another of Walter Benjamin's radio broadcasts for children, he describes how "Mietskasernen" originally served as military barracks after quartering soldiers in private homes became impractical. Benjamin, Aufklärung für Kinder, pp. 59-65.

⁴⁰In 1930, Walter Benjamin, in his famous review of a collection of essays by Ernst Jünger, compared the heroic nihilism of a soldier to office managers who are warriors for the sickened state: "In the person of the pilot of a single airplane full of gas bombs such leadership embodies all the absolute power which, in peacetime, is distributed among thousands of office managers -- power to cut off a

citizen's light, air and life. This simple bomber-pilot in his lofty solitude, alone with himself and his God, has power-of-attorney for his seriously stricken superior, the state, and wherever he puts his signature no more grass will grow -- and that is the 'imperial' leader the authors have in mind." Walter Benjamin, "Theories of German Fascism: On the Collection of Essays War and Warrior, edited by Ernst Jünger," trans. Jerolf Wikoff, New German Critique, 17 (1979), 128. The essay was originally published in Die Gesellschaft 7 (1930), 2, 32-41. Benjamin underscores that the post WWI heroic ideal obliterates the need for love or communication in favor of the primal, inner experience -- the marriage of mysticism and technology. The experience of losing the war, Benjamin notes, reached into the very fabric of people's existence in Germany. Benjamin, "Theories of German Fascism," 123.

⁴¹Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Nathan der Weise (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1979), p. 75.

⁴²Bertolt Brecht, "Die Ausnahme und die Regel," p. 200.

⁴³Cf. Agnes Heller, "Enlightenment against Fundamentalism: The Example of Lessing," New German Critique 23 (1981), 13-26.

⁴⁴See Bertolt Brecht, "Anmerkungen zur Oper Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny," Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981), pp. 89-96; Alfred Döblin, "Der Bau des epischen Werks," Die Neue Rundschau 40 (1929), 527-551.

⁴⁵In regard to young people's literature, the pedagogue and author Edwin Hoernle advocated renewal of oral traditions and personal interaction with young people in their environment. See Edwin Hoernle, Grundfragen proletarischer Erziehung, 1929, ed. Lutz von Werder und Reinhart Wolff (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1973).

⁴⁶Kästner, "Pünktchen und Anton," p. 215.

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