

German Studies Association

Models for Young Nationalists and Militarists: German Youth Literature in the First World War

Author(s): Andrew Donson

Source: *German Studies Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Oct., 2004), pp. 579-598

Published by: German Studies Association

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4140984>

Accessed: 02/05/2010 15:37

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=gsa>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



German Studies Association is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *German Studies Review*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Models for Young Nationalists and Militarists: German Youth Literature in the First World War

Andrew Donson

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Abstract: In 1914 and 1915 war fictions of wildly patriotic crowds and an exciting war of movement overwhelmed the book and magazine market for youth, displacing fairy tales, foreign classics, girls' novels, and antiwar Socialist fiction. In the most lurid of these narratives, male teenagers volunteered against their parents' wishes and fought with stupendous prowess. Police records show that though some deputy commanding generals prohibited this fiction, youth from a variety of social classes regularly circumvented the bans. The reading experience of the war youth generation arguably prepared them for the nationalism and militarism of right-wing organizations after 1918.

In the decades before the First World War, several developments in Germany sparked a thriving industry in books and magazines for youths. The liberal Reich press law of 1874 freed publishers from state regulation. Advances in printing technologies like the typesetting machine and the rotary press cheapened publishing and increased profit margins. Above all, the prosperity after 1893, the achievement of near-universal literacy, and the substantial increase in leisure time gave the first generation of youth from a broad spectrum of regions and social classes the money, time, and desire to buy and read printed matter. Even those who could not afford to own many books had access to them in the abundant public and paid lending libraries. On the eve of the war, reading had become by far the most popular leisure activity. After 1914, it gradually lost ground to cinema and radio as the dominant mass media for youths. Because of television, it never again achieved its importance. In 1914 youth reading culture was arguably more vibrant than at any other time in German history.¹

Reading exposed the generation born after the founding of the Reich to nationalism and militarism. Because publishers targeted a national market in pursuit of higher profits, youth generally read the same magazines and novels in Stuttgart or Ulm as in Berlin or Hamburg. Furthermore, the majority of the authors who had the education to write for youth—and the publishers who had the money to finance them—came from aristocratic and middle-class families, and many were staunch supporters of German imperialism. These authors, such as the erstwhile elementary schoolteacher Wilhelm Kotzde, or the retired cavalry general Fedor von Zobeltitz, made it a priority to promote nationalism and militarism. Less concerned about bourgeois decorum, they adopted the lurid adventure story as their model, and the

sensationalism ensured commercial success. The poor quality of most youth literature meant that, in contrast to Great Britain and the United States, Germany did not experience a “golden age” of youth literature in the Wilhelmine era (1890–1918). The period produced no corpus equivalent to the innumerable English-language classics like *The Jungle Book* (1894), *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1892), *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), *Peter Pan* (1904), *The Wind in the Willows* (1908), *The Secret Garden* (1909), and *Tarzan of the Apes* (1912). To readers today, the stories for youth from the Wilhelmine period seem crass, chauvinist, even silly. With the exception of the cowboy and adventure stories by Karl May and a few others, none are still read. Nevertheless, novels of Germans fighting for national greatness had endorsement and financing from the military, middle-class nationalists, and prominent Pan-Germanists such as Heinrich Claß and August Keim. Though the war stories were poorly written, youth found them engaging. In the decades before 1914, they became one of the most popular genres for male youth in particular.²

The reading of this literature, together with family, schooling, and recreation, transmitted the idea that manhood was tied to youthful vigor—what Theodore Roosevelt called “strenuous masculinity” and in Europe and North America became a dominant concept of manliness in the early twentieth century.³ In Germany more than other countries, the middle class saw this strenuous masculinity in the vitality of the soldier, whose prestige after 1900 grew in response to the international crises of colonialism and the public’s fears of national effeminacy and degeneration.⁴ In youth literature, youthful manliness had origins that went back to the mid-nineteenth century in the military histories by Gustav Nieritz and Franz Hoffmann. After their commercial successes and the onset of German imperialism in the 1890s, authors turned to more graphic and violent stories of contemporary battles in the colonies. These stories projected a masculinity whose model was the courageous and merciless young soldier, the warrior fiercely loyal to the nation.⁵ In the years before the outbreak of the war, this literature inspired middle-class male teenagers like Georg Heym to fantasize in their diaries and letters that a European war would end their alienation and boredom.⁶ The promise of adventure and manhood in this patriotic youth literature doubtlessly inspired tens of thousands of other young men to volunteer in August 1914.

This article suggests, however, that war literature was less popular than other genres for youth before 1914 but that it became the most popular genre during the First World War. Moreover, after 1914 the tone of the nationalism and militarism intensified. Youth literature during the war accordingly transmitted to a wider audience than before the myths of heroism, patriotism, sacrifice, afterlife, adventure, and manhood. Like teachers and leaders of youth clubs, most authors of youth literature wanted to mobilize youth in support of the war and reproduced the same patriotic portraits, shibboleths, and concepts of “the Spirit of 1914” that dominated adult literature. They depicted the German people in August 1914 as transfixed by

the universal enthusiasm for the war and committed to forging unity and ending all social and political conflicts. Their stories portrayed girls and boys whose bravery and sacrifice ensured Germany's victory. Like priests and ministers, they spread the theological idea of a "holy war," the notion that war was willed by God and that the patriotism of soldiers guaranteed their entry into heaven. Above all, in casting conditions on the front war positively, the authors distorted the industrial slaughter on the front. This distortion was not intentional: the military censored first-hand knowledge, and many in the middle found the second-hand accounts of the horrors too hard to swallow. Furthermore, the authors of youth literature retained ideas about war that had dominated Romanticism, the old regime, and Western literature since the *Iliad*. As George Mosse argued, two world wars ultimately discredited these "myths of the war experience" in Europe. But even late in the war, the myths comforted Germans' distress by assuring them that millions were not dying in vain.⁷ The myths of the war experience have perhaps been a necessary part of conducting all wars, whether they were defensive, religious, just, colonial, racial, or revolutionary. But the First World War marked the first time that the abundance of books infused youths with these concepts, the first time literature mobilized masses of youth for war.

Moreover, for boys, the idea that they achieved manhood through war made them susceptible to nationalism and militarism. In league with military officers and youth workers (*Jugendpfleger*), teachers and authors of youth literature intentionally or unintentionally whetted young readers' appetites for the most lurid adventure stories in war. War penny dreadfuls (*Kriegsschundschriften*) not only cultivated nationalism and militarism in young readers but created a culture, among boys in particular, of disobeying adults and state authority. In this context of anti-authoritarian behavior and fantasies about military conflict and national greatness, males in the war youth generation—the boys, born from 1900 to 1908, who would not experience the front—began to develop the political views that after 1918 moved them to join fascist and radical right paramilitary groups with greater frequency than those just a few years older.

The Transformation of Youth Literature in War

Despite its moderate popularity, patriotic war literature before 1914 competed with a broader set of youth genres. In peacetime, girls' novels invoked little of the nationalist and militarist themes common in novels for boys, for example. Instead, the hundreds of novels modeled on Emmy von Rhoden's *Trotzkopf* (1885) traced female youths' conflicts balancing the feminine values of passivity and selflessness against the reality that middle-class women who did not marry as teenagers needed to be proactive in learning trades.⁸ Boys and girls also regularly bought or borrowed German romantic masterpieces: Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, Kleist's *Michael Kohlhaas*, Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, as well as translations of foreign classics like Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues under*

the Sea, James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, and Daniel Dafoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. The most popular genre of youth literature before 1914 remained fairy tales; youth had access not only to editions collected by the Grimms but also to hundreds of new ones published every year. Finally, becoming wildly popular in the decade before the war were the penny dreadfuls, the cheap, lurid paperbacks targeted for young customers, with adventure tales of American and British characters like Buffalo Bill, Nick Carter, Lord Lister, and Texas Jack. Taken together, this literature, lacking nationalist or militarist themes, constituted the lion's share of books and stories for youth.⁹

Another limit on imperialist war literature was the middle-class and Socialist movements before 1914 that contested the genre's value. Though being a military man was a mark of status in Wilhelmine Germany, much of middle-class Germany in fact favored a masculinity based on self-control and fatherhood. This ideal clashed with the masculinity of youthful release and aggression in the imperialist stories.¹⁰ The poor quality of most patriotic literature also irked parents and teachers. Pedagogically minded reformers like Heinrich Wolgast pointed out that stories by Goethe were better for the nation's youth than novels of teenagers fighting natives in East Africa and other far-flung places. Though accused of being an "enemy of the Fatherland" by the Pan-Germanists, Wolgast published popular lists of good books for children in his monthly journal, *Jugendschrift-Warte*, that shaped the offerings in Germany's stores and libraries. Much of the German middle class agreed with him that the prowess and impetuosity of fictional pubescent soldiers was distasteful. They consequently bought the editions of classics published by Dürerbund and the other reputable houses Wolgast sponsored.¹¹ While the Social Democratic Party (SPD) did not work directly with Wolgast, its members sympathized considerably with his cause. Their increasingly popular youth organizations prohibited patriotic literature in their lending libraries. In 1906 Karl Kautsky and Clara Zetkin successfully petitioned the party to create and disseminate a youth literature expressly intended to combat militarism and jingoism. With over a third of the popular vote in 1912, the Social Democratic Party together with Wolgast ensured that most books published for youth in Germany until 1914 had nothing to do with war. Their efforts also meant that many books for youth were antiwar.¹²

By contrast, in August 1914 war literature for youth and adults saturated the book market and displaced all the other genres. Like teachers and school reformers, the vast majority of authors of youth literature in 1914 wanted to mobilize German youth for the war. Helping them were shabby publishing houses such as Mignon and prestigious ones such as Ullstein, Reclam, and Cotta. The publishers quickly realized that war books not only improved their reputation as good patriots but also earned them fat profits in contracts with the army and sales to a young public hungry to read about the war. All the new issues of penny dreadfuls and almost all the new hardcovers for youth from 1914 to 1918 were about the war. Likewise, in magazines for youth the war became the overwhelmingly dominant topic. War books occupied

the commanding position in advertisements and shop windows. War and patriotism even permeated girls' novels (before the war, girls' novels had no militarist or nationalist content). Though the subject of war diminished in dominance after 1915, it remained the most persistent theme in 1918 and beyond—the war books were in fact durable favorites well into the Weimar Republic and the Nazi period.¹³

The nationalism and militarism in youth literature resonated in a brasher key, in part because the *Burgfrieden*, the agreement of all the political parties to cooperate, and “the Spirit of 1914,” the putative enthusiasm for the war, silenced the Socialist and middle class critics. Although the political settlement started unraveling in 1915, Social Democratic leadership over the course of the war respected the army's request to close their antiwar presses and purge their libraries of pacifist literature. Under the direct authority of Friedrich Ebert, the SPD chairman eager to appease the army, Socialist youth leaders like Karl Korn and Heinrich Schulz reminded readers in the youth yearbooks to cease political struggle. They also published poems that praised the loyalty of soldiers and the victories of the military.¹⁴ This content mirrored the bland patriotism in the SPD youth weekly, *Arbeiterjugend*, and flaunted the prewar traditions of antimilitarism. Youths who wanted Socialist antiwar literature had to procure the smuggled copies published in Switzerland by Willi Münzenberger and other exiled Socialist internationalists. But government repression of these internationalists made finding their publications difficult. Few read them.

The deluge of patriotic enthusiasm at the outbreak of the war also isolated Wolgast and almost all other middle-class critics of the war. After 1914, many of Wolgast's most ardent supporters encouraged the reading of war literature as a way to mobilize youth patriotically. Before the war reformers like Johannes Tews, the former elementary schoolteacher who edited *Volksbildung*, the monthly review of good literature, had spat with radical nationalist authors like Kotzde. But after 1914, Tews endorsed the patriotic war literature.¹⁵ Authors justified their focus on the war by invoking the slogans common in the pedagogical press as well, such as “let the spirit of the times influence” children and permit children to “experience the great times.”¹⁶ Wolgast consequently gave up his crusade against chauvinist youth literature and halted publication of *Jugendschrift-Warte* for the first year and a half of the war. Inspired by the first criticisms of the war in the pedagogical press, however, he revived the journal in early 1916, though by then the corpus of youth literature about the current war was already on the bookshelves.¹⁷ The profits were financing new war books that both working-class and middle-class youth still craved.

Another change in youth literature was that editors lifted the taboo on nationalist subjects previously deemed political. Paragraph 17 of the Reich Association Law (1908) forbade political topics in youth associations or publications for youths. But early in the war, authors reasoned that the patriotic transformation of Germany created new conditions that invalidated the old rules. For example, the editors of the popular magazine *Der gute Kamerad* argued:

[We] have up to now avoided politics—that is, talking about any slippery agitation pursued by the government or political parties.... But now that the god of war is sweeping through almost all of Europe, it seems appropriate to break the rule and make an exception for purely patriotic reasons.¹⁸

Later, this practice continued. For example, the editor of *Deutsche Mädchen-Zeitung* regularly engaged in some of the most controversial political discussions, including the peace-treaty negotiations in Brest-Litovsk and dialogs about the necessity of unrestricted submarine warfare.¹⁹ Oral histories suggest that before 1914 schoolchildren had had little knowledge of bitter political debates such as those during the Morocco Crises or the negotiations over the Navy bills. But after August 1914, they were intimately engaged in international relations.²⁰ Picture books anthropomorphized England as a nefarious schoolboy in need of a good whipping; novels had male and female characters whose favorite activity was to show “good German hate” toward England.²¹

Youth literature offered a variety of views on the war, but the positive ones overwhelmed the negative ones. Authors recognized in their stories that the war was sometimes “terrible” and occasionally described it cynically or in dark and ominous language. After chronicling the incredible heroic exploits of a zealous schoolboy, one novel offered a sober assessment of the war’s toll: “He is so emaciated that he is hardly recognizable. He is only a shadow of what he once was. He doesn’t cry, he doesn’t complain. In that, he is his old self. He has found himself in his fate. But there is a dreadful sadness in his look and facial expressions, which reveals that it is enormously difficult for him.”²² But these negative portrayals of the war did not command the focus of the stories; with few exceptions, they were accompanied by warm approval for the greatness of the war. They showed that the characters had to sacrifice to be heroes. In general, the *Burgfrieden* and the threat of government censorship silenced authors skeptical of the war. Furthermore, most authors came from the nationalist middle-class urban milieu that supported the war robustly. Consequently, wholly negative portraits of the war were as rare for youths to read as they were for adults. Even though youth literature was not on the radar of the censor, in a survey of over 700 stories I found only a single one published between 1914 and 1918 that could be construed as openly antiwar: a Punch and Judy show in which a man avoided conscription by murdering a policeman.²³

Most youth war literature minimized the horrors of the front, but the positive affirmation of the war in youth literature after 1915 had less to do with the continued popularity of the war than with the material shortages that prevented publications of books with darker pronouncements about the war. Late in the war, with people on the home front starving and millions of soldiers dead or wounded, some magazines published for middle-class youth in fact avoided the war. Those that depicted the war had few stories with themes of enthusiasm, jubilation, or renewal; the language in the war stories became dry and technical, the soldiers automatons

doing their duty.²⁴ Further, this dispassionate youth war literature was not produced in the same quantities as the earlier “Spirit of 1914” books and articles, because after 1915 paper and labor shortages made publishing many books and long magazines prohibitively expensive.²⁵ In the last three years of the war, Germany published far fewer books for youths than it had in the first year and a half. Lending libraries remained full of the earlier war books but had trouble making new purchases after 1915. Thus, the ideas of war in 1914 and 1915 dominated the later, more negative ones.²⁶

The Enthusiastic Home Front

Though recent research has suggested that Germans in August 1914 were as anxious as they were supportive of the war, most stories and novels about the home front portrayed Germans from all social classes in enthusiastic and wildly patriotic crowds. The crowds cheered the volunteers; gave out flowers, chocolate, and other war alms (*Liebesgaben*); and celebrated the early military victories.²⁷ If the plot and character development of stories for girls and boys did not begin with this depiction of “the Spirit of 1914,” they revolved around its memory.²⁸ As in the larger public sphere, national greatness came from national unity, and the *Burgfrieden* figured centrally. The authors of youth war literature reproduced the slogans of the Kaiser: “I know no parties, I know now only Germans,”²⁹ and the Social Democrats: “We won’t abandon the Fatherland in the hour of danger.”³⁰ They also transmitted the myths of a classless society: “All differences among the people ceased; there were no more workers and no more factory owners; everyone knew himself to be internally united in feeling German, fiercely prepared to sacrifice life and property for the protection of the threatened Fatherland!”³¹ For youths in towns or neighborhoods that did not participate in the August 1914 celebration, the literature gave the impression that an absence of effusive patriotism was an exception. A young worker had only to consider the story of a young Social Democrat, who, irritated at accusations before 1914 that he was not a patriot, celebrated the war and happily fought with young middle-class men.³² Whether or not the enthusiasm of August 1914 was a myth, it had a reality in both the fiction and nonfiction for youth. In my research, not a single story denied the enthusiasm of August 1914.

In their fictions, the authors structured their plots and shaped their characters by spinning the *Burgfrieden* and “the Spirit of 1914” into a theme of reconciliation. They followed a simple but effective structure to cast the war positively: The young protagonist had a longstanding conflict or problem, but the war provided the key opportunity for a resolution. There were many variations. Schoolboys who were arch nemeses before the war became great friends while on the front. War let two brothers resolve their years-long acrimony. Combat brought together friends whose petty parents had severed their close ties in childhood. Lovers from different social classes demonstrated their patriotism in 1914, and each convinced their previously skeptical parents of their beloved’s worth. Orphans discovered their foster parents’

generosity. War gave outcasts the opportunity to earn respect from the communities that had ostracized them.³³ In all these plots, the harmony and unity brought by war was the nostrum for the most intractable personal problems. "The Spirit of 1914" rejuvenated in a most intimate sense, bringing the estranged closer together.

In these patriotic home-front plots, male youth gained not only closeness in relationships but also authority over parents. Most of the young male characters noted that the war initiated them into adulthood unexpectedly.³⁴ Many plots centered on a family drama in which a young secondary schoolboy announced his intentions to volunteer; in some cases, his decision earned him his parents' immediate approbation, but other times, the mother cried or the father was reluctant, concerned about the boy's maturity and the future of his studies.³⁵ The drama of the nation then played out within the German family: The resolution of the conflict came after the boy convinced his parents that volunteering was a national duty.³⁶ Notably, in all the stories where both parents denied permission, the schoolboy absconded to the front against their wills.³⁷ In pitting the patriotic intentions of male youth against the desires of their parents, these plots reshaped the themes of revolt popular in prewar youth fiction.³⁸ They also laid the foundation for the legend that Germany lost the war because parents had failed their more patriotic sons.³⁹

Religious ideas in youth literature further justified the war while mitigating the personal responsibility of German citizens: Poetry, fiction, and nonfiction commonly invoked the concept that neither politicians nor citizens but rather God alone decided the national destiny in the war. The authors suggested that a person could bring peace only through faith, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. For this reason, characters in a host of articles, novels, poems, and short stories had a spirited toleration. Wounded soldiers refrained from telling their loved ones about their injuries. Children who endured the absence of their fathers were called heroes. The authors implied that war misery built character, ensured victory, and preserved national unity and greatness.⁴⁰ The religious in the countryside and the urban middle classes accordingly suppressed protest against sending millions of soldiers to their deaths. This willingness to submit matched the strident language of the High Command's request after 1915 for Germans to hold out for victory.⁴¹

Adventures and Violence on the Front

A remarkable feature of youth war literature was that when a male protagonist arrived at the front, his character development usually ended entirely. Lacking intimate knowledge of conditions on the front, or perhaps fearful that the truth would make youth reject the war, some authors digressed to chronicle Germany's military victories, without any reference to their protagonists.⁴² In the other novels, technical depictions of soldiers doing their duty in combat replaced characterization. These descriptions mimicked adult war literature in portraying action devoid of human feeling. Front novels had a style from which few authors deviated: Like the subsequent war stories by Ernst Jünger and others, youth literature in 1914 and 1915

described a war of movement with little “judgment or expressed emotion” and with many things like boots, helmets, bodies, food, and artillery.⁴³ When a fictional male youth arrived on the front, he became a monolithic, machine-like German soldier. He was loyal and fierce and lacked all personality.⁴⁴

The authors always described a war of movement in the stories written after 1914, even though they contradicted the conditions of trench warfare and stalemate on the Western front.⁴⁵ When their portrayals became less believable in the later years of the war, authors turned to the air and the sea in literature that focused on the quick actions of zeppelins, warplanes, torpedo boats, submarines, cruisers, and mine layers. The most popular of these war stories chronicled the true adventure of the *Emden*, the German cruiser torpedoed in the Indian Ocean in 1914 after it had sunk 16 British ships and forced seven others to surrender cargo. (While the *Emden* sank, its landing crew was destroying British Cable and Wireless installations on Direction Island; captured by the British, the landing crew broke out, hijacked a fishing boat, and hightailed to the safety of Germany.) In addition to the *Emden*, the authors celebrated the exploits of a handful of warships: the torpedo boat *S 90*, the submarine *U 9* piloted by Captain Weddigen, and the cruisers *Möwe* and *SMS Wolf*. In these depictions, the superiority of German technology made victory swift. The stories portrayed the war as an exciting adventure with the big toys of the generals.⁴⁶

Ignoring the reality of an ugly war of attrition, the authors described a sanitized war of movement. The danger was extreme but the soldiers rarely died: Without bloodshed, they located enemy posts, captured enemy prisoners, carried away unexploded 125 kilogram shells, saved comrades on sinking ships, extinguished flames in munitions depots under heavy fire, and ventured out of bunkers for missions during artillery barrages.⁴⁷ In the climax of almost all the war novels, the protagonist earned the Iron Cross; in one such story, an Iron Cross stopped a bullet and saved a life.⁴⁸

In the handful of stories in which soldiers did die, the deaths were always the hero's death, a sacrifice and an honor, involving a willingness to die for the glory of the Fatherland. This hero's death was far from a new concept. Industrial killing in the First World War eroded the idea that war was magnanimous, but in 1914 and 1915 the idea still persisted that war was noble and chivalrous. Airmen on the Western front still respected their enemies by throwing wreaths on their victims. Army officers taken prisoner signed parole cards, left POW camps, and had a shave and a meal in town. Aristocrats and middle-class elites still ran the armies of Germany and Europe in 1914. War for them was like dueling: It was their way to win and protect honor.⁴⁹ Notions of chivalry and honor, key concepts in what George Mosse called “the myth of the war experience,” led to the publication in youth literature of the slogans like “many enemies—much honor.”⁵⁰ Georg Gellert, editor of the *Berliner General-Zeitung* and the most successful author for youths during the war, used this idea to elevate a male youth's extreme perils into a situation to be envied: “How happy he would have been to give his life when he could do his service to the

Fatherland.”⁵¹ “I see tomorrow a great future brought to Germany,” a boy in another story dreamed. “I see my Fatherland at the height of its power as *the* Empire of Europe—a goal we can all be happy to die for.”⁵² Far from a brutal dragging by Achilles, the hero’s death palliated pain: I did not find a single description of a German soldier who died in anguish. There were no Hectors in the German youth literature of the First World War: Every soldier’s death was peaceful or glorious.

This war literature justified determination and fantastic courage to the young readers. In the front novels and stories, the young protagonists almost without exception survived ferocious battles and showed extraordinary courage. The male youth’s military acumen and composure invariably brought about a dramatic victory, often single-handedly. In other words, the stories were gross exaggerations. “Hold out,” a young soldier thought under heavy fire, with enemy bayonets flashing and all his comrades dead or wounded. “Just come through with honor.” He fired his weapon, and “every shot hit its target.”⁵³ One protagonist captured a thousand prisoners.⁵⁴ In another novel, five men alone killed 800 Russians.⁵⁵ Danger only whetted soldiers’ appetites for more war: “I would most like to be sent back into the battle—to victory!” a soldier thought after a fierce counterattack, relaxing with coffee and a cigar.⁵⁶

The optimism about a German victory was often personified in the representation of Hindenburg. The single most popular figure in biographical and anecdotal articles, the general had entire sections of magazines dedicated to him on his birthdays. The editors of these magazines hailed him as one of the all-time greatest German leaders.⁵⁷ Looming larger than life in a picture book, he was portrayed as a gigantic Zeus, with one foot in Germany and one in Russia, commanding troops advancing on Petrograd.⁵⁸ While poems extolled Hindenburg’s military genius, fiction emphasized the general’s personal magnanimity.⁵⁹ Invariably, these articles disseminated his optimism about German nationalism and military superiority. For example, they quoted the general: “When with God’s help the entire German people remains unified in its will to victory, a world full of enemies can no longer get us.”⁶⁰ For youth in the First World War who read war literature, Hindenburg attained nothing short of cult status.

Though many characters had masculinity based on honor and chivalry, far more had a strenuous masculinity: The soldiers killed coldly for victory and embraced brutal revenge. In some cases, these violent soldiers were Germany’s enemies, particularly Russian Cossacks. Authors depicted them racially, as ugly, lawless savages, who callously murdered women and children.⁶¹ But in most cases, the soldiers violently seeking revenge were Germans. Furious Germans wanted blood, and their cavalry massacred enemy troops ruthlessly. Germans killed recalcitrant prisoners through asphyxiation and beatings.⁶² Graphic depictions of bayonet attacks were common:

Like wild devils our Styrians and Tyrolese cut and jabbed, a deafening cry filled the air, and we hit with rifle butts so madly that the Serbians' skulls shattered, and though some good comrades bit the dust, the enemy could not withstand the vehement attack.⁶³

In many cases, the authors wrote that the killings brought pleasure:

Oh, the joy to shoot the piece of junk into flames and to pepper it until disturbed ants overwhelmed their piles, a swarming mass of fleeing troops backwards over the fields into the village! And after them, on them, mercilessly! Spoil their return home! Hunt them to the interior of France, or nail them down so that they can't even bend a German hair.⁶⁴

The authors described killings as if they were easy target practice:

The first—jumps up!—shot in the head!—dead! The second—jumps up!—shot in the head!—dead! The 3rd—4th—5th—6th—7th—8th—9th—the same!⁶⁵

Like the descriptions of war popularized by Ernst Jünger, these stories even suggested that war was erotic.⁶⁶

Though all the belligerent nations had an imperialist war literature during and before the war, German youth war literature was the most graphic in violence. British publishers were cautious about offering boys sensationalist war stories. War had a limited place, for example, in England's most popular youth weekly, *The Boy's Own Paper*. French youth war literature portrayed the French soldiers as the peace-lovers and the Germans as the savages. By contrast, in German youth war literature, the most brutal soldiers were German.⁶⁷ Moreover, for adult as well as youth literature, the hegemony of prowar sentiment and the absence of most criticism were most extreme in Germany. In contrast to France, where pacifist war novels were published by Henri Barbusse in 1915 and Ronald Dorgelès in 1916, Germany produced not a single successful antiwar novel until Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* in 1928. Before *All Quiet*, German war literature rarely offered the common soldier's grim view of war. Authors of German war literature for adults and youth alike were either nationalist elites who lacked firsthand knowledge of the front or army officers who believed even after 1918 that military conflict produced "pure and noble comradeship" and developed strenuous masculinity. For these reasons, the image of the heroic soldier persisted in literature in 1918 and beyond, despite the senseless slaughter of millions.⁶⁸

The War Penny Dreadfuls

It would be controversial to draw conclusions about German youth if the evidence was limited to prescriptive literature or fictional stories alone. But the commercial success of war penny dreadfuls shows that boys went to great efforts to procure male fantasies of war. Moreover, the disapproval of these stories across the political

spectrum shows that German male youth indulged in violence and nationalism in a way that deviated from a more sober and prudish adult culture. The demand for penny dreadfuls accordingly constituted a nascent generational conflict over how civilians of different ages wanted to understand the war.

Before the war, the penny dreadfuls—cheap, 30-page pamphlets that were one of the first imports of American mass culture into Europe—offered detective, love, adventure, and “Wild West” stories, cast in coarse and exaggerated language. After German presses first began publishing them in the 1870s, they grew immensely popular among youth of all social classes. An estimated 250 million per year were published in Germany in the decade before 1914 (there were approximately 12 million youths in Germany ages 6 to 18).⁶⁹ Across Western Europe and North America, they were one of the first mass consumer pleasures that brought businesses big profits but pitted adults against youths. Between 1900 and 1920, penny dreadfuls together with the cinemas, radio, automats, jazz clubs, and dance halls contributed to a mass consumerism in which young people forged a modern youth culture by asserting their independence and difference from adult culture.

Modern American youth culture in the 1910s and 1920s was relatively innocuous in comparison to the part of Germany’s that formed under the extreme nationalism and militarism of the war. Whereas in the United States penny dreadfuls followed the benign plots of Mutt and Jeff, the Katzenjammer Kids, and Little Nemo, in Germany after 1914 they focused on war and chauvinism. In August 1914, a dozen publishers dropped the American-inspired detective and cowboy stories, and by April 1916 they had printed no fewer than 18 series and 70 issues that celebrated the violence and patriotism of the war. They followed the model of other war literature in developing a strenuous masculinity based on fierce nationalism and war enthusiasm.⁷⁰

Adults sharply criticized these penny dreadfuls. Before the war the commercial success of penny dreadfuls had exasperated both middle-class and Socialist reformers who worried that they damaged youth’s good character. These reformers consequently campaigned to ban them under the 1900 youth clause of the *Lex Heinze*, the law regulating pornography. In 1910 they succeeded in creating a central registrar to blacklist them, and in the years preceding the war, their campaign against penny dreadfuls gained momentum; it was in fact one of the few reform movements in which the entire political spectrum—Conservatives, Socialists, Catholics, and most Liberals—reached consensus. But before 1915 the liberal German press laws and the powerful publishing interests thwarted any outright bans.⁷¹

To fight the war, the military needed the myth that soldiering made boys men, but this myth came into conflict from 1915 on with reformers who believed that, in the absence of the moral influence of so many men, youth were increasingly endangered and wayward (*verwahrlost*). Like mainstream youth war literature—that is, hardcover books—the penny dreadfuls earned praise for instilling in young boys enthusiasm for the war, but reviewers censured them for their “inordinate

exaggeration” and excessive “stimulation of fantasy.”⁷² The critics were disturbed by characters who had the powers of demigods: “Usually a young hero appears, the more like a boy the better, who achieves the most astonishing heroic deeds, weathers the most unbelievable dangers, and is completely responsible that our army wins this or that battle or conquers this or that fortification.”⁷³ The critics were above all concerned that the penny dreadfuls stimulated the imagination in boys, goading them to behave inappropriately for their age:

The urge for adventure, which arises powerfully in all our young boys due to the events of the war, is skillfully exploited and kindled by glorifying hundreds and thousands of young volunteer soldiers. Most join the army against the will or without the knowledge of their parents or guardians; they wear civilian clothing or the uniform of their military youth company, hide themselves in artillery cannons, boxes of ammunition, or automobile seats; end up in the middle of the fiercest battle; show themselves to be infinitely superior not only to soldiers in bravery, prowess, and sharp shooting but also to military leaders in acuity, resourcefulness, and strategy; and against powers ten times greater, they turn a hopeless situation into success lightening fast and are presented before at least a General, but possibly Hindenburg or the Kaiser himself, with the Iron Cross, in a neat uniform, introduced as a model soldier.⁷⁴

After 1916, when criticism in the pedagogical press became more common, Wolgast and others pointed out that this content and language in fact differed little from many of the hardcover books, such as those by Georg Gellert.⁷⁵ But their points drowned in a sea of revulsion. The publishers of hardcover war literature had cozy relationships with army censors and publicists. Both recognized the stories were too beneficial for the war effort to consider banning them. By contrast, the small publishers of war penny dreadfuls lacked financial and political influence. Moreover, publishers of hardcover literature kept quiet about the bans; they stood to benefit financially by forcing youth to buy their more expensive books. Consequently, Social Democrats, Liberals, Catholics, Conservatives, and middle-class as well as working-class parents all agreed that that youth needed to be kept from the penny dreadfuls. A broad spectrum of adults asked the deputy commanding generals to censor them, and generals in four districts complied through decrees legal under the Law of Siege.

Male youth made great efforts to circumvent these bans, however. Because the penny dreadfuls remained immensely popular, a black market for them quickly emerged, and boys rummaged through recycling bins, picking them out for resale.⁷⁶ When one teacher in a public elementary school in Magdeburg tried to stymie this black market by pressuring his schoolboys to give up their penny dreadfuls, he quickly collected over a thousand.⁷⁷ In Essen, schoolboys were less cooperative. In order to confiscate them, the school board had to offer a day off from school for every public elementary class that turned in a hundred issues. They were surprised when, in a few weeks, boys turned in thousands of issues.⁷⁸ Facing food protests,

labor strife, and stalemate on the fronts, deputy commanding generals in the other 20 districts were hesitant to use their limited resources keeping lurid paperbacks from kids. Youth and adults thus had ample opportunities to smuggle issues to the districts that had banned them. Furthermore, with state censorship offices weakened by shortages of personnel and overburdened with containing public dissent, publishers eluded the censors by distributing new titles before they got on the blacklist.⁷⁹

The popularity of war penny dreadfuls suggests that both middle-class and working-class male youths broke laws to obtain a masculine fantasy about the war. This fantasy celebrated its violence and indulged in the militarism and nationalism of young volunteers. The mania for war penny dreadfuls despite the bans suggests that many male youth had developed a set of militarist and nationalist values at odds with those of most adults.

The Legacy of Youth War Literature

The authors of youth literature, key agents in providing youth with information about the war, asserted that war ended Germany's political conflicts, spread patriotism, reconciled previously hostile social groups, offered opportunities for immortality, elevated the German nation, and turned boys into men. Some of this exuberance about the war declined after 1915, when secondhand descriptions of the horrors—in letters from the front and in conversations with soldiers on leave—increasingly contradicted the official cheerful pronouncements. But most authors continued to believe it was their duty to mobilize youth in support of the war. After 1915 they still broadcast the message that the sacrifice of war was necessary for boys to achieve manhood and Germany to win honor. The commercial success of their books shows that they found a market for this idea among youth, and boys in particular. Civilian and military authorities, who had an interest in securing this cohort of male youth as future soldiers, therefore did not need to produce propaganda in the first years of the war. The War Press Office, the state's propaganda apparatus, was not operational until 1917. It was always tiny in comparison to the legion of the middle-class patriotic authors who reached readers from all social classes.⁸⁰ Some historians have claimed that after 1916 war was imposed on the German people by the dictatorial government under Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff.⁸¹ This view ignores the substantial middle-class support for the war. Though the German armies endorsed many of the war books for youth, they never commissioned authors to write them or forced youth to read them.

The memory of this voluntary patriotic mobilization was later a key component in the political movements that turned Germans into Nazis.⁸² Furthermore, the "stab-in-the-back legend," the myth that Germany lost the war because the working class weakened the army by striking, contained the idea that most Germans sustained their patriotism in the later years of the war. The search for enemies within Germany after

the shock of defeat was particularly common among males who experienced the First World War as youth—historians have long known that they were overrepresented in fascist and other radical right political organizations who fought leftist insurgents after 1918.⁸³ Many historians have argued that their disaffection with liberalism and anger against socialism resulted from their particular troubles after 1918: The return of soldiers and the transition to a peacetime economy displaced youths and made them more vulnerable to inflation and unemployment than any other age group. Furthermore, whereas the moderate political parties generally ignored their plight, radical organizations glorified their young vigor and offered them numerous opportunities to vent their anger.⁸⁴ Anecdotal biographical evidence suggests that young men's fantasies about war also played an important role. In memoirs, the most spirited advocates of fascism claimed that, despite their suffering, they had wanted to prove their manhood on the front at the end of the war. Unlike those born before 1900, these males of the war youth generation never had their fantasies of war contradicted by the sobering reality of the trenches; the few who managed to volunteer before age 18 saw little action on the Western front. Defeat and descent into revolution challenged these boys' idea that Germany was united and superior, and with Germany demilitarized after 1918, they lacked an outlet to prove their manhood and Germany's greatness. Consequently, they streamed into paramilitary groups to fight a perceived internal enemy that had supposedly caused Germany's loss in the war. The myths of the war experience had dominated the books and magazines that members of the war youth generation read more than the reading material of those a few years older. It is not too far-fetched to suppose that a good number of them had absorbed these myths and were acting on them after 1918 when they participated in fascist and other right-wing political violence.

I would like to thank the following for their criticism and help: Erin Holman, Bradley Naranch, Jeff Wilson, Maureen Healy, Rebecca Wittmann, Geoff Eley, Kathleen Canning, Scott Spector, and my colleagues in the history department at Marquette University.

¹ Julianne Eckhardt, "Imperialismus und Kaiserreich," in *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Reiner Wild (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2002), 179.

² Marieluise Christadler, *Kriegserziehung im Jugendbuch: Literarische Mobilmachung in Deutschland und Frankreich vor 1914* (Frankfurt am Main: Haag-Herchen, 1979), 21–40, 68–85, 106–77; Irene Dyhrenfurth, *Geschichte des deutschen Jugendbuches* (1942; reprint, Zürich: Atlantis, 1967), 144–73; and Eckhardt, "Imperialismus und Kaiserreich," 182–202.

³ George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 54–68; and Joe Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1979), 122–31.

⁴ James Steakley, "Iconography of a Scandal: Political Cartoons and the Eulenburg Affair in Wilhelmine Germany," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*,

ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey (New York: New American Library, 1989), 248–49; and Ute Frevert, “Soldaten, Staatsbürger: Überlegungen zur historischen Konstruktion von Männlichkeit,” in *Männergeschichte—Geschlechtergeschichte*, ed. Thomas Kühne (New York: Campus, 1996), 82–85.

⁵ See note no. 2.

⁶ Klaus Vondung, “Apokalyptische Erwartung: Zur Jugendrevolte in der deutschen Literatur zwischen 1910 und 1930,” in “*Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit*”: *Der Mythos Jugend*, ed. Thomas Koebner, Rolf-Peter Janz, and Frank Trommler (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 526.

⁷ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 7–8.

⁸ Giesela Wilkending, “Mädchenliteratur von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg,” in *Jugendliteratur*, ed. Wild, 220–46.

⁹ Ronald Fullerton, “Towards a Commercial Popular Culture in Germany: The Development of Pamphlet Fiction, 1871–1914,” *Journal of Social History* 12 (1979): 489–511; Rudolf Schenda, *Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute: Studien zur populären Literatur* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1976), 80–94; and Dyhrenfurth, *Jugendbuch*, 168–75.

¹⁰ John C. Fout, “Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia,” in *Forbidden History: The State, Society, and the Regulation of Sexuality in Modern Europe*, ed. John Fout (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹¹ Heinrich Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1899), 23–24, 120–46; and Christa Kamenetsky, *Children's Literature in Hitler's Germany: The Cultural Policy of National Socialism* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1984), 11–15.

¹² Gerhard Holtz-Baumert, *Überhaupt brauchen wir eine sozialistische Literatur: Skizzen vom Kampf um eine sozialistische, deutsche Kinderliteratur mit einem Dokumenten-Anhang* ([East]Berlin: Kinderbuch, 1972), 12, 23, 31–37, 108–10.

¹³ Wolfgang Natter, *Literature at War, 1914–1940: Representing the Time of Greatness in Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 127–42, 174–86; Max Lobsien, *Unsre Zwölfjährigen und der Krieg* (Leipzig: Seemannschriften, 1916), 7–8; H. Schüßler, “Die Schuljugend und der Krieg,” *Frankfurter Schulzeitung* 34 (15 June 1917): 114; Robert Dinse, *Das Freizeitleben der Großstadtjugend* (Berlin: Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt, 1932), 47; and the catalog of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Abteilung Jugendschriften.

¹⁴ *Proletarische Jugendbewegung in der Kriegszeit* (Berlin: Ebert, 1915), 9; Karl Korn, “Die freie Jugendbewegung während der Kriegszeit,” *Jungvolk* (1916): 30–39; and Heinrich Schultz, “Der Weltkrieg 1914/15,” *Jungvolk* (1916): 18–28.

¹⁵ Schenda, *Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute*, 98; and Johannes Tews, “Der Volksunterricht im Kriegsjahr,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, 26 February 1915, in Bundesarchiv R 8034 II 6938, 149.

¹⁶ “Kleinliches,” *Das Kränzchen* 29 (1916/17): 330; Tony Schumacher, *Wenn Vater im Krieg ist* (Stuttgart: Levy & Müller, 1915), 210; and “Der Krieg und unsre Kinder,” *Gesundbrunnen* (1916): 98–99.

¹⁷ “Eine pädagogische Tat,” *Jugendschriften-Warte* 23 (January–March 1916): 1–2.

¹⁸ “Wer hat angefangen,” *Der gute Kamerad* 29 (1914/15): 54.

¹⁹ Gerhard Füllkrug, “Der Krieg,” *Deutsche Mädchen-Zeitung* 48 (1916): 2–4; *ibid.*, 49 (1917): 34–36; and *ibid.*, 50 (1918): 9–10.

²⁰ See testimony of Günther Grassmann in *Kindheit im Kaiserreich*, ed. Rudolf Pörtner (Düsseldorf: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1987), 155.

²¹ *Viel Feind—viel Ehr! 1914–1916* (Duisburg: Steinkamp, 1916), n.p.; Hedwig von Greving, “Regina,” *Deutsche Mädchen-Zeitung* 48 (February–April 1916): 26; Else von Steinkeller, *Ursels Heldentat* (Berlin, 1916), 128–29; and Frank Emil, *Im Weltenbrand* (Bocholt i.W.: Temming, 1915), 11.

²² Wilhelm Momma, *Der jüngste Rekrut* (Stuttgart: Levy & Müller, 1915), 150.

²³ “Kasperle und der Krieg: Eine Szene für das Kasperletheater,” *Meidinger’s Kinder-Kalender* 21 (1918): 125–28.

²⁴ Some of many possible examples: Wilhelm Arminius, *Der Spion von Tannenberg* (Stuttgart: Levy & Müller, 1918); *U-Boot-Fahrten* (Berlin: Herman Hilger, 1918); and Adelheid Stier, “Eine Hamsterfahrt,” *Für unsere Jugend* (1917/18): 18–20.

²⁵ A paper shortage shut down most of the publishers in England during the war as well. Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girl’s Culture in England, 1880–1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 179.

²⁶ For quantitative evidence for this claim, see Martin Travers, *German Novels on the First World War and Their Ideological Implications, 1918–1933* (Stuttgart: H.-D. Heinz, 1982), 239–47.

²⁷ Some of many possible examples: Walder Heichen, *Unter den Fahnen Hindenburgs* (Berlin: Phönix-Verlag, 1914), 7, 9; K. Stauffer, *Der Fahnenträger von Verdun* (Berlin: Anton, 1916), 20, 23; Agnes Sapper, *Kriegsbüchlein* (Stuttgart: Gundert, 1915), 26, 33–47; Thea Harbou, “Ein altes Fräulein,” *Du junge Wacht am Rhein!* (Stuttgart: Levy & Müller, 1915); Walther Arndt, *In Kampf und Sieg durch Belgien* (Berlin: Meidinger, 1915), 99; Wanda Gellert, *Stilles Heldentum* (Berlin: Meidinger, 1918), 54; Paul Baumann, *Unser Kriegsbuch* (Berlin: Montanus, 1915), 42, 46, 53; Alfred Sternbeck, *Der Weltkrieg in Frankreich* (Berlin: Meidinger, 1915), 30, 41; Heinrich Werdenfels, *Unsere Feldgrauen in Feindesland* (Berlin: Weichert, 1915), 6, 44, 113; E. Herbold, “Was deutsch sein heißt,” *Mädchenpost* 3 (19 March 1916): 396–97; [Henny] Koch, “Die Bettelsuse,” *Der Jugendgarten* 40 (1915): 260; Arthur Babillotte, *Stille Helden: Eine Erzählung aus den Vogesenkämpfen* (Cologne: Schaffstein, 1915), 4; Maria Mancke, *Marie von Felseneck: Landwehrmanns Einzige* (Berlin: Weichert, 1917), 14; and Bertha Clement, *Morgenrot: Eine Erzählung aus dem großen Krieg für Mädchen* (Stuttgart: Loewe, 1916), 44.

²⁸ Henny Koch, *Aus großer Zeit* (Berlin: Union, 1915), 23–24; and Bertha Clement, *Sturmgebraus* (Leipzig: Van den Broecke, 1916), 5.

²⁹ Sapper, *Kriegsbüchlein*, 28; and Baumann, *Unser Kriegsbuch*, 160.

³⁰ Sternbeck, *Weltkrieg in Frankreich*, 30.

³¹ Kurt Küchler, “Von der Schulbank in den Krieg,” *Scherls Jungdeutschlandbuch* 2 (1915): 249–55.

³² Fr. Hörnig, “Der Kriegsfreiwillige,” *Neuer deutscher Jugendfreund* 70 (1915): 17–41.

³³ Maximilian Kern, “Ich hatt’ einen Kameraden,” *Der gute Kamerad* 29 (1914/15), serialized; Wilhelm Momma, *Wir halten aus!* (Reutlingen, 1914), 33; Fr. Hörnig, “Einig und stark!” *Neuer deutscher Jugendfreund* 69 (1914): 419–32; A. Oskar Klaußmann, “Hans Däumling in Uniform: Eine Feldzugsgesichte,” *Für die Kinderwelt* 10 and 11 (1915/16): 78–80, 85–87; “Der Feigling,” *Neuer deutscher Jugendfreund* 71 (1916): 310–27; and Max Karl Böttcher, “Die jungen Feinde,” *Meidinger’s Kinder-Kalender* 20 (1917): 61–72.

³⁴ Momma, *Der jüngste Rekrut*, 18–19; Walter Schulte VomBrühl, *Der Kriegsfahrer* (Stuttgart: Bonz, 1915), 102; and Arthur Zapp, *Marschall von Hindenburg und sein Rekrut* (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1916), 50.

³⁵ For example: Rheinhold Bachmann, *Aus der Schule in die Schlacht* (Leipzig: Abel & Müller, 1917), 159–60; and Else Ury, “Eva, das Kriegskind,” *Der Jugendgarten* 41 (1916): 90.

³⁶ Schumacher, *Vater im Krieg*, 10; Arndt, *Sieg durch Belgien*, 100; Paul Grebein, “Unter des Reiches Sturmflamme,” *Der gute Kamerad* 30 (1915/16): 19–20; Else Model, “Überall Treu!” *Deutscher Kinderfreund* 38 (December 1915): 40–47; Küchler, “Von der Schulbank,” 352; and Werdenfels, “Joachim Bernbach,” 7.

³⁷ Stauffer, *Fahnenträger*, 30–35; Baumann, *Kriegsbuch*, 61–62.

³⁸ Heinrich Kaulen, “Vom bürgerlichen Elternhaus zur Patchwork-Familie,” in *Familienzenen: Die Darstellung familialer Kindheit in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Hans-Heino Ewers and Inge Wild (Weinheim: Juventa, 1999), 113–15.

³⁹ Kurt Wais, *Das Vater-Sohn-Motiv in der Dichtung*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1931), 47–89; Michael Kater, “Generationskonflikt als Entwicklungsfaktor in der NS-Bewegung vor 1933,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11 (1985): 221–24; and Katherine Larson Roper, “Images of German Youth in Weimar Novels,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 13 (1978): 499–516.

⁴⁰ Arndt, *Sieg durch Belgien*, 143; Mancke, *Marie von Felseneck*, 90, 143, 251; Wynchgram, “Entstehung und Wirkung,” 6; Luise v. Brandt, “Drei Augenblicksbilder,” *Gesundbrunnen* (1917): 33–36; “Der Krieg im Volksmund,” *Kriegsblätter für unsere Jugend* 102 (15 January 1917): 815–16; and “Wie deutsche Kämpfer die Blumen lieben,” *Sonntagsbote Jugend* 24 (25 February 1917): 29–30.

⁴¹ Else Model, “Stundenschlag,” *Deutscher Kinderfreund* 40 (August 1918): 121; and Hans Reinlein, “Kriegsruf,” *Jugendblätter* (Munich) 63 (1916/17): 152.

⁴² Georg Gellert, *Im Granatfeuer der Schlachtfelder* (Berlin: W. Bloch, 1916), 41–45; Arndt, *Sieg durch Belgien*; Bachmann, *Aus der Schule*, 168–79; and Zapp, *Marschall von Hindenburg*, 141–58.

⁴³ Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined* (London: Bodley Head, 1990), 115–16.

⁴⁴ Sternbeck, *Weltkrieg in Frankreich*, 183; and Hans Willig, *Jungens! Frisch drauf!* (Berlin: Weichert, 1915), 230.

⁴⁵ Hans Walter Schmidt, *Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland* (Stuttgart: Loewe, 1916); Ludwig Schroeder, *Haltet aus im Sturmgebraus* (Nürnberg: Nister, 1915), n.p.; Wilhelm Kotzde, *Die Musik kommt!* (Mainz: Scholz, 1916); and Sternbeck, *Weltkrieg in Frankreich*, 72, 78–79.

⁴⁶ For citations of this large body of literature, see my dissertation, “War Pedagogy and Youth Culture,” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2000, 300–6.

⁴⁷ “Ein gefährlicher Patrouillengang,” *Deutschlands Jugend* 33 (1916): 126–27; “Opfermut,” *Der gute Kamerad* 32 (1917/18): 336; “Wie das Eiserne Kreuz erworben wird,” *Deutscher Kinderfreund* 37 (December 1914): 54–56; “Eine kühne Tat,” *Der gute Kamerad* 32 (1917/18): 112; “Ein mutiger Retter,” *Das Kränzchen* 30 (1918): 321; and Hans Fischer, “Der Krieg der Pioniere,” *Deutscher Kinderfreund* 40 (January 1918): 58–62.

⁴⁸ “Das Eiserne Kreuz als Lebensretter,” *Der gute Kamerad* 29 (1914/15): 432.

⁴⁹ Kevin McAleer, *The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-Siècle Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Ute Frevort, *Ehrenmänner: Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991).

⁵⁰ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 7–8; and *Viel Feind—viel Ehr*; and Fr. Hornig, “Kriegspflingsten: Ein Stimmungsbild,” *Neuer deutscher Jugendfreund* 70 (1915): 568.

⁵¹ Gellert, *Granatfeuer der Schlachtfelder*, 99.

- ⁵² Heichen, *Fahnen Hindenburgs*, 7, 9, 45–46.
- ⁵³ Stauffer, *Fahnenträger*, 74. See also the later exploits, 127–28.
- ⁵⁴ Paul Bliss, *Unser Hindenburg* (Berlin: Weichert, 1915), 174.
- ⁵⁵ Gellert, *Kampf in Feindesland*, 140–43.
- ⁵⁶ Schmidt, *Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland*, 52.
- ⁵⁷ “Generalfeldmarschall v. Hindenburg,” *Der gute Kamerad* 32 (1917/18): 65–67; Eva Gaehetgens, *Dita Frohmut und ihre Geschwister* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1917), 142; and “Generale als—Zauberer,” *Jung-Siegfried* 18 (11 August 1918), 167–69.
- ⁵⁸ *Neue deutsche Bilderbögen* 2 (1916), plate no. 41.
- ⁵⁹ Alfons Krämer, “Die Gefangenen kommen!” *Für die Kinderwelt* 8 (1915/16): 58–59; and Else Ury, “Hänschens Ritt zu Hindenburg,” *Meidinger’s Kinder-Kalender* 20 (1917): 18–28.
- ⁶⁰ “Hindenburgworte,” *Jung-Siegfried* 16 (2 September 1917): 289.
- ⁶¹ Otto Rudert, “Ein deutscher Junge,” *Das Neue Universum* 36 (1915): 151–52; and Hans Fischer, “Der Schimmel,” *Deutscher Kinderfreund* 40 (August 1918): 123–27.
- ⁶² “Aus einem Feldpostbrief,” *Für die Kinderwelt* 21 (1914/1915): 163–65; Georgy, “Drei von Rodenfels,” 108; Wilhelm Schussen, *Leutnant Vollmar erzählt* (Gotha: Perthes, 1917), 53–54; and Paul Telemann, *Der Sieger* (Berlin: n.p., 1915), n. p.
- ⁶³ “Ein Bajonettangriff,” *Für die Kinderwelt* 12 (1915/16): 12–15.
- ⁶⁴ Richard Sexan, “Der dicke Förster,” in *Im Kriegsgewitter*, ed. Paul Burg (Reutlingen: Enßlin & Laiblin, 1915), 52.
- ⁶⁵ Otfried von Hanstein, “Die Eroberung von Bailly,” *In Feindesland* (Berlin: Heilbrunn, 1915), 94.
- ⁶⁶ Carl Diem, “Aus meinem Kriegstagebuch,” *Scherls Jungdeutschlandbuch* 2 (1915): 266.
- ⁶⁷ Michael Paris, “Boys’ Books and the Great War,” *History Today* 50 (2000): 44–49; Christadler, *Kriegserziehung im Jugendbuch*, op. cit.; and Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *La guerre des enfants 1914–1918* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1993), 46–58, 84–89, 105.
- ⁶⁸ Leonard Smith, “Masculinity, Memory, and the French First World War Novel: Henri Barbusse and Ronald Dorgelès,” in *Authority, Identity, and the Social History of the Great War*, ed. Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee (Oxford: Berghahn, 1995); Hans-Harald Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller: Kriegsroman der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1986), 20; Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 263, 266–68; and Travers, *German Novels*, 195.
- ⁶⁹ Schenda, *Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute*, 87; Fullerton, “Popular Culture in Germany,” 500.
- ⁷⁰ “Kriegsschundliteratur,” *Pädagogische Zeitung* 45 (20 April 1916): 218; Hans Fischer, *Ein gefährlicher Patrouillenritt* (Berlin: Verlagshaus für Volksliteratur und Kunst, 1915), 32; and Arnold Tell, *An der Hallue* (Berlin: Verlagshaus für Volksliteratur und Kunst, 1915), 32.
- ⁷¹ Fullerton, “Popular Culture in Germany”; Schenda, *Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute*; Ernst Schultze, *Kulturfragen der Gegenwart* (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1913).
- ⁷² For praise, see the reviews in *Jugendchriften-Warte* 23 (April 1916): 12, and (June 1916): 19–20; and “Schundliteratur und Krieg,” *Pädagogische Zeitung* 45 (3 February 1916): 63–64. For censure, see “Die Bekämpfung der Kriegsschundliteratur,” *Schulblatt der Provinz Sachsen* 55 (13 December 1916): 498; and Wilhelm Tellendorff, “Der Kampf gegen die Kriegsschundliteratur,” *Praxis der Landschule* 25 (August 1916): 81–91.

⁷³ "Was sollen unsere Kinder jetzt lesen?" *Hannoversche Schulzeitung* 50 (15 December 1914): 791.

⁷⁴ Paul Samuleit, *Wie unsere Jugend den Krieg erlebt* (Berlin: Sigismund, 1917), 16.

⁷⁵ "Bericht über die Kriegstagung des Deutschen Lehrervereins," *Der Volksschullehrer* 10 (29 June 1916): 207; and "Verkappter Schund," *Jugendschriften-Warte* 24 (June 1917): 22–24.

⁷⁶ Papierfabrik Hermes & Co, 16.6.1916, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf III 1705, Bl. 26.

⁷⁷ "Schundliteratur in Magdeburger Schulen," *Schulblatt der Provinz Sachsen* 56 (21 February 1917): 74–75.

⁷⁸ Thielemann, "Bekämpfung der Kriegsschundliteratur," 55.

⁷⁹ See the letters from October 1916 in Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes (Berlin) EEA 23; and *Jugendpfleger und Jugendpflegerinnen vom 8. bis 10. November 1917 in Berlin*, 93–94, in GStA Rep. 169C 36D, Bl. 25b.

⁸⁰ Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 149–55.

⁸¹ Martin Kitchen, *The Silent Dictatorship: The Politics of the German High Command under Hindenburg and Ludendorff, 1916–1918* (London: Croon Helm, 1976).

⁸² Peter Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 7, 80–81.

⁸³ Hans Gerth, "The Nazi Party: Its Leadership and Composition," *American Journal of Sociology* 45 (1940): 529–33; Michael Kater, *The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Members and Leaders 1919–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 140–46; Jürgen Falter, "The Young Membership of the NSDAP Between 1925 and 1933: A Demographic and Social Profile" in *The Rise of National Socialism and the Working Classes in Weimar Germany*, ed. Conan Fischer (Providence, R.I.: Berghahn, 1996); Peter Merkl, *Political Violence under the Swastika: 581 Early Nazis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 12–14; Conan Fischer, *Stormtroopers: A Social, Economic, and Ideological Analysis, 1929–1935* (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), 48–50; Richard Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany, 1925–1934* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 33–45; Richard Bessel, *Germany after the First World War* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 266–68; James Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 63–64, 171–73; Volker Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1966), 32–33; Robert Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism: The Free Corps Movement in Postwar Germany, 1918–1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 35; and Hagen Schulze, *Freikorps und Republik, 1918–1920* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt, 1969), 48, 51.

⁸⁴ Detlev Peukert, *Jugend zwischen Krieg und Krise: Lebenswelten von Arbeiterjungen in der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne: Bund, 1987), 31–54; Larry Eugene Jones, "German Liberalism and the Alienation of the Younger Generation," in *In Search of a Liberal Germany: Studies in the History of German Liberalism from 1789 to the Present*, ed. Konrad Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones (New York: Berg, 1990); Larry Eugene Jones, "Generational Conflict and the Problem of Political Mobilization in the Weimar Republic," in *Elections, Mass Politics and Social Change in Modern Germany*, ed. Larry Eugene Jones and James Retallack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).