THE GERMAN BESTSELLER, 1914-1933:

A Study of the Top Twenty-five German Bestsellers and the German Reading Public.

by

Evelyn E. Drescher

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Words fail me in thanking the two people in my life who most deserve it - my parents. Both of my parents were born in Germany during the last desperate years of the Weimar Republic; it affected their lives and, therefore, mine. Therein lies the basic inspiration for the following study. It is dedicated to them with much love.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

That art and society share an important relationship is certainly not a new suggestion. The idea that art somehow reflects society is perhaps the most common understanding of the relationship and has its roots in the mimetic theories of Plato and Aristotle. Just how this process works, or even if that is the real nature of the relationship between the two, has eluded definitive explanation. It is easily said that:

> Were one to see the literature of a people whose history one does not know, one could tell what this people had been, and were one to read the history of a people whose literature one does not know, one could assume with certainty, which one had been the basic trait of its literature.[1]

But to undertake such a project is no easy task and often ends in the pursuit of an elusive **Zeitgeist.** Hard as it is to pinpoint the relationship between a society and its literature and art, however, it must be a major consideration. One can approach the problem of the relationship from two points: the theoretical and the historical.

The reflection theory mentioned above is only one of the theories within the ongoing controversy about the nature of the relationship between society and art. It is a fascinating and important debate, but one which is beyond the scope of this study at this time.[2] The historical approach is in many ways much more manageable and equally as important.

An examination of the historical reality of a situation, the historian likes to believe, can contribute to the larger question being

asked. Admittedly this requires the discipline of limitation and only one aspect at a time can usually be explored. But it is the hope of the historian that even a limited study will in fact enhance understanding. This is the spirit in which the following study has been approached. It is hoped that this study will answer important historical questions about the period under examination and also that it will make a contribution to an understanding of the larger question of the relationship between society and art.

This study will examine German popular literature in the period 1914-1933. Initially, the study was to cover only the years of the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933. However, because of the crucial impact of the war on all aspects of Weimar society and the type of popular literature which became successful during 1914-1918, it was felt necessary to include the war years. Popular literature was chosen as the artistic medium for two main reasons. First, there is a practical connection between popular literature and society, a connection which is often ignored when dealing with what is considered 'classical' literature. Popular literature will be considered not only as art but also as a commodity affected, if not determined, by such factors as production strategies and advertising. In this sense the link between society and art cannot be clearer. Secondly, popular literature has a direct relationship with its reading public which is expressed in the success of the literature. Popular literature, as all art, incorporates the social values and norms of the society and, therefore, reveals a layer of social consciousness. It will be argued in this

to some degree, be charted according to the social, economic, and political conditions of the society. The Weimar period, especially, is characterized by great political, economic, social and cultural diversity. The fluctuations the German people experienced beginning in 1914 and ending, for this study in 1933, provide an excellent point from which to evaluate what literature they read during those years. The directing questions behind this study are then: what did the German reading public read and bring to popular success?, when did they read certain books?, and why?

Outline of study

Specifically this study will look at the top twenty-five German bestsellers which reached the height of their popularity between 1914 and 1933. These bestsellers have been chosen from statistics provided by D. R. Richards in his book, The German Bestseller in the 20th Century: A complete bibliography and analysis, 1915-1940.[3] Since the total number or bestsellers listed by Richards is over eight hundred, it was possible to examine only the top twenty-five in any detail. However, using Richards' statistics, some general conclusions will be offered as well. The twenty-five bestsellers will be analyzed according to their publication statistics which indicate the fluctuations in their popularity. It will be shown that the bestsellers fall into relatively distinct periods of popularity, periods which coincide with the changing conditions in German society. Prior to the examination of each of the twenty-five books, an outline of the periods will

political and economic conditions and events. The bestsellers will then be discussed in terms of author, when information is available, and plot, characters and themes. A more detailed examination of the publication statistics of each book will also be included. Finally, some attempt will be made to connect German society, the reading public and the bestsellers in a way which will shed some light on them individually and on the relationship between them.

Introduction: Notes

[1] Charles de Bonald, as quoted in Leo Lowenthal Literature, Popular Culture and Society (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. ix. Charles de Bonald was a 17th century French philosopher and political theorist.

[2] The most valuable, if controversial, contributions in the twentieth century to the whole question of the nature of the relationship between society and art, have been made by Marxists endeavoring to develop an aesthetic and cultural theory. See for example Terry Eagelton, Criticism and Ideology (London: Verso Books, 1978), Ernst Fischer, The Necessity of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), L. Goldman, Cultural Creation in Modern Society (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1976), G. Lukacs, Writer and Critic (London: Merlin Press, 1978), R. Williams, Marxism and Literature (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), F. Jameson, ed. Aesthetics and Politics: Debates between Ernest Bloch, Georg Lukacs, Bertolt Brecht, Walter Benjamin, Theodor Adorno (London: New Left Books, 1977). The above represent only the Marxist perspective.

[3] D.R. Richards, The German Bestseller in the 20th Century: A complete bibliography and analysis, 1915-1940. (Berne: H. Lang, 1968).

CHAPTER ONE: PUBLICATION STATISTICS FOR THE GERMAN BESTSELLER

Historians are fortunate to have available the information obviously compiled by D.R. Richards. Using Christian Gottlob Kayser's vollständiges Bücherlexikon (KBL) for the period up to 1910 and the Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis (DBV) for the period up to 1940, Richards has provided the most comprehensive tabulation of German fiction for the modern period. The task was undertaken to circumvent some of the problems faced by researchers in handling the imposing volume of popular literature in this period, as well as to combat exaggerated and misleading claims to popularity made without substantiating evidence. The results of his tabulations are, he admits, quite startling in many ways:

> Some authors, who are rarely if ever mentioned in the common literary histories of today, some of whose very lives seem so obscure that it is impossible to locate their dates of birth and death.... were successful as writers - according to the publishers' index. Others were quite popular though they are rarely listed in literary histories.... And further, some authors who are often discussed at length as innovators of ideas and styles or protagonists of groups have left but little trace on the wider reading public of their time.[1]

As Richards himself indicates, much can be done on the basis of his statistics, not the least of which is "to do justice to authors who actually were successful."[2] Richards provides two tables of statistical data to be used in conjunction with one another.

Table A includes eight hundred and sixty-five titles of fiction published between 1899 and 1940, all of which achieved an accumulative

printing of at least fifty thousand copies.[3] Since the numerical definition of a bestseller has not been determined, Richards uses fifty thousand copies as his measurement. The titles are listed in descending order: the first is Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks which reached 1,305,000 copies by 1936, and the table ends with Stefan Zweig's Marie Antoinette which stood at 50,000 copies in 1932. As Richards explains, this Table "enables one to ascertain the very best-selling books at a glance (and).... allows one to visualize quickly several books enjoying approximately the same degree of popularity."[4] Table I is an example and represents the majority of the books to be used in this study. Although taken from Richards Table A, the format has been slightly altered in order to make the information clear for the reader.[5]

TABLE 1 TWENTY-FIVE GERMAN BESTSELLERS, 1915-1940

	AUTHOR	BOOK	DATE PUBLISHED	PRINTINGS	**
1.	Mann, Thomas	Buddenbrooks	1901	1,305,000	1936
2.	Hein, Alfred	Kurt Maler:Ein Lieblingsroman	1922	999,000	1922
3.	Remarque, E.M.	Im Westen nichts Neues	1929	900,000+	1929
4.	Bonsels, Waldemar	Die Biene Maja und ihre Abenteuer	1912	790,000+	1940
5.	Sünder, Artur	Der Dinte wider das Blut	1921	693,000	1922
6.	Flex, Walter	Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten	1917	682,000	1940
7.	Voss, Richard	Zwei Menschen	1911	620,000+	1929
8.	Herzog, Rudolf	Die Wiskottens	1905	615,000	1939

	AUTHOR	BOOK	DATE PUBLISHED	PRINTINGS	**
9.	Plüschow, Gunther	Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau	1916	610,000	1927
10.	Löns, Hermann	Der Wehrwolf	1910	565,000+	1939
11.	Böhme, M.	Tagebuch einer Verlorenen	1905	563,000+	1931
12.	Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, F.V.	Carin Göring	1933	550,000	1940
13.	Keller, Paul	Waldwinter	1902	518,000	1938
14.	Schenzinger, K.A.	Anilin	1936	505,000	1940
15.	Rilke, R.M.	Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke	1899	500,000+	1934
16.	Rose, Felicitas	Heideschulmeister Uwe Karsten	1909	500,000	1937
17.	Molo, Walter V.	Fridericus.Trilogie	1918	485,000	1936
18.	Herzog, Rudolf	Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen	1917	483,000	1941
19.	Grimm, Hans	Volk ohne Raum	1928	480,000	1940
20.	Heer, J.C.	Der Wetterwart	1905	c.477,000	1940
21.	Schleich, K.L.	Besonnte Vergangenheit	1921	469,000	1940
22.	Frenssen, G.	Jörn Uhl	1901	463,000	1939
23.	Kull, Franz	Fünf Jahre Fremdenlegionär	1921	450,000	1923
24.	Bonsels, W.	Himmelvolk	1915	445,000	1940
25.	Löns, H.	Das Zweite Gesicht	1912	435,000	1938

**indicates the date the Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis gives with the final printing.

+ indicates at least one edition without data which Richards did not include in the total tabulation.

The eight hundred and sixty-five titles in Richard's Table A break down into three hundred and thirty authors, and four books listed without authors. Fifty-two percent of the authors wrote only one book which was a bestseller[6] and thirteen wrote over five books which reached fifty thousand copies or more. Four percent wrote over ten bestselling books, the maximum being twenty books for Rudolf Herzog and Ernst Zahn. Table 2 lists the top thirteen percent.

TABLE 2 BESTSELLING GERMAN AUTHORS,1915-1940

NUMBER OF BOOKS	AUTHORS
20	R. Herzog, E. Zahn
16	L. Ganghofer, K. May, H. Dominik
15	P. Keller
13	P. Rosegger
12	W. Bonsels, H. Löns
11	F. Rose*, G. Frenssen
10	J.C. Heer, W. Bloem, F. Schreckenbach
9	D. Speckmann, E.E. Dwinger
8	H. Courths-Mahler*, L. Thoma, H. Federer, E. Handel-Mazzetti*, H. Hesse, R. Stratz
7	P.C. Ettighofer, W. Beumelberg, S. Zweig, H. Mann, R.H. Bartsch, G. Fock, E. Wiechert
6	T. Mann, A. Sapper*, R. Binding, B. Kellerman, J. Wasserman, G. Schroer, E. Jansen, O. Ernst, A. Schnitzler
5	W. Flex, R.M. Rilke, A. Wothe*, P. Grabein, A. Neeff, E.G. Kolbenheyer, A. Schieber*

* female authors (six out of forty-five).

Some basic conclusions can be drawn from the above two tables.

First, the authors who were repeatedly successful in producing best-sellers became well known to the reading public and obviously struck some chord deeply enough to encourage continued sales. Thus, a study of the most successful books and authors should indicate the tastes of the reading public. Second, one should note that in the top thirteen percent are names with which students of the period will be familiar: Hermann Hesse, Stefan Zweig, Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Arthur Schnitzler, and R.M. Rilke.[7] The others are less well known especially to those unfamiliar with German. The exceptions are those authors who commonly receive passing mention in the standard literary and cultural histories.[8] Some authors were not prolific writers and are so obscure that they are almost impossible to trace historically. Yet in terms of copies printed they were, relatively, as successful as their contemporaries. This presents a serious research problem. On the one hand there are the prominently successful writers who reverberate historically and on the other hand there are the only marginally known writers who stand at the top in terms of publishing. For example, Alfred Hein follows Thomas Mann with 999,000 copies of Kurts Maler as the second bestseller (see Table 1). It is significant that this figure was reached within one year. Yet one would be hard pressed to find Hein in a standard history of Germany. Although it may seem more immediately logical to choose only those authors who were most successful, in order to come to terms with the reading public and popular literature, such a procedure would at the same time eliminate those individual books which reached overall popularity comparable to the more consistently popular authors. The individual books widen the scope of the study sample

introducing such elements as parody and satire. Hein's Kurt Maler is a satirical rendition of the type of mainstay **Frauenroman** (love story) written by Hedwig Courths-Mahler. It is such considerations that determined the choice of the top twenty-five bestsellers from Richards' Table for this study. The top twenty-five include both the more productive authors who attracted a reliable following and those one book successes which caught the immediate fancy of the reading public. Furthermore, the top twenty-five encompass the 'great' names (i.e. Thomas Mann and Rainer Marie Rilke) as well as the representative literary genres (i.e. **Heimatkunst** -Regional literature, **Frauenromane** -Women's literature, and **Frontromane** -war novels).

Returning first, however, to the entire Table provided by Richards, the results of further calculations are intriguing. Of the eight hundred and sixty-five books, four hundred and fifty-seven, or fifty-three percent, were first published between 1899 and 1917.[9] Of these, only nineteen titles had reached their accumulative total printings of fifty thousand or more before 1918. The rest (four hundred and thirty-eight titles) continued their popularity after the war and, as will be shown in some individual cases, experienced their height of popularity only after the war. This is an interesting comment on what the reading public read: despite the war and the social, political and economic disruptions following the war, the public preferred books which had not been inspired or influenced by the impact of the current events. Even if one subtracts the one hundred and thirty-four books published between 1914 and 1917, the majority of

prosperous.

Of the remaining four hundred and eight titles in Table A, one hundred and thirty-seven were published between 1918 and 1923, eighty-eight between 1924 and 1929, sixty-nine between 1930 and 1933 and one hundred and fourteen between 1934 and 1940. Excluding those titles published during the Third Reich, one is left with two hundred and ninety-four bestsellers published in the Weimar period specifically. The decrease in the number of books published and achieving bestseller status within the Weimar Republic (i.e. one hundred and thirty-seven (1918-1923) to eighty-eight (1924-1929) to sixty-nine (1930-1933) is significant in relation to the increase of bestsellers produced after 1933. It seems reasonable to attribute the difference after 1933 to the restrictions placed upon the authors and publishers in terms of censorship and outright banning and burning of books. 1933 witnessed the beginning of a great migration of intellectuals from Germany relieving the German book market of many 'undesirable' competitors for the favours of the reading public. The rearrangement of the entire literature industry from the reorganization of the Writers' Guild and 'coordination' of the public libraries to the expropriation of Jewish publishers and bookstores affected the reading public and their choices of literature. Vigorous national propaganda extolling certain authors and books far beyond the advertising policy any individual publisher could carry out, and severe legal restrictions at every step, constituted control of the book market and the reading public. As with the rest of German society, these could not escape the 'Nazi seizure of power.'[10] In light of the above, and although a study of Nazi cultural

policy and control in relation to bestsellers would be valuable in itself,[11] it is questionable whether it would throw much light upon the reading public and the 'free' - as opposed to nationally-controlled-relationship between popular literature and society.

A list of the top twenty-five bestsellers from Richards' Table has already been provided (see Table 1). Two of the books from that list were eliminated for this study. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's book Carin Göring, published in 1933, was eliminated because it was not useful in relation to its popularity. Since it was published in 1933, the growth of its popularity was restricted to the following period. Furthermore, one can assume it to have been acceptable to the strictures of the Nazi state otherwise publication would have been suppressed. The second book, K.A. Schenzinger's Anilin, was discarded because it was published in 1936, falling therefore beyond the Weimar period. In their stead the next two books - numbers twenty-six and twenty-seven of Richards' Table - were included: 1) Der rote Kampfflieger, by Manfred von Richthofen, published in 1917 and reaching 420,000 copies by 1938, and 2) Gib mich frei!, by Hedwig Courths-Mahler, published in 1912 and reaching 402,000 copies by 1919.

Despite the uses of Table A, Table B remains the more important: it covers the next one hundred and sixty-seven pages of his book and includes five hundred and ninety-two authors and two thousand and forty-three books.[12] Table B is an alphabetical listing of the authors and their works which reached twenty-one thousand copies or more between 1899 and 1940. Richards breaks the years between 1915 and 1940 into five year blocks - 15/20, 20/25, 25/30, 30/35 and 35/40 - under

which he lists the accumulative printing statistics of each title (i.e. number of editions) with the corresponding block of years. To use both of Richards' Tables as they were intended required that each of the twenty-five bestsellers (excluding the two eliminated and including the next two for reasons given above) were listed as to their accumulative printings. Rather than reproduce Richards' format, the following information has been extracted and organized as best suited the purposes of this study. The first column of dates and figures are the accumulative printings as taken from Richards. The second column represents independent calculations. While Richards' figures give a general perspective of popularity and the relative position of the books to one another, the popularity of the books is more precisely indicated if the accumulative figures are subtracted from one another to ascertain the rise and fall of the books over the period. These latter figures allow one to approximate the period in which the book reached the pinacle of its popularity and when and if, and to what degree, it declined in popularity; once the period is designated it is possible to begin to investigate the social, economic and political environment in which the books succeeded or failed, and by matching the content of the books with the period, then hypothesize on why.

TABLE 3 ACCUMULATIVE AND NON-ACCUMULATIVE PRINTINGS OF THE TOP TWENTY-FIVE GERMAN BESTSELLERS USED IN THIS STUDY (column a accumulative, column b non-accumulative - relative rise and fall in popularity)

	a		b	
1.	Mann, Thomas (1875-1955)	Buddenbrooks published in 1901		
	1918	99,000	1901-1918	99,000
	1925	159,000	1918-1925	60,000
	1930	1,085,000	1925-1930	926,000
	1932	1,165,000	1930-1932	80,000
	1936	1,305,000	1932-1936	140,000
2.	Hein, Alfred (1894-1945)	Kurts Maler. Ein Lieblingsroman des deutschen Volkes. published 1922		
	1922	999,000	1922	999,000
3.	Remarque, R.M. (1898-1970)	Im Westen nichts Neues published 1929		
	1929	900,000+	1929	900,000+
4.	Bonsels, Waldemar (1881-1952)	Die Biene Maja und ihre Abenteuer published 1912		
a)	1920	318,000	1912-1920	318,000
	1925	584,000	1920-1925	266,000
	1928	684,000	1925-1928	100,000
	1935	760,000	1928-1935	86,000
	1938	775,000	1935-1938	15,000
b)	with pictures			
	1922	545,000	1912-1922	545,000
	1929	715,000	1922-1929	170,000
	1935	755,000	1929-1935	40,000
	1940	790,000	1935-1940	35,000
5.	Sunder, Artur (1889-1969)	Die Dinte wider das Blut published 1921		
	1922	693,000	1922	693,000
6.	Flex, Walter (1887-1917)	Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten published 1917		
	1920	195,000	1917-1920	195,000
	1925	255,000	1920-1925	60,000
	1928	301,000	1925-1928	46,000
	1931	340,000	1928-1931	39,000
	1940	682,000	1931-1940	342,000

	a		b
7. Voss, Richard (1851-1918) Zwei Menschen published 1911			
1920	300,000	1911-1920	300,000
1925	540,000	1920-1925	240,000
1929	620,000	1925-1929	80,000
8. Herzog, Rudolf (1869-1943) Die Wiskottens published 1905			
1920	185,000	1905-1920	185,000
1923	320,000	1920-1923	135,000
1930	361,000	1923-1930	41,000
1932	441,000	1930-1932	80,000
1939	615,000	1932-1939	174,000
9. Plüschow, Gunther (1886-1931) Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau published 1916			
1916	100,000	1916	100,000
1927	610,000	1916-1927	510,000
10. Löns, Hermann (1866-1944) Der Wehrwolf. Ein Bauernchronik published 1910			
1919	90,000	1910-1919	90,000
1925	271,000	1919-1925	181,000
1928	351,000	1925-1928	80,000
1935	440,000	1928-1935	89,000
1939	565,000+	1935-1939	125,000+
11. Böhme, M. (1869-1939) Tagebuch einer Verlorenen published 1905			
1917	330,000+	1905-1917	330,000+
1922	520,000	1917-1922	190,000
1927	552,000	1922-1927	32,000
1931	563,000	1927-1931	11,000
12. Keller, Paul (1873-1932) Waldwinter published 1902			
1916	50,000	1902-1916	50,000
1923	250,000	1916-1923	200,000
1929	293,000	1923-1929	43,000
1935	443,000	1929-1935	140,000
1938	518,000	1935-1938	85,000
13. Rilke, R.M. (1875-1926) Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke published 1899			
1921	200,000	1899-1921	200,000
1927	350,000	1921-1927	150,000
1934	500,000+	1927-1934	150,000+

a		b	
14. Rose, Felicitas (1862-1938) Heideschulmeister published 1909 Uwe Karsten			
1921	192,000	1909-1921	192,000
1928	299,000	1921-1928	107,000
1934	420,000	1928-1934	121,000
1937	500,000	1934-1937	80,000
15. Molo, Walter R.V. (1880-1958) Fridericus-Trilogie published after 1921*			
1924	10,000	after 1921-1924	10,000
1931	100,000	1924-1931	90,000
1936	485,000	1931-1935	385,000
16. Herzog, Rudolf Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen published 1917			
1920	150,000	1917-1920	150,000
1925	280,000	1920-1925	130,000
1930	308,000	1925-1930	28,000
1936	417,000	1930-1936	109,000
1941	483,000	1936-1941	66,000
17. Grimm, Hans (1875-1959) Volk ohne Raum published 1928			
1930	60,000	1928-1930	60,000
1935	315,000	1930-1935	255,000
1940	480,000	1935-1940	165,000
18. Heer, J.C. (1859-1925) Der Wetterwart published 1905			
1920	150,000	1905-1920	150,000
1925	280,000	1920-1925	130,000
1930	335,000	1925-1930	55,000
1932	(Cotta) 345,000	1930-1932	55,000
1932	(Knaur) 435,000	-1932	90,000
1940	(Cotta) 387,000	1932-1940	42,000
1940	total c.477,000		
19. Schleich, K.L. (1859-1922) Besonnte Vergangenheit, published 1921 Lebenserinnerungen, 1859-1919			
1925	63,000	1921-1925	63,000
1930	255,000	1925-1930	192,000
1935	365,000	1930-1935	110,000
1940	469,000	1935-1940	104,000

	a		b	
20. Frenssen, G. (1863-1945) Jörn Uhl published 1901				
1920	271,000		1901-1920	271,000
1922	288,000		1920-1922	17,000
1929	362,000		1922-1929	74,000
1935	416,000		1929-1935	54,000
1939	463,000		1935-1939	47,000
21. Kull, Franz (no date) Fünf Jahre Fremdenlegionär published 1921				
1923	450,000		1921-1923	450,000
22. Bonsels, Waldemar Himmelsvolk published 1915				
1921	(Schuster&Loeffler)	295,000	1915-1921	295,000
1923	(Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt)	400,000	1921-1923	105,000
1931		425,000	1923-1931	25,000
1940		445,000	1931-1940	20,000
23. Löns, Herman Das Zweite Gesicht published 1912				
1921	290,000		1912-1921	290,000
1935	386,000		1921-1935	96,000
1939	435,000		1935-1939	49,000
24. Richthofen, Manfred Frhr.v. Der rote Kampfflieger published 1917 (1892-1918)				
1917	350,000		1917	350,000
1938	420,000		1917-1938	70,000
25. Courths-Mahler, H. (1867-1950) Gib mich frei! published 1912				
1919	402,000+		1912-1919	402,000
1925	new edition			no data

+ indicates at least one edition without data which Richards did not include in the total tabulation.

* Walter von Molo's Trilogy was published first separately in three volumes 1918, 1919 and 1921. The three did not appear as a single volume until after 1921.

The books must now be taken individually and placed into the appropriate periods. Again, rather than use Richards' dates, which he chose to correspond with the DBV, the periods 1914-1918, 1918-1923,

1924-1929 and 1930-1933, have been selected as the accepted demarcations of distinct social, economic and political periods. In order to place the books, the last date of Richards' tabulation for each of his blocks was taken as the reference point. For example, Mann's Buddenbrooks published in 1901 had reached 99,000 copies by 1918; between 1918 and 1925 it declined in popularity; by 1930 it had met with its greatest success - 926,000 copies were printed in the five year period 1925-1930. Without the important detail that will come out in individual discussions of these books, Table 4 illustrates roughly in which period they fall. Included are those cases where a book experiences two periods of popularity: an * marks the period in which they experienced their height.

TABLE 4 THE PERIODS OF POPULARITY OF THE TOP TWENTY-FIVE BESTSELLERS

1914-1918	
Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau/1916	(1916)
Der rote Kampfflieger/1917	(1917)
Tagebuch einer Verlorenen/1905	(1917)
Buddenbrooks/1901	(1918)
1918-1923	
Gib mich frei!/1912	(1919)
Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten/1917	(1920)
Zwei Menschen/1911	(1920)
Die Wiskottens/1905	(1920)*
Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen/1917	(1920)
Der Wetterwart/1905	(1920)
Jörn Uhl/1901	(1920)*
Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke/1899	(1921)
Heideschulmeister Uwe Karsten/1909	(1921)
Fünf Jahre Fremdenlegionär/1921	(1923)
Himmelsvolk/1915	(1921)
Das zweite Gesicht/1912	(1921)
Kurts Maler, Ein Lieblingsroman/1922	(1922)
Die Biene Maja und ihre Abenteuer/1912	(1922)
Die Dinte wider das Blut/1921	(1922)
Waldwinter/1902	(1923)*

1924-1929

Besonnte Vergangenheit/1921	(1925)
Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau	(1927)*
Im Westen nichts Neues/1929	(1929)
Jörn Uhl/1901	(1929)
Buddenbrooks/1901	(1930)*

1930-1933 (and to 1940)

Der Wehrwolf/1910	(1930)
Fridericus/after 1921	(1931)
Die Wiskottens/1905	(1932)
Der Wetterwart/1905	(1932)
Heideschulmeister Uwe Karsten/1909	(1934)
Waldwinter/1902	(1935)
Volk ohne Raum/1928	(1935)
Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen/1917	(1936)
Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten/1917	(1940)*

What Richards has provided the historian is an excellent basis to begin an analysis of popular literature and the German reading public. Of course, there are limitations to his study, limitations which he recognizes. For example, novels that were serialized in journals received exposure to a large proportion of the reading public. This factor cannot be accounted for in book publication statistics. As well, the importance of public libraries in circulating novels and book societies and clubs in designating choices, cannot be underestimated, but also could not be taken into account in Richards' calculations.

Certain research problems also cannot be ignored in Richards' statistics themselves. When the KBL and the DBV, Richards' main sources, listed the books in terms of **Auflagen** (impressions) or **Ausgaben** (editions), the number of copies often could not be determined exactly. The problem originates with inconsistencies in German publishing practices where no particular rules existed in how many

copies made up one edition.[13] It has generally been accepted that one thousand copies is the average size of an edition (**Auflage**) and Richards hold that this is true for many publishers in the twentieth century. He points out, however, that some publishers varied considerably in their edition sizes even from author to author, although usually some general limits were determined: one thousand, five thousand, ten thousand, or twenty-five thousand for example. While for his study "each **Auflage** is considered to be one thousand copies, unless there is evidence to the contrary",[14] he does provide an alphabetical list of the publishers and suspected variations. Another problem recognized by Richards is that the information he has gathered is "only as accurate as the publisher intended it to be."[15] For example, if a publisher paid royalties on only 5 thousand copies of a book but published 6 thousand, only the former would be recorded in the KBL or DBV. The figures in the KBL or DBV also depended upon the author who sometimes requested that total figures be withheld. If these variables throw doubt on the statistics, it is important that the figures listed be compared with other sources. One source is the publisher's advertisements which Richards regards as an accurate measure. These advertisements are found either in the book itself or other books or in the publisher's own journals and newspapers. As will be seen, the discrepancies between the publisher's figures and those compiled by Richards are sometimes quite substantial. Because Richards dealt with such a monumental amount of data, however, one must consider the likely possibility that he overlooked material. The problems mentioned above seem considerable - they certainly spark reservation in the mind of the

historian. However, Richards' statistics supplemented by statistics gleaned from other sources, and an analysis of these statistics does offer valuable information on the German bestseller.

To begin with, no longer can only the prominent literary figures chosen by posterity to bear the title of 'representative of the age' be the major concern of the historian, as the less well-known authors slide into oblivion. The ranking of the bestsellers forces the historian to recognize the most historically obscure author's impact on the German reading public. The one book successes had sufficient qualities to catapult them into top positions without the aid of a loyal following. The next question is what were these qualities? And furthermore, why did some authors have repeated successes?

Secondly, the distribution of the majority of the bestsellers in the pre-war period and their subsequent post-war popularity poses a fascinating problem. Perhaps their innocence of contemporary events made these bestsellers all the more attractive to a beleagured reading public desirous of past peace?

And finally, the statistics uncovered interesting popularity patterns: some books achieved two heights of popularity in two different periods; others experienced dramatic declines and only small revivals after initial success; some rose within one or two years to their pinacle and then disappeared; and others rose in popularity gradually and steadily. While making such patterns clear, the statistics cannot answer why popularity was so relative and so dependent upon the 'fickleness' of public taste.

The statistics indicate the performance of the books and authors over a period of years in relation to the reading public. This is a beginning. Only an investigation into the contents of the books relative to the society in which both the reading public and their literature were functioning, however, can answer the questions sparked by the statistics. The ultimate value of the statistics lies not only in the information they provide but in the questions they raise.

Chapter 1: Notes

[1] Richards, pp. 4-5.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Richards maintains there are eight hundred and sixty-four titles at one point (p. 9) and "more than 850" at another (p. 50). After repeated counting this author has found there to be eight hundred and sixty-five titles listed in Table A.

[4] Ibid., p. 50. He also cautions that such judgements should really only be made in reference to Table B which lays out the time span it took each book to reach its height.

[5] Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[6] The authors, of course, may have written books which did not reach the fifty thousand minimum for Table A.

[7] The authors listed are, for example, the only ones of the top thirteen percent listed by Peter Gay in the index of Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968).

[8] Such authors as Ricarda Huch are mentioned in this way by Gay.

[9] In the interest of perspective and some degree of precision, similar calculations as to the breakdown of publication periods were made for the top one hundred bestsellers and the top twenty-five as listed in Richards' Table A.

Top One Hundred+

Period	No. of Books	Percent
1899-1913	47	47%
1914-1917*	22	22%
1918-1923	7	7%
1924-1929	6	6%
1930-1933	8	8%
1934-1940	10	10%

Top Twenty-five++

Period	No. of Books	Percent
1899-1913	12	48%
1914-1917*	4	16%
1918-1923	5	20%
1924-1929	2	8%
1930-1933	1	4%
1934-1940	1	4%

+ the top one hundred bestsellers reached a minimum of 213,000 printings: number 101 H. Stehr, Der Heilgenhof, (1918) also reached 213,000 but was not included in the calculations.

++ the top twenty-five bestsellers reached a minimum of 435,000 printings.

* none of the titles reached the accumulative printing of 50,000 or more before 1917.

[10] W.S. Allen in his book The Nazi Seizure of Power (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1973) writes of the fate of Thalburg's public library: "By mid-May [1933] over five-hundred books were burned (one

quarter of the total number). This 'un-German, foreign-to-the- **Volk** , and worthless literary trash' 'was replaced by a select list of books beginning with Mein Kampf. The Free Unions Lending Library was closed when the unions were forcibly dissolved in early May." (p. 224). Allen also recounts a May 26, 1933 Nazi celebration where before a pile of books was lit on fire, the speaker promised "that no German books or newspapers would be written by 'racially foreign elements' any more." (p. 204).

[11] For a comprehensive and thorough study of the general Nazi policies in literature, art and culture see D. Strothmann, Nationalsozialistische Literaturpolitik (Bonn: H. Bouvier u. Co. Verlag, 1968).

[12] Richards, pp. 100-265.

[13] The problem is an historical one as well, arising from the political fragmentation of Germany prior to 1871. Each of the states in the German Confederation jealously guarded their individual publishers, printers and bookbinders. While in Prussia a publisher might reprint (without alteration) freely, in Saxony there was a restriction of one thousand copies on the first edition, and in Baden the number of the first edition was unlimited but the publisher could not reprint. Similar difficulties existed through the lack of a uniform copyright law which Germany did not institute until 1901. See F.E. Comparato, "Germany: **Die Schöne Borse**" Books for the Millions (Harrisburg, Penn: The Stackpole Company, 1971), pp. 73-74.

[14] Richards, p. 11. He quotes one example of Reclam-Universal-Bibliothek which determined five thousand copy editions except in the years 1914-1918 in which three thousand copies made up an edition.

[15] Ibid., p. 37. For other research problems and considerations see his chapter "Reliability" pp. 35-50.

CHAPTER TWO: PROLOGUE TO WEIMAR: IMPERIAL GERMANY

Erich Eyck introduces his important study on Weimar Germany with the statement that "the history of the Weimar Republic begins with the collapse of the German Empire."[1] It begins, of course, not only with the collapse of the Empire but with the Empire itself. Germany carried the legacy of the Imperial Reich into the Republic in almost every aspect and, in order to understand the tormented years between 1918 and 1933, it is necessary to have some idea of the legacy.

Most historians would agree that the national consolidation of Germany in 1871 was a turning point in both German and European history. That achievement, and the subsequent growth of Germany to a power of first rank, can be accredited to Otto von Bismarck who guided and coerced Germany as Chancellor into its Imperial form. As much as any personality can in history, Bismarck affected the domestic and foreign development of Germany. He laid or reinforced the stones that formed the foundation of the nation. The cornerstone of that foundation was the monarchy and the feudal system, despite the pretensions of a parliamentary Reichstag. This priority determined not only the politics of Imperial Germany in which progressive tendencies were suppressed, but also resulted in the retention of an anachronistic social structure and social values. The cornerstone was buttressed by the army, the bureaucracy and the church. In the association of federal states which composed the new Reich, Prussia maintained the dominant position and became the central authority. This authority extended

over major domestic administrative policies and also completely over foreign policy, including decisions of war and peace. Each individual state retained its form of local government as well as considerable power over the daily lives of the citizens. To cement the foundation of political unity, however, economic reforms were quickly introduced. For example, the Currency Law (1873) established a uniform metric currency and the Reichsbank (1875) was founded, a national central bank. Political unity and economic unity secured that industrial and agricultural progress could now be realized without former hinderances.

The confidence and optimism of the German business men in their country's future resulted in a speculation mania in the **Grunderzeit.** [2] The boom ended in 1973 with irreparable financial ruin for many, a fact which gave rise to the myth of Jewish conspiracy and aided anti-semitism.[3] The larger companies, like Krupp Steel, managed to secure loans that pulled them through the crisis. Bismarck was determined that Germany's economic development should not face another setback and increased the level of state intervention in industry and agriculture. As well, Bismarck encouraged the formation of cartels. It was the combination of a controlled economic policy favourable to industrial and agricultural development and the vigorous enterprises of the private sector which brought Germany to its position as the leading European industrial nation between 1873 and 1914.

It is no coincidence that the growth of the Socialist party came with the economic growth of Germany. Bismarck clearly saw the threat the Socialists posed to his carefully constructed edifice. Accordingly, Bismarck handled the Socialists with active repression on one hand and with a defusion of some of their immediate programme goals on the

other. The formula of the Anti-Socialist Laws and a State social welfare programme preserved the conservative domination of the Empire. Both domestically and externally Bismarck followed conservative principles.

In achieving national unity, Bismarck had already accomplished a considerable feat. It was something which he realized had to be guaranteed by European peace. First he allayed British and European suspicions by insisting that Germany did not seek further expansion on the Continent or in the world through colonies. The policy was later altered as economic and political concerns made colonial expansion a necessary option. Second he gathered the conservative monarchical elements in Europe into an alliance. The **Dreikaiserbund**, which joined Germany, Russia and Austria, for all its vagueness, ensured that Germany would not stand isolated. It was the beginning of a 'system' of a very complicated series of alignments. As tenuous and fragile as the Bismarckian 'system' seems in hindsight, it did provide a stability in Europe which lasted until 1914.

It is both a tragedy and a credit that after Bismarck was dismissed by William II, who assumed the throne in 1888, the edifice remained and the system kept on working. It was the opinion of many of his contemporaries that Bismarck was ready for 'retirement,' as he seemed unable to handle the delicate issues that cropped up. His former wisdom, for example, in outmanoeuvering the Socialists politically seemed lost in one who appeared now as a crude reactionary with blood in his eyes. Others bemoaned the loss of this internationally respected stateman, when his successors failed to solve the problems

Germany faced. Hindsight, of course, points not to the man but to the archaic structure and system that Bismarck had fortified. The tragedy was that what Bismarck had constructed could only be maintained by him, despite his public deferrence to the monarch. Neither the impetuous, impressionable, and egocentric monarch, nor the often well intentioned but incompetent successors to the Imperial Chancellory could guide Germany through the years after 1890. It was not necessarily that the individuals were personally incompetent, for given different circumstances they might have made quite able Chancellors. But they fell into a position designed specifically for one man. The domestic political crisis which caused Bismarck's dismissal continued to plague Germany's next seven Chancellors.[4] In foreign affairs Germany seemed to stumble from one crisis to another. It was only in the realm of economics that Germany after 1890 seemed to be even more dynamic than previous, no doubt aided by German colonial expansion and the attention paid to military and naval build up.

It may be argued that in the above outline Bismarck received an inordinate amount of attention. Gordon Craig sums up the line of criticism:

> So much is written these days, and so insistently, about the primary importance of economic and social forces in history that one runs the risk of being considered old-fashioned if one gives too much attention to personality.[5]

Yet it seems that Bismarck, through his attitude and actions, personifies official Imperial Germany. Much more than even William II, Bismarck was the legacy the conservatives carried into the Weimar period.

He stood for such things as status, superiority, duty, honour, strength and power - all aristocratic principles typical of his Junker class. It was he, and the class which was given a second life through him, who gave Germany the paradox of an anachronistic political and social structure and a modernized industrial economy. Sooner or later, however, had the war not shattered Imperial Germany, the coercive effects of economic development on the social structure would have resolved the paradox. One must turn now to some of the economic and social forces that changed Germany regardless of Bismarck and the Germany he represented. Among the many forces, urbanization has been singled out. A brief examination of it will indicate not only how it changed German society, but also how it contributed to the rise of a modern reading public.

The change from an, if not comfortable at least familiar, agrarian society to one dominated by the new demands, values and discipline of industrial capitalism came quickly and ruthlessly for Germany after 1871. Quick on the heels of 'progress' came fierce criticism from all levels of society, from the fledgling socialists to the prophets of cultural despair.[6] Against the backdrop of apparent advances and reported ravages, it becomes difficult to speak of the more subtle changes society experiences in such a period. Yet alterations in social habits and everyday life did occur right along with the more visible parts of modernization. With urbanization and the aggressive expansion of cities came the somewhat quieter development of communications - newspapers with increasing circulation for example - the rise of literacy and improvement in education. Both the loud and the softer

changes were part of the social parentage of the German reading public.

One of the most significant changes in German society was urbanization. **Landflucht**, the shift or flight of the population from the rural areas to the new industrial and commercial cities, was steady. The ugly, busy, and prosperous metropoli soon eliminated the small quiet **bürgerlich** cities of the past as the reference points of Germany. Statistics make the pace of expansion clear: in 1871 two thirds of the population (approximately 27 million of 41 million) lived in rural communities. By 1914 the urban population represented two thirds of the German population (approximately 45 million out of 67 million). In 1871 there were only 8 towns with over 100,000 people and by 1900 there were 41 such towns with 5 over half a million. From a population of 400,000 in 1850, 826,000 in 1871, Berlin grew to 2,529,000 by 1900 and other cities grew in like proportions. Ungovernable as the growth of the cities seemed, the actual size of the rural population remained relatively stable, for despite the fear of **Landflucht** from the agricultural areas, the natural growth of population compensated for the loss of people through migration either to the cities or to other new lands.[7] Some of the rural population which went to the cities were undoubtedly lured by the opportunities and excitement they believed the cities offered. For most of these people, the cities proved instead to be chimeras leading not to opportunity and work but to hardship and alienation. Most of those who came, however, were forced from the country through population pressure, loss of land, or loss of employment. More productive agricultural techniques and the displacement of local manufacturers by greater domestic and foreign

competition resulted in a lack of jobs. With no local employment opportunities the rural resident searched for work in the cities. Initially most hoped to return to the land and ties with the country traditions remained relatively strong. Inevitably, as the next generations were born, urban life cut those ties and new lifestyles were adopted.

The rapid urban population increase caught the cities unprepared. They were simply unable to physically accommodate the numbers that poured in. As a result, the material conditions for the mass of immigrants declined. The major problems were housing and sanitation. In 1861, for example, of a population of 521,933 living in Berlin, one tenth lived in basements and a third lived in one-room apartments occupied by an average of 4.3 persons.[8] Rents, logically enough, soared under such conditions. Conditions did not noticeably improve even by 1919 when low cost housing and "internal colonization" became two Weimar priorities.[9] Until then, however, the reality of urban life as it was for most of the population, was hidden behind the facade of wide avenues and impressive monumental buildings which graced Berlin as the capital of the Empire. The paradox of old and new was visibly manifested in that city: the ostentatious arrogance of the Brandenburg Gate contrasted with the seven-story tenement slums. To balance this picture of the cities of Germany, it should be remembered that they were the nation's centers of industrial, commercial, administrative, intellectual and artistic activity. Despite their problems, they were the life blood of the nation and as such were considered, by those who prospered, as the crowns of German progress. Finally and primarily,

however, the cities were a source of employment and a place of work.

Just as important as work in man's life is leisure. But in the crowded, still unfamiliar urban environment, the age-old pastimes which traditionally provided pleasure after work simply did not fit. Moreover, the majority of people were excluded from participation in the also traditional urban cultural events - opera and theatre - attended by the affluent middle and upper classes. Since it was unlikely that leisure was to be abandoned, some alternatives were necessary and were found as parks, playgrounds, cheap entertainment spots, public libraries, and endless numbers of beergardens and **Gaststuben** sprang up. In many ways the city held greater opportunities for recreation and amusement than the parochial, sedate country. It offered more freedom to begin with. As a seductive and enticing place it offered much more than work. Prostitution, part of the other seamier side of what is considered pleasurable, flourished: ironically a form of work for one and a form of leisure for the other. Leisure, like work, was distinguished along class lines. The theaters and operas continued to be the preserves of the middle classes even after the **Volksbühne** tried to bring the theater to the people. Used to pleasure, the upper classes continued with their traditional pastimes like riding and hunting. Affluence allowed the middle classes to develop new interests once they had relaxed their work ethic to include leisure. They sought to enhance their social prestige even while pursuing leisure. Rarely did they permit themselves anything but socially sanctioned, 'respectable' pastimes. It was the middle classes who first read for pleasure. This can be seen by the increase

in the circulation of newspapers and such family magazines as Die Gartenlaube and the increase in reading societies. The urban working class remained simple in their choice of leisure for a longer time. Drinking was common although "gardening and walks in the countryside" were also appreciated.[10] The latter perhaps indicates the ties that remained to a former rural life. For the most part, however, the lower class lacked both the money and the time for much variation in their leisure. The strongest advocates of the new leisure ethic of urban life were the lower middle class. Economically this class was roughly equivalent to the upper working class, socially they saw themselves as middle class and their leisure was determined by that perception. The lower middle class was more willing to spend money on leisure than the working class and more open to new and different activities than the middle class. They were the forerunners of the consumer society and became the largest component of the modern reading public.[11]

Partially through leisure, consumerism became an increasingly important part of German society. While people consume in an agrarian society there is a substantial difference in the degree. By generalization, the majority of people in a pre-industrial society rarely consume beyond what is absolutely necessary for living. In an expanding industrial capitalist society, however, factors such as increased commodity production, increased overseas trade which provided new and exotic products, and new and efficient methods of retail distribution increased the availability of goods and promoted consumer wants. As an economic system, capitalism requires a very active consumerism in order that high levels of production be maintained. Buying must become a

habit for the population and they must be willing to buy above the line of necessity. Technical innovations like the bicycle were promoted not only as a cheap form of transportation but as a recreational activity. Consumerism was encouraged in terms of both comfort - a better life - and compensation. While it was unrealistic for many to pursue goals of owning land or a business, the satisfaction of owning a new clock, or bringing home a gift for the children, proved to be a powerful and cheap compensation. While the working class man was still more likely to bring home a larger cut of meat when he had extra money, the lower middle class were more inclined to purchase clothing or articles for the house, or spend it on recreation.[12] Consumerism, or 'materialism' as it was dispargingly called, was an urban phenomenon largely because of the concentrated availability of goods. However, the railways carried enough goods, news, and people in and out of the cities so that the countryside was not unaffected by the growing trend. Consumerism may be considered one of the softer changes brought by industrialization and capitalism. As a social, and economic, force it can be equated with rising expectations for an improved quality of life. To some degree the link can be made to the working class movement that experienced growth during this time and caused such problems for Bismarck.

Much more could be said about Imperial Germany both politically and socially. However, the above was intended only as an outline of some of the main aspects of the period from 1871 to 1914. These were, national unification and the consolidation of conservative political power, an archaic social system and social values, aggressive

industrial expansion based on a capitalist economy, the working class movement, urbanization, new attitudes towards leisure, and consumerism. Much more will come out about Imperial Germany in the discussion of the bestsellers themselves. Each of the books reveals something about the society in which they were written and read.

It is necessary to look specifically at the rise of popular literature and the development of the modern reading public in Germany prior to turning to the books. Part of the story has already been explained in the discussion of urbanization, leisure and consumerism. All these were central to the process of this development. Urbanization provided a concentrated population with a desire and need for affordable leisure activities and consumerism provided the justification for purchasing beyond necessity and for enjoyment. Literacy is the next required ingredient for a reading public.

Beginning in 1763 with Frederick the Great's **General Landschulreglement**, the German monarchs led Europe in their active support of primary education for all their subjects. By 1830 most Germans could read and write at least at a rudimentary level.[13] Not only was school attendance compulsory but the German states also generously financed educational and later technological institutions. In the 1860's, 97 1/2 per cent of school age children in Prussia were attending classes, and the illiteracy figures at the turn of the century were between .02 and .04 for all of Germany. Doubtlessly, the promotion of education by princes and clergymen was grounded in the desire to have disciplined and obedient soldiers and respectful, pious subjects. As Germany began to industrialize the values impressed through schoolbooks changed.

Initially stressing social hierarchy and respect, they switched to "discussions of hard work, material progress, and self disciplined control of impulse."[14] The former values, still taught by the Churches, were not abandoned but merely supplemented by the new. A controlled educational system remains an extremely effective agency of social control, and the need to affirm socially 'desirable' values and norms becomes especially important with the onset of economic and social change. Yet industrialization and literacy proved a powerful combination and the rapid growth of industrial society in Germany was facilitated by the availability of a literate - and thereby more easily instructed and disciplined-labour force. The two reinforced one another in a very practical manner for industry was prompt to see both the organizing principle behind basic education and its benefits in producing better workers. Education socializes "the children of the society to a level compatible with their capacities and best contemporary knowledge."[15]

Education also remains, however, a double-edged sword which is as easily used against the teacher as for him. Despite the fact that not only the contents but the very organization of the German school system worked to feed and buttress the existing social system, the potential of education and literacy in possibly subversive directions was recognized. Even though in 1878, the Social Democratic Party with its 47 party newspapers was not strong, suppression was thorough under Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Laws. Furthermore, suppression was not limited to the Social Democratic press, journals, clubs, booksellers and libraries, etc., but there were also "a large number of periodical

publications of no potential consequence which were snuffed out at the same time."[16] Regardless of suppression and censorship, the State could not control all that the literate population might read whether it be threatening to the existing order or merely harmless fiction. In 1899, after the Anti-Socialist Laws had expired, the problem was still disconcerting and William II found it necessary to stress that "it will fall upon the school to lay the foundations for a healthy conception of political and social relations, through the cultivation of God and love of country.[17]" The nervous middle and upper classes heartily agreed.

Quick to recognize new opportunity for profit, however, enterprising businessmen intended at the same time to exploit the vast literate market which was so accessibly concentrated. Technological developments, such as pulp wood paper and typesetting machines, had substantially decreased the high cost of printing and provided for the production of cheap literature in large quantites. This was especially true for newspapers and journals, while books still commanded a fair price. **Gewerbefreiheit** (free entry into trades) and general prosperity further induced speculative publishers to invest in what did turn out to be a lucrative business.

The new book industry and consumerism coupled in the 1870's to produce the colporteur novel which was taken by the new reading public to almost immediate success.[18] The colporteur or **Hintertreppen** (backstairs) novels lay somewhere in between weekly journals and the cloth bound book. They were released in as many as 150-250 regular installments, each of which was from 8-12 pages in length. Though only costing 10 **pfenning** per installment, a subscription for the whole book

could become costly for the common worker. This literature was calculatedly directed at the new type of literate reading public found in the urban centers. While the subject matter was often crudely sensational, the format of the books was reminiscent of the type of books - devotional works and schoolbooks - with which the people were already familiar.[19]

There is no doubt that the colporteur novel helped to increase the ranks of literary consumers. One might contend, furthermore, that by providing the mass reading public with something to read, other than the feared socialist literature, the publishers defused much of the dangerous potential of modern literacy.

Modern literacy frightened many of the middle and upper classes not only because of its subversive potential, but because they perceived that the literature was different from what they were familiar with. Popular literature had existed for some centuries and the categories of fiction were well established before the expansion of literacy. 18th Century **Frauenroman** and **Familienroman** became, in fact, the mainstay of much of the 20th century fiction.[20] New types of literature were produced with the onset of the mass book market and, like the colporteur novel, were successful. However, publishers like Reclam and Tauchnitz also published 'libraries' and reprint series of classical German works and translations which became popular. These publishers, as the ones who followed, correctly predicted that what had satisfied the wealthy in the elaborate bindings of limited editions would also satisfy the common reader if produced cheaply enough. For when the reading public did invest in books, the choice was usually serious - or

at least what was considered serious - rather than frivolous.[21] Nonetheless, the sensationalist colporteur novel did have a permanent effect on the reading public as it initiated the desire for cheap reading matter on a regular basis.

Thus the formula for popular literature was well established by the early 20th century. A literate consumer market was willing to invest money and leisure time in cheaply produced literature on a regular basis. Prosperous and established publishers recruited eager authors of all types, and speculating on the desires of their market and the saleability of the author and his work, supplied the existing demand for popular literature while intriguing how to increase that demand. The reading public proved capricious, much to the despair and anxiety of the authors and their publishers. But some authors were successful and their books soared to previously unthought of heights of popularity: as edition after edition was released, these books became known as bestsellers.[22]

Chapter Two: Notes

[1] Erich Eyck, A History of the Weimar Republic (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 1.

[2] W.O. Henderson, The Rise of German Industrial Power, 1834-1914. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975), p. 163. Between June 1870 and 1873, nearly 1,000 companies were set up and in 1872, 21 construction companies, 49 banks and 12 railway companies were established.

[3] Gordon Craig, Germany, 1866-1945 (London: Oxford Unversity Press, 1980), p. 153. One should not forget, as Craig points out, the high visibility of the Jews in German society. While England there were only 46,000 Jews and in France only 51,000, in Berlin alone by 1880 there were 45,000 Jewish residents to a population of approximately 826,000.

[4] From 1890 to 1918 these were: Caprivi (1890-1894), Hohenlohe (1894-1900), Bulow (1900-1909), Bethmann-Hollweg (1909-1917), Michaelis (1917-1918), Hertling (1918), and Prince Max of Baden (1918).

[5] Craig, p. 1.

[6] See F. Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961). Stern looks at social and cultural critics Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn and Moeller van der Bruck, and traces their anti-modernity to the development of the "germanic ideology".

[7] D. Landes, The Unbound Prometheus (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1969), p. 243. An increasingly popular alternative to the economic conditions in the 19th century for many Germans was emigration. Starting in the "Hungry Forties", by 1860 1,000,000 people had left for America. For this earlier period see T.S. Hamerow, Restoration, Revolution, Reaction (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 81-84 and pp. 208-209. Between 1866 and 1870 almost 500,000 Germans had left. On an average of 100,000 annually, emigration was steady until 1893 when the expansion of German industry and the beginning of land settlement restrictions in America reduced the number to 25,000 to 40,000 yearly. K.E. Born in an article, "Structural Changes in German Social and Economic Development at the End of the Nineteenth Century" states that, in fact, "after 1900, the immigration of foreigners to Germany was greater than German emigration abroad." (p. 22). For his study on both internal and external emigration see Imperial Germany, J.J. Sheean, ed. (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976), pp. 16-38.

[8] P. Stearns, European Society in Upheaval: Social History Since 1750 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1975), p. 111.

[9] Wolf von Eckhardt, and Sander L. Gilman, Bertolt Brecht's Berlin (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1975), p. 118.

[10] Stearns, p. 244. This was the reply of a polling of German workers before World War I.

[11] For more on the lower middle class see Robert Gellately, The Politics of Economic Despair: Shopkeepers and German Politics, 1890-1914 (London: Sage, 1974). The lower middle class were made up of independent artisans, shopkeepers and salaried employees.

[12] S. Coyner. "Class Consciousness and Consumption: The new middle class during the Weimar Republic." Journal of Social History 10 (March, 1977) 313. Workers in 1907 spent half the family income on food while white collar families spent only 40% on food and more on everything else.

[13] Between 1821 and 1825 in Prussia 16% of the males and almost 40% of the females could not sign their names. These statistics balance a perhaps over-optimistic impression. Although the law for compulsory primary education existed it was not always enforced. See Ronald A. Fullerton, "The Development of the German Book Markets, 1814-1888" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975) p. 6. See also R. Dahrendorf, Society and Democracy in Germany (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1967). pp. 71-74. Dahrendorf is pessimistic about the educational system in Germany and points to the inequalities which work against country children whose schools are poorly supplied. The system also tended to work upon the lines of accepting primary education for all the people while secondary schooling remained the preserve of those few who could afford it. Children and particularly girls who came from working class and agricultural families faced the realities of a closed system.

[14] Stearns, p. 122.

[15] Landes, p. 6.

[16] Craig, p. 146.

[17] Ibid., as quoted, p. 189.

[18] R.A. Fullerton, "Creating a Mass Book Market in Germany: The Story of the 'Colporteur Novel' 1870-1890" Journal of Social History 10 (March, 1977). See also Fullerton's dissertation and G. Sichelschmidt, Liebe Mord und Abenteur (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969), pp. 224ff.

[19] Fullerton, "Creating a Mass Book Market in Germany" pp. 267-68.

[20] See M. Beaujean, Der Trivialroman in der Zweiten Hälfte Des 18. Jahrhunderts (Bonn: H. Bouvier & Co. Verlag, 1969). See also Barney M. Milstein, Eight Eighteenth Century Reading Societies (Berne &

Frankfurt: Herbert Lang & Co. Ltd., 1972).

[21] For example, the total number of books released in 1911 was 32,998; of that total only 4,620 were under the classification of drama and popular literature. World Alamanac. 1914, p. 591.

[22] For work on the German reading public and popular literature see Wolfgang Langenbucher, Der aktuella Unterhaltungsroman. (Bonn: H. Bouvier & Co. Verlag, 1964), Curt Reiss, Bestseller. Wie Bucher zu Welterfolgen wurden. (Munchen: Wilhelm Heyme Verlag, 1964) and Rudolf, Schenda, Volk ohne Buch (Frankfurt: V. Klostermann, 1970). For studies of English popular literature see Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) and Victor E. Neuburg, Popular Literature. A History and Guide. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977).

CHAPTER THREE: BESTSELLERS, 1914-1918

Buddenbrooks and Imperial Germany

It is appropriate to begin the investigation into the contents of the bestsellers and how they relate to society with Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks, and this for several reasons.[1] First, (as indicated in Table 1 and 3), it was the top bestselling book reaching well over one million copies by 1936. As well, Table 3 shows that Buddenbrooks experienced overall popularity with significant increases and declines. Second, published first in 1901, Buddenbrooks is one of the books that did not achieve its greatest popularity until after World War I. Prior to the war it had been only reasonably successful. Third, and speaking directly to this study, in Buddenbrooks, Mann "presents a complete picture of bourgeois life and its predicaments" as one of his most famous critics concluded.[2] The themes Mann had begun to explore in Buddenbrooks continued to be significant in almost all of the works which followed, and of his next works, thirteen achieved twenty-one thousand copies or more according to Richards' statistics.[3] Not only did Mann become well known and highly respected in his own time, but he remains one of the most well known literary figures of the period: his name inevitably appears in any cultural or literary study done on the period.

Born in 1875, Mann's career began modestly at the age of twenty-two with a love story entitled 'Gefallen' published in Die Gesellschaft in 1894. Encouraged by its reception, which was small but respectable, Mann continued to write and in 1897 sent a story, Der kleine Herr

Friedemann' to the Freie Bühne (later called Die neue Rundschau) published by S. Fischer. Convinced of Mann's talent Fischer decided to publish the story and arranged for the release of a small book of Mann's stories which came out in 1898 under the title of Der kleine Herr Freidemann.[4] Although the work proved unsuccessful on the market, it was the beginning of a strong relationship between the publishing house and Mann. Their next project was Buddenbrooks which Mann had already started in 1897. Considering the disappointing sales of Der kleine Herr Friedemann, Fischer was overwhelmed when Mann submitted a manuscript of over one thousand pages. Writing to Mann, Fischer explained that the size of Buddenbrooks was "for today's life, almost an impossibility" to publish and sell.[5] He cautioned Mann, "I do not think that you would find many people who had the time and concentration to pick up a novel like this."[6] In response Mann wrote Fischer that he could not shorten it under any circumstances, but to his brother he admitted the problems of the book: "The unfortunate thing is that the novel is over 1,000 pages, can only be published in two volumes and will cost 8 to 10 Marks, therefore under today's circumstances, it is practically unsaleable."[7] Mann was very conscious of the economics of publishing that made Fischer hesitate about Buddenbrooks. He also realized the effect rejection would have upon his own economic well being and almost resigned himself to a future as a bank clerk. To Mann's amazement, Fischer decided to publish Buddenbrooks without cuts hoping that "perhaps the German people will embarrass me and purchase your book in the many numbers it deserves."[8]

Buddenbrooks was released in October 1901 to catch the Christmas

market with a first edition of one thousand copies. The price for both volumes together was 12 marks. The initial reception of the book and its still unknown author was generally unenthusiastic. One critic wrote that "the first volume is boring and the second unhealthy."[9] On the other hand, noted authors like Jacob Wasserman wrote to Fischer highly commending his ambitious publication of Buddenbrooks. To counter those critics who insisted the book was a worthless story about worthless people, there were those who were more optimistic and predicted that the book "will grow with time and will yet be read by many generations...."[10] It took a full year before the first thousand copies were sold. Not only was the book too long and too expensive, but Buddenbrooks faced considerable competition from a rival book, Jörn Uhl by Gustav Frenssen, which was released in the same year. Frenssen's book, which it should be noted is one of the bestsellers to be discussed, was cheaper and less formidable than Buddenbrooks. It jumped Buddenbrooks in sales and was chosen the most-read book of 1902 by the public libraries and book clubs.[11] Although Buddenbrooks was listed for 1903, 1904 and 1905, it was always after Jörn Uhl. It was obvious that Buddenbrooks required a different strategy to make it reach a wider reading public, and instead of abandoning the book altogether as he might have done, Fischer decided on an aggressive course of action. The next edition, released in the beginning of 1903, was printed on thinner paper and was pressed into one volume. The price of a sewn paperback was set at 5 Marks, a bound volume at 6 Marks. This format proved the correct one and Buddenbrooks began its steady climb to popularity: already by the end of 1903 the new edition required its

seventh printing. By 1918 Buddenbrooks had reached 100,000 copies.[12]

For the period after 1918, one must turn to the calculations made from Richards' statistics[13] (see Table 3). The period from 1918 to 1925 shows a decrease in the popularity of Buddenbrooks as the printings drop to 60,000. Yet the fact that for the seven year period, the average annual number would equal approximately 8,600 copies should be considered positively. Furthermore, Buddenbrooks became a film in 1923 under Gerhard Lamprecht. Considering the novelty and importance of the cinema during the twenties, this was an achievement for Mann and it came at a time (during the inflation) when the extra revenue from film rights was desperately needed. Finally, Mann had competition during this time from his second major novel, Der Zauberberg published in 1924. During the war Mann had kept a fairly high profile aggressively defending the German war effort. After the war, he receded from public view preferring to devote himself to his next novel. This retreat one can hypothesize contributed to the decrease in popularity for any reading public is more encouraged to read the works of publically visible author. When Mann did come out, it was with a new book which within a year reached 34,000 copies.[14] The popularity of Der Zauberberg could not but have taken some of the focus off of Buddenbrooks, after which it might gain the readers who enjoyed Der Zauberberg. Still, the decrease in popularity of Buddenbrooks is clear when compared to the monumental jump shown for the next period of 1925 to 1930: Buddenbrooks went from 60,000 to 926,000 copies printed. There is reason to suspect, however, that the majority of these copies were part of the Volksausgabe brought out in 1929 by Fischer.[15] In 1927 Mann

wrote an essay, Romane der Welt, which he had published in three major German newspapers. This essay supported the publication of an inexpensive series sponsored by the Berlin publishing house of Th. Knaur. The books were to be sold at the unheard of price of 2.85 Marks. Adalbert Droemer, The publisher's representative, offered to include Buddenbrooks in the series for a substantial sum. Challenged in this way by the competition, Fischer decided to bring out Buddenbrooks himself for 2.85 Marks. Fischer guaranteed Mann that at minimum 400,000 copies would be released with the first edition containing 150,000. The Buddenbrooks- **Volksausgabe** was released in November 1929 and at the end of 1930 exceeded 1,000,000 copies. That Mann was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for Buddenbrooks on November 12, 1929, provided a fortuitous incentive to the reading public who soon had a cheap copy available to them. Fischer was able to capitalize upon the situation making him the envy of the publishing industry.

The period from 1930 to 1932 shows another decrease to 80,000. While this seems a drastic reduction one must consider that the decrease still equals 40,000 copies a year: it is not as if Buddenbrooks disappeared from the public view. Furthermore, the market had in the previous two years been glutted with almost 1 million copies and a natural easing in the pace of sales and printing was entirely predictable. Yet another impression of the **Volksausgabe** was released in 1932.[16]

The final period for Buddenbrooks displays some problems for there is an apparent increase of 140,000 for a four year period 1932-1936. If one takes an average for each year the number of copies per year is

35,000. This shows only a slight decrease when compared with the previous two years which showed an average of 40,000 copies. If the averages can be at all relied upon then the popularity of Buddenbrooks was stable after 1930. A problem exists however with the advent of the National Socialists in 1933 when they proclaimed Mann's works **verbrennungswürdig** (worth burning). From 1933 on Mann retreated into voluntary exile realizing his threatened position in Germany. Shocked and distressed as Mann was by the German situation, he remained publically silent out of concern for his family, friends and readers still in Germany. This silence ended in 1936 when he lost his German citizenship and an honorary degree from Bonn University. One must also look at what happened to S. Fischer Verlag during this period to shed light on Buddenbrooks. S. Fischer himself died in 1934 and the (Jewish) firm was taken over by Bermann Fischer, a nephew.[17] Bermann Fischer retained the firm as long as it was possible but soon relinquished management to Peter Suhrkamp while he founded the Bermann Fischer Verlag Gmbt. in May 1936 in Vienna. This move he felt was far enough away from Nazi pressures but also close enough to allow regular contact. Here, Bermann resumed the publication of Germany's 'undesirable' authors. With the **Anschluss** of Austria in 1938, Bermann Fischer had to make yet another move this time to Stockholm. Again he resumed publishing. Meanwhile, the old firm of S. Fischer - and its journal Die neue Rundschau - kept a low profile under Suhrkamp but was beseiged with difficulties. Finally in 1942 Suhrkamp was forced to close S. Fischer Verlag at the order of the Propaganda Ministry. He immediately founded the Suhrkamp Verlag - a short-lived endeavor. In 1944 the

Gestapo raided Suhrkamp and in February 1945 he was incarcerated at Sachsenhausen concentration camp. He was shot in May 1945 during the confusion of the Russian occupation.

It is difficult under these circumstances to determine whether any further copies of Buddenbrooks were released. The statistics are 140,000 copies after 1932 - the last impression of 1932 would be counted in the next period. It is possible that the majority of these copies were released prior and during 1933 before the death of S. Fischer and the repression of the authors and publishing houses. The rest could very well have been released slowly by Bermann Fischer and Suhrkamp in Germany or distributed from Vienna. The information is incomplete and somewhat confusing. Because of the instrusion of the Nazi policy, these suggestions can only be tentative.

This description of the publishing history of Buddenbrooks contributes to a basic understanding of the relationship between author, publisher, and the reading public. S. Fischer proved himself an enterprising publisher with a keen sense for talent and for the tastes of his market. He combined this with a thorough knowledge of his industry and remarkable timing. His philosophy about a book's popularity, however, was fairly simple:

> It will depend upon the authors, whether they can speak strongly enough to the masses, whether the authors belong to the people and can be understood by them.[18]

The publisher's role was to produce the book in such a way as it would sell, and, in part, this meant lowering the price sufficiently to sell to a wide audience. Yet it was quite clear that a low price alone could not make a book immediately or ever successful. Neither could an

elaborate advertising scheme ensure popularity. Both help to expose the book and make it more attractive but the real key is whether the book is one that is "living, created out of (the) times and can speak to hundreds of thousands."[19] Buddenbrooks is an excellent example of both publishing skill and author appeal.

The description of Buddenbrooks will form the most complete example for the bestsellers in this study. The other books will be described in a similar way but will rely mostly upon the statistics provided in the Tables. Where more information is available, it will of course be included. Unfortunately few of the bestsellers under study here have had as detailed work done on them as Buddenbrooks, especially as regards the working relationshp between Thomas Mann and S. Fischer in the development of the book as a bestseller.

While it is unoriginal to say that Buddenbrooks is a product of its times, that it is so becomes quite evident even within the first pages of the book. Ambitious in length and because of the youth and inexperience of the author (Mann was 22 when he began the novel) Buddenbrooks is still very much an accepted literary tradition - an epic family chronicle. The subject matter - a prosperous mercantile family - is conservative, even if the tone and style of the book is modern in its irony and cynicism. Buddenbrooks is also an affair of the heart for Thomas Mann and the story and characters reflect the dilemma within his own life: in other words, Buddenbrooks is also the product of the man. Born into an established merchant family himself, Mann knew intimately the security of an esteemed and comfortable home. Yet Mann, like his older brother Heinrich, chose the life of a writer.

This choice although eventually successful and satisfying brought him at this time into continual conflict with his upbringing with all its weighty respectability: an artist or writer could only be respectable when or if he became a figure of some note. The dilemma caused Mann to probe into what it meant to be an artist in society and what it meant to be bourgeois; this is the fulcrum of Buddenbrooks. From this center gravitate all other themes from politics, to religion, to marriage and children and even to mental and physical health. But because Mann touches all these aspects of life he opens the reader's eyes to these aspects individually as well. While the novel is largely a personal journey, Mann does not desire to make it a tedious one for the reader and therefore he infuses independent life and importance to his characters and the stories of their lives. The reader shares each mishap, victory and even each meal with extraordinary detail.

Buddenbrooks begins in late 1835 with a gathering of family and friends to celebrate a new home, a mansion which stands as the symbolic standard of the success of the Buddenbrook family. Ominously the reader is informed that the former owners of the house were "a brilliant family who had built and lived in the house and then, broken and impoverished, had left it."[20] The book ends in 1876, the last heir of the Buddenbrooks has died, the once prosperous firm has been liquidated and the large house sold. The main storyline, the decline of a family, is told through the men of the family and it is in each of them that the conflict between the practicality of the burgher and the sensitivity of the artist is worked out. Mann proceeds from old Johann Buddenbrooks who brought the firm to respectability and prosperity with

energetic, no nonsense business dealings; to the Consul Johann Buddenbrooks, his son, who retains the practicality of a businessman but fuses it with the 'practical' ideals of constitutionalism, the customs union and, more dangerously, with a feverent religious piety which increases with age; to Thomas Buddenbrooks, the Consul's son, who with initial enthusiasm achieves economic and political success enhancing the family name, only to lose himself in the respectability and practicality becoming an empty shell, an actor who performs the family duties devoid of feeling. Finally there is Hanno, Thomas' son, an artist dismally lacking the practical nature required by the Buddenbrooks, but possessing all the heartfelt sensitivity and emotion which his father had denied himself.

The Buddenbrooks women are just as important as the men, however, acting as commentaries on the family and society in general. Antonie (Tony) Buddenbrooks, the sister of Thomas and Christian, is the best example and it is she who acts as the last redoubt of the family. Her continual emphasis on the family's heritage, the family's brilliance and the family's name begins as childlike exaggerated pride but becomes paranoia. Her insistence that it is her duty to enhance the family through a respectable and profitable marriage leads, predictably, to repeated disasters; she herself divorces twice and her daughter is abandoned by a felonious husband. Tony bemoans the loss of all three husbands but is far more distressed that they did not realize their duties to the family once they had married a Buddenbrook. The reader receives through Tony insights into the Imperial Germany, the relationships between men and women, the institution of marriage as a business

and legal contract, the attitudes of society and what is considered acceptable social behavior.

Such rough character sketches as these cannot reveal the subtleties of each character which are uncovered over the entire book. Then also, there are the minor characters which must pass unmentioned. Part of the attraction of the novel is the finely drawn characters with their good points and bad; they are very human and it is part of Mann's irony, of course, that not one of them is a hero and that each fails life in some crucial way.

As the characters are revealed through the details of their lives, so is the social structure never expressedly laid out but runs self evidently throughout in details. For example the nobility is introduced first when Tony enters a school for "the daughters of irreproachably refined families"[21] where she meets Armgard von Schilling:

> (Tony) glowed with reverence for Armgard's noble birth. Privately she sometimes thought that the splendid von went with her better than it did with Armgard; for Armgard did not appreciate her good luck....[22]

The nighttime chatterings of the young girls make it quite clear that Armgard intends to marry a country gentleman with a large estate while Tony intends to be the wife of a businessman with lots of money. In other words, they will marry within their stations. Armgard does get her country gentleman, a charming but dissolute man by the name of Ralf von Maiboom. On the surface the couple flourish but in reality the gambling debts of Maiboom bring them to bankruptcy; desperation forces them to use a 'connection' with the Buddenbrooks for credit. In this way Mann points to the economic unsoundness of the nobility. Although

in this case the problem was gambling - a problem meant to indicate the decadence of the class[23] - the phenomenon of the gentry falling prey to creditors is implied to be more widespread.[24]

Tony's sympathy and respect for the nobility continue throughout her life and are depicted as fairly typical. A young medical student concludes that her defence of the nobility is clearly motivated for she belongs to it herself in a sense. Even if her name lacks the privileged von, her wealth places her above the rest of the Third Estate.[25] The student represents the intellectuals behind the 1848 Revolution and with the hopes of convincing Tony he proclaims in great frustration:

> It is a question of the principle,...of the organization of the state.... They (the nobility) only need to be born to be the pick of everything, and look down on all the rest of us.... We, the bourgeoisie... we recognize only that nobility which consists of merit; we refuse to admit any longer the rights of the indolent aristocracy, we repudiate the class distinctions of the present day....[26]

Tony learns nothing but phrases which she often repeats, and the passion of the student, as the passion of the Revolution, fails to bring about changes in the social structure. Many years later, Thomas Buddenbrooks much more quietly criticizes the nobility in his effort to explain social distinctions to Tony:

> You know, there is now and then one among them who doesn't treat the merchant classes with any great respect, though perfectly aware that he can't do without them. Such a man is too much inclined to lay stress on the superiority - to a certain extent undeniable - of the producer over the middleman.[27]

The point is that the superiority is an illusion.

The last depiction of the nobility is found in young Count Mollin - Kai - the only close friend of Hanno Buddenbrooks. Although of

aristocratic birth, Kai runs wild and neglected, ignorant of both his position and common cleanliness. The decrepit manor in which he and his father live is overrun by dogs and chickens and the only other surviving relative, an aunt, writes "romances for the family-story papers, under a dashing pseudonym."[28] Kai for all his noble bearing, energetic strength and impetuous impractical imagination, is clearly meant to be an example of the depths to which the nobility have fallen.

The nobility are peripheral to the bourgeoisie in the novel as might be expected. Within the bourgeoisie are illustrated sharp distinctions, the most obvious one being the line between the Buddenbrooks and the Hagenströms. From the beginning the Hagenströms are marked as ruthless upstarts by the Buddenbrooks and it is Tony who venomously emphasizes this prejudice. She becomes more emphatic the more powerful, wealthy and established the Hagenstroms become. The distinction between the old burghers and the new bourgeoisie is more reasonably shown in the senatorial election rivalry between Thomas Buddenbrooks and Hermann Hagenström. The competition is between "the free, progressive, tolerant unprejudiced habit of thought" of the Hagenströms and "a hundred years of honourable tradition" represented by the Buddenbrooks.[29] It should not be surprising to the reader that Thomas wins, the reverence for the nobility passing to the old patriarchical burghers. Despite the moderation with which the Hagenströms are described at times, one is left influenced by Tony's feeling that the Hagenstroms are less honourable and respectable than the Buddenbrooks. They typify the new middle classes effortlessly ignoring traditional dictates such as the Buddenbrooks' family motto:

"My son, attend with zeal to thy business by day; but do none that hinders thee from they sleep by night."[30] The Buddenbrooks firm was one that strained "every nerve and muscle to preserve its perfect integrity and spotless reputation."[31] When, with the insight that sometimes comes from fools, Christian joked that "every business man is a swindler" and Hermann Hagenström replied that for his part he had "the greatest respect for (his) calling",[32] one cannot help but smile at his backhanded implication. If the faults of the Hagenströms were obvious, those of the Buddenbrooks were concealed, as the Consul Buddenbrooks remarked, like "hidden crack(s) in the building we have erected."[33] It was the cracks and hidden tensions that contributed to the decline of the family. Yet one is also left with another ominous sign when the Hagenströms buy the old Buddenbrook home. Thomas explains:

> These people have come up in the world, their family is growing, they have married into the Mollendorpf family, and become equal to the best in money and position. But so far, there has been something lacking, the outward sign of their position, which they were evidently willing to do without: the historic consecretion - the legitimization, so to speak.[34]

But:

> the outward and visible material signs and symbols of happiness and success only show themselves when the process of decline has already set in. The outer manifestations take time - like the light of that star up there, which may in reality be already quenched, when it looks to us to be shining its brightest.[35]

The petty bourgeoisie are the next level of the social structure that is evident in <u>Buddenbrooks</u>. Besides Gotthold, the brother of

Consul Buddenbrooks who brought the wrath of his father upon himself by 'marrying a shop', two characters are important, Benedix Grünlich and Alois Permaneder.

Benedix Grünlich, a 'Agent' with a 'very flourishing business' (in what one is not quite clear), marries Tony for the credit rating of the Buddenbrook name. Giving the impression that he is "a capable, cultivated and energetic Christian man"[36] Grünlich has no scruples about abusing his marriage connection or using up Tony's substantial dowry. Bankruptcy ends the credit and the marriage. When Tony meets her second husband Alois Permaneder, he is a Munich hop dealer. Somewhat "a little too easy mannered", Permaneder still impresses on the Buddenbrooks the fact that his business is doing well. Marriage and Tony's second dowry rob him of any ambition whatsoever and he retires with her "to sit and eat our big of pig's meat without screwing ourselves up and putting on so much leg."[37] The result is a second divorce.

The impression given of the petty bourgeoisie from these two characters is distinctly negative. They lack all the real virtues respected by the Buddenbrooks and have none of the ruthless intelligence of the Hagenströms. As a comparison, Mann includes the Iwersens who run a flower shop, a simple and small business. They are not personally reprehensible but the social distinction is still pointedly made. Long before both were married, Thomas had a love affair with the wife of Herr Iwerson. Both acknowledged the social restraints against further commitment and ended the relationship in order to marry within their own classes. As Thomas told his uncle Gotthold on the latter's deathbed:

> If I had been like you, I should have married a shop girl years ago. But for the sake of appearances --![38]

After the petty bourgeoisie there is a host of relatively minor characters which fill positions as lawyers, doctors, clergy, dentists, barbers and teaches. Lawyers, doctors and especially the clergy are presented as respectable and these characters are easily admitted into the company of the Buddenbrooks. Indeed many sons of the better families turned to these professions. Professional status however did not give one immediate entrance into society as was indicated by Tony's relationship with the young medical student. Although she wrote to her parents that "Morton belongs to the other section of respectable men, the scholars",[39] he knew his place in the social structure; "There is a gulf between you and us, because we do not belong to your circle of ruling families."[40] Barbers, dentists and teachers are not as highly considered. For example, even young Hanno feels the weight of his social position in relation to the assistant masters and seminarists who taught him: he had "a secret contempt for their social inferiority, their spiritual limitations and their physical unkemptness."[41] Herr Wenzel, the barber, holds a somewhat privileged position because of his position on the town assembly and his intimacy with the most powerful heads of the families. While Herr Wenzel converses with Thomas Buddenbrooks on business and politics, his real status in relation to this class is shown when, after he has shaved Thomas' respectable chin he "(vanishes) by the basement route and (empties) the lather out of his shaving basin on to the pavement in the street."[42]

Beneath the substantial number of characters already mentioned,

and the numerous ones not mentioned, are the multitude of laborers, servants and peasants who ever present in the houses of the Buddenbrooks and Hagenströms and in their businesses. These for the most part are entirely silent in the novel and are merely assumed to be part of the social structure by the characters, the author and consequently the reader as well. Much can be drawn from the following description:

> The gentleman in the ulster looked.... as one looks at a servant blinking gently without seeing him....[43]

One unseen character is Ida Jungman, the children's governess. Ida is presented as a figure who is always there - she raises two generations of Buddenbrook children - and always passed over. As is often the case with servants in such positions, however, her perception of the social structure is distorted; "She was a person of aristoratic principles, drawing hair-line distinctions between class and class, and very proud of her position as servant of the higher orders."[44] Besides Ida the Buddenbrooks had three maids and a man-servant. When hiring the man-servant, the Frau Consul hoped to "find some honest man from the country who wouldn't ask too much."[45] The Buddenbrook servants also knew their place. One porter took off his hat to Tony "so obsequiously that it seemed he must be thinking 'Bow, you dog of a porter - you can't bow low enough."[46] At Christmas time the servants and poor people would gather at the house and receive small gifts while the Consul "went about shaking their purple hands."[47] The relationship between the classes is a patriarchical one actively passed on from one generation to another. To train Hanno in the practical ways of

business his father brings him to the harbor among the workers. Here Thomas points out:

> Some of those people over there hauling up grain have the same name as you - they were named after your grandfather, as you were. And their children are often named after me - or Mama. We give them little presents every year.[48]

What is depicted is a loyal and dutiful lower class passively accepting their lot in life. Except for Hanno who, when he is young, cries for the waggoner who gets up at three in the morning, there is no conception of the condition of the working class. Tony summarily dismisses the plight of the waggoner: "The waggoner gets up at three from his bed of straw' - why, of course he does! That's why he is a waggoner."[49] The 1848 Revolution, however, released some of the frustration of the working class to the amazement of the older Buddenbrooks. While the older servants and labourers continued to be respectful, "several here and there among the young ones had shown by their bearing that the new spirit of revolt had entered them."[50] The Frau Consul had trouble with an impertinent cook who spoke of a new order in th world in which she would sit on the sofa with a silk gown on and be served by the Frau Consul. Frau Consul concluded that since the cook had been seeing a butcher's apprentice "that man of blood must have influenced her political views in a most regrettable way."[51]

When the Revolution actually comes, the Frau Consul is frightened. Consoling her that "We are in God's hand"[52] the Consul Buddenbrooks insists on carrying on as usual. The crowd in front of the Assembly is described as 'uneducated rowdies' with 'eyes flaming with excitement and hatred', yelling frantically. The attitude of the

Consul to them is one of distinct superiority and control. Others might say "this infamous rabble ought to be taught some respect with a little powder and shot", the Consul only agrees that it "is a pretty undignified affair."[53] His temper rises only when he notices that the oil lamps in the street were not lit, an "unheard of interruption of the regular order."[54] He chastizes the 'black mass of insurgents' made up of young labourers, servants, school pupils, sailors, and women. An exchange with one of the labourers shows just how unorganized and ill-informed these people were on what they were doing and why:

> "Lord Herr Consul" said Carl Smolt...."thet's call as it is. Rivolution it has to be. Ther's rivolution iverywhere, in Berlin, in Paris-"
> "But, Smolt, what do you want? Just tell me that if you can."
> "Lord, Herr Consul, I say we wants a republic; that's wat I be saying."
> "But, you fool, you've got one already."
> "Well, Herr Consul, then we wants another."[55]

With this effective exchange comes laughter, the crowd is dispersed and the Consul sends Carl Smolt on an errand: the Revolution "made at the aesthetic tea-tables of Berlin" is over.[96]

As the Buddenbrooks 'decline' they lose some of their servants and some of their hold over the ones that remain as well. Riekchen Severin, who managed the household and servants, "a thick-set, country-bred creature with coarse lips and fat red cheeks",[57] is a good example. When the Frau Consul dies, Severin promptly goes into her drawers and claims some silk dresses and a bundle of underwear without any regard for Tony's reproaches. The rest of the servants follow her example and the result is "wash baskets full of stuff going out of the house."[58] Whether this was the brashness of these individual servants

or whether Mann means to indicate a subtle but genuine alteration in the relationship between servants and their masters is difficult to say, for there are few examples. The novel ends in 1876 when Germany was experiencing the growth of social democracy. There was no longer only an unorganized ignorant rabble, but a developed political party with specific politics and goals. There was more than simple concern over this development and it was spoken of "with fear and loathing."[59] One of Hanno's teachers, Herr Drägemüller, rallied his students, "we must keep together...Social Democracy is at the door."[60]

One might argue that what is being shown is only Mann's interpretation of the social structure. Such an argument has some legitimacy for certainly there is much of Mann in his book. One can also legitimately argue, however, that the social structure of Buddenbrooks and the perceptions of class shown were common in the society. This social structure was understandable and acceptable, or unacceptable as the case might be, to the reading public who picked up the book.

The novel is weakest with the lower classes and it seems that Mann submits too easily to the prejudices of his society. Yet his critique of the bourgeoisie at all levels is not at all kind, despite a certain sympathy for the Buddenbrooks. Similarly Mann's message concerning the nobility is critical. The German reading public, when Buddenbrooks was released, were already used to a type of sensationalist literature which thrust not only violence but also a type of 'confessional' format which attempted to disclose incriminating information about important

and respectable people or the class they belonged to.[61] If one were to omit the violence, Buddenbrooks is a fictionalized confession of an upper class, respectable family. To those readers who did not share the privilege of associating with such as the Buddenbrooks, to peek into their private lives would be attractive and then especially to see that, despite their wealth and privilege, the upper classes were not always happy and had problems too, could be satisfying.

It can be argued that the strength of the novel lies in the portrayal of German social structure. The novel does concern the decline of a family shown by the loss of social position and prestige. Mann fictionalized perhaps the most serious problem facing Germany, especially for the period 1835-1876, a changing social structure which although it seemed static was altering significantly. It is interesting that Buddenbrooks avoids other themes sometimes found in best-sellers and readily attributed generally to German society by historians - nationalism, and militarism for example. Nationalism might be inferred from Tony's proclamation:

> Oh, we should never be transplanted we northern folk. We should stick to the shore of our own bay; we can only really thrive upon our native soil.[62]

This, however, is not strident nationalism but a regional love of her home and no small degree of insecurity. One might contend that Tony's attitude is not an aggressive nationalism yet. She seems too inclined to exaggerated pride and a blind sense of duty as well as the propensity to repeat catch phraes without giving them serious thought. Thus this character seems a perfect candidate for future propaganda

efforts. As for militarism, the only character directly associated with the army is Renee Maria von Throta, a second lieutenant in an infantry battalion. As an artist, von Throta is most unmilitaristic and it is only when one reverses what von Throta is and pays attention to what he is not, that the stereotypical officer emerges. In his detail Mann lightly touches upon those aspects of German life picked out as representative by historians and social critics, yet nowhere are they given any importance in Buddenbrooks.

Long before Buddenbrooks was written, it was asserted that:

> No story... can be without ghosts and magic, murder and manslaughter, for the masses have a burning craving for simple facts, (for) compact and unadorned incident, for an uninterrupted and relentless pace, for a riot of ever new twists and turns of plot, the wilder and more improbable the better. They don't want to be given the opportunity to linger and to reflect, but rather want to be perpetually surprised and dazzled.... [63]

Buddenbrooks is the antithesis of the above and yet its popularity cannot be denied. It is a deliberate novel requiring patience but also capable of providing pleasurable reading. It is a novel of its times in that Mann provides a sensitive interpretation of some of the problems in his society, and for its times as indicated by its popularity.

War and the Bestseller: War Literature during the War

The cliché that 'the more things change the more things remain the same' seems to fit Buddenbrooks and 19th century German society aptly.

Despite distinct political occurrences the social system is shown to really have stood quite unaffected. There may have been occasional individual alterations within and between classes but society remained essentially the same. For each declining Buddenbrook family there was a Hagenström family to resume its empty place. However, as Germany moved into the twentieth century, the Buddenbrook values of order and duty seemed further and further away as the pace of change quickened. The past, and a distinct longing for the past, increasingly figured as important in literature, especially in **Volksliteratur**, but it was also incorporated in such works as Buddenbrooks. This may have been one of the novel's main attractions to the reading public. The novel depicted a commonly known, understood and experienced part of German life and it is often with great reluctance that people abandon the past. The past is at least familiar providing landmarks of tradition for people. One must not make the mistake of attributing to Europe, the North American fascination for the 'frontier' and the 'new world' for Europe has a strong historical conscience. The influence of Leopold Van Ranke and historicism should not be underestimated. A tradition of utopias is not excluded by a historical conscience, for European thinkers also dreamt of a better future, but, at the same time, the weight of the past and what was good about the past was a strong consideration. Buddenbrooks is valuable in this study for the way it recaptures a sense of the German past. The process of social change, as shown in the reluctant decline of the Buddenbrooks, was hastened, in some ways absolutely, by the First World War. With the war, the world of the Buddenbrooks became irretrievable.

War had been prophesied by popular authors increasingly in the last half of the nineteenth century with the sides and enemies altering flexibly with each international incident.[64] These stories received not only popular attention but also official concern.[65] For the most part the literature was chauvinistic and propagandistic claiming imaginary victories or successful defences of the home country against a beligerent aggressor. The mood was romantic and heroes were easily made. The impossible was claimed to hide the reality of war's death and destruction. When war did come in 1914, it was greeted with delicious anticipation of opportunities and victories.

The First World War has been eloquently described by historians, but despite their judicious explanations something of reality of actual experience is lost. War literature closes that gap. The experiences of the war caused many to write whereas they might never have thought of picking up a pen had they continued to just bank clerks, factory hands, teachers or even officers. Their experiences were related in letters, memoirs and books, and they grappled with aspects of war usually sheltered from those at home. For many, writing was a way of making an insane situation saner. Somehow words rationalized the paradoxically simple fact of death and its incomprehensibility. Writing became a defence mechanism, enabling the writer to thrust his fears out upon the forces that put him there (egocentric) or else glorify the experience as a sacrifice to one's national community (ethnocentric).[66] War literature became a sensitive issue for the Reich which could not allow critiques of the country or its war policy to be made public. As morale declined after 1916 this problem

commanded top priority, and strict censorship which was already the rule became even more severe. The war literature that promoted the German cause was understandably encouraged and even commissioned by the authorities. The type of novel acceptable to the Reich and the generals were those which bolstered the idealistic vision of a successful war and which showed loyal and courageous heroes fighting for Germany. Such control of reading material, however, does not preclude the real desire of the reading public to read about the heroes of the country and their experiences at the front. Ethnocentric war literature was released to a public that needed heroes and assurances of victory. It is understandable that when the Kaiser and his generals thought they had a German hero they would herald him in the press, decorate him and then release his memoirs or autobiography. But it was still the reading public that bore the war literature to bestseller status.

The bestseller list offers two autobiographical works written by perhaps the most romantic soldiers of the war, the pilots. The first by Gunther Pluschow, Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau, was published in 1916 and the second, Der rote Kampfflieger, by Manfred von Richthofen was published in 1917.

These novels represent an important part of war literature and form a necessary contrast to the later phase of primarily pacifist war literature which was revived in 1929 beginning with another bestseller Im Westen nichts Neues. They also reveal the strength of the 'front ideology' that existed in the trenches and in the air and provide a perspective from which to examine the phenomenon of the right-wing demobilized soldier which plagued the Weimar period.[67] Also,

encouraged by the government, these books indicate the types of values impressed upon Germany by the authorities. The backlash against Imperial authority crystalized by the 1918 Revolution becomes clearer when one understands the direction from which they were moving away. The pendulum swung from one side to the other. The connection of both these books with the publication process is as clear as the message they were intended to relate. These books were published by the great publishing house of Ullstein, which reputedly accommodated each government in power and was notorious for its concentration on the quantity of sales rather than the quality of the books. What is not clear, and must be explored, is the connection to the reading public and how the popularity of these books relates to their contents both during the war and after.

Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau: A War Hero

Gunther Plüschow's work, Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau, was first published in 1916 by the Ullstein Verlag in Berlin. According to Table 3, Die Abenteuer reached immediate popularity with 100,000 copies in its first year of print. Table 3 does not, however, show any other information until 1927 which cites 610,000 total. In a foreword in a new edition released in 1927, the Ullstein Verlag claims that when the book first came out "in only a few years, more than 600,000 impressions" were released and that "one found it (the book) all over."[68] Furthermore, the figure given by the publishing house for both editions is 618,000 with the total (Gesamtauflage) as

673,000. Those figures cause some confusion when compared to the Table. The discrepancy of 63,000 (673,000-610,000) is less problematic than whether the book really did achieve its greatest popularity during and shortly after the war, or as Richards' statistics suggest, experienced a more general popularity spread over the period from 1916 to 1927. In considering the problem, the exaggeration of the publisher to advertise the new edition should not be discounted. The 1927 edition was brought out with 55,000 copies as a **Volksausgabe** in order to "increase its already countless thankful following."[69] If in fact, using only Ullstein's figures, Die Abenteuer achieved 600,000 in its first several years, that leaves only 73,000 copies remaining for the period 1919 to 1927 (to use a rough approximation). Then if one subtracts the 55,000 copies for the new edition, one is left with 18,000 copies unaccounted for. It may only be assumed that these were released sometime between 1919 and 1927. This hardly equals a 'countless following'. Finally it seems reasonable to believe that since Richards does not provide figures for the book after 1927 it was not reprinted. However the 1933 edition of Der rote Kampfflieger advertises Die Abenteuer. Lack of further information hinders a definite statement but it seems more reasonable to assume the 600,000 figure for the first years is an exaggeration of its popularity. This does not diminish the fact that it did experience immense popularity in the beginning.

Die Abenteuer was Plüschow's first book, written when he was thirty years old. It is an autobiographical account of his 'adventures' beginning in 1913 on the coast of China and ending during the war back in Germany. The climaxes of the book are the battle of

against the Japanese and Plüschow's escape into China and his escape later from the English prisoner of war camp in England. These adventures earned Plüschow the Iron Cross First Class and popular acclaim. Die Abenteuer was translated into English as My Escape From Donington Hall and The Siege of Kiao-Chow in 1915. Besides Die Abenteuer, Plüschow wrote two other books, Segelfahrt ins Wunderland, published in 1926 and Silberkonder über Feuerland which was published in 1926.[70] Only Segelfahrt ins Wunderland, a travel book, reached bestseller status (21,000 copies or more), its maximum printings given as 90,000 in 1939. Die Abenteuer was Plüschow's most successful work.

Plüschow begins the story of Die Abenteuer in 1913, at which time he was a German naval officer. After spending some time in London, he finds that he has been accepted into pilot training after which he will go to Tsingtau, a city in Germany's Chinese colony, for three years.[71] Plüschow trains successfully in the early part of 1914 and leaves for China a certified pilot. When he reaches his German 'home away from home', for he considered himself on German soil, he feels it is a paradise on earth. His first day is highlighted by a soccer match between German and English sailors. With hindsight he comments:

> Who would have thought! Just six months later the same 'teams' would meet again except it would be an earnest competition where the final score could be only victory or death.[72]

The whole atmosphere of Tsingtao in the months before the war is not militaristic but luxurious and perhaps even frivolous. Tsingtao was a favorite bathing spot for American and English women and Plüschow's

days were filled with automobile excursions, riding parties, polo, tennis, and his evenings with fetes. As an officer Plüschow had four Chinese servants - a cook (Moritz), a groom (Fritz), a gardener (Max) and a butler (August) - as well as two German attendants.[73] Except for the fact that he lived better in Tsingtao than in Germany, Plüschow found "the whole life in East Asia monotonous for a European."[74]

The war came as a shock. The main concern was whether the war included England, an idea that seemed unthinkable to both Plüschow and his English friends. When it was confirmed that Germany was involved in a European war which included England, the German officers were not elated but just the opposite:

> Over and over again we said to ourselves: Here we sit in Tsingtao, at home are our brothers and friends, the luckiest are able to experience the wonderful days of mobilization, they are able to confront a world of enemies, they are able to defend our holy, beloved Fatherland and our women and children while we just sit here and cannot help.[75]

Meanwhile, the Russian, French, and English citizens who remained in Tsingtao were treated as guests of the German Empire despite the English propaganda reports of 'bestial handling.' Except for the sadness of not being able to participate in Europe, the colony was calm with the belief that the Europeans would not attack Tsingtao. The Japanese were not even considered. Once the Japanese entered the war, however, they attacked Tsingtao with full intentions to succeed in wresting the city from the Germans. On October 27, 1914 the Kaiser sent a telegram: "Along with Me, the whole German people look upon the heroes of Tsingtao with pride...Know that We thank you all."[76]

Plüschow was elated that "the highest General did not forget his small but loyal troops in the Far East" and "was reminded to fight his best and do his duty to the last so that his Kaiser could be satisifed with him."[77] When the situation looked hopeless Plüschow escaped into China, provided with a pass from the Governor.

Of Plüschow's adventures in China, his attitude toward the Chinese people stands out. It may be assumed that this was a typical European attitude. The Chinese are consistently referred to as a childlike people and their superstition is emphasized. Plüschow lands in a peasant's field and relates:

> All of them, like all the other Chinese people over whose land I had flown, could scarcely comprehend the wonder... all thought that I was an evil spirit who brought misery... I went towards them and grabbed three or four by their pigtails and dragged them howling to my plane to show them that the big 'bird' would not do anything to them.[78]

When an American missionary explains to the Chinese that the strange man had come from Tsingtao in the plane, their response was incredulity. They asserted that "even if they were stupid and the white people had to always guide them, so stupid as to believe such nonsense they were not."[79] The primitiveness of China is also brought out. It was a land "which looks the same as it had for thousands of years and where screwdrivers and pliers were unknown."[80] Plüschow works on his Mercedes airplane motor, a pointed contrast to the technological backwardness of China. Such a depiction of the Chinese is interesting when compared to the image of the Japanese. The Japanese are considered enemies, a "yellow danger",[81] and a very real threat; they

are not children to be guided by the white race. The one Japanese Plüschow meets is a "vain yellow man who stalked around (him) like a cat making deep bows and hissing through his teeth."[82] The words of an English lady commenting on the result of war between England and Germany echo in his ears: War "would mean that the prestige of the white race in the East would be finished and the 'Yellow Japs' could reap fruits from the discord."[83]

On the other hand, Plüschow's attitude toward the English is clearly formed by the circumstances of the war. During peace, Plüschow easily associated with the English. During war, his loyalty to Germany required that the English be considered enemies. There is, however, a strong sense of the circumstances and he reacts with amazement to English propaganda. He does not understand the necessity for lies. Plüschow reads the fate of Tsingtao in the Shanghai Times with disgust and disbelief:

> I read: Tsingtao surrenders. The fortress was taken without difficulty.... And then came so much filth, so many outright lies, that I threw the paper down in anger. Such things the English dared write over our honest battle?[84]

Plüschow's experiences in America reveal an interesting perception of the country and its people. It must be remembered that America was not in the war at this time. There is a clear association of the country with money and opportunity, but the overall picture is pro-American. The most telling episode occurs when an American attempts to convince Plüschow to stay in the United States since Germany will be defeated in a few months. Plüschow returns an answer his Kaiser could

feel proud of. He insisted that he was a German officer and wanted to return to fight for his Fatherland. He explained what it meant to be a German officer and how things really stood in Germany. His talk was so convincing that "the good man himself was almost won over to the German cause."[85] However, the more Plüschow saw of America, the more he became aware of the strength of English propaganda. In New York, there was "hardly a picture, a newspaper, an advertisements, that did not speak against Germany and that did not drag these loyal fighters into the dirt."[86] Although he tried to talk to people, he always got the same answer: "Yes, you personally would not commit all those atrocities ... but the other Germans, the Huns and Barbarians, they would."[87] He becomes increasingly disillusioned with the United States. He leaves for Germany aboard a neutral Italian ship in early 1915 but is captured by the English at Gibraltar.

Plüschow had been disguised as a Swiss sailor but he and five other 'Swiss' were not believed by the English authorities.[88] They were incarcerated with fifty other civil prisoners who had been held since the beginning of the war. Without speaking to their respective consuls, these fifty-six prisoners were shipped to England. In England, Plüschow experienced a variety of prisons until he reached Donington Hall. He met with both good and bad English attendants and presented them as such. On the whole, his account is balanced. Although he is nationalistic and patriotic, Plüschow does not resort to rabid condemnation of the English. The implication here is that he (and Germany) is better for not submitting to jingoism. In Donington Hall, the prisoners were allowed newspapers and from these Plüschow

could determine the extent of propaganda. In the papers were repeated slanders against Germany and glorifying accounts of English successes. These reports spurred Plüschow on to escape.

Two aspects of his escape are important in the implications they carry to the reading public. The first is Plüschow's major theme of English propaganda which he discredits by his own escape. Included in the book are English newspaper clips concerning his escape which Plüschow gleefully translates. That he disproved that his recapture 'was just a matter of time,' as stated by the English press, is a victory for him over both the English and their propaganda. Secondly, while still in London, Plüschow happens to hear a recruiting officer attempt to rally the men to join. Plüschow "awaited a stampede... (but) nobody stirred. Not one brought himself forth...."[89] This report on the state of English morale no doubt was welcome news to the war weary Germany.

Plüschow's return to Germany on July 13, 1915 was an emotional one - as one should feel upon returning to one's homeland. After being decorated, he became a pilot on the Front. Finally, Plüschow becomes the commander of a marine airport on the Eastern Front.

Two postscripts were added by Plüschow after his book was first published, although there is no indication of when exactly they were added. The first refers to the end of the war. Plüschow asks: "But is that the end?"[90], and reminds the reader of the motto 'Through one's own strength.' The second postscript may have been added for the second edition:

> More years have passed and they were years worse than the years at the Front. But they brought freedom, redemption, courageous industry, and success through strength. (I have travelled the world again) and everywhere I was received with respect and friendship as a German. A new age has arrived.[91]

This would seem to place the postscript after 1926 when Germany achieved a general rapproachment through Stresemen's diplomacy. Pluschow's last word to his readers were: "You cannot be defeated Germany, as long as you work, believe in yourself, and - remain united."[92]

It is fairly easy to see why Plüschow's book passed German wartime censorship and why it attained popularity. Plüschow is at all times a German officer who at the appropriate times says what is expected a German officer should say. He is loyal, brave and conscious of his duty to his Kaiser and Fatherland. He performs his duty without question. While his patriotism is sincere, however, Plüschow shows no particular animosity toward his European enemies[93] and even his prejudices concerning the Chinese are only those common to his time. He maintains balance and in his account there is nothing harsh or strident. Instead his story is filled with adventures which retain their flavor and excitement even without the immediacy of war. The book was acceptable to the authorities because it emphasized a patriotic idealism and reinforced the bravery expected of officers and soldiers. Although balanced, Die Abenteuer is not without the quiet condemnation of the English and especially their propaganda. One might suggest that in this way, English claims as to the progress of the war might be discredited in the eyes of the German people. Much of the popularity of

the book can be attributed to its fast pace which carries Plüschow to the world's most exciting places. It is a true adventure story in which a German hero overcomes insurmountable barriers with cunning and courage.

One must look at Die Abenteuer critically however. Despite the fact that it is a war story, very little of the reality of the war is brought out. War is depicted as a series of adventures in which one finds glory and honor. The number of deaths related by Plüschow are few and always referred to as "brilliant example(s) of heroism."[94] The blunt effect of destruction is not translated when he regretfully speaks of the bombing of Tsingtao. The battles with the Japanese are passed off with the phrase "To describe the day is impossible."[95] It is possible that such was the case for Plüschow. As Paul Fussel argues in his book, The Great War and Modern Memory, the words one uses in everyday language fail almost completely when one is forced to describe the reality of war.[96] But it seems intellectually weak. For Plüschow, war is neither good nor bad, it simply is. He does not reflect on the war except in that it is his duty to fight it. To the misfortunes of war, even the death of his sister, his response is "the fate of war."[97] This carries little emotion. In general, Plüschow fails to see the problems facing Germany and its soldiers in this war.

To be fair to Plüschow, however, one must recognize that Die Abenteuer was probably sent to the Information Department where it underwent editing and censorship.[98] Any critical remarks Plüschow might have made would have been removed by the Department. In fact, part of the responsibility of the Information Department was to counter the problem of Allied propaganda and in Plüschow they had a good

spokesman. It is quite possible that Plüschow was recruited to write his memoirs by the Department which "saw its main function as the creation of heroes."[99] The Information Department had considerable resources to publicize its heroes and their books. The newspapers would print headlines and photographs and even films would be distributed all over Germany. As morale declined after 1915, new heroes were constantly required by the General Staff. Gunther Plüschow was one. A second was officially chosen in January of 1917 after he had been awarded the Pour le Merité for sixteen kills.[100] The new hero was a twenty-five year old fighter pilot, Manfred, Freiherr von Richthofen.

Der rote Kampfflieger: The Propaganda Hero

After January 16, 1918, Manfred von Richthofen's name made headline news. His picture along with interviews appeared in magazines and newspapers across the country. His superiors did not have to worry that the young Junker pilot might express undesired opinions or reveal certain information for "he told the reporters exactly what he knew the General Staff expected him to...."[101] When Richthofen was asked by the Information Department to write his memoirs, a suggestion which came to them from a publisher, he saw no reason to refuse. The small book of memoirs and letters could be finished with the aid of a stenographer within his six week leave. He was told that "his fellow countrymen simply wanted to know more about him", but he also liked the idea because "among other reasons, proceeds would go to his family in case he were killed (and) if the war turned out badly, they would need that money."[102] When Richthofen finished his book, it was sent to the

Intelligence and Press Department at the Air Service Headquarters where it was edited, censored and prepared as magazine installments. Then it was sent to the Ullstein Verlag which brought the manuscript out in the winter of 1917 as a yellow paperback. Considering the significant amount of publicity which surrounded Richthofen himself,[103] it is not surprising that Der rote Kampfflieger experienced immediate popularity.

According to Richards' statistics, in its first year Der rote Kampfflieger reached printings of 350,000 and by 1938 had increased only another 70,000 to reach its accumulative total of 420,000 (See Table 3). Discrepancies become apparent when these statistics are compared to the statistics provided by W.E. Burrows in his biography of Richthofen and the statistics given by the Ullstein Verlag in the 1933 edition. Burrows states that the first printing of Der rote Kampfflieger totalled 500,000 printings of which thousands "went to German soldiers in the trenches."[104] One can suspect, however, that a second impression printed before Richthofen's death on April 21, 1918, must have appeared because of the response written by Richthofen on the popularity of his book.[105] He wrote that the good reception of his book pleased him and that he was interested in the variety of impressions the book made on the readers. He thanked all the people who had written letters, from school children to lovelorn woman. Finally he mentions that two English publishers approached him for translation and publication rights in England.[106] This chapter is jovial and positive, following the tone set by the book. The next edition which appeared in 1920 under the title Ein Heldenleben, also published by Ullstein, was enlarged. A last chapter is included in the 1933 edition that probably

was first seen in the 1920 edition. It is entitled "Thoughts in a Shelter" and is much more somber in tone. He wrote this, he said "without knowing whether anyone outside his family would see these notes."

> The war, that now is on all Fronts, is extremely serious and little remains of the 'fresh and happy war', as we called it in the beginning. Now we must all fight despair in order that the enemy cannot invade our country. I have a dark feeling that people have gotten the wrong impression of me from the Roten Kampfflieger. When I read the book myself, I appear insolent. I am not insolent. I can well imagine how it will be when, one day, Death grabs me by the neck; but even though I am often reminded that that is how it might well end, it is much more than just that.... I am miserable after each air battle.... When I step foot on the ground again (after a flight), I go immediately to my room and do not want to hear or talk to anyone.... it is not like the people think at home, all bluster and hurrahs - it is all more serious and grim.[107]

This passage seems much more like the letters that he wrote to his mother. These words do not seem to be those written by a bureaucrat from the Information Department and have an honesty and sincerity not found in the rest of the book. It probably was included in the second edition which was unhampered by censorship. It also falls more in line with the tone set after the war with anti-war and egocentric war literature. Ullstein gives the figure of 526,000 printings for both books - Der rote Kampfflieger and Ein Heldenleben.

The next statistics available are for the 1933 edition which was printed with 320,000 copies making the total for the book 846,000 up to 1933. This edition was introduced by Hermann Goering who, in fact, had been the last squadron commander of the Richthofen Wing before the end of the war. Also included in the new edition was a sixteen page prologue by Karl Bolko, Richthofen's youngest brother, the memoirs of his brother Lothar's flying adventures with Richthofen, the condolences

sent to the family from the Kaiser and Generals upon Richthofen's death, an account by the Canadian who shot him down, and finally an epilogue also by Karl Bolko.[108] W.E. Burrow's writes that the very full 1933 edition was reprinted several times and by 1937 the **Gesamtauflage** for Der rote Kampfflieger was 877,000 copies. By the end of the Second World War "well over a million copies were printed."[109] One should notice that the increase from 1933 to 1937 constitutes only 31,000 copies. Even if one were to take only the 1937 figure of 877,000, however, this is over double what Richards gives as the accumulative total. To place this discrepancy into perspective, the total figures do not alter the periods in which the book was most popular. It was still most popular during and shortly after the First World War. The Nazi interest in Richthofen in 1933 is self evident. Goering jumped at this pre-fabricated propaganda piece which gave the State a ready-made and legitimate hero.

When approaching the contents of Der rote Kampfflieger, one is conscious of the purpose for which it was written. It is fairly easy to pick out those passages intended as propaganda. For example:

> Every man in the trenches is a hero, and a writer has correctly said that 'there is not enough iron (for all the crosses) for all the heroes that are out there.' That every one of them has earned the iron cross, everyone must say when they see our brave men fighting.[110]

While important, these examples do not make up the whole book and cannot be the reason the book achieved its popularity. For the most part, the popularity of the book must be attributed to its subject, Manfred von Richthofen.

His story begins at the start of his military career in 1911 when

he enters the cavalry. Typical to his Junker class, Richthofen shows a love for horses and the hunt. War intruded into his established, calm world and was greeted with disbelief. Richthofen attests that although all the newspapers had talked of war, "no one thought war would come."[111] He begins the war on the Russian Front but is soon sent to the West. The trains going west were cheered at each station by the people. The war was only eight days old. When the soldiers reached Luxembourg, however, they were surprised not to find the same ovations they had been receiving. The Belgians proved just as unfriendly and Richthofen recounts an episode in which some rebellious men had to be "placed against the wall."[112] The twenty-five year old officer found this period of the war the best and stated "I would gladly relive the beginning of the war."[113] Richthofen soon found out, however, that this war was not one for cavalries. He grew frustrated as he carried dispatches and ran wires through the trenches. He confessed to his mother during this time, "If I come out of the war alive, it will be more through luck than ability."[114] Most of the time Richthofen was not in the trenches and was known as a 'base-hog'. Spending many days hunting in the rear, he grew bored; the war was passing him by. When he was assigned to the Supply Corps, his anger erupted and he wrote his Commanding General, "My Dear Excellency, I have not gone to war to collect cheese and eggs, but for another purpose."[115] His request for a transfer was granted.

Richthofen's choice of the Air Service was not unusual even though airplanes were new to the war. Because of the type of warfare which had developed especially on the Western Front, planes had assumed the

job of observation, formerly the cavalry's. Initially Richthofen had no intention of becoming a fighter pilot, feeling that as an observer he would be more useful. After learning his job, he was sent to the Russian Front and began daily flights over the Russian positions. The destructive trail left by the Russians on their retreat he described as "a desolate but beautiful picture."[116] The stalemate which continued in the West prompted the High Command to pull men from Russia and bring them to France. Richthofen was one of these. In the West he observed and occasionally dropped grenades on the French but still felt that he had too little to do with the war. After experiencing his first air fight on September 1, 1915, he decided to become a pilot. By October 10 Richthofen had his first solo flight and he had his first kill by April, 1916. Although sometimes nervous during this period as a novice, fear was a "word that should never be on the lips of a defender of the Fatherland."[117] He swallowed his fear and apparently never looked back. As a certified pilot, he returned to Russia where the Germans were bombing the central Front. Bombing and strafing provided amusement for Richthofen and he noticed that "the half-savage tribes from Asia were much more startled when fired at from above than... educated Englishmen."[118] Richthofen desired, however, to return to the Western Front where he could engage in one-on-one combat. His wishes were fulfilled and he left for the Somme for "the most wonderful time of (his) life."[119]

Richthofen killed his first English pilot on September 17, 1916 and from then on averaged a kill a week. He became well known to the Allies as **'Le diable rouge'** and it was rumored that they had a special

squadron for him alone. He also became well known to his superiors and was showered with medals and honors. He even received personal interviews with Ludendorff, Hindenburg and the Kaiser. The reader is given a count down of his victories and many of his battles are detailed. The comments attributed to him on his battles are ruthless and one wonders if they are really his or are propaganda. For example: "One is filled with pride when the enemy, whose face you have just seen, falls burning four thousand meters to the ground."[120] The enemy is, of course, an important part of Richthofen's war and the reader is never allowed to forget the point of opposition. The words enemy and opponent are always used as descriptive adjectives for the French and English. The Russians do not figure as important in his memoirs perhaps because they lacked an airforce that posed any threat. Richthofen did, however, warn his mother to bury anything of value if the Russians did advance. Richthofen was scathingly critical of the French and implied that they were cowards. When comparing French and English flying techniques, he likens the French to carbonated lemonade which is furiously active for a short time only to dissipate quickly. When and if the French do fight, he attributes it to a rise in their Gallic blood. The English were energetic, courageous and sportsmanlike, to a fault. Richthofen claimed that he had "rarely seen an Englishman who declined a fight."[121] Although the Americans had entered the war as of April, 1917, Richthofen makes no comment on them.

Richthofen's criticsm did not stop with the enemy's flying techniques but included his own country's. He chose his brother Lothar as a bad example. Lothar was a 'shooter' who killed for the thrill and

adventure without serious consideration of his duty. Richthofen felt that he himself was very conscious of the purpose of air battles. He considered himself only a soldier who did his duty. In a revealing statement that was undoubtedly to imply control and moderation, Richthofen disclosed that he limited his satisfaction at killing an Englishman to a quarter of an hour.[122]

On July 6, 1917, Richthofen was wounded and it was after this that he wrote his book. By this time the war had turned against Germany and Richthofen had admitted privately to the probability of defeat. At no time does this come out in the book. Instead Richthofen returns to the Front where he watched tanks roll across the Siegfried Line. The battles were pressured now and Richthofen becomes increasingly serious about the war. His last chapters are not glorious battle reports but are admonitions and reflections upon leadership. He wrote that the squadron leader must always remain by his men and fight with them: "He cannot be somewhere in the hinterland, communicating with them by telephone and conveying his commands theoretically from the Green Table...."[123] He reprimands those men in fancy uniforms who have not been proper pilots for years. He reinforces the words of 'the good, venerable' Clausewitz, that war has no other purpose than the destruction of the enemy.[124] That to battle and to fight was the most important thing, was the message with which Richthofen ended his book formally.

Not many months later on April 21, 1918, Richthofen was shot down. The German ace of aces officially had killed seventy-seven men, wounded nineteen and taken ten prisoners.

Richthofen's book shows him to be a cold and arrogant man who prided himself on his huntsmanship despite his rationalization of duty. His family was offended by this picture of him and, if one can judge from his last chapter of the 1933 edition, Richthofen himself wished to correct this image. Richthofen was not a romantic and one cannot say that he idealized his country or the war effort in any way. Rarely is there any mention of the more human aspects of the man. One single example was his admission that he liked to fly without thoughts of war and just enjoy the scenery. The war adventures of Richthofen are not amusing even if they are exciting-dampened by the predictability of success. War is the determining element in the actions and lives of every individual who is introduced. Der rote Kampfflieger is remarkably different from Gunther Plüschow's bestseller, in both the story it tells and the man it introduces to the reader.

One should remember, however, that the book was not the only picture the reading public had of Richthofen. The German people were familiar with Richthofen through the publicity which had been focused on him for some time. This publicity presented him as a shy, smiling young man. Rumors of his love interests abounded. In other words, he was presented with a human side which balanced the coldness of the book.

Richthofen was not a hero only through publicity. His technical skill and bravery in the war were admirable. There is certainly no notion of a declining Junker class as depicted in Buddenbrooks. The Junkers who made up a majority of the German pilots were considered the pride of Germany and possessed of all the best German virtues.

Richthofen died before the war's end and one is tempted to ask whether he would not have been lost in the Weimar period like so many of the demobilized soldiers. Richthofen was a man of old world Junker values: duty, honor, sportsmanship, etc. His status and **Weltanschauung** are implicit in the book and would have been shattered by the changes in society which resulted from the war. Richthofen probably would have been shocked by the Versailles Treaty and would have felt betrayed by the English whose sense of fair play he admired. Like Plüschow, however, Richthofen did not endeavour to understand the war or the world that produced it. When war came, one did what one was trained to do without question. This makes this bestseller, as the one by Plüschow, weak to the historian who is looking for a social analysis of some sort. But one must be fair to Richthofen as well. He made no pretentions of being a writer. He was a war hero and he wrote his book at the request of his superiors, for a particular purpose. It is doubtful whether he would have written anything after the war had he lived. That Der rote Kampfflieger became a bestseller is no reflection on the man in this case, but rather, indicates that the German reading public wanted to hear about their heroes during this crucial period in their history.

Tagebuch einer Verlorenen: Prostitution and the Middle-Class Reader

Not all the books which achieved popularity during the war were on war however. Margarethe Böhme's book Tagebuch einer Verlorenen, first published in 1905 in Berlin achieved considerable success between the

period 1910 and 1922, especially between 1917 and 1922. Bohme (a pseudonym for Margarete Schlieter, 1869-1939) presents the book as the actual diary of a young prostitute who died in 1903. Bohme claims to have edited the book although when she initially 'received' it she was to turn it into a novel. One is, in fact, introduced to 'Margarethe Bohme' in the diary towards the end. Thymian, the alleged author of the diary itself, presents Bohme as a divorced mother with a child who supports herself by writing for Die Gartenlaube, a family magazine. The story in the diary is given as a true one, with only certain name changes to protect those still living at the time. The expressed purpose of the book is to bring the attention of the reader to 'one of the burning social questions of the time - prostitution.' The subject matter, however, provides a forum for titilation.

When Tagebuch came out it created somewhat of a sensation which showed itself in the number of copies printed. (See Table 3).[125] In its first year of publication it achieved 44,000 copies. The list provided by the public libraries and book clubs on the books most read showed that Tagebuch was picked second in 1905 and third in 1906.[126] By 1910 it had reached 160,000 copies.[127] However, the height of its popularity was in the four year period between 1917 and 1922 in which 190,000 copies were released. This is compared to 114,000 in the previous seven year period. After 1922 the printings declined drastically and up to 1927 only 32,000 further copies were printed, and between 1927 and 1931 only 11,000. Of the thirty one works attributed to Margarethe Bohme only Tagebuch einer Verlorenen and Dida Ibsens Tagebuch. Eine Finale zum Tagebuch einer Verlorenen, published in

1907, reached bestseller status according to Richards' statistics.[128]

Like Buddenbrooks, the 'diary' of Thymian Frauke Katharine Gotteball is a depiction of German society before the war. Whereas Buddenbrooks explores the changes in the respectable upper bourgeoisie, Tagebuch plunges the reader into the lowest depths of that society - the street world, a world which does, however, reach up to all levels. The diary begins when Thymian is thirteen years old. She quickly relates the details of her life in the past years and the reader finds out that her father is a pharmacist in a small town of 2,000 people, her mother has died of tuberculosis, and her religious aunt has arranged for her to be sent to a respectable pension in the city. The occasion for her being sent was an incident between her father and the maid, the implication of which Thymian reveals herself to be unaware. Mischief results in Thymian's early return home.

Although Thymian's father loves her, the home life he provides her with is immoral. He consistently beds and fires the maids and housekeepers. These women all enter this respectable home dependent upon their jobs for a livelihood. He takes advantage of them and their situation to such a degree that one takes her own life. Devastated by this suicide, Thymian, at fifteen, is seduced by her father's assistant who poses as a comforter. Predictably she becomes pregnant and thus is lost **(verloren)** from respectable society. While her father is willing to bargain with the villanous assistant for a partnership, the spinster aunt has a moment of true Christian charity and refuses to allow Thymian to be chained by marriage to a reprehensible man. Instead the young girl is sent to Hamburg to a private home for young women in her

condition. There she meets another young woman who is visited by a gentleman; she is introduced to her first prostitute. Thymian has her child who is taken from her and 'bought' by a wealthy couple. Thymian only reluctantly agrees as she realizes she cannot give the child anything but a mother's love. A mother's love is not enough in a world where money is the most important thing.

Thymian is then sent by her aunt to a pastor's house. There she comes to realize that she is a social outcast. When she naively expects to be included in a social gathering to which some young girls are invited, she is told that as matters stand, "it would show a lack of tact to bring (her) together with the young, innocent daughters of the Pastor's colleague."[129] The condemnation and respectability of this family for whom she must do menial chores, strikes Thymian as ironic as she watches each commit their sins consciously. She turns from the Church angrily and sees she is a victim of these people and their society. Unable to accept the duplicity of the situation Thymian escapes to the prostitute she met in Hamburg. After much deliberation Thymian also begins the life of a prostitute. This decision, she feels, was forced on her by a society unwilling to accept her victimization and the cold facts that she could not return to her remarried father or her pious aunt.

Thymian finds she is successful in her career and the reader is shown the underground workings of prostitution; the registered and unregistered prostitutes, the police and the arrests, the establishments and tricks of the trade, the men who frequent prostitutes, and the women who are forced like Thymian to take up the life and who cannot

escape it. Given a choice most of the girls dream of returning to the respectable world but cannot. Those who do have been fortunate enough to have married money. These often become more respectable than the respectable and speak scathingly of the girls still on the street. Others, like Thymian, could not make ends meet and were forced back on the street. Or they would be unfortunate enough to be recognized at the wrong time for what they had been. Thymian is troubled by the double standard of sanctioning prostitution by registration and social ostracism. Only when a prostitute finds a rich man who purchases her from her skin to her soul do the authorities look away.[130] Otherwise she must sell herself bit by bit to meet taxes and the rent, always fearful of the police.

In all her exploits, four men become important in Thymian's life. The first is Casimir Osdorff, a Junker, whom she met as a child. The full force of a degenerate noble class comes forth through Casimar. He is a complete failure in all he undertakes. He ends his life a drunk in the streets sponging off Thymian who cannot tell him to go. His aristocratic pretensions remain beneath his slovenly appearance. When Thymian suggest that they marry because of the pressure she receives from the authorities, he claims, "A Herr Graff with two 'f's cannot marry a simple Gotteball."[131] They do marry and she does attempt to become respectable with him. He cannot lift himself out of his degenerate lifestyle and she must go back on the street. When Casimir dies, Herr Graf Osdorff, his uncle and a rich and prominent nobleman, becomes the second man of importance in her life. They arrange a relationship in which Thymian is kept in style and utmost luxury.

For the security provided by the relationship she is grateful, but she is repulsed by his unthinking arrogance. Although she betrays him for love, the relationship is maintained.

Thymian's only real love is, of course, ill-fated. He is a doctor happily married with four children and a prosperous practice. In principle he does not frequent a woman of her kind but finds her interesting and cultured. His interest in her is professional and he even speaks of hypnosis. Although he never really loves her, he respects and supports her in almost all her endeavours. He is the only one to attend her funeral.

The final man is more of a casual acquaintance but is special because he understands Thymian's life and her mind as none of the others do or care to do. He is called D. and is a wealthy shopowner who frequents the "modern slavemarket"[132] unhampered by wife or family.

Before her death Thymian characterizes herself as both spritually and physically ill. She no longer needs to be associated with the street but finds that she cannot escape the people of the street; she has become sensitized to the misery of the poor and suffering - the victims of society. Her charity is not retribution for her own past but a psychological compulsion:

> I would like to help all poor people, to feed all the hungry and cloth all the naked; I am unhappy that I cannot do this and cry for hours because of it... When I see a poor child on the street, I take him and buy him shoes and clothing and have them send me the bill... And when it occurs to me at night that there are many hundreds of poor people in Berlin that have no home where they can rest not a roof over their heads, I become restless and cannot sleep; I would like to sell everything I have to give to the poor and go on the street again myself.[133]

Thymian believes, however, that the answer to suffering is not with

Politically, Thymian is a democrat and cannot understand the right of privilege assumed by the nobility. She prefers a republic to an inherited sovereignity. These ideas were most unacceptable to her Herr Graf who diverted her mind to fashionable clothing whenever she broached politics. In other words, Tagebuch is about more than prostitution and its foundation is society and social organization. Like Buddenbrooks the book is concerned with respectability and what defines it - the answer in both is money.

Respectability and morality were two very important issues in Imperial Germany and it is useful to place the book into the period in which it was written and published. In 1892 the first draft of what became known as the **Lex Heinz** was laid before the Reichstag.[134] The **Lex Heinz** was an effort to strengthen morality legislation. It was intended as a measure through which the authorities could take action against "the criminal dregs" of the urban population.[135] The industrial growth had drawn thousands of young people into the cities which were ill equipped to accommodate them. The result of insufficient employment and inadequate housing, among other urban problems, was an increase in urban crime. The women caught up in this social situation were often forced into prostitution. Even legitimate work, when it could be found, did not provide enough for these women to live on. When Thymian compared the unrewarding life of a language instructor to the three hundred marks she received in one evening from a good 'connection', she made her decision. In Berlin (1900= 2,529,000 people) there were 3,000 registered prostitutes and 40-50,000 unregistered prostitutes: Thymian was unregistered.[136]

those people who, without callouses on their hands, say that they are the advocates of the 'slaves,' the 'suppressed' and 'disinherited.' What is needed is a "new world order."

The fabric of Thymian's life, and the lives of those she introduces, is rich. Society is depicted with all its irony, hypocrisy, cruelty and ignorance. Only occasionally does Thymian show the moments she experienced warmth and charity from others. She found more cruelty, but also more humaneness, in society's bowels than in its perfumed, respectable coiffures.

The story of Thymian reads melodramatically and that it is prime material for a traditional type of **Frauenroman** is obvious. On that point alone one can understand its popular appeal. The book contains enough sexual innuendos, spicy episodes of underworld life, religion and morality, unfulfilled love, suicide, rich patrons and sinister villains to hold the interest of any average German reader. Despite its sensational aspects, its main thrust is a very serious charge against German society. But it is a point that may become lost. Thymian was a cultured, intelligent and well-read woman who made legitimate critical observations about every subject from human nature to German politics. Her comments and observations on the institute of marriage, the position of women in society and the relationships between men and women in general, emphasize that it was a man's world. Passions, patronage, convenience are pointed out but rarely true love. The hypocrisy of religion and contemporary morality are also shown. The charitable women's organizations claim to help the poor and suffering as long as they do not sit at the same table for tea.

The prostitutes were, however, only one of the vices and crimes the authorities wished to address in the Lex Heinz. Repressive politicans supported by the German Morality Leagues agitated for stricter legislation which was to cover such things as "the imprisonment of employers who compelled their female employees to commit or tolerate 'immoral acts'"[137]. But, it was the question of censorship which aroused the fiercest and most publicized battles.[138] When the law was finally passed in 1900 it had been substantially modified. Even after 1900 the issue was not dead and "the idea of a new **Lex Heinz** continued to be energetically debated in Parliament and the press until the outbreak of the war."[139] One might reasonably suggest that the presence of such controversy around morality and vice contributed to the interest the German reading public might have felt in Tagebuch.

Beginning in 1917 Tagebuch experienced a significant increase in popularity after a stable success throughout the war. This increase deserves special consideration. Defeated, impoverished and faced with continued economic hardship as the only certainty after the war, the apparent reaction of the German people was to plunge into a perpetual round of amusements. The Berlin of the early twenties has held a fascination for historians who search in the unabashed life of that city for the pulse of 'new' German society. What seemed to characterize Berlin in the early years was a reckless abandon that found its expression in sex. Sex was connected with almost every social activity in the city. Films with titles like Lost Daughters and Hyenas of Lust flourished while honest film attempts turned out serious works on subjects like prostitution.[140] Periodicals entitled Free Love and

Woman Without Man blossomed once censorship restrictions were lifted.[141] There developed almost a whole new genre of literature which dealt explicitly with sexual subjects. Hard core pornography exploited such themes as white slave traffic while the newly established 'scientific' institutions distributed instructive manuals. The literature merely supplemented the visual expression of sexual experimentation found in the topless cabarets and nude reviews. While the German Morality Leagues and churches might cry out against moral corruption and protest the permissiveness, their efforts were ineffectual. The whole concept of respectability was being reevaluated, at least in the larger cities. Much of the whole mood was extreme and much was flaunted, but the moderate changes in sexual attitudes proved to be the most enduring. It was in the above atmosphere that Tagebuch revived in popularity. Although removed from the contemporary events like the war and revolution subjects like prostitution, the position of women in society and the relationship between men and women never fail to be pertinent to society. The bitterness and reproaches in the novel urged a reassessment of respectability and showed why it was necesary. Moreover, the subject was presented in Tagebuch with a finesse which probably made it less offensive to the average German reader than some of the more blatant and radical literature which urged a change in social attitudes. Tagebuch broaches a sensitive issue, sensitively. Yet it would be incorrect to ignore the soft pornographic element in the book for it shows the middle-class reader a tantalizing glimpse of the street world from the safety of an armchair. One could allow excitement to rise while shaking one's head at the social problem.

For all its noise and wicked reputation Berlin in the Weimar period retained much of the Imperial Age in its heart, as did most of Germany. Germany had no greater degree of vice, prostitution or sexual experimentation than any other European country. Behind the flashy woman remained the naive girl. The churches and conservative elements in Germany were still considerable forces who had lost (most hoped temporarily) their hold on society through the war. The social and political vacuum left was immediately crowded with numerous challengers from all perspectives. With this hodge-podge of old and new, Germany faced, internally and externally, the post-war sentence of sin and retribution.

Chapter 3 Notes

[1] Thomas Mann, Buddenbrooks Lowe-Porter, H.T. trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1964). All references to the contents of the novel will be from this edition. Originally published by S. Fischer Verlag in Berlin in 1901.

[2] Georg Lukacs, "In Search of Bourgeois Man" Essays on Thomas Mann (London: Merlin Press, 1964), p. 14. Lukacs' comment that Mann's "greatness lies in being a 'mirror of the world'" shows his position in the debate on the relationship between society and art. p. 16.

[3] Richards, p. 182. The following list contains those works of Mann's, other than Buddenbrooks, which reached 21,000 copies or more and their highest accumulative printings.

Der kleine Herr Friedemann (1898)	107,000	1930
Das Wunderkind (1903)	75,000	1927
Königliche Hoheit (1909)	148,000	1932
Der Tod in Venedig (1913)	80,000	1930
Tonio Kröger (1914)	99,000+	1935
Friedrich und der grosse Koalition (1916)	43,000	1931
Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen (1918)	26,000	1935
Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull (1924)	25,000+	1926
Der Zauberberg (1924)	135,000	1936
Unordnung und fruhes Leid (1926)	50,000	1930
Mario und der Zauberer (1930)	30,000	1930
Die Geschichte Jacobs (1933)	25,000	1933

[4] P. Mendelssohn, S. Fischer und sein Verlag (Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1970), p. 280. This first book of Mann's was disappointing to the young author and his publisher. Of 2,000 printed, 1,587 languished in the warehouse, which meant that only 413 copies were sold. From Richards' statistics one can see that Der kleine Herr Friedemann had reached 96,000 copies by 1925 and 107,000 copies by 1930. Obviously the later success of this small book is due to the general success of Mann who by 1925 had gathered a popular following interested in his literary debut as well as his contemporary works.

[5] Mendelssohn, p. 284. Letter from Fischer to Mann, October 26, 1900. The translation is mine, as are all subsequent translations from Mendelssohn's book.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 287.

[8] Ibid., p. 293.

[9] Ibid, p. 301. 'Unhealthy' refers to the subtitle of Buddenbrooks, 'The Decline of a Family, and the theme of decadence and degeneration that Mann grapples with in the last generation of the

family. Such a theme was frowned upon by those critics who thought literature should be uplifting.

10 Ibid., p. 302.

11 K. Rossbacher, Heimatkunstbewegung und Heimatroman (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1975), pp. 100-101. A study done by Das Literarische Echo, a literary journal, in 1909 inquired of the public libraries and book clubs a list of the books that were read the most between 1900 and 1906.

12 Mendelssohn, p. 305. Mendelssohn provides the following printing statistics for Buddenbrooks:

Year	No. of Copies
1901	1,000 1st edition
1903 beginning	3,000 2nd edition*
1903	10,000
1906	37,000
1910	50,000
1911	60,000
1918	100,000

* the new edition was issued with 2,000 copies.

13 Mendelssohn's statistics do complement Richards' with one exception. Whereas Mendelssohn cites 100,000 copies by 1918, Richards only cites 99,000. This discrepancy is small, however, and does not detract from the value of the information for the period 1901 to 1918 for which Richards provides no data.

14 Richards, p. 182. Der Zauberberg went from 34,000 in 1925 to 125,000 in 1930 and reached 135,000 by 1936. Mendelssohn indicates that each impression contained a total of 10,000 copies. p. 968. This shows the confidence Fischer now had in Mann's ability to sell.

15 For information on the Buddenbrooks- **Volksausgabe** see Mendelssohn, pp. 1179-1189.

16 1932 is the last date Mendelssohn provides for any Buddenbrooks printings in Germany and it seems reasonable to assume that that was the last impression of the novel released in Germany until after the war.

17 Hedwig Fischer, the wife of Samuel Fischer, remained in Berlin until 1939 when she finally agreed to leave at the age of sixty-seven.

18 S. Fischer, as quoted in Mendelssohn, p. 512.

19 Buddenbrooks, p. 15.

[20] S. Fischer, as quoted in Mendelssohn, p. 511.

[21] Buddenbrooks, p. 65.

[22] Ibid., p. 66.

[23] One should make the connection between Maiboom's gambling and Christian's.

[24] Ibid., p. 358. The only mention of Jews in Buddenbrooks comes in connection with the nobility. Upon hearing the situation of Maiboom, Thomas Buddenbrooks remarks: "I have heard of such things (creditors foreclosing), mostly in Hesse, where a few of the landed gentry are in the hands of the Jews. Who knows what sort of cut-throat it is that has poor Herr von Maiboom in his clutches." The second remark again comes from Thomas who explains to Tony the nobleman's perception of the merchant: "In short, he sometimes acts as if the merchant were like a peddling Jew to whom one sells old clothes, quite conscious that one is being overreached." p. 361. Although the images are stereotypical and negative one cannot easily accuse Mann of being anti-Semitic for he married a Jewess, Katharina Pringsheim the daughter of a prominent mathematician, in 1905.

[25] Ibid., p. 107.

[26] Ibid., p. 106.

[27] Ibid., p. 361.

[28] Ibid., p. 406.

[29] Ibid., p. 321.

[30] Ibid., p. 42.

[31] Ibid., p. 247.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p. 35.

[34] Ibid., p. 469.

[35] Ibid., p. 338.

[36] Ibid., p. 77.

[37] Ibid., p. 285.

[38] Ibid., p. 215.

[39] Ibid., p. 113.

[40] Ibid., pp. 107-108.

[41] Ibid., p. 405.

[42] Ibid., p. 281.

[43] Ibid., p. 115.

[44] Ibid., p. 7.

[45] Ibid., p. 58.

[46] Ibid., p. 121.

[47] Ibid., p. 68.

[48] Ibid., p. 149.

[49] Ibid., p. 366. Then in almost her next breath Tony will sprout her rote "over freedom and justice and the downfall of privilege and arbitrary power."

[50] Ibid., p. 139.

[51] Ibid., p. 138. The association of blood with radical political views is especially interesting and a typical conservative characterization.

[52] Ibid., p. 141.

[53] Ibid., p. 148.

[54] Ibid., p. 149.

[55] Ibid., p. 150. Dialect is often used by an author to distinguish class, to imply simplicity and lack of education, and sometimes as comic relief. In the case of **Völkisch** literature it is used to show peasant honesty and closeness to the Land.

[56] Ibid., p. 153.

[57] Ibid., p. 349.

[58] Ibid., p. 446.

[59] Ibid., p. 584.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Even the Kaiser protected his good name and his Reich from any dubious information. The **Strafgesetz** #95 dealt with **Majestätsbeleidigung** and "threatened with an unlimited prison sentence of not less than two months anyone whose spoken or written words could be construed as intending an insult to the Kaiser's majesty." See A. Hall, "The Kaiser, the Wilhemine State and Lese Majesté" German Life and Letters xxvii (Jan. 1974) 101. The legal strictures against critical 'libel' touched more than just the Kaiser and continued into the Weimar period. For example George Grosz's Ecce Homo (1923), a collection of drawings which attacked the bourgeoise and the army, was confiscated by the authorities. Such action was also taken against literature.

[62] Buddenbrooks, p. 302.

[63] Fullerton, "The Development of The German Book Markets, 1814-1888" p. 417. As quoted from Otto Glagau (1870).

[64] I.F. Clarke, Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 108.

[65] Martin Kitchen. A Military History of Germany (Secaucus, N.J. The Citadel Press, 1975), p. 178. Popular authors were not the only ones who were intrigued by the probability of future war. It was the natural and expected duty of the German generals to devise offensive and defensive manoeuvers in anticipation of a war. The names of Moltke and Schlieffen are familiar while General Freidrich von Bernhardi and his book Germany and the Next War is less so. Bernhardi's book was influential and ran into many editions.

[66] William K. Pfeiler. War and the German Mind: The Testimony of Men of Fiction Who Fought at the Front (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), p. 6.

[67] The front ideology is perhaps best explained by one of its own advocates, Ernest Junger. Junger believed "War makes men and their times what they are.... War, the father of all things, is also ours.... And always, as long as life's wheel still moves within us, this war will be the axle on which it turns. It has brought us up to fight, and we will be fighters as long as we exist...." As quoted in "Heroic' Nihilism in Weimar and Nazi Germany" E.F. Ziemke. Central European History xiii (March, 1980) 86.

[68] Gunther Plüschow, Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1927 ed.) p. 6. Originally published in 1912. This translation, as all subsequent ones for this book, are mine.

[69] Ibid.

[70] The advertising blurbs for both books are interesting for their characterization of Plüschow. For example, the Jenaische Zeitung told the prospective buyers: 'German youth, take up this book and examine

this man, he is a model for you. German men and women, take up this book, so that you can be told of what a German can accomplish when he is loyal, brave and strong.' See back pages of 1927 edition.

[71] The fortuitous murder of a German Catholic missionary in the province of Shantung provided the pretext for Germany to obtain the port of Kiochow, which was dominated by the city of Tsingtao, and included a rich hinterland of coal fields. A ninety-nine year lease received from China in March of 1898 confirmed the possession. By the end of the century, Germany had a substantial empire of over one million square miles with native populations numbering approximately twelve million. The above information would have been relatively common to the Germans who read Plüschow's book. When he arrives at Tsingtao his reaction was "now I am standing on German soil once more, in a German city in the East." (p. 25) This possessive attitude was undoubtedly echoed among many of his readers who were as proud as he of the achievements of the Empire. The importance of Plüschow's attitude becomes clearer once it is known that Germany lost Tsingtao to the Japanese by November of 1914.

[72] Die Abenteuer, p. 26. The two teams did meet again and the Germans sank the 'Good Hope' in twenty-seven minutes.

[73] Ibid., p. 28. It is amusing but significant that all the names of the servants are Christian German ones. When the battle with the Japanese begins all Plüschow's servants abandon him and he gets a new cook, Wilhelm. Wilhelm tells Plüschow, "Masterpilot, I good cook. I not go away like that bad Molitz. I am not afraid. I make plenty good chau-chau." Notice that l instead of r in Moritz. Also, 'plenty' was in English. Plüschow has categorized the Chinese in a typical colonial mentality fashion for his readers. That is how they would expect a Chinese man to talk.

[74] Ibid., p. 29.

[75] Ibid., p. 36.

[76] Ibid., p. 85.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid., p. 96.

[79] Ibid., p. 101.

[80] Ibid., p. 102.

[81] Ibid., p. 123.

[82] Ibid., p. 128.

[83] Ibid., p. 35.

[84] Ibid., p. 109.

[85] Ibid., p. 128.

[86] Ibid., p. 132.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Pluschow devulges that one of the others was an American who had come to Europe to fight for Germany. p. 146. He felt sorriest for these individuals who had sacrificed so much to serve their 'homeland' and, before they even saw Germany, were taken prisoner.

[89] Ibid., p. 213.

[90] Ibid., p. 236.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Pfeiler states that many Germans who came in contact with the enemy were surprised at the 'intensity of the hatred leveled against the individual German." They themselves had no "epithet for the enemy comparable with Boche and Hun." Pfeiler, pp. 288-289.

[94] Die Abenteuer, p. 91.

[95] Ibid., p. 85.

[96] See P. Fussel, The Great War and Modern Memory (London: Oxford University Press, 1977.) Fussel's work is on the British war experience but invaluable for any study of war literature.

[97] Die Abenteuer, p. 166.

[98] Prior to the war, relations between the military and the press was handled by a single individual. The war forced the growth of the Information Offices at all levels of the military, navy and airforce. The Offices were responsible for reports on operations in the field, the control of journalists at the front, and even the newspapers which were sent to the men: all reading material was edited and censored. At first, the General Staff reluctantly conceded to the growth of this Department but during the course of the war realized its potential against allied propaganda and the 'forces of upheaval' at home. See W.E. Burrows, Richthofen: A true history of the Red Baron (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969), pp. 110-112.

[99] The creation of heroes was the special interest of the Prussian officer who headed the Department. Ibid., p. 110.

[100] Ibid., p. 120.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid., p. 149. Richthofen's mother writes that her son was not convinced that Germany would win the war as early as May, 1915. Apparently he told her about Germany's military position and "went so far as to say that it would probably lose the war." The letters received from her sons "praised the courage of German fighting men against overwhelming odds, but she never read any hope of victory." See Burrows, p. 155. and also Freiherr Kunigunde von, Richthofen, Mein Kriegstagebuch (Berlin: Ullstein, 1937).

[103] Ibid., Burrows claims that if Richthofen walked down almost any street in Germany, he could buy several Sanke postcards of himself, read about himself in newspapers and magazines, read his book in serialization and even see his portrait on public display. He was greeted by crowds almost everywhere he went and bagfuls of mail were received daily. However, Burrows writes, while Richthofen tolerated this popularity, he did not like it: "The popular adulation, which he had never really thought about before it came, was a mixed blessing, because while it testified to his skill, it also violated the privacy he had always cherished." p. 156.

[104] Ibid., p. 175.

[105] Manfred von Richthofen, Der rote Kampfflieger (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1933), pp. 199-202. Originally published in 1917.

[106] Der rote Kampfflieger was translated and appeared under the title, The Red Air Fighter in mid 1918. It was published by 'The Aeroplane' and General Publishing Company.

[107] Richthofen, pp. 203-204. This translation and all subsequent ones are mine unless otherwise noted.

[108] Karl Bolko wrote about the Richthofen family history in the prologue and about Richthofen's 1925 burial in Berlin in the epilogue. He was asked to augment the edition by the Propaganda Ministry and complied. It is significant, however, that he did not support or even approach Germany's political situation and confined himself to personal reminiscences. No doubt he was aware of the point behind the new edition.

[109] Ibid., p. 221.

[110] Ibid., p. 60.

[111] Ibid., p. 31.

[112] Ibid., p. 42.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid., p. 55.

[115] Ibid., p. 61. translation by Burrows.

[116] Ibid., p. 66.

[117] Ibid. p. 81.

[118] Ibid., p. 100. translation by Burrows.

[119] Ibid., p. 103.

[120] Ibid., p. 108. Such ruthlessness was also expressed by Allied pilots. Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, America's ace of aces comments that ground strafing "is probably the most exciting sport in aviation...." Burrows, p.189.

[121] Richthofen, p. 108.

[122] The Freudian implications behind this are considerable especially when one links it to the fact that Richthofen had no interest in women, beyond his mother. Passages like this, however, angered Richthofen's parents who "insisted privately that Manfred's writing had been reworked and made into the diary of a killer." Burrows, p. 176.

[123] Richthofen, p. 196.

[124] Ibid., p. 198.

[125] Margarethe Böhme, Tagebuch einer Verlorenen (Berlin: F. Fontane & Co., 1905), p. 4. This translation and all subsequent ones are mine.

[126] Rossbacher, p. 101.

[127] The figure 44,000 is taken from the 1905 edition while the figure 160,000 is cited in the Deutsche Literatur Lexicon, 1969. The rest are taken from Table 3.

[128] Richards, p. 108. The sequel achieved 54,000 copies by 1921.

[129] Tagebuch. p. 88.

[130] Ibid., p. 215.

[131] Ibid., p. 174.

[132] Ibid., p. 210.

[133] Ibid., p. 241.

[134] R.J.V. Lenman, "Art, Society and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: the Lex Heinz" Oxford German Studies vol. 8, Ganz, P.F. and T.J. Reed eds. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 87.

[135] Ibid., p. 87.

[136] Ibid., p. 89. Once registered the prostitutes were classified as follows: Class I; a) persons up to 24 years old and those in trade less than a year, b) syphilitics of less than 3 years standing, c) prostitutes in need of special supervision. Received medical examinations twice a week. Class II; a) persons from 25 to 34. Received weekly examinations. Class III; a) persons 35 and over. Received examinations once every three weeks. See Alex De Jonge, The Weimar Chronicle Prelude to Hitler (New York: New American Library, 1978), p. 135.

[137] Ibid., p. 89.

[138] Ibid., p. 87.

[139] Ibid., p. 111.

[140] Otto Friedrich Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920's (New York: Avon Books, 1972), p. 87. Friedrich calls Richard Oswald who directed the films Let There Be Light (1917) on syphilis and Prostitution (1919), the pioneer in instructive sexual films. These films were made before censorship was lifted.

[141] Walter Laqueur, Weimar: A Cultural History, 1918-1933 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. 1974), p. 225.

CHAPTER FOUR: WEIMAR GERMANY, 1918-1923

It is difficult to assess the impact of the war and defeat on German society without either over-emphasizing or under-estimating it. To blame all the problems of the Weimar Republic on the long and short term effects of the war is too easy and superficial. Too many of the social problems and trends which existed before the war, and which the war only brought to the forefront, are excused in this way. Yet it would be irresponsible to discount the ramifications that war and defeat did have on German society in both posing new problems and in acting as a catalyst for others. Some of this has already been indicated in the discussion of the bestsellers during the war. Furthermore, it is one thing to look at the facts and figures which ascertain the real losses to Germany and it is another to gauge the psychological repercussions of defeat and total social disruption on the people. An honest balance is hard to achieve.

The estimated loss of life for Germany during the war was 2,000,000 men, of whom 25% were between the ages of 19 and 22, and 60% between the ages of 19 and 29.[1] More than 1 1/2 million men more were injured seriously enough to make productive lives after the war impossible: 1,537,000 disabled soldiers were on the pension rolls in Germany. To this must be added an estimated 800,000 civilians who died for lack of food. Food was severely rationed in the last years of the war which resulted, in many cases, in severe malnutrition and increased susceptibility to disease. As well, even after the armistice had been concluded, the Allies maintained a blockade of Germany which

contributed to the number of deaths.[2] Perhaps more than any other figures, the above, which speak at the most essential level of human existence, can measure the effect of the war.[3] In relation to life and death the losses Germany suffered as a result of the Versailles Treaty are less central for the development of the Weimar Republic, even if they were more publicized.

On June 28, 1919, with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany lost 13% of its territory, almost 10% of its population, and all colonies. Included in the territorial losses were the economic losses: 26% of its coal production, 75% of its iron ore, "all its big merchant ships, half of the smaller ones, one quarter of its fishing fleet, one fifth of its river fleet, 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 railway wagons."[4] Germany was required to disarm and reduce its army to 100,000 men, and pay reparations amounting to 132 billion marks beginning on May 1, 1921 and payments stretching to 1988.[5] Finally, Germany was forced to accept the notorious 'war-guilt clause' which designated Germany as the originator and aggressor in the war. After the "dreamland of the armistice period"[6] in which the German people hoped for a speedy and 'just' peace settlement based on the spirit of Wilson's Fourteen Points, came the reality of Allied revenge. The German people had to accept not only a "smaller and poorer"[7] Germany but also had to live with a new Republic which floundered awkwardly and ineptly under the burden of government responsibility.

The abdication of the Kaiser on November 9, 1918 removed the cornerstone of Imperial German society. It was received joyfully by

some and with dismay and anger by others but the widespread crumbling of "that inherited framework of beliefs and certainties which had given Germany its particular reassurances" was obvious.[8] Sparked by the mutiny of German sailors at Kiel,[9] the revolution spread rapidly through Germany. It was primarily a revolution against the hunger and despair that resulted from the war, and against the military and civil leadership that had perpetuated it. It was a strange revolution, one which revealed the weakness of the Left in Germany to themselves - factionalism divided the radical from the moderate socialists. The red flags flew, there was a clamoring for workers' and soldiers' soviets, and the people marched in the streets. At the same time, Philip Schiedemann, who had proclaimed the Republic, called for the people to respect law and order: "Order and Law are necessary for the effective conduct of the revolutionary movement" came the announcement from him.[10] The Spartacists, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, called for a more thorough revolution along Russian lines. To the disappointment of the radicals, the German people listened to their government and life went on: the transport system, the main services, sewage, and telephone system continued, for the most part, as normal. In Berlin, one observer found "nothing exciting, nothing impressive, nothing to fire the enthusiasm"[11] In Munich however, the revolution was much more violent, more bloody, and consequently more real to the people. Here they experimented with a Soviet and here also was the battleground for the **Freikorps** and the communists. The Right, in general, had misinterpreted the real power of the Left at this time

which accounts for their immediate aggressive response. The **Dolchstosslegende** (the stab-in-the-back legend) was one of the Right's most damaging, and unfair, accusations. In fact, the essential failure of the Socialist government after the war gave the Right both time and the advantage of having others make the first, most crucial mistakes. In a position of opposition, the Right found itself with the upper hand. The traditional strongholds of the Imperial government - the army, the judiciary, the bureacracy and the churches - only ostensibly supported the new Republic. The revolution ended, legally, with the promulgation of the Weimar Constitution on August 11, 1919. Overall, it had been a peaceful revolution, definitely not the kind desired by the radical Left. It had not brought the changes demanded or needed in Germany, but it had had an important effect on German society. Most significantly, with the radicalization and brutalization of politics, the main political lines were drawn and the political sides were mytholigized. One knew (or thought one knew) who was Right, who was Left, where the government stood and where the bureaucratic and judicial institutions stood. The revolution had contributed to the political education of the people. Most of the problems which arose during the last frantic and traumatic year were not resolved, however, and it was time after the completion of the Constitution, as Erich Eyck put it, for the Germans "to start putting their own house in order."[12]

The task of bringing stability to Germany while battling internal political strife and particularism, economic collapse, social chaos and meeting the demands exacted by the Allies was one which required not statesmanship but divine intervention. The government lacked the one

simple ingredient which may have allowed it the opportunity of some success, the confidence of the people. The lack of confidence resulted in continued political turmoil which found its expression in frequent political assassinations and the two abortive Rightist putsches by Kapp and Hitler. One of the more unfortunate assassinations was that of Walter Rathenau in June of 1922. Rathenau had come furthest in initiating practical steps towards stabilization. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he secured financial agreements with France and the United States as well as concluded the Treaty of Rapallo with the Soviet Union. The confidence that Rathenau inspired both at home and abroad collapsed with his death. The Mark which had been devaluating steadily since the end of the war plummeted. The inflationary trend, of course, cannot be attributed to either Rathenau's death or to political turmoil alone. Germany's war debts and reparation payments as well as speculation and general economic imbalance all figure in the slide into the inflation of 1923.

In 1914 the German Mark had stood at 4.20 to the American dollar. After the war (Jan. 1919), this figure had doubled and continued to devaluate. After a brief stabilization in the middle of 1920, the Mark began to spiral reaching 64.90 in January of 1921, 191.80 in January, 1922 and 17,972.00 in January of 1923. In January, 1923 the French occupied the Ruhr on the reason that Germany had failed to meet the reparation payments. The constraints the occupation put on this leading mining and manufacturing district served only to exacerbate the tumbling Mark. In that year the Mark reached 4,200,000,000,000.00 as calculated on November 15, 1923. What little confidence the people did

have in the constitutional practices of the governments of Wirth, Marx and Cuno, the succeeding Chancellors of the Republic at this time, was lost as each failed to stop the galloping inflation. Foreign experts, like John Maynard Keynes, were called in to no avail. It finally took the calculated manoeuvers of a tried politician, Gustav Stresemann, with Finance Minister Hans Luther and the banker Hjalmar Schacht, to swing Germany back to economic normalcy. The new Rentenmarks, theoretically backed by a mortgage on the country's agricultural and industrial resources, began to appear on November 15.

Envisioning people scurring with wheelbarrows full of Mark notes to the market, as ready to buy an old pair of shoes to barter with as a few potatoes, may make one smile. One may also smile at a photograph of children playing with 'blocks' of money. Even the people themselves took a bemused stance at their plight at one level, as the cabaret ditties show.[13] The real changes in the quality of life for many German people that occurred through the inflation were not, however, amusing. Some, like the infamous opportunist Hugo Stinnes, were indeed able to profit through speculation literally making fortunes overnight. The workers had trade unions which managed to keep a not-too-distant pace from the rate of inflation by continually negotiating the hourly wage. Those worst affected by the inflation were the skilled labourers and those on fixed incomes - the majority of the middle classes. A speech given by Franz Bumm to the Reichstag on February 20, 1923 reported:

> Especially hard-hit are the middle class, those living on small annuities, the widows and pensioners, who with their modest incomes can no longer afford the most basic necessities at present day prices.[14]

With the inflation not only savings but "self-assurance, a belief in the value of hard work, morality and sheer human decency" were gone.[15] Only one thing was certain in German society in 1923, the people would not forget, nor would their lives ever be the same. As one observer concluded:

> It was a genuine revolution, far more devastating than the political collapse in the autumn of 1918 had been.[16]

One of the most striking social changes of the period from 1918 to 1923, and reaching a peak in 1923, was the development of leisure activities. The restriction of the work day to 8 hours was the most practical inducement to this development. The pursuit of leisure experienced a boom encompassing the entire range of modern amusements from pandering to dissolute passions, to vigorous sport activities and the cinema and theater. An almost frenzied gaiety sought to compensate the harried lives of the German people. As a result, both the best and the worst of society were brought out for public view shaking the false Imperial modesty that sometimes lingered. If the turmoil of the previous five years brought misery, it also brought a level of freedom in social intercourse never before enjoyed by some segments of the population. This was especially true for women. As Hans Ostwald, a chronicler of the inflation period related:

> Approximately 11 million women were employed at the end of the inflation in Germany. From these some 3.5 million were married and 1 million were divorced. They lectured at universities, they worked in trades and were also employed in shops and offices.[17]

Undoubtedly many women worked from necessity either to maintain themselves or to supplement the family income. Yet for women it meant freedom from the home and a chance to experience a life independent of

the family. It also meant increased income and, therefore, more money to spend in the pursuit of leisure. This is an important consideration in the growth of popular literature at this time for frequently this meant that the extra money was spent on novels. The publishers of Germany were ready to fill the demands of the German people for cheap entertainment literature.

In the beginning of 1919, S. Fischer wrote. "It is impossible to see how things will come to order."[18] This attitude was a prevalent one among the publishers who thought that now that "the hard times are over, the harder times will come."[19] Yet Fischer published 73 books in 1919, up from 33 in 1918. In general, the larger popular publishers were able to weather the war and most proved able to survive the next critical 'harder' period. With the suspension of the worst of Imperial censorship, and the freedom of tolerated political factionalism, many new small publishers sprang up and the **Borsenverein** grew from 108 members to about 5,000.[20] Some of the new publishers, like Paul Steegemann, were shrewd and showed a distinct ability to capture what in many ways was a different reading public. Both the publishers and the reading public appeared bolder. New directions in publishing were explored in the content of literature and in presentation. The most contemporary artists designed book covers and promoted certain authors. Even the established Houses like Reclam experimented with innovations such as vending machines for paperbacks. The public also showed an increased interest in popular literature during this time. Berlin, for example, counted 150 papers and bookclubs like the **Volksverband der Bücherfreunde** which was founded in 1919 and numbered

100,000 members within 2 years.[21] Both the publishing industry and the German reading public experienced and endured the significant problems of the early Weimar period, developing and growing despite the troubles of their society. As before, the publishers attempted to touch those chords in the reading public which would bring their titles to best-sellers status. As before, some authors succeeded and others failed to find the reading public. What was the reading public looking for during those anxious years and what choices did they make from the virtual flood of literature that was produced?

It has often been said that Germany repeatedly traded freedom for stability and security. To do justice to those who rejected the freedom of the early Weimar period, one must ask just how real this freedom was. Many of those who desperately sought stability saw the lurid shallowness of one face of the new Republic. They disliked this emerging German society and the myth developed that things were really better under the Kaiser. What was over-looked, the other face of Weimar, was the vitality and potential of this same society born as it was out of collapse and misery. In looking at the popular literature which became bestsellers in this period, the search for stability is the strongest general theme. The "hunger for wholeness", as Peter Gay aptly terms it,[22] was not limited to any one type of book but found its expression in a number of different types. In approaching the best-sellers, it is important to keep in mind the social, political and economic upheaval in which these books experienced popularity as well as the type of appeal they might have had under those circumstances for the German people.

Chapter 4: Notes

1 World Almanac, 1925, p. 626.

2 Eyck, p. 88. The blockade remained in effect from November 11, 1918 until the conclusion of the peace. As Eyck affirms, "to say tht the Allies, continued to starve the Germans is clearly to distort the facts." p. 89. The Allies had assumed responsibility for feeding Germany. Lloyd George was a principal instrument in pressuring the French to accept this responsibility.

3 To the list must be added the indirect casualties. There were 370,981 war widows, 917,000 war orphans and 256,126 parents of war dead receiving pensions in 1927. World Almanac, 1929, p. 619.

4 Laqueur, pp. 19-20.

5 The 132 billion figure was reduced in 1930 to 37 billion and the idea of reparations was totally thrown out by Hitler who had used the Versailles Treaty as a major point of contention.

6 Klemens von Klemperer, Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Dilemma in the Twentieth Century, (Princeton: Princton University Press, 1968), p. 76.

7 Laqueur, p. 19.

8 De Jonge, p. 29.

9 The sailors refused to follow orders which amounted to a suicide attack and which would have seriously jeopardized chances of peace negotiations.

10 De Jonge, p. 29

11 Ibid., as quoted, p. 30.

12 Eyck, p. 129.

13 See Lisa Appignanesi, The Cabaret (New York: Universe Books, 1976), pp. 31-35.

14 Franz Bumm, "A Report on the Nation's Health" The German Inflation of 1923 Fritz K. Ringer ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 112. The conclusion of Bumm's speech shows where he places the blame: "Now all this misery is doubled and cruelly sharpened in those parts of the fatherland which have already been subjected to foreign occupation for four years, but more particularly for the inhabitants of the Ruhr region, which has recently been invaded by French and Belgian troops in violation of the peace treaty of Versailles." p. 118.

15 De Jonge, p. 101.

16 Moritz Julius Bonn, "The Report of an Expert Eyewitness" The German Inflation of 1923, p. 103.

17 Hans Ostwald, Sittengeschichte der Inflation (Berlin: Neufeld & Henius Verlag, 1931), p. 160. Translation is mine.

18 Mendelssohn, p. 814.

19 Ibid.

20 Comparato, p. 94.

21 Der deutsche Buchhandel in Urkunden Hans Widman ed., (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswell & Co., 1965), p. 218.

22 Gay, p. 70.

CHAPTER FIVE: BESTSELLERS, 1919-1923

Gib mich frei: The German Love Story

As Germany stood rooted in the midst of defeat, economic ruin and political and social chaos in 1918, Hedwig Courths-Mahler's novel, Gib mich frei, reached the height of its printings, according to Richards' statistics, of 402,000.[1] (See Table 3). The book is completely devoid of any of the turmoil being experienced by its readers. It was first published in 1912 and the story takes place in the secure world of Imperial Germany. It is a simple love story: a young, naive, rich orphan marries a handsome but poor nobleman - she marries for love and he marries for money. When she accidently finds this out on her wedding day, after the ceremony, she flees to her rich widowed aunt. The plot revolves around the efforts of the aunt to reunite the couple. The husband discovers that he does love his bride after all, but she hesitates. Predictably they are reunited and begin their lives together in the large castle belonging to the aunt. The story, especially in the context of the time in which it reached its popularity, is a fairytale. Courths-Mahler herself never had any pretensions that she was anything different than a storyteller and happily admitted this to everyone.[2] Her contemporaries criticized her work as kitsch and scholars today stress that her novels were indeed fairytales that "fulfilled wishes that in reality could not be fulfilled."[3] These criticisms cannot detract from the popularity of the author and her novels

for the German reading public. According to one account, as Courths-Mahler was leaving her publisher, she saw several hundreds of people lined up outside. When she inquired why, she was told:

> We are waiting for five o'clock. At five the newest issue of the magazine which carries the novel of Courths-Mahler will be released. We want to know how the story continues.[4]

Whether this incident actually occurred or not, it still speaks to the popularity of Courths-Mahler who in her life wrote over two hundred novels.[5]

(Ernestine) Hedwig Courths-Mahler did not begin to write professionally until she was thirty. She began life as the illegitimate child of a peasant girl and knew that she had to make her own way in life: writing could not supply as regular income. At twelve she became a reading companion to an elderly lady who favored Die Gartenlaube, a family magazine. Hedwig believed she could write similiar stories but pressured by her mother became a store clerk instead. During this time she wrote stories at night and secretly submitted them to various newspapers and magazines.[6] Hedwig fell in love at this time as well with a somewhat unreliable artist-interior decorator. She wrote a novelle (Die Verlassene) about her unhappy love and it became her first success.[7] She received 100 Marks for her story, and Fritz Courths and she were married in the wave of optimism that followed - two daughters came soon after. Courths-Mahler's first novel was released in the Chemnitzer Tageblatt in 1905, for which she was paid 250 Marks.[8] She quickly became a well-known local personality and other newspapers

approached her for novels. Courths-Mahler's experiences with the publishing industry during this early period indicate the ruthless nature of the business and the relative weakness of an unknown author. Though she was well known in Chemnitz, in Berlin her work floundered. She submitted naively to a contract for 10 years in which she was required to write 3 novels a year for 100 Marks each. For 100 Marks the unscrupulous publisher, a Herr Tandler, retained all rights. Tandler became a millionaire while Courths-Mahler worked well beneath the level of her success. When Tandler died she was able to buy back her rights and contracted with the Friedrich-Rothbarth Verlag, beginning in 1912, for six years. The conditions were more favourable: She was required to bring every novel to the Verlag but they were under no obligation to publish it. For every novel they did publish, she received 350 Marks or 400 Marks if the book was long. For every additional 1000 copies printed she would receive another 150 Marks. These conditions were still far below other successful authors but sufficient enough to make her a millionaire during the First World War.

Prior to the war, Courths-Mahler had published a total of 20 novels of which, according to Richards' statistics, only three achieved bestsellers status, including Gib mich frei.[9] During the war 26 books were published of which only 5 reached bestseller status.[10] Of the total 208 books attributed to Courths-Mahler, Richards unfortunately list only 8, 7 of which are included in his top 100 bestseller list. It has been estimated that in total her publishing figures reach well over 30,000,000 and that each first edition was printed with at least

10,000 copies.[11] It would seem that Richards' statistics are insufficient to gauge the extent of her popularity statistically. However, Richards had cautioned that his statistics were only as accurate as the publisher wanted them to be, and in at least one case Courths-Mahler specifically requested that the publisher "withhold information concerning the number of copies which had been printed."[12] Although Richards' statistics are incomplete, the point is still made that the works of Courths-Mahler were popular and that she certainly had a strong following. In addition to her books being published, selling usually for 1 Mark, her stories were serialized in countless magazines and provincial newspapers. She also became a leading favorite of the lending libraries.[13]

Courths-Mahler's greatest success came, however, after the war when from 1919 to 1933 she published a total of 130 novels. From 1919 to 1923 alone she released 45 books. The inflation in 1923 hit her, as all authors, hard. Her husband lost his shop and she no longer brought in any money from her books because every contract upon which money was specified was worthless once the value of money dropped. Undaunted, Courths-Mahler continued to write borrowing from her publisher to survive. Once the economy was stabilized she again became a wealthy woman through her books. From 1924 to 1929, 49 books were published and from 1930 to 1933, 36 books. As well, her works were dramatized and over 20 were made into movies.

The advent of the National Socialists slowed down the work of Courths-Mahler considerably. She did not keep her opposition against

Hitler a secret and when Goebbels took control of the cultural life of Germany, he gave the word that her work was not National Socialist enough and should not be purchased.[14] Despite this action, she refused to style her heroes after SS and SA men and she refused to insert anti-semitic passages in her stories. The form distributed to all authors to be admitted to the Reich's Writers' Association was returned unanswered.[15] Courths-Mahler still managed to get a total of 29 books published from 1934 to 1939. Finally, during the Second World War she published nothing.[16]

Gib mich frei stands as an example of the type of novel that Courths-Mahler wrote and which was successful. Although her contemporaries mocked her work in satirical parodies and the judgement of scholars is that "in a time of social upheaval and economic chaos people fled reality to a Fairytale World"[17] made by Courths-Mahler, one should not forget S. Fischer's dictum concerning the success of an author with his reading public: "It will depend...(on) whether they can speak strongly enough to the masses, whether the authors belong to the people and can be understood by them."[18] Judging from the popularity of Courths-Mahler, one must say that she spoke the language of the people and was able to reach them if only with the consolation that the good would be rewarded and the evil punished, which she offered them. This message underlay the story of all her books and she thought of her work as an ethical mission.[19] She wanted to present a healthy, whole world. When writing her novels after the war, Courths-Mahler intentionally chose the period of her story before the war, "around 1908,

when everything was still good for the people."[20] Her characters were, as a rule, from the upper classes. Gib mich frei is no different than many other of her works in its basic construction: it follows what some believe is a Courths-Mahler 'system'.[21] To say that the storyline is unrealistic is easy, as it is fairly simple to see that the readers of Gib mich frei read for simple pleasure and to fulfill their dreams of a lost era. It is the more subtle depiction of society that deserves attention for what it reveals about the reading public that found it comforting. What are the preconceptions the characters display, the clichés that stand accepted and the social norms and values that are implied?

The main character in Gib mich frei is Lisa Limbach. Orphaned at eight, she was raised by a well-established, well-connected aunt and uncle - Consul Karl Limbach and his wife Hermine. Aunt Hermine took full charge of the young girl and brought her up with no will of her own. Despotically, the Frau Consul made every decision from the clothing Lisa wore to the man she was to marry. Hermine herself had been a poor girl who married into the **Geldaristokratie;** for Lisa she had set her sights on the **Geburtsaristokratie** - Lisa was to become a Baroness. For her part, Lisa passively complied to all her aunt's tyrannical decisions without complaint and without much thought. When she approaches her wedding day Lisa is totally naive. Her fiancé is romanticized as "the highest, and best in life"[22] who loves her for her soul not her somewhat plain looks. One can be sure she had no understanding of what marriage entailed. The shock of finding out that the

Baron Ronald von Stolle-Hechingen married her for her money devastated Lisa. Having always been surrounded by money she had no conception of the power of money. She fled from the shame to Frau Anna von Rahndorff, an aunt kept from Lisa by Aunt Hermine who envied the former's happiness and success. Under the guidance of this emancipated aunt, Lisa finds her independence and her own will. She rids herself of the psychological shackles of aunt Hermine: the physical transformation from a submissive pale, plain girl to a radiant budding woman is predictable. While this personal development may seem trite to the modern reader one must consider the thrust of this theme in context of the society. Lisa finds enough courage to refuse her husband so that she may retain her own freedom. It is aunt Anna who reconciles Lisa to her full potential as a woman. The aunt impresses upon Lisa that although such things are important, there is more to womanhood than frivolities. The reader sees Lisa slowly growing as a result of these lessons. It is important that this growth occurs without the aid of a man but through a woman who has herself learnt to grow and be happy without a man.[23] Anna can say to Ronald when he visits the estate; "Lisa is no longer the spiritless, thoughtlessly submissive child. She has found herself and the right of her individuality."[24] Unfortunately, the process of development and true emancipation stops halfway for Lisa - at least in modern terms. Lisa desires divorce less for the sake of her own freedom than because she does not want to be pitied as an unloved wife. Finally the two are reconciled in a contrived analogy. To demonstrate her independence Lisa takes a boat out by her-

self. A storm breaks out and she cannot control the boat which is now quite far from shore. She is doomed to drown when Ronald quickly rows out to save her. "You fled from me all the way out here?" he asks.[25] She answers that she was fleeing from herself. The implication is that Lisa was lost on the ocean of life and that she should not stray too far from the shore: her rightful place is with her husband. Lisa accepts that place and one can only hope that she will retain some of her new individuality.

As mentioned, Courths-Mahler chose to make her heroes and heroines members of the upper classes. Not only are the upper classes more interesting for average German readers but to read about them "satisfies their desire for social mobility"[26] especially when they see Lisa marrying into the nobility. Baron Ronald von Stolle-Hechingen is an example of a fairly common type of nobleman - poor. He becomes an officer in the military at the wishes of his father and although it is a position of honor, it returns little revenue. He must desert his also poor lover for an arranged marriage. He cannot let his widowed mother and sister starve. What is most significant about the character of Ronald is that Courths-Mahler emphasizes his nobility of character. He is "a lord to his fingertips"[27] and his rightful place is managing a feudal estate. When it is arranged that Ronald leave the military and learn estate management from an elderly nobleman, the letter from Fritz von Wustrow to Ronald hints at a deeper problem within the aristocracy:

> I hope you are not of the type of aristocrat who holds money-making in contempt, for then we are of different opinions. Here at Wustrow, PROFIT, is written in large letters.[28]

As another example of the nobility, Anna von Rahndorff has both the money and the status which enables her to escape social pressure. As a member of the **Geburtsaristokratie**, although by marriage only, she does not concern herself with the hypocrisy of respectability. She is mistress of Rahndorff and as such handles the entire estate "like a man."[29] It is interesting that she advocates a naturalistic religion from the Enlightenment rather than the harsh pious Protestantism indicated in Buddenbrooks and Tagebuch. Frau Consul Hermine, on the other hand, is emphatic about a 'proper' upbringing and dreads scandal. Even Lisa conforms to social pressure and worries about the shadow that might fall on her name. Money and status are the pivots upon which the upper classes turn: the ethical message Courths-Mahler provides in Gib mich frei is that money and status do not equal love. Unfortunately, this message loses its significance when it becomes clear that the only one free of such concerns is Anna who has both. The message is romantic but blind to reality.

The other social classes are not given much attention and, like Buddenbrooks, are assumed to be there as a matter of course. Social stratification is pointedly reinforced, however, even in the first few pages: certain hairstyles are worn by respectable ladies and other hairstyles are fit only for waitresses and bohemian woman artists. Further distinction is made between the classes through the dialect and manner of speaking (the degree of deference shown to the upper classes). The paternalistic attitude towards the servants is the most

explicit expression of social structure in Gib mich frei. The servants and peasants on the Rahndorff estate are Anna's 'people'. They are dutiful, loyal and would "go through fire"[30] for her. She cares for them. For example, Anna tells 'old Martin' - she knows them all by name- to go home and put the salve she gave him on his stiff knee. Frequently, Anna distributes fruit and marmalade to the sick villagers near her estate. In teaching Lisa to become a good mistress, Anna stresses that one must command respect and treat the people with strength and compassion. Loyalty of service must be rewarded and Anna gives the example of Mamsell Birkner who has been with her for twenty years. Mamsell is treated almost as a companion of Anna's.

The military is another social group which has some importance in Gib mich frei. Although regimented, the officers are presented as romantically dashing rather than crudely militaristic. Hypernationalism is not obvious and the Franco-Prussian war is referred to merely as the 'French campaign'. It is celebrated quietly by placing roses on the monuments of the fallen. There are in the novel frequent connections with the military and many of the characters are involved with the military in one way or another. What is emphasized by Courths-Mahler is the nobility of the officers and this casual acceptance that all the officers were aristocrats in birth and bearing is the most revealing aspect of her depiction. The reverence and respect reflects the reality of the social status of the military officers in Germany. One can quite easily see Plüschow and

Richthofen, as they were presented to the reader, stepping out of a Courths-Mahler book.

Gib mich frei is obviously intended only for women readers. Women are the major characters and each is given a relatively full psychological interpretation. As well, their clothing and hairstyles are detailed. The question of whether a woman has beauty and taste is an important criterion. Here Courths-Mahler is also appealing to woman who are socialized into believing such things define a woman. It is not the soul that makes a woman desirable, as Lisa believed, but their beauty and wealth. Woman could discover their own souls - their individuality - but society and particularly men would still judge them according to superficialities. Lisa ironically frees herself from the shackles of an overbearing aunt only to replace them with the chains of society's **Modejournalen.** In contrast to the development of the female characters, the men are almost entirely peripheral in the action. Even Ronald lacks sufficient depth to make him as real to the reader as the unlucky Lisa, dynamic Anna and tyrannical Hermine. Yet a man was or is central to each of the women's lives.

As a love story written by a well-known authoress, Gib mich frei already had a head start in becoming a bestseller. Courths-Mahler had a loyal reading public that remained with her throughout the twenties. If they sought consolation, the fulfillment of dreams and vague visions of social mobility, then Courths-Mahler gave the German reading public exactly what they wanted. She herself was satisfied if she only provided her readers with "a few brief worriless hours."[31] As the

above analysis shows, however, the more subtle thrust of the novel is much more directly related to and indicative of society than is often thought.

Kurts Maler: Satire as Social Criticism

Consolation and escape are not usually admired by the undauntable realists - they find other ways of coping. Accordingly, some of Courths-Mahler's critics were fierce in their condemnation of her novels. Many, however, retained a certain sense of humor and made their point through parody. Parodies of Courths-Mahler's work entertained endless numbers of cabaret patrons.[32] Ambitious publishers even commissioned authors to write parodies of Courths-Mahler. The Paul Steegeman Verlag, for example, in 1922 released a parody of Courths-Mahler by Hans Reimann.[33] Entitled Hedwig Courths-Mahler: Schlichte Geschichten fürs traute Heim (Simple Stories for the Happy Home), it was illustrated by the famous and notorious George Grosz whose contemptuous drawings of German society after the war made him a forerunner of the avant-garde. Another parody by Alfred Hein, a short book of 67 pages, entitled Kurts Maler: Ein Lieblingsroman des deutschen Volkes, also came out in 1922 and within the year reached 999,000 copies.

Alfred Hein was twenty when the First World War started. His experience in the war affected him greatly and influenced his literary work.[34] The majority of his works dealt with some aspect of the war and Kurts Maler is an anomoly for him, which suggests that he too was probably commissioned to write it. It was, as noted, an immediate

success although, according to Richards, the only one for him.

One can spot the parody in Kurts Maler immediately with the title which is a play on Hewdwig Courths-Mahler's name. Kurt, the Fürst von Veracrux, is the hero of this story "written from noble purpose about the depths of humanity."[35] The parody itself can be separated into two distinct parts. The first is the farcical storyline about the life and loves of Kurt Maler. The second is an exchange between the artist, Hedwig, Kurt's Maler or painter, and Satan at the end of each chapter.

For the story, Hein makes all his characters upper class, as Courths-Mahler did. To make the point even clearer, Hein has each of the characters give their full titles, address each other with full titles and refer to the others with full titles even in the most common conversation. Much obvious attention is placed on describing with elaborate adjectives the fine clothes, noble bearing or pose of the characters. The characters are, for example, profuse in their endearments, exaggerating the way in which Lisa in Gib mich frei first spoke of Ronald. Kurt says to Liselotte, the Comtesse von Bollerbruch, his first love: "But now, you most charming, most priceless, most delightful, most radiant, most accomplished, most passionate (girl), give me the kiss that flutters on your pure lips."[36]

Liselotte is dropped from the picture as Kurt gets involved with Sibylle Schieberich, the young wife of an elderly, wealthy banker. Sibylle is noticed by Kurt because of her heavenly, sparkling 'Toilette' by which, Hein assures the reader in a footnote, he does not mean a toilet (water closet) but a silken dress. She married old

Friedrich Schieberich for his wealth and intends to ensnare poor Kurt as a lover. Hein depicts her with all the clichés of a bad woman.

Sibylle disappears from the picture when Kurt makes a profitable marriage with the Princess Jadomira Jadomirski-Pschinsch. They have a son who as a baby bit into his father's monocule and cut his tongue. Hein tells the reader that the boy grew up **doppelzüngige** - with a forked tongue - and thus became a diplomat.

Sibylle enters into the life of Kurt again pronouncing that she loves him and cannot live without him. Kurt, very properly, tells her that he does not love her and that she must leave. Melodramatically she commits suicide. Plagued with guilt Kurt feels he must confess to her husband but cannot because he does not know if the husband knows anything. He can only wait - and Hein soliloquizes on waiting satirizing Courths-Mahler's attempts to philosophize on life. Old Schieberich does know, trains in the military for a year and then challenges Kurt to a duel: Schieberich is shot through the head.

When the revolution breaks out - without explanation from Hein - the good years are gone. Kurt now assumes the name Baron Oldenau and presents himself to the soldiers' council as an assistant. He returns to his castle to find his son gone and his wife under a vase dead with a letter neatly folded in her hand:

> The Red Danger robbed me of my breath... The altered atmosphere destroyed my noble soul - I breathed it out. I see the vase that wants to bury me, falling. Never did I think that I would be killed by a vase in the midst of the Red Danger. Live well Beloved, in battle and danger.
>
> Fürstin Jado von Veracrux, born Jadomirski-Pschinsch.[37]

Kurt then met a millionaire from New York who had a daughter named Liselotte. Herr Hartmann asks Kurt to be his porter. When Kurt sees Liselotte he asks to marry her to which her father consents. It turns out, however, that Liselotte is not the real daughter of the American millionaire but Liselotte von Bollerbruch, his first love. They happily go on a honeymoon.

Hein, of course, made no attempt to tell a cogent story and used his characters and their lives only as a backdrop for his satire. Everything is exaggerated to the point of absurdity as characters appear and disappear without reason. The reappearance of Liselotte is certainly contrived. Behind the absurdities, however, are amusing incidents, side comments, and artful plays on words. The modern reader must expect to lose some of the finer points of satire through distance. The criticism of Courths-Mahler is severe and, at times, unkind, but it is not limited to her alone. Contemporary German events, like the revolution, are included and satirized. At times, one cannot be quite sure if Hein is making a point about Courths-Mahler or inserting his own opinion about society. When Kurt walks through a town of smiling, admiring subjects who have nothing better to do than watch their young lord, one realizes that Hein is parodying Courths-Mahler's portrayal of the loyal, dutiful 'people' of Anna von Rahndorff. Yet one suspects that Hein condemns the Red Danger on his own account. Kurt, after finding his wife dead, wanders through the country which he can no longer call his Fatherland because it "was

turning Red before the assembly of heaven."[38] This sounds more like the young, conservative, demobilized soldier than Courths-Mahler who never polemicized especially about current events. Hein even manages to include his own name and book, Der Lindenfrieden, (1920), in the text for publicity.

The second part of Hein's parody is the exchange between Hedwig and Satan. As the painter of Kurt's life Hedwig paints 9 pictures: 1) an "intoxicating picture of love" - Kurt and Liselotte in the garden, 2) a "shocking picture of deception" - Sibylle and Kurt, 3) a "genuine picture of reverence" - the subjects of the young lord, 4) an "idyllic picture of family happiness" - Kurt with his wife and child, 5) a "pompous picture of history" - Kurt and the castle and lands, 6) a "grandcinematic picture of a dramatic suicide" - Sibylle drown herself, 7) a "heroic fresco" - the duel, 8) a "tragic-comic episode" - Kurt as a porter, and finally 9) a "scene of blissfulness" - Kurt and Lisellote reunited. It would seem that this is Courths-Mahler's system for best-sellers as Hein sees it. Hedwig, whom Satan refers to as the renowned German authoress, has made a pact with him through which she would become a painter. After each painting she cries that it is kitsch. Satan laughs, reminds her of their deal and encourages her to pick up the paint brush once more. Finally, however, he admits that even he prefers her as a writer and frees her from the bargain. His final words to her are: "You know that your readers liken you to a goddess."[39]

Kurts Maler is a clever book and can be appreciated best if one

has read one of Courths-Mahler's novels. For all its cleverness Hein's book lacks depth and attacks only the superficial layer of Courths-Mahler. He accepts the clichés at face value and criticizes them only at that level. His book fails to present the most important failures of works by Courths-Mahler - their escape from reality and avoidance of contemporary social problems. Even the excuse of providing "a few worriless hours" for her readers is not really sufficient justification for ignoring contemporary problems.

The popularity of Kurts Maler can be explained by associating it first with the popularity of Courths-Mahler herself. Those who appreciated Courths-Mahler's novels might read the parody for that reason, perhaps to get angry at what they felt was cheap criticism, or perhaps even to laugh at themselves and their own weakness for this type of literature. Those who did not appreciate her work would read it to enjoy the amusing but caustic criticisms uncovering what they felt was aesthetically and intellectually inferior writing. The latter were probably the majority. There is also an important connection to be made with the artistic and cultural movements in Germany following the war which aggressively condemned contemporary German society. Initially headed by Dadaism, the frustration and disgust with the irrationality and carnage of the war found various expressions in German society. The thrust of these movements was to actively question society's values, the values that had led, many believed, to the war. It was cynical penetrating criticism from which no aspect of society was exempt. Parody was used to amuse and make a point while avoiding

the legal repercussions of overt condemnation as experienced by George Grosz in 1923 with his Ecce Homo exhibit. In 1919, Kurt Tuchlolosky, a left wing social critic, wrote "What May Satire Do?": "Satire must exaggerate, and it is in its innermost nature to be unjust. It inflates the truth to make it more distinct...."[40] Kurts Maler must be seen in the light of this trend, for what could be more conventional and typical than the love novels of Hedwig Courths-Mahler. Her novels survived the parodies and criticisms, however, to go on to even greater successes.

Das zweite Gesicht: The Male Love Story

Love stories are generally considered the preserve of the woman reader. Most often such books are written by women and have women as the main characters. This is true of Courths-Mahler's works. Das zweite Gesicht, written by Herman Löns, is also a love story but its main character, Helmold Hagenrieder, is male. Das zweite Gesicht was published in 1912 and came on the heels of Löns principal work, Der Wehrwolf (1910), which will be discussed as one of the bestsellers of 1929 - 1933. Lons had been writing creatively since approximately 1906, although he had been a journalist for some time before that. He was known mostly for his poetry and songs and was often referred to as 'the poet of the Lüneburger **Heide**' (Lüneburg Heath). But it was only after his death at the Front in 1914, that he became really popular. Approximately 30 books, including poetry and song collections, are attributed to him. Of these only 4 are considered novels. Richards lists 16 works by Löns which reached bestseller status: these include

an 8 volume collected works published in 1920 and 5 works published posthumously.[41] Three of the works were in Richards top 100 list. After the war, Löns himself was the subject of an increasing amount of secondary literature and his works enjoyed a revival which earned him a position of relative repute in Germany's literary circles.

Initially, Der Wehrwolf was more popular than Das zweite Gesicht. In 1914 Der Wehrwolf counted 10,000 copies to only 4,000 copies for Das zweite Gesicht.[42] In 1920, Der Wehrwolf still dominated with 120,000 copies to 103,000. However, overall for the years 1918-1923, Das zweite Gesicht "sold consistently more than Der Wehrwolf."[43] Richards provides the figure total of 290,000 copies printed for Das zweite Gesicht to 1921.[44] (See Table 3). From 1920 to 1921 then, the novel had increased by 187,000 copies.[45] After this period of extraordinary popularity Das zweite Gesicht dropped significantly and only another 35,000 copies were printed between 1921 and 1930. Between 1930 and 1933, the novel picked up again with 35,000 copies printed. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, they chose Löns as one of their classical authors.[46] He was awarded literature prizes and the majority of his works were reissued.[47] Das zweite Gesicht received another 26,000 copies printed to 1935 and another 49,000 copies to 1939. These are low figures in comparison with the increases of Der Wehrwolf,[48] and indicate that Das zweite Gesicht was not as acceptable or desirable to the Nazis as the nationalistic Der Wehrwolf.

Das zweite Gesicht is a love story, but as one of Löns' critics pointed out, "it also is much more".[49] Eroticism, and an advocacy of

male promiscuity, are part of that 'more' and probably contributed to its popularity. This was also suggested as a factor in the popularity of Tagebuch. Another critic pointed out that the erotic theme in the novel "suited the taste of the times"[50] more than the grimness of Der Wehrwolf. Löns himself believed Das zweite Gesicht was "a pretty good document of the times" which he considered rootless, visionless and torn apart.[51] The love story in the novel centers upon the passion of an aging artist for his wife's young and beautiful cousin. At forty-five, Helmold Hagenrieder is professionally successful and more-or-less happily married with four children. He begins to feel himself incomplete and old and he becomes enamoured with the youth of Swaantje who is twenty-four. Helmold believes that Swaantje will rejuvenate him. His rationale is that he "who loves is still young".[52] Passion is not unfamiliar to him and he has a history of love affairs and other such encounters both before and after his marriage. He brags that in Munich he got "two kisses at least everyday."[53] In the course of Das zweite Gesicht, he seduces four other women - from a princess to a maid - but his passion for Swaantje remains unconsumated. His rationale in this case is "Since it cannot be the lily, I'll pick myself a little rose."[54] He justifies much of his behavior from the fact that he is an artist. He explains, "artists shouldn't marry, they cannot remain true."[55] Swaantje is not just another woman for Hagenrieder, who sees her as a soulmate, a comrade who can stand as an equal by his side. He

idealizes her and the reader senses that he fails to see the real Swaantje and is really more in love with Love than with the woman he pines for. When Hagenrieder is frustrated in his passion for Swaantje he becomes bitter and cynical. He abandons the idea that women can be equal companions who are individually productive and creative and consigns them to wear nightgowns (their sexual function) and aprons (their role as mothers). For her part, Swaantje moves somewhat silently through the novel. As a character, she is more like a flickering shadow than a vibrant and real personality: she remains the fantasy of Hagenrieder. One is never sure until the last of her feelings for him. After his death, she confesses to the moon "I loved you passionately and deeply for so long, did you not feel it?"[56]

In the middle of the relationship stands Grete, Hagenrieder's wife. She is in the unfortunate position of loving both her husband and her cousin. As a character Grete emerges only very slowly, the focus of the story being on Hagenrieder and Swaantje. The reader sympathizes with Grete as the victim of her husband's 'creative' passions. She cannot choose between them but realizes that in many ways Swaantje compliments her husband more than she. She did not want to be the 'second woman' but lets the passion take its course unhindered by interference from her. In her favour were their 4 children and their home. As well, Grete mothered Hagenrieder in his periods of frustration and depressions: this was beyond Swaantje. In the end one must evaluate Grete as a strong character. Hagenrieder's relationship

with his wife shows him as a multi-dimensional character. Löns brings out the positive domestic characteristics of Hagenrieder. He really does care for his wife and in the end appreciates the contribution she has made to his life. Hagenrieder longs for stability and security in his life as much as he desires freedom from the chains marriage puts on him.

An important theme in the novel is the conception of the German **Volk**. Expressive of this theme is the character of Annemieken, a young peasant girl and one of Hagenrieder's mistresses. Annemieken symbolizes the **Volk**. When Hagenrieder kisses her, "he kisses through her, his **Volk**" [57] All this character says and does is reflective of her position as a child of the country and the German people. In his search for rejuvenation Hagenrieder is drawn to her as the true source of vitality and youth. Löns was one of the many German authors who abhorred "the modern cult of materialism and indiscriminate progress" and used his creative talents to wage war.[58] He considered it his duty to warn the German people of the evils of the city, the Reichstag, cosmopolitanism and other corrosive elements of modern society. He stressed instead the German sense of community, the beauty of man in his 'natural' state and the mysticism of **Blut-und-Boden** (blood and soil). His perception of **Volk** was not just an appreciation of the peasants and country life but was an aggressive vision for the whole of Germany. Although a minor character in terms of the love story of Das zweite Gesicht, Annemieken carries the weight of Löns personal convictions. The German readers familiar with his work would easily relate

to the character's symbolic position in the story.[59]

With the exception of Swaantje, women are reinforced by Löns in their most traditional roles despite Hagenrieder's toying with more progressive ideas. Annemieken is not really a woman (except sexually) but an ideal and Grete is at her best as a mother figure. Swaantje confuses Löns and he indicates he is aware of the potential of women as more than just mothers or sexual beings. Hagenrieder's insecurity betrays him, however, as he retreats spitefully into the classical conservative male superior-female inferior myth. In this respect, Löns shows the personal and social dilemna caused by female emancipatory movements. If regrettable, Löns and his character may be judged typical of their time and their sex.

The title of the novel - Das zweite Gesicht (The Janus Face) points to the main theme. It is one which incorporates Löns' interpretation of contemporary German society as 'torn apart' and his solution to it. Hagenrieder is shown to have two opposite sides. The first is that of a hunter and farmer as part of the natural community he idealizes and which Annemieken embodies. The second is as the educated artist who thrives in the metropolitan city and relies upon his patrons there for commissions. It is the dichotomy between these two that destroys Hagenrieder and which causes him to search so futilely for a resolution driving him from Grete to Swaantje and then to Annemieken.

Although Hagenrieder is corrupted by the struggle within him and dies without a true resolution, he had wishfully thought at one point "I would like to experience a war."[60] What was a sign in 1911 for

Hagenrieder became reality for Löns who saw in August of 1914, his opportunity to fulfill and resolve his own life. The German community he had advocated seemed a reality and he quickly volunteered for service at the age of 48. He wrote from the trenches: "it is a vital living; what a wonderful people, our people."[61] Löns died in the first weeks and, therefore, was saved the disappointment that the war ultimately brought.

It is important to understand that Das zweite Gesicht is largely autobiographical and that the richness of the book and its love story is due to the amount of actual emotion that was written into it. Hagenrieder is Löns with both good and bad qualities and the love affair between Löns and one of his wife's relations did occur. Even Annemieken is based on the acquaintance of Löns. In 1921, Hanna Fuess or "Swaantje" released a book entitled Hermann Löns und die Swaantje which told of her side of the relationship. Although she was vilified by the critics as a sensationalist, the German reading public were eager to hear her story and made the book a bestseller.[62] The popularity of "Swaantje's" book undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of Das zweite Gesicht and the reverse would be true as well.

The popularity of Das zweite Gesicht during the period 1918-23 may be explained in several ways. First, the novel is a well-written love story with risque connotations. Sex is spoken of bluntly and positively as opposed to its negative presentation in Tagebuch. Second, Löns' works enjoyed a general revival after the war and were

part of the conservative movement in literature. It is possible that his war songs exposed him to a wider public. The novel itself must also play a part in its popularity and during these early years of the Weimar Republic when the German people found themselves caught in their own dichotomy, they found a similar conflict in the main character. Although he published before the war, Löns seemed to speak to the same problems which existed after the war in an exacerbated state. For those readers who sought a slightly indiscreet love story which placed all problems at that level, Das zweite Gesicht allowed that escape. Yet Löns did offer more to the serious reader making an interesting interpretation of contemporary problems and this was another drawing factor.

Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten: The Myth of the Hero-Soldier

When the soldiers came back from the Front once an armistice had been reached, both they and their fellow countrymen who had remained at home, had to adjust to an altered society in terms of structure and values. War literature had played an important role in bringing the soldiers closer to home during the war. After the war, such literature remained a major mode of communication between these two disoriented social groups.

Many Germans, attempting to understand their sons who had returned from the Front disillusioned and cynical, read the different types of war literature with the hope of finding some common ground. Others who had lost their sons, read war accounts in order that they might understand what their sons had experienced and perhaps to find some

justification or explanation for their deaths. The soldiers themselves read war literatures to compare experiences and recapture lost comradship in the face of social hostility. Furthermore, not every son or soldier was a publicized hero like Pluschow or Richthofen. The war in the trenches was a different war from the one in the air and the story of the trenches had to be told.

Walter Flex's novel, Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten, was first published in 1917, the same year in which Flex himself died in action. Although published during the war, and thereby passing government censorship, Der Wanderer is different from the officially encouraged war literature. It is not about the experiences of a specific hero but rather Flex presents the reader with the ideal German hero. Moreover, this hero is not an independent hero who gains recognition for a certain number of enemy slain or a daring escape. Ernst Wurch is a trench soldier who must fight within the anonymity of group battles: he is a hero because he has reconciled himself to the meaning and purpose of war. The ideal hero realizes that the greatest way he can express his individuality is to fight as a part of a whole. Furthermore, the true hero walks in both the world of the spirit and the real world simultaneously and harmoniously. He must be a wanderer between the two worlds. Flex's message is not crudely propagandistic but is the culmination of a very strong middle class intellectual movement which strove to combine the classical cultural of Goethe with the contemporary demand for strong patriotism.[63] It is mystical, romantic and idealistic and can be accurately criticized as a rationalization of a

man caught in an irrational situation. But it was a genuine message sincerely believed not only by Flex but by many others who enthusiastically volunteered in the early years of the war. Flex himself was a volunteer in 1914 and in a letter home shortly before his death, he wrote, "I am today as much of a volunteer as on the first day."[64] Flex has been called "one of the chief myth-makers of the first world war,"[65] who glorified death and the soldier. It was part of a tradition that counted even Schiller among its advocates. After the war, it became again an influential movement which insisted that the war had meaning personally and nationally even in the midst of defeat. It was a myth that was not seriously challenged until 1929.

Before the war, after studying at the Universities of Erlangen and Strasburg, Flex became a private tutor to descendents of Bismarck. Some of his earliest publications, which reached modest bestseller status, were on the Bismarck family.[66] Flex's reputation was made on Der Wanderer which was initially released in 10,000 copies, but by 1919 this number had reached 150,000 and by 1920 a total of 195,000. During the war and the period after, overall, Flex's novel was less popular than Richthofen's or Plüschow's. However, for Flex it can be ascertained that throughout the twenties he continued to experience a certain popularity even if more modest than his initial success. According to Richards' statistics, between 1920 and 1925 60,000 copies were released, between 1925 and 1928 46,000 copies and between 1928 and 1931 39,000. (See Table 3). The decrease through the entire twenties is slight and stability seems to be a more appropriate description.

Considering the appearance and success of Remarque's Im Westen nichts Neues in 1929 that 39,000 copies of Der Wanderer were printed thereafter speaks to the strength of the novel with some of the reading public. The most substantial increase in popularity came after 1931 with a total of 342,000 copies given by Richards for the period to 1940. In 1938 the calculation by the Nazis was 500,000 copies **Gesamtauflage.** [67] It is likely that the majority of these printings came after 1933 when Flex was promoted as one of the classical German writers by the Nazis. In 1933, after it was certified that Flex was not half Jewish as accused by the literary historian Adolf Bartels, Flex was awarded a State literature prize and his name and work were guaranteed a place in Nazi culture.[68] His quasi-religious praise of war was used by the Nazis to support their own propaganda myths.

Der Wanderer is told by Flex as the narrator. He tells the reader of an extraordinary person he has met and greatly admires. Flex's role is that of the translater who explains the importance of the character Ernst Wurch within the context of the war. Ernst is placed into the role of instructor and role model. Flex and the reader are together to attempt to discover how Ernst cannot only retain peace of mind in the circumstances of war but can flourish. He is depicted as the ideal to which Flex and the reader should strive. The reader, is also to identify with Flex as an outsider. From initial confusion and disbelief Flex, and the reader, come to terms with the war through the example of Ernst.

The plot of Der Wanderer is meagre. The two main characters meet in Germany. Wurch after six months of fighting at the Western Front has been promoted to Lieutenant. He and Flex are sent with a group of soldiers to the Eastern Front. After a period of relative peace, they engage in offensives and in one of these offensives Ernst is killed. Up until this point the concentration has been almost solely on Ernst. Flex now assumes the central position as he attempts to reconcile the loss of such a good man. The shadow of Ernst continues to hang over the novel to the last as an inspiration for Flex.

Since Der Wanderer revolves around Ernst as the ideal hero one must look at his character. One of the most important elements in his character is the influence of the Wandervögel. This German youth movement was born out of the frustration middle-class youth felt against the confining self-righteousness of their parents and the State at the turn of the century. It was a rebellious expression which rejected the ideals of the older generation and which attempted to find 'inner freedom' through the merging of various streams of thought. Wurch exemplifies this by taking with him the new Testament, poems of Goethe, and Nietzsche's Also Sprach Zarathustra. From each of the three Ernst took an ideal and formed his philosophy of life. From Christianity he took the concept of a strong God. Ernst told Flex: "One should only pray for strength. Man should reach for God's hand, not for the pennies in His hand."[69] In other words, strength should be the constant prayer of man and not only when he is afraid. From Goethe, Ernst took the belief in individuality and spiritual fulfillment as well as an appreciation

for nature and beauty. From Nietzsche comes the ideal of service and "a cult of the naked body free of all sexual suggestion".[70] In Der Wanderer there is an episode in which the boys go swimming, allowing Flex to sing the praises of youth. The attention is focused on Ernst who stands naked reciting the verses of Goethe:

> The twenty-year old youth stood glistening in his slender purity and the name of Ganymede seemed to suit him precisely....'We lack an artist' said one of us.[71]

Ernst was an ideal **Wandervögel** and committed himself body and soul to its vague ideals. He sent money from his pay to elementary and high schools in order that the youth might 'wander'. When he received letters and pictures from the children his "soul would shine through his eyes."[72] The **Wandervögel** were conservative and even though they were supported by various prominant cultural figures, like Stefan George, they still caused considerable concern to the average German who "did not quite know what to think of these strange adolescents... who left their homes and schools to rediscover the countryside."[73]

The motto of the **Wandervögel**, "stay pure in heart and ripen",[74] was Ernst's guiding principle, so that at the age of twenty he was fully mature. At no point in the book is there any further personal development. After only six months as a common soldier he has no qualms of assuming leadership responsibilities and indeed draws upon his experiences to philosophize about leadership. He has no questions or doubts about the war. He accepts it implicitly and his most ardent desire was to be able to join in an attack and kill.[75] This is congru-

ent with his philosophy of life, for battle would place him as closely as possible to the line that separates life and death - the two worlds. The action of the war never takes a central role and although there is much death around Ernst and Flex, there is no horror or fear expressed:

> The thunder of artillery resounded in the distance, but the world of battle... seemed illusory, distant and unreal.[76]

In many ways the war seems more like a Wandervögel excursion than a war. Even when Ernst is wounded and dying he accepts it quietly and heroically.

Patriotism is evident in Der Wanderer but Ernst emphasizes the purpose of Germany and its mission toward the development of its national soul. It is not a matter even if Germany wins or loses the war but whether the soul of Germany is fulfilled. In this perspective Ernst has no particular animosity towards the enemy and the word enemy is rarely used in Der Wanderer. The news that Italy joined the Allies reveals Ernst's conception of states and their mystical development: Italy is compared to Judas who betrays an innocent Germany in exchange for promises of territory.[77] The implication is that Italy will pay like Judas for this treachery. The nation and nationalism is an ethical faith - man achieves his own moral progress through the nation.

In Der Wanderer there is no depiction of social structure although social hierarchy exists in the army. Ernst has a Social Democratic friend but the comradeship of the Wandervögel overrules any political differences. An extension of the Wandervögel principle of brotherhood

would also eliminate class antagonism and social cleavage. The war experience was, whether Germany won or lost, to bring this about.

A word should be said about the presentation of women in the novel. Like Pluschow and Richthofen, women as sexual beings are not admitted. Girls throw flowers at the trains going to the Front. Ernst sends money to his sister that she might be a **Wandervögel** and Ernst's mother is consoled that her son died fulfilling his greatest wish. While there might be positive connotations to Ernst's support of his sister, this was probably inspired because she is a youth (and therefore neuter in a sense) rather than a woman. A woman is a mother "who must know the deepest wish of her child."[78] The depiction is in praise of German motherhood.

When Ernst dies Flex is faced with his questions unanswered: his instructor is gone and he must come to terms with life and death and the war himself. He resolves this by frequently reflecting on the lessons and example of Ernst: "Every night I relive your death... I hear your pure young voice."[79] The solution is another mystical connection between his dead comrade and himself who as a living soldier must carry on for Germany. When Flex died in 1917, an afterword by Martin Flex states that he went quietly, one in life and death as he had been in thought and action. He was, to the end, confident of his path as a "wanderer between two worlds."[80]

In an important article by G.L. Mosse, it is suggested that the patriotic myth perpetrated by Flex in Der Wanderer met a real need both during the war and after.[81] That this need developed into a 'cult of

the fallen soldier' complete with monuments to worship and large cemetaries played a significant role in Germany. Both the need and the trappings of the cult were exploited by the Nazis. The experience of the war at the Front and the shock of the post war situation makes Flex's interpretation understandable. Flex's philosophy "explained why the dead had not fallen in vain and why the veterans had made their sacrifice."[82] Der Wanderer has been criticized for "masking reality".[83] This is an important identification of the shortcomings of Flex, and of the movement he represents. Yet regardless of its irrationality and shortcomings, the extent of the need it fulfills can be measured in part by the popularity of a book like Der Wanderer.

Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke: The Romantic Knight

Considered by most literary historians as one of the great German poets, Rainer Marie Rilke is an excellent example of the confusion which surrounds and makes literary legends. In early 1927 after Rilke's death, Stefan Zweig gave a farewell speech to the dead poet, praising the man, his work, and especially his appeal to the German people.[84] Peter Gay in his book, Weimar Culture, wrote:

> everyone read him. Young soldiers went to their death with his verses on their lips: all the youth movements, which played such a prominent role in German life before and during Weimar, made him into one of their favorite poets; they recited him by the campfire and printed him in their magazines.[85]

Gay also cites Walter Muschg, a critic of Rilke, who was aghast at the "herd of male and female enthusiasts - und Schwärmerinnen."[86] Yet Hans Kohn in his book, The Mind of Germany, refers to Fritz Strich, "a well-known literary historian", who wrote that: "Rilke's star paled in Germany in the 1920's so that he was then almost forgotten and his last works - the Elegies and Sonnets - remained unknown and without an echo."[87] Rilke spent only twelve years of his life in Germany (1896-1903, with frequent and long vacations, and 1914-1919) and was a voluntary exile who moved and travelled restlessly. This low profile may indeed have contributed to his being less well known among the German reading public. It is in cases like these where publication statistics can throw light on the popular success of an author.

Rilke has one work in the top 25 bestsellers, Die Weise Von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke.[88] (See Table 3) Written in 1899 but not published in book form until 1906, this work reached a total of 500,000 copies by 1934. This was Rilke's most successful work. According to Richards, only three other works by Rilke, which were published before the war, achieved the status of a bestseller.[89] Two other books, the letters which sparked Muschg's comment, were not released until 1929 and 1930 and were Rilke's next most popular publications.[90] Neither the Elegies or Sonnets achieved bestseller status. The popularity of Rilke's letters, "most of them written, with violet ink, to ladies,"[91] can be largely explained by the fact that the ladies included some of the most prominent women of society. The rest of his work, however, achieved only modest printings, and although

accumulatively bestsellers, they never swept the reading public as the Cornet had. This leads one to conclude that, at least as far as the majority of the reading public was concerned, Rilke was known primarily through the Cornet and only a more selective section read his other works. Of course, this does not discount the recitals around the campfire, but it does moderate the enthusiasm of Zweig and historians like Gay.

In 1899, one stormy autumn night, the clouds inspired Rilke to write Cornet. It was finished in the morning and Rilke said he "was happy, proud as a peacock, convinced that this Cornet would establish (his) fame."[92] Cornet was first published, after some revisions, in October 1904 in the Prague periodical Deutsche Arbeit.[93] After additional revisions it was published in book form in 1906. Unfortunately, statistics for this early period are unavailable and first statistics are those from the Insel Verlag in 1912. In that year the Insel Verlag released a series of Fünfzig-Pfennig-Bücher which were comprised of first class literature at a cheap price: this later became known as the Insel-Bücherei. Cornet was the first volume of the series and sold 8,000 copies within three weeks.[94]

In 1915 Rilke wrote a friend about the popularity of Cornet:

> I quite unexpectedly find myself among the authors of this exceptional year, my voice of fifteen years ago speaks into the attentive ear of the people who for months have been frightened....[95]

By 1917, 140,000 copies of Cornet had been printed. Richards statistics show that by 1921, the book had reached 200,000 copies and

printings increased by another 150,000 to 1927 and another 150,000 to 1934. In other words Cornet had shown a consistent popularity since 1912 except for 1917-1921 in which only 60,000 copies were printed - this may be explained by the general slow down in book production due to limited resources at the end of the war. As well, in the twenties, Rilke's works were translated, illustrated and even set to music. While he enjoyed the attention his work received from friends and peers, the general popularity of Cornet irked him.[96] For one thing he did not think it represented his real talent. He felt it was a youthful work "calling for much forgiveness."[97] Yet he promoted his work on the literary and cultural societies' circuits. He travelled "with groans"[98] on these public affairs but it indicates that he had some sense of responsibility to his public. Under the Nazis, Rilke was not officially heralded. Richard's statistics show that only two of the six books listed were reissued and a list of Nazis bestsellers gives 500,000 as the Cornet's Gesamtauflage in 1938[99] - this is no improvement over the 1934 figure. At the same time, Rilke was included in the cultural activities of the Hitler Youth, and in 1939 a French officer reported finding a copy of Cornet in a German dugout.[100] Somewhat embarrassing to Rilke and ignored by literary critics and historians, Cornet managed to win itself a loyal reading public spanning almost 3 decades.

In Zweig's eulogy he calls Rilke, "the last reverberation of ancient-aristocratic blood."[101] This too was part of the legend of Rilke, one which he perpetuated himself and brought to the public

through Cornet. Cornet is, as its title suggests, about a member of the Rilke family who died in 1663 in Hungary while battling the Turks. The Rilkes traced their family back to the medieval Carinthian knights named Rulke and even possessed the coat of arms of that family. Among the family papers was a document which referred to a young ensign, named Rilke, who did die in battle against the Turks in the seventeenth century. This prompted the vivid imagination of Rilke and produced the exciting and intense poem which became a bestseller. Unfortunately however, as it was later established, Rilke was descended from a farmer-blacksmith-publican from the town of Turmitz in Bohemia.[102] The sensitive Rainer, who moved proudly in the circles of aristocrats and favored "lofty rooms and long, white corridors"[103], was spared this revelation.

From the beginning of Cornet, the reader knows the hero will die and that everything is moving to that point. Although this is obvious from the title, the first page announces that Christoph von Rilke of Langenau/Granitz and Ziegra had fallen in battle on November 24, 1663, as the "Cornet in the Baron of Pirovano's company of the Imperial Austrian Heyster Regiment of Horse."[104] The reader then joins the eighteen year old Christoph riding to join the Austrian army. There were many gentlemen - counts, barons and marquis - riding in fine white lace collars and velvet saddles from many countries - France, Burgundy, the Netherlands and Bohemia. Leaving their mothers and women at home, they are joined in a lonely comradship which only armies inspire. Travelling across the foreign lands the thoughts of these gentlemen

often turn to their homes. A young French Marquis cherishes a rose given to him by his lover who awaits his return. Christoph has no rose but remembers 'wild games' with Magdalena. When they reach the army, Christoph must part from the Marquis who impetuously gives him a petal from his rose. Passing through towns to meet the enemy, the men eat, drink and "seize the hussies hotly": urgency belies their fears. Christoph's fears are expressed through violent nightmares. To his mother he writes:

> My good mother be proud: I carry the flag. be free of care: I carry the flag. love me: I carry the flag.[105]

For reassurance Christoph places the letter with the rose petal by his breast. The soldiers come to a village with a castle. Here they are greeted as guests and are grateful. There is a feast as each man tries to forget what awaits him and drowns himself in wine, dance and "warm women". In the tower room of the castle Christoph finds solace with the Countess: "There is nothing that might be against them: no yesterday, no morrow; for time is shattered."[106] In the early morning the enemy comes and the army musters itself. Christoph carries the glowing flag, helmetless into the midst of the enemy:

> He of Langenau is deep in the enemy, but all alone. Terror has ringed a space around him, and he halts, in the very middle, under the slowly dying flare of his flag.
>
> Slowly, almost reluctantly, he gazes about him. There is much that is strange, motley before him. Gardens - he thinks and smiles. But then he feels that eyes are holding him and is aware of men and knows that these are the heathen dogs-: and casts his horse into their midst.[107]

With this particularly expressive passage, Christoph dies. His mother weeps when the courier of the Baron of Pirovana delivers the news.

This story is a romance of war, superbly garnished with Rilke's imagery which captures an essence of each moment and offers it alive to the reader. War is a central theme in this story in four respects. First is the comradeship war commands in men:

> They are friends of a sudden, brothers. Have more to confide in each other; for they already know so much of the other.[108](sic)

Second is the honour associated in the story with the flag. Third is the life of the soldier and the fears that force him to satisfy desires before they are taken from him. Rilke suggests that the soldiers are aware of the transitory nature of their pleasures and long for ordinary life again. Fourth, is death. It is death that Rilke really confronts in Cornet; war is only the vehicle. Sensitized to the inevitability of the hero's death, the reader is meant to pick up the references and symbols pertaining to death from the moment he is introduced to Christoph. Moreover, Rilke wishes the reader to associate death and sexual love. It is not just the way of soldiers Rilke wants to relate in using frequent images of women in relation to death:

> He dreams...
> And he looks: something rears - a body rears itself against the tree, and a young woman bloody and bare, assails him: Let me loose! ... he sees her glances glow and her teeth bite.
> Is she laughing?[109]

This mystical relationship which Rilke highlights works to fog the

reality of war and explains the hero's removed perception at the moment of his death: Notice the way Rilke describes death:

> the sixteen curved sabres that leep upon him, flash on flash, are a festival
> A laughing fountain.[110]

This depiction misrepresents death. Death is shown here as easy - which it is not - and as an ecstatic experience - which cannot be verified. When the first World War broke out, Rilke was enthusiastic. In a letter he wrote on August 29th Rilke still holds to the picture he has drawn in Cornet. In reference to her son, Rilke writes the Baroness von Münchhausen:

> If only I could soon send him something from a more uplifting heart, he rides forth so boldly, so gloriously young, it is indeed marvellous that this ancient knightly fate should come unawares on a young man of today.[111]

However, almost four years later Rilke wrote, "I long for the end of this horrible, despairing handiwork of man...."[112] If Cornet had been written after 1918, it undoubtedly would have been a different story.

When Rilke wrote in 1915 that his 'voice of fifteen years ago speaks into the attentive ear of the people', this phenomenon becomes clearer when Cornet is placed with the context of the optimism with which the war was greeted. One can see Ernst Wurch of Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten take Cornet in his backpack to the Front. And the young hero Richthofen can easily be identified with "the shining helmetless man" who carried the flag "aflame in the enemy's midst." The men at the Front, often no older than Christoph, as well as those

who waited at home for them, were frightened as Rilke guessed. They needed the assurances that death was indeed an easy ecstasy. This myth was carried, like Christoph's flag, by Rilke. Furthermore, the myth did not end, as the statistics show, with the end of the war. After the war, the image of the romantic knight was held dear to many of the relatives of the 2,000,000 dead soldiers. They wanted to believe that their soldiers had died heroically and for a noble purpose. They hoped that the suffering was minimal, the pain a dream from which the soldiers stood apart. With this image, the sacrifices endured had meaning and honour was preserved. In this way Cornet contributed to the cult of the fallen soldier which grew after 1918.

Two other themes need to be briefly discussed before finishing with Rilke and Cornet - the social structure presented and the depiction of women. Rilke's own pretensions limit him to emphasize the aristocracy. The cavalier nobility of the knights is impressed upon the reader. One is told, "for these are gentlemen every one, who know what is proper."[113] One contrasts the General's regal Presence with the dead peasant the army rides over and whose eyes reflect no heaven: is death different for him? When these gentlemen ride through the villages one is left with the impression that the common men-at-arms carouse with the hussies while they are attended by the countess in the castle. Obviously there are significant gaps in Rilke's presentation of the 17th century social structure.

Women are also incomplete in Cornet. They are depicted in three ways, beyond the symbolic one associating sex with death. The most frequent depiction is as outlets for the desires of men going into

battle. There is almost an aura of right around the ritual of love before battle. Class, in this sense, makes no difference for the use to which the women are put. It is only natural (at least in Rilke's presentation) that like services like. The second is motherhood which is also associated with death: the connection to be made is between birth and death, the beginning and the end. The work purposely ends with Christoph's mother to symbolically complete his life cycle. Finally, women are idealized in the chivalric tradition. The rose which protects the warrior in battle stands as its symbol and is reinforced by the prayer, "the Virgin protects you", uttered by the Marquis to Christoph. Rilke's presentation of women plays on many of the myths about women and shows just how young he was when he wrote Cornet - he was 24. Rilke's portrayals of the social structure and women are very personal and reflective of his character and maturity. Both show a wishfulness for the past. By romanticizing and enobling this fictional past, Rilke made the Cornet more attractive to those readers who regretted what seemed to them a wholesale rejection of the German past and its values.

Fünf Jahre Fremdenlegionär: Anti-French Sentiment

According to Richards, in 1921 Franz Kull released his first and only bestselling novel entitled Fünf Jahre Fremdenlegionar: Selbsterlebtes während meiner fünfjahrigen Dienstzeit. From 1921 to 1923 this novel achieved great success with 450,000 copies printed. (See Table 3). However, although no publication date is given in it,

the edition acquired by this author makes it seem likely that the book appeared before the war. The edition is a **Jubilaums-Ausgabe** totalling 250,000 copies. In the foreword, Kull cites 1908 in his statistics for the number of German men enlisted in the French Foreign Legion, the topic of the book. He mentions Alsace-Lorrainers who had joined the Legion in order to serve France, and speaks of German colonies. Finally, at the end of the novel, there is an advertisement for a colonial calendar for the year 1913. The above suggests that Richards was incorrect in his date of original publication. It is possible that he took his information from a new edition that was released in 1921. The popularity of the book is somewhat difficult to ascertain under these circumstances. It is not incongruent with the contents of the novel that it reached a height of popularity as indicated by Richards between 1921 and 1923. This period was one in which anti-French sentiment ran particularly high beginning with the belligerent attitude and uncompromising nature of French peace terms and reaching a feverish pitch with the French occupation of the Ruhr. The bestseller was anti-French, advocated German nationalism, and reminded Germany of its lost colonies.

Kull beings Fünf Jahre with a warning to young German adventurers who are considering becoming "volunteer slave(s) for the **Grande Nation.**"[114] The reader is told that the Germans have "an entirely false picture" of the French Legion, one which must be corrected. To this end Kull will tell 'his own story' of his five year

service with the Legion. To reinforce his own story, he provides statistics from 1908:

> It has been proven statistically that of all those who enter the French Foreign Legion only 30% return home, and those return broken in body and spirit.[115]

Next, Kull tells the history of the Legion from the French Revolution of 1830 onwards with special reference to the position of the German soldiers in the Legion. He makes the point that as a form of revenge the German contingent was treated less well after 1870-1871 than other foreigners. With his description Kull includes a strong admonition for Germans to serve in their own colonies if they desire adventure and money. In this way "the German Fatherland can retain its sons."[116]

Kull left his home in 1901 to join the Legion optimistic of the future and all what he would see in the world. He travelled to France and reported himself as a volunteer. Kull qualified for service easily, saying with hindsight, "as so-called cannon-fodder almost everyone could be used."[117] He and the other volunteers were sent immediately to Marsailles. It is interesting that Kull praises the city as the birthplace of freedom and the home of the battle-song of the French Revolution. His attitude towards the gains made by the French people is positive. As he soon discovered, the freedom of the French people did not extend to the legionaires. The life of a legionaire was not good. The pay was poor (1 Franc per person per day), the food inadequate and inedible, and the sleeping accommodations

dank and smelly: And this was still in France. The volunteers felt themselves slaves "in the fullest sense of the word."[118] Even an Alsacer, who had insistently praised the Legion, was now disturbed at this foretaste of their new life.

Upon their arrival in Africa, they are given their gear as legionaires. The men are familarized with the fort, its personnel, important matters in conduct, responsibilities and discipline, and the local people - Spaniards, French, Italians, Arabs, and Jews. Discipline is the lesson that is brought home most quickly and most ruthlessly. One of the men attempted an escape. He was captured, tortured and then hanged himself. This served as a warming to all.

As Kull relates his adventures as a legionaire, he depicts the life as always harsh, unpleasant and unrewarding in all aspects. The French are hard masters and the local people had come to hate and fear them: They "tried over and over to shake off the French yoke,"[119] Kull remarks sympathetically. Frequent examples of unnecessary cruelty are given, in which the legionaires themselves are shown as unwilling participants watched over by French officers. The bias here is obvious for one cannot assume the men were actually innocent under such circumstances. The lives of the legionaires are made up of long marches and frequent battles. There are only a few respites. One holiday is July 14, the French national holiday which celebrates the storming of the Bastille in 1789. It was anticipated by the men who counted the number of Julys until their release. Kull takes time to explain the meaning of the holiday about which he claims "the greatest number of French

know nothing...."[120] At Christmas, as the thoughts of the men return home, Kull again stresses the slavery of the legionaires to "a people who use us as cannon-fodder."[121]

One of his most interesting adventures involved his capture by black warriors. After attempting to kill him, during which Kull cries out appropriately for his mother and homeland, "the blood-thirsty enemies" decided to keep him as their "white-dog" slave. Despite his position beneath them, Kull indicates a certain amount of respect for the Negroes. He learns their ways and values and concludes that they are a "simple and practical" people.[122] He is accepted by them after a time and they even offer him a wife. He reacts with the shocked response of a well brought up European:

> I, the husband of a Negress, and possibly, the stepfather of some of these naked, unclean, monkey-like children! It was better to work in the fields.[123]

Kull remains a slave and although life is relatively pleasant for him, he escapes. After battling wild animals he rejoins the Legion.

On his next assignment Kull witnesses the abuses of French convict labor and inhuman punishment and torture. His adventures continue and he himself is disciplined. Then he battles the Arabs and Chinese and he watches the French troops murder, rape and plunder with the approval of their General. Kull gets lost, is stricken with fever, and then, finally finishes his service term.

Once back in Germany Kull is arrested as a deserter, is fined and is required to report for German army service. With this he ends his

story. His last words are a plea to those who are considering following the same path he took. He hopes they will read his book and become dissuaded.

Fünf Jahre can be classified on its most simple level as an adventure story. It is filled with daring life and death escapades which follow one another at a fast pace. These adventures involve exotic people in an exotic land. Although Kull is critical of such exploits in the final analysis, and wishes he was home during them, his encounters with uncivilized peoples and wild animals must have thrilled the armchair reader who was tied to the regularities of a working life. This reader Kull assumed would be male. This is shown not only in his direct referral to young potential candidates for the Legion, but by his exclusion of elements that might have made it popular with many women. First there is no love interest and all the characters are male. Women are only rarely mentioned except with brief reference as, for example, to Kull's mother, to a dirty waitress, to a helpful Jewess, or to his prospective black wife. Love or women play no part in the adventures or personal development of Kull. In general, his escapades do little toward the personal maturity of the character except to disillusion him about the French **Grande Nation** and reinforce his own German nationalism. In this sense his adventures are a platform, subjectively decorated and imaginatively embellished, from which he freely criticizes the French colonial policy, the French army and, by extension, the French themselves. One of his best moves in this regard was not the examples of cruelty but the contrast made between

the repressive French policy toward the native peoples and legionaires and the significant connotations to July 14th and the French Revolution in terms of human political development. Kull intentionally means to show a contradiction. Furthermore, his anti-French crusade confirms German nationalism. His German home is an important orientation in the text and Kull's strong exhortation concerning German colonies and soldiers cannot be misinterpreted by the reader.

In the context of the novel's message such things as social structure are easily glossed over. Gradations exist in the Legion but these are typical of army organization. Kull does, however, have an interesting perception of slavery. He constantly emphasizes the slave-like conditions under which the legionaires live. His own German home by comparison is idyllic. He sympathsizes with the conditions of the colonial people but he makes no comment on the degraded life of the sailors and their families in Marsailles. In other words, he cannot make the extension of his disapproval to the civilized areas of Europe. His definition of slavery and atrocious conditions ends in the Mediterraenean.

The rather awkward, abrupt, ending of the novel requires comment. Kull finds himself in the Germany army after being arrested for desertion. Perhaps by this time Kull was immune to personal outrages but one cannot but be surprised that he makes no criticism of his treatment in his own land. The ending thus cuts the book and its message short. One must assume that Kull would heartily approve of the German colonial policy without considering that his criticisms of

France may be applicable to his own country.

The characteristics of Fünf Jahre which might cause it to appeal to the German reading public are: its adventurous story, its anti-French stance, its pro-German nationalism and its approval of German imperialism. These aspects of the novel transcended the war and were significant issues in Weimar society. Kull's escape to an exotic land filled with unusual people and animals fulfilled fantasies for the male readers as much as Courths-Mahler's love stories satisfied female readers.

Zwei Menschen: The **Bauernroman** and the Conservative Reaction to Modern Society

As the conservatives mustered their forces after the humiliation of defeat and revolution, their revitalization found expression in every aspect of society. In popular literature there was an immediate upswing in the production of **Bauernromane** and **Heimatromane**, novels which celebrate regionalism and a natural life in the country. Traditionally this type of popular literature was a reaction against the agrarian crisis brought about through industrialization. By stressing the love of one's home and land, this literature hoped to "stop the flow of rural people to the cities."[124] As well as intending to lessen perceived **Landflucht**, the authors of **Bauern-Heimatromane** attempted to reinforce the traditional values they felt were being eroded by modernization. Although reactionary in advocating

conservative principles, this literature should be considered a healthy response to industrialization and modernization, which in hindsight is recognized as not necessarily progressive or in the best interests of the people. The authors were often accurate social critics and their works were an important literary movement that challenged the literature of the large cities which monopolized Germany's cultural life.

After the war, when traditional conservative values threatened to slip quickly down the morass of much of the post-war society, the call for **Heimatromane** and **Bauernromane** came loudly. Although production of such literature immediately increased,[125] the five in this study that became bestsellers were all originally published before the war and were reissued after.

Richard Voss's Zwei Menschen began its popularity when first published in 1911 and continued to experience considerable success up to 1925.[126] (See Table 3). From 1911 to 1920, Zwei Menschen reached 300,000 copies printed and from 1920 to 1925 another 240,000 copies. After 1925 the book experienced a considerable decline. Only 80,000 copies were printed for the next four year period to 1929. After 1929, however, its popularity rose again and another 100,000 copies were printed to 1933. Zwei Menschen continued its success under the Nazis who included Voss in their recommended book list for the public libraries.[127] From 1933 to 1935 another 100,000 copies were released. After 1935 only another 40,000 copies came out in two impressions from another publisher, J. Englehorn in Stuttgart. The **Gesamtauflage** totals

820,000 for 1938.[128]

Richard Voss, born in 1851, was the son of a country gentleman. He volunteered for ambulance service in the Franco-Prussian war and after the war studied at Jena and Rome. He immediately began a career of full-time writing although from 1884-1888 he was a librarian. As a member of the Freibühne, a private theater club, and a regular contributor to Die Gartenlaube, Voss was moderately well known in the literary field. Of his novels other than Zwei Menschen, five reached bestseller status according to Richards.[129] However, Zwei Menschen remained easily his biggest success.

Zwei Menschen is a story of the unrequited love between the younger son of a noble family and a wealthy farmer's daughter, sometime in the 19th century - probably between 1851 and 1871 - in the Tyrol area of Austria. It begins with the death of Judith Platter. A priest comes to her death bed and robs her of a small gold ring. Opening a book he tells of the lives of these two people. Junker Rochus is the second son of an ancient noble family. Judith Platter is the orphan of a rich farming family. He is seventeen and she is fifteen when the story opens. Friends from their earliest childhood, the two love each other and intend to marry - a ring seals their mutual promise. The plans of Rochus' parents are different. The family is no longer wealthy and the castle and lands are in ruins for all the money goes to the eldest son at Court in Vienna. The only thing well kept at home is the chapel complete with a chaplain. The eldest son is to inherit the castle and lands, and it is the tradition of the family for generations

for one of the younger sons to go into the Church. Rochus' father explains:

> For you there is nothing left than to go to Rome and go into the Church. In Rome, we have for every second and third son that goes into the Church, large benefices.[130]

Although Rochus refuses, his parents continue to pressure him to go into the Church. Finally his mother makes a pilgramage to pray for her son. A snow storm causes her death. Rochus, burdened with guilt, decides to make a brief pilgrimage to Rome for his mother. While in Rome, Rochus convinces himself he must go into the Church for his mother's sake. He does not return to his home or Judith. Nine years later, Rochus - now Peter Paulus - returns, called back by his aging father because the eldest son had been killed in a duel over women and debts. The father now hopes his last son will renounce the cloth and assume his responsibilities as Graf von Enna: he even promises him Judith. Peter Paulus refuses and the castle is sold. Judith realizes that nothing will come of her love for Rochus and leaves the area for the mountains to build her own life. Peter Paulus becomes a fanatic, fasting and flailing himself in order to forget Judith. He concludes:

> Adam and Eve were chained together more through sin than through love; because of her sin she became bound to the man whom she had led into sin.[131]

Peter Paulus follows Judith intending somehow to free himself from her. Every day he visits her to make her a 'good' Christian, and she began to hate him but will not stop him from coming. A third

individual enters their lives - an Italian artist. He accuses Peter Paulus, of attempting to break the will of Judith to solve his own shortcomings and falls in love with Judith himself. When they kiss, Judith realizes that her hatred for Peter Paulus is really love. To save herself, Barbaro, and Peter Paulus, she commits suicide in a snow storm. Barbaro returns to Italy and Peter Paulus to Rome. Unable to come to terms with his life, the priest commits suicide as well.

Despite the obvious sentimentality and melodrama this story shows, it is revealing to look at its presentation of the social structure, religion, and women. The story's main character Rochus/Peter Paulus is from the nobility. The once ancient and venerable family is now poor and all is in ruins. Rochus is very conscious of the poverty and is embarassed when Judith visits the castle:

> I see the broken fences and ripped up walls of my beloved Enna; I see the damaged floors and ceilings, the faded, disintegrating tapestries, the pale, ruined paintings, the wormy woodwork, the old rotten furniture and all the miserable rest from earlier, better times.[132]

Appearances are kept up and the eldest son is as well financed at Court as is possible. The family's contribution to the Church is emphasized reaching back to the Crusades and including a cardinal. There is no explanation in Zwei Menschen, however, why the family is poor, whether it is the decline of a family or a social phenomenon. Judith Platter, as a prosperous farmer, cannot be considered as representing a threat to the nobility. She can be seen as a potential member of the nobili-

ty, had they been allowed to marry. It is possible that Voss intended to comment on capitalism and progress when he had Judith save trees from the woodcutters who want to make money - she buys all the trees uncut.

Voss is also vague on any of the lower classes except for emphasizing the loyalty of servants to masters. Although a servant of Enna admits he desires to return to his home in the mountains, he will not. He explains, "I must stay with my masters, as long as I live...."[133] When Judith dies, her servant Martin is the only one who insists on a Christian burial for her. The mountain people, all peasants,are depicted as a mass rather than individually; "these people were austere and hard, plain and simple ... rich in faith but poor in knowledge".[134] What is perhaps most important in Voss's depiction of the peasants is their suspicion and dislike of anyone foreign. This is shown with Judith who is never accepted by the people although she lives there for many years. Regionalism is a significant attribute of all the characters, however, and Rochus makes the statement "I am my parent's son and a Tyroler. As if that was not enough".[135] Religion presumes to eliminate class differences. When reviewing the cloisters students, Peter Paulus wonders:

> Perhaps we will find among the students one that will be a cardinal. Or maybe even - a pope! It might be a farmer's son, from the poorest of the poor.[136]

There is a distinct consciousness of hierarchy with the Church but here as well, as with the entire social structure, there is a lack of any critical interpretation. The conflict within such a society is ex-

pressed instead in the individual emotional conflicts of the characters. This diversion makes the society in the novel appear unrealistic. Yet the diversion to the personal lives of the characters makes the conflicts that arise much more powerful to the reader. For example, it is interesting how the past and social tradition determines the life of Rochus/Peter Paulus. What is important is the negative effect this influence has on the reader who is frustrated throughout with Rochus' decision to conform to his family's wishes and enter the Church. Rochus begins as a headstrong, passionate youth who initially categorically refuses to go into the Church. Slowly, however, his sensitivity to the family tradition of sending younger sons and all daughters into the Church encroaches on his refusal. More and more frequently references are made to the past tradition, his parent's wishes and the family heritage. The only other choice offered to Rochus was for his father to beg something from the Emperor in Vienna.[137] The military was not suggested and other career possibilities, especially money making, were not even considered. When Rochus accepts the burden of the past he becomes embittered and guilt-ridden. He is never happy and the lives of others are destroyed as a result.[138]

To the problem of the past, Voss offers the solution of Judith - escape to the mountains. Judith is by far the stronger and more intriguing personality in Zwei Menschen. She remains a positive figure throughout while Peter Paulus disintegrates into his obsession with guilt. She does not need the past and easily casts off regional ties. The question is posed, "Why does the Platter farm need a master?

Judith Platter is master!"[139] She manages the farm as well as a man including improvements. When she leaves, she builds her new home independently. She had been offerred the castle and lands of Enna but refused. The ancient relic held no fascination for her only irony had she become mistress alone. "I want a home that I made myself," she always insisted.[140] This depiction of a woman is contrasted first with Rochus' pious mother who never felt comfortable with Judith's Christianity. The suggestion that this strong and positive woman was less than properly Christian follows Judith through the novel. On the mountain, a local man tells her, "You appear to be a poor Christian. Not once did you come to Church. Are you a Christian after all?"[141] As well, the images of Eve, Mary and St. Barbara are repeated throughout Zwei Menschen reflecting traditional Christian attitudes towards women. In modern terms, Judith appears almost entirely emancipated: she is independent, well developed in mind, physically capable and willing to determine her own life and does not require a man. Although this is attributed to her character, the fact that she was wealthy also allowed her freedom.

Religion plays a prominent role in the novel and its redundancy makes for much tedium. In the final analysis, it seems clear that, as a whole, religion is not highly regarded by Voss who considers its power over the lives of people too great. St. Barbara is the only image that is consistently used favourably. Unfortunately, it is unknown whether Voss himself was Catholic or Protestant. One can be fairly certain that he was not Jewish, however. When the question of

the sale of the castle Enna is raised, the main problem was that "a foreigner or Jew (might) buy it; they are the same."[142] The negative connotation in this comment is clear.

That Zwei Menschen is a **Heimatroman** and a **Bauernroman** can be seen in Rochus' love of Tyrol and in Judith's love of her mountain home and the simple life she leads there. Other themes that are often characteristic of such literature are the depiction of a declining nobility and an emphasis on the strength and health of the farmers. Both are evident in Zwei Menschen. Another theme is the conflict between city and country and both Rome and Vienna are shown negatively. It was only when Rochus went to Rome and was influenced by that city that his resolve not to go into the church broke down. He went after being warned by Judith about its dangers. Vienna is the city in which the eldest son grew corrupt through women and gambling. Cities deprived the Junker von Enna of both his sons. In contrast is the life of Judith and purity of the mountain air: "The air up there is from the same power as one has in the soul."[143] As a work belonging to a literary genre, Zwei Menschen can be shown to follow a pattern of popularity which corresponds generally to all such novels irrespective of their individual attractions to the German reader.

It has been suggested here, and convincingly argued by P. Zimmermann that the production of **Bauernromane** is connected with the success and defeats of the **völkisch** /conservative movements.[144] It has also been suggested here that this can be extended without too much trouble to the popularity of **Bauernromane** with the reading public.

Zwei Menschen stands as an example for its level of popularity can be correlated roughly with the ebb and flow of conservative strength. Immediately after the war, therefore, Zwei Menschen experienced popularity as an expression of the conservative radicalization. When stabilization brought the consolidation of middle-class power, this could well have contributed to the stagnation of Zwei Menschen as a best-seller during those years. Then when the conditions again grew critical after 1929 and the conservatives resumed a vigorous battle, Zwei Menschen also showed a revitalization as a bestseller. The successful culmination of conservative political power with the Nazis ensured the position of the **Bauernromane** and Zwei Menschen. This analysis is significant in explaining how such a novel as Zwei Menschen might retain its popularity despite its superficial irrelevance to the times. The other novels of this type which will be looked at will reveal similar trends. Zwei Menschen as well as being a love story of some merit, and painting a romantic picture of a pure and simple mountain life, incorporated relevant conservative values.

Der Wetterwart: **Landflucht** and **Heimweh**

Jakob Christoph Heer's, Der Wetterwart, published in 1905, is another example of a **Heimat-Bauernroman.** One notices, furthermore, a similar pattern in printings to that of Zwei Menschen. According to Richards, Der Wetterwart was popular from its original publication until after the war with 150,000 copies. (See Table 3). In 1906, it was listed 5th in the list of the most read books from the

libraries.[145] It continued its popularity up to 1925 with 130,000 copies after which there is a decrease in the number of copies printed to 1930 (55,000). After 1930, Der Wetterwart increased again with another 100,000 copies. Richards statistics indicate that up to 1940 Der Wetterwart reached a total of approximately 477,000 copies. Other available statistics from the publisher show, however, that 572,000 was the **Gesamtauflage.** [146]

Der Wetterwart was not Heer's only bestseller and Richards lists 11 other works which reached at least 21,000 copies.[147] Two of these, other than Der Wetterwart, were in the top bestsellers.[148] His works were made famous in Germany through the Gartenlaube, for which he was both a journalist and an editor (1899 - 1902). Most of Heer's books take place in the Swiss Alps where he was born and first worked as a teacher. He began his journalist career with the Neue Zürcher Zeitung before moving to Stuttgart. The deep love he felt for his homeland, however, continued to be expressed in his novels. As a **Heimatdichter** (writer of regional novels), Heer also incorporated the standard sentimental love story into Der Wetterwart, the love story, as in Zwei Menschen, forms the storyline and plot of the novel. Der Wetterwart is, however, far more sensitive to current pre-war social problems than Zwei Menschen and Heer seriously addresses such things as the country-city split, child labor, and the business world. Like most **Heimatliteratur,** Der Wetterwart is essentially conservative and this is best exemplified by Heer's depiction of women.

The story begins as the lament of a crippled old man who sits

alone in an observatory at the top of a mountain. He has few visitors and remains a mystery to most of the people of the mountain. It is his intention to write a book of his life and explain the mystery which surrounds him especially to his young visitors with whom he implies he has a deeper relationship. The plot moves, therefore, between the present - the life of old Leo Quifort - and the past, the life of Jost Wildi.

Jost Wildi was born and raised in the isolated mountain village of Selmatt. Most people remained in Selmatt if they had been born there preferring the wholesome freshness of the mountains to the unknown lowlands. One boy who did leave, however, was now a wealthy, influential merchant in Hamburg. Jost admired this Hans Konrad Balmer and desired to be like him. Jost would have remained in Selmatt with his fiance, Duglore, but two events changed his life. First, an avalanche destroyed the town and killed most of the people. Second, Balmer who heard about the avalanche and knew of Jost offered to take him into his firm as an apprentice. Jost settles Duglore with a family in a nearby village and leaves for Hamburg with great anticipation. Initially, Balmer acts as a patron and often invites Jost to his large home. On his part Jost works hard and is determined to do well. An innocent adventure on a Sunday afternoon with an air balloon and a young, wealthy German Mexican-American girl results in Jost's dismissal - he had dishonoured the company's name. The evil and unfairness of the business world is made clearer when Balmer writes to the local Selmatt authority accusing Jost of all kinds of crimes. Confused during

this period, Jost draws closer to Abigail Daire whom he had met on the balloon. Concerned for Jost and unhappy in her situation, Duglore comes to Hamburg. Jost attempts to convince Duglore to emigrate to America but she refuses to leave her homeland. They try to plan their lives together but Abigail complicates the situation. Hurt and pregnant, Duglore abandons Jost, returns to Selmatt and marries another. The first part of Jost's life is over.

Jost falls ill when he learns Duglore has left and he is nursed by Abigail. When he is well they marry. The couple travel and eventually settle in Mexico to have a family. It is here Jost changes his name to Leo Quifort. Abigail proves barren and to relieve her depression they travel extensively once more. Jost masters the air balloon which becomes his career. Abigail (obsessed with her inability to have a child) never regains her former happiness. Meanwhile Jost reads about Duglore and her daughter in a local paper. Finally Abigail conceives but the child dies. She then confesses lying to Duglore by saying she was pregnant by him too. Her current failure she sees as punishment. Although Jost forgives her, Abigail requires Duglore's forgiveness and writes her. Distressed when there is no reply, Abigail commits suicide. The letter arrives later that day. The second part of Jost's life is finished.

Jost returns to the Selmatt area and settles at a newly installed weather observatory. After many years, an accident cripples him but he feels compensated when he meets his daughter and her fiance. Duglore died without revealing her secret to her daughter. His greatest wish is

for Gotteball to know the truth and call him father. To this end, he writes a book he intends to give her. Finally, before he dies, they are united.

The storyline, like most love stories, seems contrived. In this sense Heer is no different than Richard Voss or even Courths-Mahler. The first difference one should note between these authors is that Heer, unlike Voss or Courths-Mahler, is not dealing with the nobility. Only two characters in Der Wetterwart have any substantial money -- H.K. Balmer and Abigail. The rest are simple peasants living in the mountains on small farms. It is significant that Selmatt is depicted without a social structure or class antagonisms. These realities are first presented only as city phenomena. For example, when Jost goes to Hamburg the line between an apprentice and the owner of a large firm is drawn:

> Every week Herr Balmer would walk through the warehouses... he nodded cursorily and later had someone tell (Jost) that he set nothing on being noticed by his apprentices and cared only that they worked... Everyone tried to get out of his way and whoever was called to his office feared for his bread.[149]

When Jost had fallen out of Balmer's favour after the balloon ride, he was ruthlessly ousted from his job. Moreover, Balmer blackballed Jost from any similar work through a casual word to his acquaintances. This was a fairly typical portrayal of the business world which in the interests of profit and respectability ruled over the personal lives of workers as well as their hours at work. When Balmer dismisses Jost, he is arrogant and rude, intent on exploiting his power position and confident he has Jost by the throat. Their common tie with Selmatt

plays no role for this businessman. When Jost writes Balmer as the now prosperous Leo Quifort, the reply comes with warmth that he always knew Jost had good business potential.[150]

Abigail's money is accepted without analysis and provides them both with a free lifestyle. When they arrive in Mexico, however, they receive a dose of social conscience. On a tour of the silver mine in which Abigail has part interest, they witness child labour:

> The porters, whose shuffling feet we heard on our way, were children -- Indian boys and girls about 7 years old, both with twisted backs .... [Abigail] 'Now it comes to light under which conditions I have been able to live so easily... The blood of abused, monstrously unhappy children sticks to it.'[151]

Jost and Abigail attempt to better the conditions of the children by ordering machinery which will ease the burden of their work: unfortunately, the machinery will not arrive for many years. Other than the horror expressed by both, little else is done to help the children. When they leave for Europe again, this example of exploitation is forgotten. It is significant that neither Jost nor Abigail condemn the system that forces children to work, only the conditions under which they work. The machinery is an affirmation of technological progress but there is a failure to perceive the root of the problem of child labour.

Children are a major motif for Heer and he uses them not only to indicate the fulfillment of womanhood, but also to denote childishness: both Duglore and Abigail are depicted as children mentally and emotionally. Abigail is introduced as an "independent American girl",[152] but she is shown with a low level of emotional maturity, as expressed in

her absolute dependence on Jost. One of the more important aspects of her character is her 'wandering' spirit. This shows immaturity as she cannot settle down and attempts to escape her problems. Duglore is the opposite. She is so firmly, and dependently, rooted in her homeland that she cannot leave it. Duglore matures somewhat, however, through her pregnancy and pain and her womanhood culminates in her forgiveness of both Jost and Abigail. Abigail never matures to the same level despite her education and world travel. Her passions are impulsive, destructive and are guided by selfishness. Her obsession with having a child and her suicide indicate her incomplete character. Heer's conclusions about women seem to be first that, a woman needs man above all things, and second, that bearing a child defines and completes a woman.: "The highest achievement of a wife is to have children from the strong, high-minded man she loves -- then to bring them up as strong, high-minded people.[153] Female independence is not an issue with either Abigail or Duglore. Independence is presented as negative and is associated with loose morals by the society.[154]

As a **Heimatroman**, the main theme in Der Wetterwart is the importance of one's homeland. The story begins and ends in the same small area and even though Jost travels the world, his reference point is Selmatt. Duglore is the outspoken champion of **Heimat** in the novel: Jost "became alarmed over the look which came into her large, dark eyes everytime she spoke of home."[155] The thought of leaving her homeland breaks Duglore's heart and she is unwilling and unable to emigrate. She pities anyone who must. Jost, on the other hand, desires to leave

and experience the world. He is drawn to the freedom symbolized by Abigail. Abigail's symbol is the air balloon which rides restlessly through the air without a permanent landing point. Appropriately, Abigail is fair and has sky-blue eyes while Duglore is dark representing the earth and its permanence. Caught between the two tendencies he becomes a meteorological observer **(Wetterwart)** remaining on the ground while watching the motions of the weather balloons in the air. While Jost is travelling with Abigail, Heer uses the background of the world to make the point of Jost's homesickness **(Heimweh)**. Home **(Heimat)** and homesickness are words which are constantly used by all the characters. When Jost changes his name to Leo Quifort in order to be accepted in Mexico, this practical decision has emotional repercussions for him. Selmatt is even more frequently on his mind. Although he tries to believe that "where one is successful, there is one's Fatherland",[156] he "knows already that the day will come when [he] will kneel on the edge of his home earth and pray, 'Forgive your disloyal son'"[157] Heer's message is that one's homeland is the most important thing in life. For some, it is more important even than love. Duglore, for example, can depend on the land even when her love is betrayed; it remains permanent and uncorrupted. Heer is not nationalistic but regionalistic. Germany as a nation holds little for Heer or his characters even though Jost went to Hamburg. It is the land which retains the mystical hold on the individual. Heer's approach to the problem of **Landflucht** is evident. The example of Jost reminds the reader that happiness is not necessarily found in the ruthless and unfeeling big cities or through emigration and often too much is

sacrificed in leaving.

The orientation of such books as Der Wetterwart would lead one to assume that those people actually experiencing **Landflucht** would be the most likely readers. Studies of the reading habits of the rural population indicate, however, that they preferred other types of literature.[158] Instead, such literature was read by the petty bourgeoisie and middle-classes "who sought affirmation of the conservative principles"[159] incorporated in **Heimat** and **Bauernromane** . It was unnecessary for these classes to experience **Landflucht** to understand the social changes this trend precipitated. It was in their interest to stress loyalty to a traditional way of life. Another group of readers were those who had left their homes and lived in the cities. What they sought in **Heimatliteratur** was emotional compensation -- the comfort of mutual **Heimweh.** The profuse descriptions of scenery, the heartrending homesickness of the characters and the tragic love were the ingredients of bestsellers like Der Wetterwart which evoked the emotions of these readers.

Waltwinter: Country and City

One of the most prolific and successful **Heimatdichter** was Paul Keller. Keller had been a schoolteacher until 1908 when resigned to devote himself to fulltime writing. He gained a wide following as his twenty-three bestsellers indicate.[160] Three of his bestsellers reached Richard's top 100 list besides Waldwinter (1902), which totalled 518,000 copies printed by 1938.[161] (See Table 3). When one looks at

the publication statistics for Waldwinter, it becomes apparent that this bestseller follows the same general pattern in popularity as Zwei Menschen and Der Wetterwart. Waldwinter began its popularity slowly; by 1916 only 50,000 copies had been printed. After 1916, however, to 1923 200,000 copies were released indicating a considerable increase in popularity. After 1923, Waldwinter received only another 43,000 copies to 1929 thus following the pattern of stagnation of this type of literature during those years.[162] From 1929-1930 Waldwinter jumped again with 140,000 copies printed[163] but did not receive another impression until 1935 when another 85,000 copies were released under the Nazis. Although the Nazis supported Keller as an author and included him in their official catalogue for the public libraries,[164] Richards statistics show that only Waldwinter and a collection of stories, Gold und Myrrhe (1898) were reprinted.[165]

As with the other two **Heimatromane** already dealt with, Waldwinter has the standard element of a love story in a remote and beautiful setting. Also present is strong critique of the big city. Keller's main character, Herr Doctor, flees the big city for the peace and quiet of the country:

> I did not want to go to the theater three times a week... I did not want to hear a thousand lies or tell a thousand lies myself. I did not want to dance when I wanted to be alone... I did not want to meet any woman who wants me as a son-in-law... I did not want to play cards... or make any visits, or hear my landlady complain, or sit all night in a cafe or -- yes exactly -- I did not want to read any newspapers.[166]

At the recommendation of a friend, who was doubtful that the Herr Doctor would last the winter season, he left the city for a small

village in the hills. The village is filled with a cast of wholesome, simple people who are initially suspicious of this fine gentleman. They wonder if he is a political criminal or trying to escape a duel or gambling debt. Most of the people are poor peasants. When one of the local boys managed to become a teacher, he was considered "a very high animal."[167] Herr Doctor settles in quite comfortably with Herr Waldhofer and his daughter Ingeborg. The Herr Doctor reveals that in the city, he "was often loved" and recounts nine love affairs (including a comtesse, an older woman and his younger cousin), none of which came close to marriage.[168] He speculates about the innocent Ingeborg as a possible tenth but this comes to nothing. After some months, Marianne, a friend of Ingeborg's, comes to stay and the real love story begins. Keller matches Ingeborg neatly with Marianne's brother who lives in the city. Marianne is presented as an intelligent, talented, lonesome, bitter young woman. Herr Doctor confesses his love and even requests marriage. Marianne rejects him absolutely, explaining that she vowed to her mother on her deathbed never to marry. She tells a woeful story of all the ruined women in her family who had in some way been forsaken by the men they loved. Her own mother had been left with three children to raise. Rejected, the Herr Doctor prepares to leave. Word comes, however, that Marianne's father is alive and wishes to see her before he dies. Apparently, he had written throughout the years and sent money but everything was returned unopened. After some appropriate turmoil, Marianne is reunited with her father and tends him to his death. Now free of the past, Marianne and the Herr Doctor get married. They are given some land in the area by the Baron and the

winter is over.

What is most striking about Waldwinter, especially in contrast to Der Wetterwart, is how little reference is made to **Heimat**. Hartwig, a minor character who emigrates to South Africa, is the only one to whom it is applied. Hartwig is forced to leave the area to escape from the authorities. Herr Waldhofer consoles him:

> You love your homeland more than anyone else.
> I know that. But it has to be you.
> You must remain free ... and here you cannot.
> Freedom is more important than home.[169]

Hartwig settles in German East Africa where he buys a farm and supported by the German consul, intends to grow a coffee crop. In a letter home, he admits that he "always thinks of home."[170] There is, nevertheless, a much more positive picture of emigration here than that given by Heer through Duglore. A letter received by Herr Doctor years later reveals that Hartwig has expanded his farm and has nine Negroes working for him. He says that the Negroes are lazy and steal but that one cannot do without them: this can be compared to Pluschow's attitude toward the Chinese. He and his wife still try to speak the home language and teach their children -- even the Negroes know some words. Keller comments that "the Silesian homeland is hard to forget."[171] The love of home is implied in Waldwinter rather than overworked as in Der Wetterwart. It is also less emotional. Keller evokes **Heimat** through descriptions of the scenery, the simple folk customs and contented characters. In its contrast of city and country life Waldwinter implies that only the country can be one's real **Heimat** in the fullest sense of the word. To find happiness the Herr Doctor

had to flee the city and its influences and this is the central message of Waldwinter to its readers.

Since Waldwinter involves a love story, it reveals Keller's perception of women. The Herr Doctor's love affairs can be dismissed by the readers as the unhealthy influence of the big city. Ingeborg is important as the first contrast to city women. When she cleverly avoids the Herr Doctor's attention, she shows that she is virtuous and not given to light flirting. In contrast with the shallow city women, the women of the country are portrayed as serious and deep. Keller shows Hartwig's wife accepting emigration without question, and depicts the pride of another woman who bore her husband eleven children. The conservative ideals of love, loyalty, home and children are stressed and are the same as those expressed in Der Wetterwart. Ingeborg reinforces the conservative ideal when she says to Marianne "I have always thought that men were more intelligent than us."[172] Marianne answers with wit and insight, "and for that the men will love you dearly." Marianne is presented as a perceptive woman who understands far more of the relationship between men and women than most. Using a chess board as an analogy, Marianne points out that the Queen can move with freedom in the game but in real life a woman cannot.[173] Through the Herr Doctor's response, Keller brings in the proposition that women are less than men because they have produced less artistically.[174] Marianne's reply that women's minds and talents have been supressed is dismissed and the Herr Doctor concludes that she uses the 'emancipated woman' image as a front. Keller proceeds to show just how unnatural her ideas are by discrediting her character. He implies that because

Marianne's mother instilled distrust of men into her, this distorted Marianne's ideas on women and their relationship with men. When Marianne is reconciled to her father she drops her strange notions and properly marries the Herr Doctor. Keller does an excellent job of rationalizing the motivations for female emancipation. In this way he broaches a sensitive contemporary issue on the reform of German laws and values to provide women with more freedom. His presentation of Marianne is an attempt to combat such progressive tendencies and re-emphasize the traditional values of the countryside.

Keller has been criticized for depicting mainly the "German petty bourgeoise world" in Waldwinter.[175] Once the Herr Doctor enters the village, for example, certain classes disappear. The local Baron is referred to with great respect but plays no active role. There are no workers leaving for the industrial cities to look for jobs and the peasant farmers are only mentioned in passing. The foundation of the story rests with the small shop owners, the landlord and the doctor. All the characters, even Hartwig, are positive depictions and there is no mention of any type of social division. Yet status is important as shown in the attitude toward the Herr Doctor. He is a gentleman and is always referred to as the Herr Doctor. That the characters address one another formally -- even Marianne and the Herr Doctor until their marriage -- was common practice in Germany but indicates the pretension of status. It is curious that Keller includes a line like "It is terrible when one man kneels before another"[176] which is incongruent with the rest of his conservative **Weltanshauung.**

Waldwinter is important for its presentation of politics and nationalism, which is subtle but definitely there. The reader receives the impression that in the city, the Herr Doctor's friends sit in the cafes and discuss the latest political development while in the country such topics are limited to statements like "absolutely anything to do with the old Kaiser William suits me fine."[177] The nationalism expressed in Waldwinter differentiates the novel from strictly regional work. Herr Oberforster, an enthusiastic patriot, believed Germany to be "a colosally large and powerful land."[178] He and the Herr Doctor drink a toast to "our German Fatherland and its inspired leader."[179] Such a message is significant in comparison to the two previous **Heimat** novels. These were heavily regionalist. Keller implies that regionalism and nationalism are complementary.

In considering the popularity of this novel, one must categorize it with the **Heimatliteratur** and, thus, attribute at least part of its popularity to the type of literature it was, and that literature's fairly constant reading public. It was a novel which appealed to conservative readers for its reaffirmation of traditional values. The nationalistic scope might have drawn readers but the strong love story was probably its greatest strength.

Heideschulmeister Uwe Karsten: The Ideal Country Man

Heideschulmeister Uwe Karsten is both another **Heimatroman** about escape from the city to the country and another love story. Written by Felicitas Rose (as pseudonym for Rose Morsberger), a woman is the cen-

tral figure in this novel. Although it is a regional novel, it differs from the previous three because it was written about the north rather than the south. Rose was one of the first to popularize the north,[180] but she displays the same sentimentalized vision of the countryside and rural people in her novels as the southern authors. Richards lists 17 bestsellers for Rose, but Heideschulmeister, published in 1909, remained her first and greatest success with 500,000 copies by 1937.[181] It has been claimed that Rose achieved her zenith prior to World War I;[182] however, Richards' statistics indicate only moderate popularity with the exception of Heideschulmeister which reached 192,000 copies by 1921. Of the 17 bestsellers listed by Richards, only 5 were published before the war and 3 during the war. Eight bestsellers were published between 1920 and 1932 and 1 in 1936. Rose's greatest period of general popularity was thus during the Weimar Republic. From 1921 - 1933 Heideschulmeister received another 228,000 copies bringing its total to 420,000 by 1933/34. The approximate printings of the other eight bestsellers published during the Weimar Republic is 353,000. Excluding Heideschulmeister, the other 4 bestsellers published before the war totalled 134,000 copies printed. For the 7 year period 1921-1928, Heideschulmeister received 107,000. The period from 1928 - 1933, however, saw an increase to approximately 43,000 copies per year totalling 121,000 copies printed. The novel experienced its greatest popularity during the years before Hitler assumed power. Under the Nazis, Rose was an accepted authoress and Richards' statistics show that all but one of her bestsellers were reprinted. Another 80,000-100,000 copies of Heideschulmeister were

printed in 1934, while Mutterhof (1918) was reissued with 75,000 copies in the same year, (1934).[183] The rest received more moderate reprintings from 3,000 copies to 36,000 copies.

Heideschulmeister is written in the familiar diary form. Ursula Diewen, the daughter of a rich and established Hamburg merchant, has escaped to the country after a traumatic engagement to her father's wealthy partner. On her wedding day Ursula finds that her fiancé has had an affair with a poor neighbor who bore him a son. Before she can tell anyone she receives news that her fiancé has been killed in an accident. After a whirlwind 'vacation' in Egypt and Greece, Ursula decides to retreat to the Lüneburger Heide where she has "a peaceful little world, the wide heaven, the wide heath and dear God closer ... than in the city."[184] The first pages of her diary are taken up with her family life in the city, her engagement to Heinrich Heinsius and ecstatic descriptions of the countryside and people. One is introduced to Uwe Karsten in these early pages as a beloved poet of Ursula's. When she finally meets the schoolteacher-poet, who happens to live in the same area, she turns to him as the main topic of her diary. The reader is told that the magnificent poet who composed such beautiful lines wrote them in the midst of great personal hardship. His wife had died in the first year of his marriage leaving him with a crippled son, a drunken father-in-law and an ill mother-in-law. As well as teaching school, he cares for these three and his own younger sister. At first Ursula wonders why he does not go into the city where he is sure to be more successful but there are two reasons for his remaining. First, he cannot leave his responsibilities, and, second,

if he did leave "the best of him would remain at home [on the **Heide**] and he would only exist as half a man elsewhere.[185] Thus emerges the ideal country man who is filled with a sense of responsibility and loyalty, who is strong and sensitive, and who loves his home. It is inevitable that Ursula comes to love this man who has so many good qualities and no bad ones. He is a product of the country.

When Ursula sees Uwe Karsten's young, crippled son, she immediately donates money to establish a cripple-home in the vicinity. This is the first of her charitable projects in the **Heide**. Ursula longs to be part of these rural people but she remains distinct from them. She is different because she comes from the city and also because she is rich. Uwe's sister tells her, "you stand above us"[186] and the Pastor's maid says, "Fraulein would find it far more comfortable in the city,... we are just peasants. It would be better if you went home."[187] For a time Ursula does return home and finds out just how respected Uwe Karsten is among professors and other writers. Again she considers the possibility of his coming to the city but concludes that he will always remain true to the **Heide** and will fulfill his mission as a writer and schoolteacher there.[188] When Ursula and Uwe Karsten finally decide to marry there is opposition from her family who believe she would be marrying beneath her station as a "Hamburg patrician's daughter."[189] They are consoled, however, by the recognition that he is a poet of some note. When they marry, Uwe tells Ursula that although she is his companion in life, his work is the most precious thing to him. She accepts this and they are happy together until Ursula dies in childbirth. Uwe Karsten himself adds the postscript to the diary in which he mourns her and praises her writing.

Clearly Heideschulmeister is an emotional love story as well as an insistent regional novel. The exchanges between Ursula and Uwe match, if not surpass, the tone and language of Courths-Mahler. The novel also carries many of the standard elements of a love story -- the confessional diary, a wicked step-mother, an arranged, ill-fated engagement, betrayal, an illegitimte child, new love and insurmountable obstacles, union and tragic death. Much of the popularity of the novel can be attributed to the love story. In many ways, however, the love story seems to be simply the backdrop for a celebration of a Lüneberger **Heide**. In a foreword, Felicitas Rose clearly praises the countryside and, above all, the people of the **Heide**. She relates that as she walked through the fields she was "overpowered by its rich beauty and could barely holdback the tears."[190] This love of the country underlay the novel and Rose infused her character with her own emotion. Rose is not at all subtle in her insistence that the country was far superior to the city. Ursula escapes the prestige, comfort and wealth of the city for the simple peace of the country. Her deceptive fiancé from the city should be contrasted by the reader with the ideal country man, Uwe Karsten, "the master of the **Heide**." Rose's message has its strongest reinforcement in the issue of **Landflucht**. If Uwe Karsten leaves, he might be more successful, but he would alienate himself from the source of his creative inspiration. He would be half a man in the city, unhappy and incomplete. Ursula, at first estranged from the local people, also gained happiness and contentment in the country. Rose implies that her city readers might gain the same thing. The story and message are supplemented in the 1933 edition with 108 idyllic photographs of the landscape, people, flora and fauna of **Heide**.

Beneath the novel's rosy picture of a pure and good life in the country lies the drunks, cripples and poverty-stricken widows for whom Ursula must build homes. They are used without honest sympathy and understanding but as devices to evoke compassion for Uwe who is forced to write his beautiful works among them. Ursula is shown as a charitable woman who sacrifices her money and modestly refuses recognition for her trouble. Yet what does this say of the prosperity of the area and its benefits for others? Ursula confesses:

> Thank God we have few crippled children, but we have many old, broken women and unemployed men....[191]

This is left without explanation from Rose.

The novel shows a distinct perception of social structure. The author brings this out principally via Ursula's relationships. The gap between her and the local rural people has already been noted. In Hamburg she dines with professors and the mayor and on the **Heide** with the Pastor's wife rather than the Pastor's maid. Money and position are shown to cross the city-country division and are equally important in both areas.

In Heideschulmeister, Rose accepts typical middle-class morality as standard. When one of the maids in Ursula's family home gets pregnant, it is a major scandal and one is reminded of the similar frame of reference evident in Tagebuch. Ursula's father complains as he dismisses the maid "Our respectable house comes into question because of this atrocious girl."[192] Although Ursula is charitable to her unknown crippled children, old women and unemployed men, she lacks any compassion, when she discovers Heinrich's betrayal with her poor

neighbour. Even when Martha explains that she could not reject his advances because of all he had done for her sick mother, Ursula, the sheltered, rich girl, could not understand the exploitation. As Martha said to her:

> You are the pampered only daughter of the House of Diewen, -- I am --. We thank Herr Heinsius for everything.[193]

Ursula wants nothing to do with her long time friend once she finds out. The lines of morality are clearly drawn by Rose without even the slightest hesitation. Whether or not Margarethe Böhme had used her material for sensationalist appeal, at least she was acute enough to realize some of the injustices perpetuated by morality.

Beyond **Landflucht**, there is little to connect the world of Heideschulmeister with modern Germany society after the war. Neither industrialization or nationalism is mentioned, nor are any political events cited. The novel functions in a social vaccuum as it emphasizes the timeless qualities of the land above the temporal problems of the people. On one hand Rose does not romanticize the peasants and rural people. On the other, the shining example of Uwe Karsten deliberately stands above the less desirable rural characters. What differentiates Uwe from his mother-in-law and father-in-law is the degree he loves the land. His commitment to the land makes him the ideal country man even if this implies an unconcern for other individuals. For Uwe the landscape, not the rural people and their problems, is important. In many ways, Heideschulmeister is the clearest example of what a **Heimat-Bauernroman** should be. It fulfills all the requirements of the type of literature. Its popularity is not solely based on its intrinsic story

but, as with the previous **Heimat-Bauernromane**, it gained considerable popularity with the radicalization of the conservative movement. The pattern of popularity for Heideschulmeister is comparable to the others.

Jörn Uhl: The Liberal Bauernroman

Written by the simple country pastor Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl was stiff competition for Mann's Buddenbrooks when both books were released in 1901. When Buddenbrooks had barely reached its first 1,000 copies printed, Jörn Uhl hit 130,000 copies.[194] Thus, this Bauernroman became considered as "the first bestseller in the modern sense in Germany."[195] It was the most read book of the time and a survey done of 96 German, Austrian and Swiss libraries and reading circles in 1901-1902, counted Jörn Uhl as the most popular book in 88 cases.[196] The acclaim of the novel was not limited to the general reading public and it was noticed (understandably) by Mann who complained that the book was "admirable"[197] and Rilke who said it belonged "among the best".[198] After its initial sweep, Jörn Uhl fell into a steady popularity to 1913. (See Table 3). After 1913, however, the novel dropped significantly and only another 21,000 copies were printed for the 7-year period to 1920. After 1920, it picked up again and once more began to experience a steady popularity of approximately 10,000 copies a year even in the usually weaker period 1924 - 1929. From 1931 - 1935 the novel again experienced a slip with only an additional 24,000 copies printed. For the period 1935-1939, Jörn Uhl picked up once more with 47,000 copies.

Jörn Uhl was not the first book written by Frenssen but his first novels Die Sandgräfin (1896) and Die drei Getreuen (1898) received little attention.[199] When Jörn Uhl proved popular Frenssen gave up his pastorate to devote himself to literature full time. A manager at Krupp, a Berlin banker and the Prussian Culture Minister ensured Frenssen an income for three years after Jörn Uhl was a success.[200] To 1914, he had 5 other works which attained bestseller status, among which were Hilligenlei (1905), a controversial religious book, and Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest (1906), his colonial novel.[201] From 1914 - 1933 Frenssen produced 6 more bestsellers but none of these really caught the widespread attention of the reading public.[202] In the thirties, the Nazis honoured Frenssen with two literature prizes and he was a prominent member of the **Schriffsteller Verband.** The State labelled his books positive and included Frenssen in the Deutschen-Kulturbücher series brought out by the Party owned Eher Verlag.[203] The elderly former pastor accepted the honours and attention gladly, having become in these last years of his life a convinced Nazi.

To be fair to Frenssen, one must point out that he did not become a Nazi until his later years. For the majority of his life he gave little indication of fascist tendencies. After the war, he considered himself a democrat and even wavered towards the Social Democrats. He wrote, "I often think that I should join the Social Democratic Party. Their aspiration to help and bring light to the masses moves me deeply...."[204] As a friend of Rathenau's, he mourned the death of "this most distinguished" man who was "destroyed by the narrowest, archaic minds in the land."[205] Frenssen did consider himself a nation-

alist above all and had a great love for his country and its people. He hoped that true nationalism would overcome social differences among the people and he dedicated his own own work to serving the whole **Volk**. Since the **Volk** was his highest ideal, he withheld himself from all parties that entreated him to support their particular cause. This was true until the Nazis assumed power. He preferred to use his books to make his readers aware of the problems facing Germany as he saw them. As one critic commented; "If Frenssen in his old age lined up gladly with Nazism, it is important to recognize that his earlier attitudes held various possibilities; there was no iron logic in his development, no more than in the political development of Germany."[206]

Jörn Uhl was written by Frenssen about and for the people of his pastorate. He had no expectation that the novel would receive any great attention outside the area.[207] Frenssen became aware of the problems being experienced by rural people through his pastorate and concluded that these people had lost a simple, moral perspective on life. He blamed such things as drinking and gambling for undermining the character of people and causing the decline of stalwart farming families. This theme makes Jörn Uhl an interesting book to compare with Buddenbrooks. The novel was inspired by the obligation Frenssen felt to his parishioners.

When Jörn Uhl was released it was accepted as a standard type of **Bauernroman** despite its religious intent. It contained many of the common criticisms of this type of literature against big cities, emigration and capitalists. It also praised **Volk** ways, and the importance of a natural life on the land, and is full of quaint folktales and

local colour. Yet it is different in significant ways from the **Heimat** and **Bauernromane** already examined. While emphasizing the **Volk** and the land, Frenssen does not sentimentalize the entire peasant community. Beside the heroes of his community - none of whom are without serious personal flaws - there are the greedy, grasping and insolent peasants. Perhaps the most significant difference, however, is that Frenssen ends his novel with the hero giving up his farm, moving to Hannover, and becoming a successful engineer. **Landflucht** is treated with less fear in Jörn Uhl. This twist in the novel distinguishes it from most of **Bauernromane** and earned it a reputation as a liberal work. Frenssen showed himself in favour of the technological and industrial progress of Imperial Germany.

The novel begins in Jörn's prosperous farming home as his mother dies giving birth to her fifth child, a daughter, Elsbe. The Uhls have worked the farm since 1624. Jörn's father, however, slowly draws his family to disaster through gambling, speculation and heavy drinking. His three elder brothers follow the same reckless, irresponsible path as their father. Jörn and his younger sister are brought up by a local peasant woman and their uncle. Jorn's father always bragged that Jörn was to become a 'learned man' and not a farmer but he failed to insure his son a proper education and closed this avenue for him. Jörn grew up with little respect for his father and brothers. He resented the burdens he had to carry as he grew older in order to keep the farm from bankruptcy. Frenssen paints Jorn as an embittered, disturbed young man who manages to retain the simple values taught to him by the peasant woman. Jörn confronts society unwilling to

accept change and unable to receive anything but momentary comfort frm the land he works. Jörn serves in the Franco-Prussian war and is wounded. On his return he finds his sister has run off to America with a good-for-nothing local boy. When his father becomes mentally and physically unfit to work the farm, Jörn is given it above his brothers. He marries a simple farm girl and for a time is happy and prosperous. When his wife dies giving birth to a son, things begin to go from bad to worse on the farm: a brother commits suicide, his father dies, the crops are ruined and, finally, the farm itself burns down after being stuck by lightening. When things seem worst, a childhood love returns to the area and helps Jörn raise his son. His sister returns home with her illegitmate daughter and reunites the family. Jörn then makes the decision to leave the farm and pursue a technical education. Although he has lost much, he becomes reconciled to his life and believes, at the end, it was not without its rewards.

What is most common in **Bauernromane** is the emphasis placed on community rather than on distinctions between the members of the community. In Jörn Uhl the community is shown as much less cohesive. While the families may suffer ruined crops together, the gradations of wealth and position within the community differientates the families from one another. For example, the Uhls are the wealthiest farmers in the area while the Kreys are poor and often work for the Uhls. Lisbeth Junker, the daughter of the town schoolteacher, and the girl caught between the two boys, Jörn and Fiete Krey, makes a distinction of status by not allowing Fiete to touch her with his "dirty hands". The different views each of the families hold on education also reflects their social

position. As delinquent as Klaus Uhl is in providing a proper education for Jörn, he is fully aware of the prestige a learned son would bring to the family. He had bragged that Jörn was to become a provincial governor, a position not entirely out of reach for the family. Fiete's father, on the other hand, discouraged him from going to school and insisted he needed the boy to help him work. Fiete was aware of his social position and was intent upon improving it even if it meant emigrating to America. Fiete is shown as a proud individual, undaunted by the obstacles of his station. He admits quite freely that he wants "to get rich"[208] He vowed as a child that he would one day own the Uhl farm, a vow which he fulfilled. This picture of social mobility contrasts with the decline of the Uhl family. Frenssen has concluded "The Uhl is dead."[209]

In Jörn Uhl Frenssen attempted to explain how and why the Uhl farm and family declined. He confronts his rural people with a two-fold problem. Rather than lay the entire blame on the urban centers, materialism or industrialization as in most **Bauernromane**, Frenssen also accuses the peasants themselves for losing their community ideals of work and simple plesures. The Uhl family declines because of the lifestyles of Klaus and the three eldest sons. Klaus spent the majority of his time in the local bars, drinking, gambling and talking politics. He had lost all conception of responsibility and commitment to the land. As another example, Thiess Thiessen kept his folk ways but successfully incorporated the new technology and insisted that "machines would decrease the work load."[210] Jörn is shown with a much more traditionalist approach to work. He hesitates to accept the advan-

tages of technology and proclaims that work was the highest thing in the world. Frenssen is critical of Jörn's backwardness and it is only when Jorn does give up the old and accepts the new social values that he can find contentment. Frenssen is searching for a new peasant community model. Both Klaus and Jörn are criticized for not coming to terms with the changes in the community. Yet while Frenssen succeeds in pointing out some of the failures of the present model, he can offer no solutions. And it must be said that more concentration is given to individual reactions, than to the specific external social problems. For example, the city is negative for only some of the characters without explaining why. Lisbeth functions well in the city while Thiess Thiessen, who spends eight years in Hamburg waiting and searching for Elsbe, says:

> The city lacks community. You would not believe how much homesickness exists in this big city. Every third person is homesick and not only those who were born on the land, but it remains in their children's blood.[211]

There is no solution offered, however, as Frenssen stops his analysis at this point. Despite Frenssen's shortcomings in his presentation of the social problems, at least the reader is not given platitudes or a sentimentalized vision of peasant life. His main concern remained the problems and not the storyline of Jörn Uhl.

Without exception Jörn is the most developed character in the novel. Although Frenssen allegedly got help from his wife with the female charcters, Elsbe, Lisbeth and Lena are all incomplete. Of the three Elsbe and Lena deserve some examination. Elsbe is important as she rejects her brother's warnings and follows her passions. Yet when

she returns eight years later with an illegitimate child, there are no recriminations and she is accepted back into the family gladly. Lena, Jörn's wife, remains an enigma of sorts for she simply pops into the story for three chapters. One wonders why Frenssen felt this character necessary except for the stylized portrait of a simple country woman. With Lena, Frenssen slips into sentimentality. She is described as a blond, blue-eyed peasant girl who sings all the time. She has little education and believes implicitly what stands in her school books. Her strength is not dynamic but is constant. She works happily and desires to do all she can for Jörn. Her prayer to God on her deathbed sums up her attitude toward life:

> Please let me stay with You. I am tired.
> Afterwards I will work as much as I can.
> If it pleases You, I will sing while I work.[212]

With this she passes from Jörn's life. This character seems to show how incomplete Frenssen's own thoughts were on how far to accept progressive attitudes which might affect the relationships between men and women. Lena is the standard traditional image.

The dilemma of Jörn is that he was caught between old and new lifestyles and values - this was to a great extent the dilemma of the rural people. Frenssen explores the turmoil that results from such conflict for his readers through Jörn. The novel proves to be the most serious of this set of **Heimat-Bauernromane.** Too often the others let their love stories overshadow any message. Frenssen attempted as best as he was able to present the problems, both social and moral, realistically. His solution of an inner conviction to community was conservative but his advocacy for peasants to accept technological change and progress was liberal.

Die Wiskottens and Die Stoltenkamps: Germany Industry, Power and Progress

The strength of the **Bauernromane** as a form of popular literature has been observed in the previous five bestsellers ending with the 'liberal' Jörn Uhl. These books can easily and accurately be described as inept in broaching the problems of **Landflucht** and changing rural values. In idealizing, for the most part, rural Germany, they failed to offer viable solutions to the encroachments of modernization on their beloved homes. Each of the authors were sensitive enough to recognize the problems facing Germany, yet in varying degrees each falsified the real situation in order to pacify their readers. The readers responded to both the problem and the suger-coated and wishful panaceas offered to them. The authors, however, did not only provide a fairytale countryside; they also criticized the developments in modern German society with determined voices.

As one might expect, the pro-industrialization, pro-modernization advocates responded to the criticism with their own brand of popular literature. While these authors supported industry and capitalism, at the same time, they reinforced many traditional social values. The literature that developed helped fuse technological optimism "with the forces of social conservatism" in the minds of the average German.[213] The orientation of the different types of novels - **Bauernromane** and Positivist Industrial novel - were distinct and each had its own vision of the ideal Germany, yet the underlying assumptions about society were similar. Rudolf Herzog wrote two bestsellers, Die Wiskottens (1905)

and Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen (1917), which sanctified industry for the German reading public: these two novels indicate the aggressiveness of the response to the **Heimat-Bauernroman** critique.

Within a year Die Wiskottens became one of the most read books.[214] Herzog remained throughout his career one of the choice authors of the rental libraries.[215] Unfortunately, no publication statistics were available for Die Wiskottens for the period up to 1920, but the total to that year is given by Richards as 185,000 copies printed.[216] (See Table 3). For the period from 1920 to 1922, 70,000 copies were released[217] and another 65,000 copies for th next year. After this period of high popularity, Die Wiskottens dropped to 41,000 copies for the next seven year period to 1930, less than 6,000 copies per year. For 1930-1932, the novel jumped to 80,000 copies after which, under the Nazis, it was reprinted with another 174,000 copies to 1939.[218] Overall, Die Wiskottens had two periods of distinct popularity within the Weimar Republic, 1920-1923 and a somewhat lower peak in 1930-1932.

The success of Herzog's novels allowed him in 1908 to settle in a castle as an independent author. His readers were eager to receive each new book he wrote. In 1917, he came out with Die Stoltenkamps which proved to be another bestseller. Within 3 years Die Stoltenkamps had reached 150,000 copies printed with another 130,000 to follow to 1925. As with Die Wiskottens, Die Stoltenkamps experienced a slump in the middle of the Weimar period: from 1925-1930 only 28,000 further copies were released, again less than 6,000 copies per year. Following the same pattern, Die Stoltenkamps picked up after 1930 with 109,000 copies to 1936. After 1936 the novel dropped to 66,000 copies printed for the 5 year period to 1941.

In 1924, Kurt Tucholosky decried the ten million readers, "generously calculated", of Herzog's books.[219] Ten years later, a 1934 calculation gave a **Gesamtauflage** of 2,891,000 for 12 of his titles.[220] Richards lists 28 bestsellers for Herzog of which 16 were published before the war, 3 during the war and the remainder from 1919 to 1934. Of these 28 bestsellers, 9 reached Richards' top one hundred list.[221]

Having worked in the dyeing industry before he became a journalist and writer, Rudolf Herzog used his knowledge of the business world in his novels. The bestseller Die Wiskottens has as its major themes, business, the family and art. There is no plot development per se in the novel but there are three almost separate storylines. The first concerns business. Gustav Wiskotten, the eldest son of the cotton manufacturing firm, Gustav Wiskottens' Sons, fights with his competitors to avoid bankruptcy in Imperial Germany. He is plagued by a strike, archaic machinery and fierce price cutting. His solution to his problems in the development of new and interesting patterns for his ribbons, lace and fabrics which he intends to make the fashion rage of all Germany and Europe. This and the efforts of the entire family brings the firm to success. The second storyline is the estrangement between Gustav and his wife, Emilie, whose father just happens to be Gustav's main competition. Emilie was brought up as a pious respectable woman. As an only child, she never learnt what her position relative to her husband should be. She greatly begrudged him his time at the factory and suspected him of infidelity. When Mabel, the English wife of Wilhelm Wiskotten, appears with all the virtues of a

charming, accomplished wife, the reader is show just how 'unwomanly' and 'unwifely' Emilie is. When she leaves Gustav, he is depicted as stubborn and arrogant but right. It is she who is most to blame. Once she has learned that her husband must be the center of her life, they are reunited. The third storyline deals with the theme of whether artistic creativity and industry can mix. The Wiskotten parents wish their youngest son, Ewald, to go into the Church. Rejecting the Church as restrictive and against his nature, Ewald desires to be an artist. He rebels against his family and leaves to study art at an academy. Various trials result in Ewald's failure to succeed as an artist. Coincidently, Gustav comes across works of Ewald that he can use as the original patterns he needs in the factory. Ewald is entreated to join the firm as a designer. In this way the conflict between art and industry is resolved: Ewald finds a productive outlet for his creative talents and the family firm prospers as it is revitalized by the new patterns.

The weight of the firm and the family name fall as heavily upon the Wiskottens as upon the Buddenbrooks. However, the Wiskottens can be described as members of the new bourgeoisie who have no qualms about doing what they must in order to succeed. The first step in success is to reinforce the work ethic. "You will find God in work. Whoever works, know's God's word",[222] the Wiskotten sons are told by their father. Gustav freely admits that he is after profit in his business and when challenged by his father-in-law to a war between their firms, Gustav threatens that he will fight with everything at any cost:

> Within a year I will bury you and your garbage. I will watch your every step, and wherever you go with your trash, I will undersell you with my choice wares.[223]

When the firm of Scharwachter finally breaks, the old man approaches Gustav, hat in hand, to offer a cartel. Gustav refuses and requires Schwarwachter to give up his factory, become a figureheard for his firm and sell only Wiskottens goods. Frau Wiskotten, the matriarch of the firm, assures Gustav, "God gave him into our hands."[224] Gustav explains: "Whoever respects our work is our friend. Whoever challenges us, we will fight until it is over."[225]

Beyond the exchange between Gustav and his father-in-law there is little indication of other middle class families with whom the Wiskottens associate. A pastor is included occasionally to offer guidance on various family matters but all other social interaction is done with the lower class. These for the most part take place in the factory or in relation to the factory. An example is a strike episode which Herzog uses to comment upon the position of the factory workers within industrial Germany.

The notion of strike is introduced by reference to the foreign influences of London, Paris and America: "Strike was in the air"[226] At this point Herzog places himself in favor of the worker's demands. He describes their demonstration as peaceful and serious with most of the workers hoping that their numbers will make the point of their demands. In presenting Gustav's side, Herzog emphasizes paternalism:

> That would be a fine state of affairs if I let my people starve .... I am not only one who gives work, I am also a provider. And they know that. And that is how it will remain. When we profit so should they... And we must give it to them voluntarily, so that they always retain trust. Then there will be no strikes.[227]

The trouble starts with a Polish rabblerouser (a foreigner) who incites the Wiskotten workers to strike. Gustav realizes that his authority was being challenged. He reprimands his workers: "Your labor power belongs to you."[228] To the Pole's accusation that the owners should not be the only ones to profit, Gustav argues that wages have increased as the factory has developed and that even the profits are returned to the factory to provide more work. He then informs them of the present wage increases he has implemented. As a last attempt, Wischzhowski calls the workers old women and insists: "This issue involves not only us, but concerns the whole movement, the resolution of the power struggle and the solidarity of the workers."[229] Gustav throws him out and ends the strike with an important speech to his workers which is a classic example of the capitalist defence:

> In good and bad times we have stood together... we have become accustomed to one another like a family... we have celebrated and mourned together. And we have worked together. Is that not solidarity? Or is solidarity forsaking old friends and turning to others who do not know you and do not really concern themselves about you, only because a few ranters and idlers say it is the newest fashion. You know that with my firm everyone can have his own politics or religion. I respect every true conviction, whether red or black or blue. But above all that there is something higher; that is the politics of common labor and common trust. That is the truest solidarity.[230]

For all the nobility of the above speech, Herzog's real opinion of the common people becomes clear in Gustav's reaction to Ewald working as an agricultural laborer:

> What's this, that you associate with these people?... Have you forgotten that you are responsible for the Wiskotten name! Have you lost your mind?[231]

Gustav was horrified that a Wiskotten, the bearer of a name which was assured credit everywhere, should work in the fields. With a pointed ironic twist, Herzog has the field hands reject Ewald once they know who he is: "you don't belong here", they tell him.[232]

The position of women in Die Wiskottens is one which reinforces the social structure in its emphasis on submission. Herzog's world is clearly a man's world. The Gustav/Emile confrontation has a two fold purpose in the novel. First, it adds a love story aimed at the imagination of the women readers. Second, it strongly suggests to these women readers their role in society in relation to industry and their husbands. Herzog affirms "A woman should not want to be better than her husband."[233] He also places similiar "words of wisdom" in the mouth of the pastor who consoles Gustav upon Emilie's flight: "Women are like children. If one sympathizes with them, there is no end to their complaints."[234] He continues:

> Women are the weaker sex, despite their efforts toward emancipation. Without love they never find the harmony they strive for. It is only the lonesome women who are filled with bitterness...[235]

According to Herzog, beyond their primary roles as mothers and the foundation of families, women should be the main support of their husbands. Once married they are no longer their father's daughter, but are strictly their husband's wife. Gustav tells Emilie:

> a woman should be happy to be nice and pretty so that in the few hours her husband is home from the shop, he forgets all about his business problems.[236]

Although Herzog enthusiastically advocates business and industry which must be considered a modern perspective in relation to the conservative

agrarian worlds of the **Bauernromane**, he presents a model for women which is even more overly restrictive than that in the rural literature. In the **Bauernromane** there emerged, occasionally, strong female characters with a certain sense of independence and freedom. It was implied, of course, that these came from the countryside and rural way of life. In the business world depicted by Herzog, women are shown to abandon such notions and fully accept their place beneath their husbands. If they are intelligent - a dubious proposition in Herzog's perception - they abandon their individuality to live as part of their husband's life and work. Herzog points out in the first page of the novel that "today everyone wants to be a personality."[237] In place of such ambition, Herzog supports a well ordered society which attains fulfillment in work and industry. He sets out for the readers of Die Wiskottens the appropriate values of this society. Workers and then women occupy the lowest seats around the Imperial dinnertable and should remain there - the workers happy for the crumbs tossed to them by the carvers and the women content merely to sit and gaze upon the whole 'family'.

Kurt Tucholsky, as a committed leftist, had little respect for Herzog, his work, or his readers. At the end of a satirical review of Herzog's book Kameraden (1922), which was published in the Weltbühne in 1924, he asks, "Where was the bard during the war?"[238] Herzog had not been idle and in 1917 had published Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen, his contribution to the nation's war effort. This novel was a tribute to Germany's largest arms manufacturer, the Krupps and was written with a great deal of poetic license on the part of Herzog. The thrust of

Die Stoltenkamps is highly nationalistic encouraging the reader to put faith in Germany and its ability to conquer. The Stoltenkamps/Krupps are held as a model of German virtues and German greatness. Otherwise, although more overtly nationalistic than Die Wiskottens, most of the same messages can be found in Die Stoltenkamps.

Herzog begins Die Stoltenkamps in the late 1820's with Friederich Stoltenkamp and his son Fritz. Because of the newness of Friederich's idea for crucible steel, he is unable to get a sponsor in his lifetime. His son Fritz assures his father that, "steel belongs to the future... It will transform and rule the world."[239] Friederich remains unsuccessful in his business endeavors not because of personal fault but because of the economic conditions in Germany. When Fritz became 16, Friederich died leaving the steel and the future to his son. Margarete Stoltenkamp, Fritz's mother, places the Stoltenkamp Steel Works into his hands and the development of the business begins in earnest. To add interest for the reader Herzog includes various love stories in the novel. Fritz, however, remains dedicated to his mother and does not marry until after her death when he himself is forty-two.[240] Fritz meets his wife, Franziska, in a theater and marries her within a few days of their first encounter. All during this time the Steel Works grow and continually increase their production. Fritz meets princes and heads of states as his influence and power increases as well. Franziska and Fritz have one son, Friederich Franz, who eventually marries Elizabeth von Werner. Friederich Franz and Elizabeth have a single daughter, Margarete, much to the disappointment of Fritz. Margarete marries Friederich von Stark on whom the Kaiser

bestows the name Friederich Stark von Stoltenkamp, as a favor to the family. In this way Herzog gives his readers a mixture of love and success stories all of which orient themselves on the greatness of Germany. The novel ends in the midst of the First World war as the Stoltenkamp Works count 80,000 employees all producing arms and munitions. Friederich Stark von Stoltenkamp assures Margarete, "Germany will not be defeated."[241]

The similiarity to the Krupp family is only thinly veiled. The Krupp story begins with Friederich Krupp (1787-1826) who founded the Firma Fried. Krupp. He had four children, the Stoltenkamps numbered three children. Alfred Krupp (1812-1887) as the eldest inherited the business in 1826. In 1853 at the age of forty-one, Alfred married Bertha Eichoff by whom he had Friederich Alfred (1854-1902) known as Fritz, his only son. Fritz married Margarete Freun von Ende in 1912 by whom he had two daughters, Bertha (1886-1957) and Barbara. Bertha married Gustav von Bohlen and Holbach (also Krupp as designated by the Kaiser) (1870-1950). They had nine children the most notorious being Alfred who became a major Nazi supporter and was prosecuted after 1945 as a war criminal. In fact, the story of the Krupp development from a small Ruhr concern to the huge corporation of international repute was far less romantic than Herzog would like his readers to believe. The sexual preferences of Friederich Alfred Krupp, for example, caused a major scandal involving photographs of young boys with the lecherous steel magnate on the island of Capri.[242] It is difficult to reconcile this with the image of the devoted husband in Die Stoltenkamps.

To the credit of the Krupps, they provided "admirable welfare services for their workers."[243] This included housing, hospitals, schools and food centers. Starting with 5 men in 1830 after old Friederich died, by 1887 the firm had 12,600 workers and by 1914 82,500, which increased to 150,000 during the war. From the beginning the Kruppanier (as the workers of Krupp were called), knew the whip of the masters who ruled them as feudal lords might have. Alfred's 1838 work rules imposed fines for late workers and dismissed those who ran up debts. The culmination of these work rules came in 1873 with the General Regulations which spelled out "the rights and duties of each Kruppanier... with the overwhelming emphasis on the worker's obligations to the firm"[244] The Krupps were able to buy the passivity of their workers with their paternalistic programs and millions which were donated to organizations for retired and injured Kruppanier, and other such progams. The paternalistic attitude of the Krupp family toward their workers was unusual for the time period. The wisdom of their policy in defusing socialist claims was evident and there is considerable speculation that links the General Regulation distributed to all Krupp workers to Bismarck's social legislation.

Herzog naturally picked up on the paternalism of the Krupps and elaborated on it in the Stoltenkamps. He has the first Stoltenkamp tell his workers in a period of difficulty:

> I just wanted to tell you that none of you should think you will starve... Your wages will continue... And whoever has nothing now can come to me. As long as I have a mark, you can have half.[245]

Fritz, his son, continues:

> I have always considered it my duty above everything else, to look to the worry-free life of my workers who work for me with their whole strength.[246]

and:

> I make no profit (now), but my people, who must care for their families, have a right to work as long as there is a measure of steel to pour.[247]

Then Friederich Franz carried on the tradition:

> (he) knew that his policy towards his workers was the most progressive in the world. He had new garden-towns built for his workers and formed a council for welfare services. His people walked with their heads high, as men do that have secure ground under their feet and a steadfast roof over their heads.[248]

The Stoltenkamps remain modest despite their dominion over the lives of thousands of men and their families. There is no mention of the rural workers and Herzog does not deal with any labor disputes so that the image presented is one of an entire people working for Germany. Herzog is, however, more specific on the admirals, generals, ministers of war, heads of state, including Bismarck, and even royalty who visit the Stoltenkamps. These individuals are paid the deepest respect but the distinction between their position and the Stoltenkamps is clear. The family has not made it into the heights of society despite their wealth. Yet there is no animosity, the motto of all being "First Germany though us, and then us through Germany."[249]

Although it is unlikely that Herzog had a change of heart between the publication of Die Wiskottens and Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen, it is significant that he includes the wives of Stoltenkamps in the title. Also, they play considerably greater roles than the Wiskotten wives ever did. Partly this is due to the real strength of the Krupp

women upon whom the novel is based. Another reason may have been the increased importance of women in the war effort. Margarete Stoltenkamp reminds her husband with pride of the woman working in the Steel Works in the last pages of the novel. Yet Herzog still manages to place women in the proper perspective (for him) as the Stoltenkamp women believe that they belong to their men and that motherhood is their one great duty.[250] Margarete Stoltenkamp (the elder) explains:

> Some authors write incessently on the women's question. But there is no 'women's question,' there is only the love of women.[251]

Consequently, Herzog makes all the Stoltenkamp women strong, virtuous and submissive. One cannot help but wonder what the Krupp women thought of this portrayal of themselves and their husbands. One suspects that they might have smiled with better understanding than the readers of Die Stoltenkamps.

Outstanding in the novel, but understandable in the context of when it was published, are the many political comments and explanations of German domestic and foreign policy. Tucholsky wrote critically; "And such politics! The kind his readers practise and see, understand and accept."[252] The most graphic description in Die Stoltenkamps is the development of the First World War. "The Russian hordes stood at the borders ready to overrun Germany in the East"[253] and "the North American Republic, the land of freedom... abandoned the holy spirit of its ancestors for profit."[254] And further, "All of Germany is fighting the war of survival."[255] The intention of such propagandistic writing is evident. Herzog was indeed serving his nation through such a novel as Die Stoltenkamps.

It is relatively simple to suggest reasons for the novel's popularity during and after the war. During the war, such a novel offered needed assurances to the German people about their ability to survive the war economically. As Germany struggled toward stabilization after the war, it is possible that the Stoltenkamps/Krupps symbolized the type of aggressive security which some of the people desired to recapture. Knowledge of how the Krupps reacted to the turbulences of the post-war period may shed some light on the success of 'their' novel during this time.

With the amazing foresight that made the Krupps succeed, they managed to preserve their business virtually intact by maintaining control of their workers with whom they realized lay the key. As an industry geared for war, the effects of the armstice could have been devastating. Two things were done: all employees from August 1, 1914 were kept on and were guaranteed their traditional benefits, and the remaining 70,000 were given cash compensation and passage home. Next, by December 6, 1918, the factories had become the producers of peacetime goods. The Krupps weathered the revolution and even capitalized on the French occupation of the Ruhr by honouring those Kruppanier killed by the French. This gained them tremendous support which only grew when Gustav was prosecuted and sentenced by the French. It seemed that the Krupps could do little wrong during this trying time. Friendly with both the defunct monarch and the current government, the family inspired confidence. The virtues, however idealized, which Herzog attributed to his Stoltenkamps were ones the readers associated with an actual family which had remained strong and successful. The

living proof reinforced the novel.

The popularity of Die Wiskottens during the early Weimar period should also be seen as the reaffirmation of proven values: work, family and solidarity. The decline of these two novels came when Germany was once again fairly secure. Business prospered and a progressive, aggressive atmosphere became apparent as Germany ventured to rejoin the international community. There was less need, therefore, for the messages of Herzog. He himself had moved on to other themes for his novels and the German readers had moved with him.

Die Biene Maja und ihre Abenteuer and Himmelsvolk: Fairytales for Children and Adults

Ever since the Grimm brothers roamed the Germany countryside collecting ancient stores from the rural people early in the nineteenth century, fairytales or folktales have enjoyed a popular written, as well as oral, tradition. These stories, Jacob Grimm said, were "ever lasting food for the young and every open-minded reader."[256] Printed and published, their collection of tales provided inspiration for future storytellers.

In the twenty-five books under review in this study, two fairytales by Waldemar Bonsels are listed.[257] The first, Die Biene Maja und ihre Abenteuer, published in 1912 is the story of the adventures of a young bee in the world of other insects.[258] The second, Himmelsvolk, published in 1915, takes one of the characters introduced in Die Biene Maja and tells of its adventures while living among the

animals of a small meadow woodland.[259] Directed toward children and young people, these books were published both with and without illustrations. Looking at Richards' statistics for Die Biene Maja (See Table 3) this causes some confusion for he does not clarify the figure totals he presents for both types. In listing Die Biene Maja in his Table A he uses only the figure for the edition with illustrations, 790,000 to 1940. What is unclear is whether or not the figure for the edition without illustrations, 775,000 to 1938, has been included. If one were to total both editions the figure would be well over that of even Buddenbrooks, yet Richards did not do this for some reason. Furthermore, as the calculations show the popularity of the edition without illustrations was more constant through the twenties than the edition with illustrations. (i.e. without: 1912-1920 - 318,000: 1920-1928 - 366,000/ with: 1912-1922 - 545,000; 1922-1929 - 170,000). Unfortunately lack of information allows only that the discrepancy be noted but not solved at this time. Using both sets of statistics for Die Biene Maja, it seems that this children's book was popular between 1920 and 1925. Himmelsvolk, according to its publisher, had achieved 185,000 copies by 1919 and another 110,000 with an illustrated edition. Its total for the period 1915-1921, 295,000, indicates that period to be its most successful as well. For the period 1923-1931 Himmelsvolk drops dramatically to only 25,000 copies and only another 20,000 for 1931-1940. The popularity of Die Biene Maja did not decline until after 1928.

During the Nazi era, Bonsels was considered an 'undesirable' author although he wrote and published 9 books during this period.[260]

The Nazis determined his category not by the relatively harmless fairytales but because he had begun his career with erotic novels. After a somewhat wayward youth, Bonsels had also been a publisher (E. Bonsels & Co.), an activity he gave up to write full time. He even inspired a sort of 'Bonsels circle'."[261] Of Bonsels' works Richards lists 13 which reached bestseller status. Only one of these books, Indienfahrt, a travel book published in 1916, reached a popularity comparable to his two fairytales and only one, Mario. Ein Leben im Walde (1939) was written during the Third Reich. The Nazis did, however, encourage Die Biene Maja and allowed it to be translated to show the 'new' Germany.

In 1919 a publisher's advertisement for Die Biene Maja cites Die deutsche Frau, a woman's magazine, as encouraging its readers to "give this book to your children."[262] The reviewer explains that "for adults (it is) a fountain of humor and to children (it brings) a world of deep sincerity and innocent happiness."[263] The Berlin Vossische Zeitung proclaimed that the book was one of "charming poetry, warm sensitivity, (and) fresh humor that will remain dear to the child reader but also, this unusual rich book presents a penetrating morality."[264] Although these are publishers' blurbs, the passages undoubtedly contributed to and explain, in part, the popularity of Die Biene Maja. It is important that both passages stress not only the enjoyable qualities but comment on the worth of the novel in teaching something like morality. These advertisements were aimed at the parents who are usually the purchasers of children's literature. For the most part, parents desire children's literature not only to entertain but to

instruct the child in the ways of its society in order that it may be accepted into the surrounding social community. This dual purpose has its roots in the ancient folktales which were used to pass on cultural heritage and social values before, or in place of, written records. Written children's literature carries on this tradition. Therefore, although directed at children, with important sociological implications for them and their development, such literature reveals the society of the adults as well. Such literature shows what values of their society parents wish to impress upon their children usually in their most idealistic form. By extension, children's literature, much like primary education, tends to reinforce the social values of the ruling social elites intent on preserving the status quo.

The story of Die Biene Maja is simple. It is the story of a rebellious young bee who abandons the regulated life of the hive for the adventure and freedom in the world. On her adventures she meets many different insects of all characters and from these experiences Maja learns about life. Her fondest wish, however, is to see a human being. She is helped in this by a magical flower sprite who can grant wishes. The climax of the story concerns the enemies of the bees, the hornets. Maja is captured by one and is brought to their hive. There she overhears a plot to attack her home beehive. Maja reacts as a loyal bee and attempts to escape to warn her people. The excape is successful and Maja reaches her home soon enough for the beehive to prepare against the attack. The bees are victorious and the hornets retreat. Maja becomes a hero and is given a position as an aide to the Queen bee.

The format of this story is clever and gives Bonsels much freedom to introduce insect characters during Maja's adventures outside the hive. One can assume that all his characters are analogous to humans and by presenting both good and bad, Bonsels intends to instruct. The first and perhaps most important character next to Maja is Cassandra who acts as Maja's first nurse and teacher. Cassandra's job is to socialize Maja and prepare her for her part in the beehive.

> The first rule that a young bee must learn... is that in everything you think and do ... you must think of the welfare of all. This is the system that we know to be right from time immemorial and one that has proved best - the only foundation for the welfare of the State.[265]

Maja must learn that she is part of a hive and that her loyalty and duty in work and all matters is to the **Volk** and the Queen. Bonsels includes a revolution in the story almost apologetically. A great number of the younger bees left the hive and proclaimed their own queen. Yet the revolution was not "the result of arrogance or evil convictions against the Queen, but because the **Volk** had increased so much that the State had no more room for all the inhabitants."[266] Cassandra acts as the gauge of the hive society and she takes her role as educator seriously. Maja relies heavily on Cassandra's lessons in her relations with the outside world until her own education is complete. The most important lesson Cassandra instilled in Maja was "be true to your **Volk** and your Queen."[267] When Maja returns to her hive to save her people from the hornets, she proved herself a loyal member of the **Volk**. The major test in the education of Maja was this last one.

Having passed it she has earned an honourable position in her society.

The episode with the hornets is important not only for what it shows about Maja and the beehive, it also shows another society. Duty and loyalty are as central to that society as to the bees. Yet the hornets are obviously negative. They are militaristic.[268] At the end of the battle, one hornet admits:

> We are stronger and more powerful but the bees are united and loyal. That is a great power that no one can destroy. None would betray their Volk and each works for the welfare of all.[269]

Bonsels is speaking of more than bees and hornets here as he warns Germany not to rely on strength alone. It is regrettable that Bonsels includes the absurd cry of Maja "I want to die for you"[270] spoken to the Queen.

The hive is an allegorial comparison to human society. Its ideals Bonsels would like to see within Germany - united, all working together harmoniously, each individual doing his share in war and peace. Yet within this community there exists a rigid structure that is fundamental to the running of the society. The queen, for example, is the absolute head and rules everything. She is treated with reverence at all times. However, she too has her duty to the hive. When a grasshopper asks Maja if she is laying eggs, Maja answers indignantly "How should I even think such a thought? Even if I could do it, I would never. How could I assume to fulfill the highest duty of the Queen."[271] Duty determines the ranks of all the bees from the drones, who are quietly killed once a year for the good of society, to the honey-gatherers. That Maja rebels against the regimentation of honey gathering, and thus society, is significant and perhaps indicates

a point of criticism from Bonsels. It is a point which gets lost in the story, however, and is far over-shadowed by Maja's return to the fold. It is ironic, furthermore, that while advocating the duty and place of each individual in a society, which would collapse otherwise, Bonsels presents Maja as an example of social mobility. He explains these wayward individuals in the following manner:

> Among all animals, just as among human beings it oft occurs that a few temperments cannot conform to the ways of the group, and we must exercise great care and caution before we condemn such individuals. For it is by no means always indolence or stubborness that makes them different. Far from it. Behind their peculiar urge often lies hidden a deep longing for something higher and better than what everyday life has to offer, and many a time these refractory youths have become able and judious men and understanding and gracious women.[272]

Two points are important here. First that these individuals are few and ultimately benefit their society. Second, that Maja did indeed move above the position of a lowly honey-gatherer to be an aide and friend of the Queen. The message Bonsels relays is contradictory. On the one hand he encourages independence, at least for a few, and on the other subservience to the community.

As mentioned, Maja meets many different characters on her adventures. From Schnuck, the dragonfly, she learns her first lesson on death when Schnuck matter-of-factly bites off the head of a fly. Schnuck kills the fly after admitting to Maja that it had done nothing to her and was also a rather nice fly: it was a matter of survival. From one of the most endearing characters, Kurt, a dung beetle that insists he is a rose beetle, Maja learns a second lesson on death. After Kurt saves Maja from the clutches of a spider, he asks "Why

should one fear death? One must look death quietly in its eyes, as I am in the habit of doing."[273] Maja's last lesson comes from a dying hornet who refuses help. Maja concludes that "her enemies are like herself. They loved their lives as she loved hers and they, too, faced death without help."[274] The theme of death is only one of those Bonsels approaches through his insect characters. In this Bonsels carries on the bluntness of oral folktales in presenting death realistically and almost horribly. Much of modern children's literature attempts to avoid such existential problems as death.[275] Although laced with good intentions, such literature misunderstands the need of children to confront these problems. The traditional fairytale and Bonsels' Die Biene Maja do not avoid the fundamental reality of death.

As well as presenting human society allegorically, Bonsels includes humans in the story directly. They are, in fact, another central theme. As mentioned, Maja's fondest wish is to see "humans when they are at their best."[276] She often reflected on what Cassandra had told her:

> Humans are good and wise... they are very strong and powerful, but they do not misuse their strength, rather wherever they go there is order and peace. They are good to us bees and that is why we share our honey with them. They leave us enough for the winter and look to see that frost and the animals which are our enemies do not disturb or destroy us ... You will often hear disparging stories about the humans among the insects. Do not listen.[277]

Out in the world Maja did hear bad stories about humans. Hannibal a daddylonglegs spider, for example, had lost a leg as the result of an irrate human. Maja could not judge, however, for the only human she had seen was a little girl who was sleeping and she found her beauti-

ful. Her first real experience was with the flower sprite who showed Maja a pair of lovers. She knew then that "humans are best when they love each other."[278]

It was possible to only touch upon some of the lessons Bonsels includes in Die Biene Maja. For example, although Bonsels celebrates humans and the wonders of nature almost hedonistically, especially when he inserts magical elements, his reference point is still the Christian God: Maja even prays. "Oh dear God, work a miracle, help me and my people in our distress."[279] As well as loyalty and duty, death, love and God, Bonsels touches on themes of friendship and family relations, pride, evil and treachery. Each is presented in a lesson contributing to the education of Maja and the reader.

It is easily concluded that Die Biene Maja is an idealistic model of values. Moreover, as the English novelist Hugh Walpole saw, it is an optimistic novel. He wrote that in Die Biene Maja one should see "beneath all that is apparently so ugly, so restless and so selfish, the persistent good will, kindliness, and charity that, so it seems, will never perish from the human heart."[280] Thus the novel should not only instruct but inspire and moving to Himmelsvolk, one finds the same optimistic, idealistic messages.

Himmelsvolk is the story of the flower sprite which Maja met. Sprites, the reader is told, live only one night and change to dew with the sun while their souls return to the kingdom of the sprites. Somehow when this particular sprite saw human love and happiness on that moonlit night with Maja, his soul began to transform as it sought to understand love. When the sun rose, the sprite found himself alive

and knew he could not return to his magical home. Therefore, he was to live among the animals and is required to learn about the world of mortals. Using the same format as in Die Biene Maja, Bonsels educates the sprite through the examples of other animals. Again, humans figure prominently in the development of the sprite. The difference was that the sprite could also teach the animals. The entire novel is more mystical and religious than Die Beine Maja. Himmelsvolk ends with the sprite being taken up to heaven, a greater kingdom than the magical one from which he came. His assumption follows the telling of the story of Christ, the final step in the sprite's education in love. The focus Himmelsvolk is on the spiritual and personal development of individuals rather than the working of a society. The ideal Bonsels presents in this tale is a universal vision of the kingdom of heaven on earth.

In many ways Himmelsvolk is a more concentrated and serious book as it is filled with many clichéd wisdoms about life, love, death and God. Bonsels uses his examples less effectively and relies heavily on the weighty reflections of the sprite or Uku, the wise owl. Bonsels attempts to make a mystical connection between life and death through which are woven love and God. The almost Dionysic revelry in nature and sensation is tempered with references to God. The life of Christ symbolizes to Bonsels the perfect merging of life, death, love and God. One must conclude from this that Himmelsvolk is less of a fairy-tale in the traditional mold and more the proclamation of Bonsels own **Weltanschauung**. Most of the lessons explained by Bonsels do not, therefore, need to be detailed here. One example will suffice.

Uku and the sprite visit a peasant cottage in which a young boy is

dying while his mother stands helpless. Bonsels takes this opportunity to elaborate on the virtues of mother love.

> A mother doesn't question whether her child is beautiful or ugly; she loves it as it is, as it has been given to her. All she asks is whether it is happy or sad; whether it is well or ill, never whether it is deserving or undeserving ... there is nothing in the world more precious than mother-love.[281]

And:

> No one, Uku, can comfort a mother for the loss of her son. A world may be redeemed of its sins sooner than a mother relieved of grief for her son.[282]

The attraction of such platitudes, especially to the countless mothers who lost their sons during the war is obvious. Himmelsvolk contains many platitudes as Bonsels tries to reconcile reality with his optimistic vision of life. Death in Himmelsvolk is more comfortable and acceptable than in Die Biene Maja because of this. The characters die only to be reborn: some, like the sprite, are taken to heaven by an angel before death.

The episode with the peasant woman and her son is significant in two other ways. First, it indicates Bonsels view of women: motherhood is an ideal. This is reinforced throughout as a second animal example shows. The male drake is depicted as a philosopher while the female is shown as thinking mainly about food. She is submissive to her husband but fierce when protecting her young. Secondly, with the above episode one is also given a presentation of the social structure. Besides the peasant woman one is also introduced to Traule, the beautiful daughter of a hunter who falls in love with the young son of the local count. The description of the young count is classical but interesting in

terms of class distinctions:

> He was clad in a riding mantle of velvet with a white feather on his broad-brimmed hat and a sword at his side. Superb he was as he rode on his white horse through the green of the spring woods, the birds singing and the sky shining blue overhead.[283]

Bonsels levels the difference between the peasant and the nobleman through the concept of love:

> What do those who harbor hearts within their breasts care for the moment's misery or for death? Hearts are like the sun which always returns its power and produces the springtime with its renewals of life ... Love makes brothers of strangers, happy companion of lonely souls; it gathers the deserted into a wonderful community.[284]

When one place both of Bonsel's tales into the context of the period in which they became most popular, the optimism displayed and advocated in both must figure as a key to their success. As shown, the period of their greatest popularity was after the war. In Himmelsvolk is the reassurance that despite the miseries man must face, love and God are there to help. One must consider the compensation such a message provides to people who are attempting to pick up their lives from the disasters of war, revolution and economic hardship. Die Biene Maja is also an optimistic book although not quite an enthusiastic or mystical as Himmelsvolk. Published during the war, it is possible that Bonsels was sensitive to his country's special emotional needs during this time. Also the enthusiasm and mystical approach to life may be attributed to the general exaggeration and elation evident during the early years of the war. Die Biene Maja fulfilled slightly different requirements and placed its emphasis on the social values already familiar to German society but also ones conducive to the image of Imperial

Germany. After the war when German society floundered in a modern world with its new values, Die Biene Maja reminded the reader of the past and its security. Many thought the values of the past should be revived. It is useless to talk about the novels or the values presented in them as unrealistic or inappropriate to social conditions. Fairytales are always unrealistic and yet retain a meaningfulness that transcends existing circumstances. The parents who faced contemporary circumstances were usually aware of the critical point at which Germany stood. But they did not necessarily intend that their children be raised disillusioned and made cynical by what they witnessed around them. Parents bought these books, which reinforced familiar values and promised a better world, in order to provide a perspective for their children.

Die Dinte wider das Blut: Parody versus Propaganda

In 1917 a Doctor of natural philosophy, Artur Dinter, published a radically anti-semitic novel entitled Die Sünde wider das Blut complete with 'scientific' notes to substantiate his conclusions about German and Jewish eugenics.[285] Between 1917 and 1918 5,000 copies of Die Sünde were released.[286] Between 1918 and 1921 the novel had increased by 165,000 copies. After this significant period of popularity the novel fell in printings to 65,000 up to 1927 and to a further 25,000 to 1934. The **Gesamtauflage** of this book was then 260,000 copies by 1934.[287] Unfortunately, no statistics exist for the Nazi period but the theme of Die Sünde was vigorously continued in National Socialist novels.[288]

Briefly, Die Sünde features a young blond, blue-eyed German named Herman Kämpfer as the hero. By profession he is a chemist. The reader is immediately told that Herman's parents had been ruined by a Jewish financier and that Herman has had a difficult life. Above all he dislikes Jews. Herman, however, falls in love with a beautiful, wealthy girl who looks Aryan but there is some suspicion about her ancestry: later it is revealed that her father was Jewish and involved in a conspiracy for world control. After meeting Herman, Elizabeth leaves her Jewish fiance, a baron, and marries the young chemist. They are happy until the birth of their first child, who is 'typically' Jewish. Initially Herman suspects his wife of deception but is reassured. Their second child is also 'typically' Jewish and the only conclusion Herman can come to is that her blood had been tainted by association with Jews. Both Elizabeth and the new child die. Herman then receives the deathbed letter of a former Aryan lover who reveals his fatherhood of a Ayran child by her. Herman raises both boys together and finds them completely different in character, each displaying 'typical' characteristics of Jews or Aryans. When both children drown, Herman ends up in a hosptial. There he meets another beautiful blond, blue-eyed woman. They marry but their child is also 'typically' Jewish. Apparently, ten years previous she had been engaged to a baptized Jewish officer who then left her. The result of this unfortunate engagement was the violation of her racial purity. The woman kills herself and the child while Herman seeks out and kills the officer. During Herman's trial he defends his case with a long speech on German racial purity and the problem of Jewish vampirism. He even

offers solutions. The court sees his justification and promptly sets him free. Some years later Herman is killed as a volunteer in the war.

The thrust of this novel implicates Jews for German social problems. The process begins with Jewish infiltration of the German race through innocent 'blond' German women who after any sexual encounter with a Jewish man suffer racial contamination. As a consequence, all her offspring, whether or not the father is Jewish, will be born with dark eyes, dark curly hair, a large nose, and other 'typically' Jewish characteristics. This contention Dinter supports with the detailed research including an analysis of Jewish literature which comprises his notes. For the modern reader, who looks back through the Holocaust at this type of literature, the trend this novel initiated in omnious and frightening. What is now comical and absurd about Dinter's book became a nightmare with practical application. The popularity of Die Sünde looms sinisterly before the historian who must attempt to explain it.

Anti-semitism in Germany experienced a significant increase after the war. Although there were many contributing factors, the revitalization of the right, the higher visibility of the Jews in politics, science, culture and almost every area of public life after 1918, and the increase in the number of Jews in Germany who were fleeing the Russian Revolution,[289] were three of the most important in the rise of anti-semitism. Feeling threatened by the new conditions after the war the Right was radicalized as already been mentioned in relation to the **Bauernromane**. This radicalization was expressed in a dynamic defense of its position and values. The left was a target made even

more threatening by the success of the revolution at home and abroad. But as the Jews made their presence felt and assumed prominent positions in German society, the traditional scapegoat of Europe became a favored target.

It was the average German social and cultural organizations which were the first to act against the Jews. For example, university organizations limited membership to Aryans and Jews were excluded from war veteran's associations. In 1919, the **Völkisch** Defensive and Offensive League was founded and claimed 200,000 members at its height in 1922. The revitalization of the right made itself felt throughout society. Arthur Dinter's book should be seen in the light of the increase of anti-semitism in the early years of the Weimar Republic. It was an expression of displaced anger and frustration. Moreover, what had been merely prejudice previously was now 'scientifically' provable adding authority and respectability to anti-semitism.

The publisher Paul Steegeman was quick to see the possibility of profit in exploiting the popularity and notoriety of Die Sünde wider das Blut. In 1921 he commissioned Hans Reimann to write a satire on Dinter's novel. This brief satire of 39 pages came out in 1921 under the title Die Dinte wider das Blut by Artur Sunder. It was first published in the Silbergaule (numbers 132-134), Steegemann's journal, but when it came out in book form it reached 693,000 copies within one year.[290] (see Table 3) Following the same storyline with certain alterations for effect, Reimann condenses the 396 page book into 32 pages, scientific notes excluded. Cleverly Reimann often uses the very words of Dinter in the satire. This is most evident in the first

chapter. Herman Stänker (Kämpfer in the original) is engaged in an experiment in his laboratory. In Die Sünde one is not aware of the type of experiment whereas in Die Dinte his experiment is expressedly with Israeli bacteria and Teutonic blood. In explaining Stanker's background, Reimann uses exaggeration to make the point against Dinter. Not only do Herman's parents lose the farm but they are visited by Biblical plagues "all the work of the greedy Jew."[291] In both cases Herman is able to survive to become a chemist. Whereas in Die Sünde the practical aspects of Herman's work are set aside after the first chapter, in Die Dinte Herman goes on to greater discoveries as he implants the Jewish bacteria into rabbits. To his amazement, the rabbits suddenly write and calculate like 'typical' Jews:

> To be more sure, Stanker asked the rabbit what its name was. In Hebraic letters the animal wrote the name **Baruch Veilchenbluth** and the beginning of the **Kolnidre** prayer.[292]

In Die Sünde the first meeting of Herman with Elizabeth and her father is modest and reserved. Reimann brings out the erotic implications. When portraying Elizabeth's father, Reimann exaggerates his physical appearance and language as a Jew. When Elizabeth and her father invite Herman to tea, according to Reimann they discuss:

> Materialism, Haekel, Ostwald, frequencies, magnetism, Kant, Plato, Socrates, meteors, the point of living, incarnations, penance, somnambulism, Galileans, Tomehu, the sons of Anak, macabre, soul analysis, Palestine, the Berliner Tageblatt, Menabem, Canaan, Laban, Jakob, the Talmud... (etc.)[293]

Then mimicking Dinter, Reimann refers the reader to the relevant pages in Dinter's own works and notes for complete explanation on these subjects. Reimann continues his satirical exaggeration throughout Die

Dinte. When Elizabeth's father dies, not only was he involved in world conspiracy and kept brothels of blond women all over Germany as Dinter accused, but left, according to Reimann, "28,714 illegitimate children all from innocent blond maidens."[294] After the deaths of Elizabeth and his two sons, when Herman meets the blond Joanna in the hospital, "he impregnates her with his first glance."[295] When Joanna sees her "child with black, curly hair, dark skin, dark eyes and dark flat feet," she hangs herself on a swastika.[296] Reimann then appropriately warns German mothers to give their daughters a copy of Die Sünde wider das Blut, "available at all bookstores" so that the same fate does not befall them.[297] Finally, the satire does not end with the death of the hero. Instead Herman Stänker offers his rabbits 'into the service of the Fatherland' as food and assumes an easy desk job during the war. His rabbits bring him enough money to open a grocery store after the revolution and live comfortably for the rest of his life.

As with Hein's parody of Hedwig Courths-Mahler, many of the more subtle invectives in Die Dinte will be missed by the modern reader. Reading Die Sünde certainly helps somewhat. The success of Die Dinte with the German reading public was immediate and far greater than the success of the original novel. This is an important statement on the reading public for this parody was more serious in its thrust than a simple satire on love stories. Surely one can accept the popularity of Die Dinte as showing opposition to and understanding of such literature and ideas as incorporated in Die Sünde. The left and liberal elements of society were also radicalized and thus aware of the myths propagandized by the right. Furthermore, one should be cautious in

assuming that all conservatives were, in fact, anti-semitic. Dinter was himself aware of opposition and felt it necessary to refute some of the objections in the trial scene at the end of his book. Dinter has Herman argue against the prosecutor who says, "What does race mean? A man is a man regardless to what religion he belongs."[298] Dinter also defends himself in his Afterword to the 1927 edition claiming that if one were to study his ideas, they would prove themselves.[299] Whether or not Hitler ever read Dinter's novel cannot be said although they shared the same brand of "hedonistic-christian anti-semitism".[300] As for the satire by Reimann, no further statistical information is available for the years to 1933 when the book was banned. There is some indication that further printings were released in 1923 and that a new edition came out in 1929.[301] Reimann continued to write biting satires for Paul Steegemann and in 1931 was commissioned to write a satire of Hitler's Mein Kampf to be entitled Mein Krampf. The book was never completed, however, as both Steegemann and Reimann received threats against their lives. The new satire caused a rift between the publisher and the author which destroyed their long working relationship.[302] Strangely, both Reimann and Steegeman could be found working for the Nazis after 1933.

Chapter Five - Notes

[1] Richards notes another edition in 1925 for which he provides no data. One can assume, however, that its accumulative printings were higher. A second book, Was Gott zusammen fügt (1913) also reached an accumulative total of 402,000. Richards. p. 114.

[2] Reiss, p. 28

[3] Langenbucher, p. 90. The translation is mine.

[4] Reiss, p. 44. The translation is mine. This incident happened apparently in the mid-1920's.

[5] Walter Krieg in his book, Unser Weg ging hinauf. Hedwig Courths-Mahler und ihre Töchter also literarisches Phanomen. (Vienna, 1954) lists 207 titles in his bibliography of her works. Langenbucher, p. 90. Sichelschmidt, however, cites 208 novels. p. 233.

[6] Most of the colporteuer novels were written in a similar fashion. See Fullerton, "The Development of the German Book Markets".

[7] The editor who read the manuscript, read it in jail serving a sentence of **Majestätsbeleidigung.** Reiss comments that this was a common occurence for those associated with either the liberal or social democratic presses. p. 48.

[8] Reiss claims that this novel was Licht und Schatten, however, the Deutsches Literatur Lexicon gives the date of publication of Licht und Schatten as 1921. It is possible that 1921 was a second edition.

[9] Richards, pp. 115-116. These were:

Was Gott zusammen fügt (1913)	402,000	1919
Gib mich frei (1912)	402,000	1919
Des anderen Ehren (1912)	402,000	1919

[10] Ibid.,

Die Testamentklavel (1915)	325,000	1919
Käthes Ehe (1914)	342,000	1919
Lena Warnstetten (1916)	295,000	1919
Die Bettelprinzess (1914)	230,000	1924
Die Assmanns (1917)	210,000	1919

Sichelschmidt provides statistics which seem extraordinary and he gives no indication from where he is drawing his information or the date from which the **Gesamtauflage** is taken.

Die schone Unbekannte (1918)	1,100,760
Die Ungeliebte Frau (1918)	1,039,474
Das Glück steht an Wege (1916)	972,988
(this was first published under the title Ich will.)	
Der Scheingemahl (1919)	766,596
Meine Käthe (1917)	581,917.

11 Langenbucher, p. 90.

12 Richards, pp. 37-38.

13 Sichelschmidt, p. 233. Rossbacher's list from the lending library goes only to 1906. At this time Courth's-Mahler was only beginning.

14 Reiss, p. 58.

15 Ibid.

16 Her last book Flucht in den Frieden came out in 1948. When the Russians came to Eastern Germany one of the first acts of the new authorities was to forbid Courths-Mahler's books. They destroyed those editions that remained in warehouses and in public libraries. Reiss, p. 58. In Western Germany her books were reprinted with success.

17 Langenbucher, p. 90.

18 S. Fischer, as quoted in Mendelssohn, p. 512.

19 Sichelschmidt, p. 234.

20 Reiss, p. 45.

21 R.K. Angress, "Sklavenmoral und Infantilismus in Frauen-und Familieromanen" Populäritat und Trivialitat: 4th Wisconsin Workshop R. Grimm and J. Hermand eds. (Frankfurt: Athenaum Verlag, 1974), p. 122.

22 H. Courths-Mahler, Gib mich frei (Reutlingen: Ensslin & Laibuins Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912) p. 7. This translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

23 One must be conscious of the importance wealth and money play in female emancipation at this time. With money one can afford to dare beyond society's borders of acceptable behavior without too much retribution. This connection is not made in the novel.

24 Ibid., p. 209.

25 Ibid., p. 300.

26 Rossbacher, p. 94.

27 Gib mich frei, p. 205.

28 Ibid., p. 229.

29 Ibid., p. 69.

30 Ibid., p. 145.

31 Angress, p. 121.

32 Reiss, p. 46.

33 Steegemann's philosophy was "if there are no saleable authors around, then one has to produce saleable books." As quoted in The Era of German Expressionism P. Raabe ed., (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 1974), p. 226.

34 Alfred Hein also wrote under the pseudonym of Julius Bethen which also did not appear in Richards lists. The majority of Hein's books were published after 1933.

35 Alfred Hein, Kurts Maler: Ein Lieblingsroman des deutschen Volkes (Freiburg: Ernst Guenther Verlag, 1922), p. 3. This translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

36 Ibid., p. 10.

37 Ibid., p. 57.

38 Ibid., p. 26.

39 Ibid., p. 63.

40 As quoted by Harry Zohn in the Afterword to Deutschland, Deutschland über alles by K. Tucholsky and J. Heartfield (Amherst: University Press of Massachuetts, 1972), p. 241.

41 Richards, pp. 178-179.

Mein grünes Buch (1901)	110,000	1925
Mein braunes Buch (1907)	130,000	1923
Mummelmann (1909)	360,000	1935
Der letzte Hansbur (1909)	30,000	1917*
Der Zweckmässige Meyer (1911)	95,000	1937
Kraut und Not (1911)	58,000	1922
Das Tal der Lieder (1914)	80,000	1925
Isegrimms Irrgang (1916)	95,000	1938
Aus Forst und Flur (1916)	73,000	1935
Das Lönsbuch (1916)	60,000	1925
Löns - Gedenkbuch (1917)	26,000	1925
Gesammelte Werke (1920)	55,000	1940
Im flammenden Morgenrot (1933)	35,000	1934
Frau Dollmer. Hum-sat Plaun von Fritz vonder Leine (n.d.)	48,000	1925

*Der letze Hansbur received another edition in 1939 and also in 1940.

42 Erich Griebel, Hermann Löns der Neiderdeutsche (Berlin: Wolf Heyer Verlag, 1934), p. 360. Griebel claims this figures represents sold copies.

43 Ibid., p. 361.

44 Richards, p. 178.

45 This should be compared to the 181,000 copies for Der Wehrwolf over the 6 year period from 1919 to 1925.

46 Strothmann, p. 97. Löns was one of those accused by Bartels of Jewish ancestry and his Ayranism had to be cleared prior to his acceptance.

47 Ibid., p. 91.

48 Der Wehrwolf increases steadily under the Nazis: from 1933 - 1935, 59,000 copies printed; from 1935-1938, 64,000 copies; from 1938 - 1939, 61,000 copies at minimum.

49 E.M. Boland, Herman Löns: Der Mensch und der Dichter in seiner völkischen Giebundenheit (Hannover: Adolf Sponholtz Verlag, 1930), pp. 140-141.

50 Griebel, p. 361.

51 Ibid., p. 385 as quoted. The translation is mine.

52 Hermann Löns, Das zweite Gesicht (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., n.d.), p. 169. Originally published in 1912. This translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

53 Ibid., p. 37.

54 Ibid., p. 130.

55 Ibid., p. 199.

56 Ibid., p. 272.

57 Griebel., p. 252.

58 S. Radcliffe, "Hermann Löns-Heimatkünstler and Social Critic" German Life and Letters, XIII (1959-60) 28..

59 Der Wehrwolf deals with the theme much more explicitly as do many of Lons journalistic and creative writings. He was a chauvinistic nationalist and it was this characteristic, and his outspoken insistence, that made him attractive to the Nazis.

60 Das zweite Gesicht, p. 95.

61 W. Deimann, Der Künstler und Kämpfer: Eine Lönsbiographie und Briefausgabe. (Hannover: Adolf Sponholz Verlag, 1935), p. 294. Many of Löns' songs became popular war songs. The most famous perhaps was "Das Matrossenlied" which was directed against England explicitly and which was sung in both wars.

62 Richards, p. 231. 105,000 copies were printed by 1925, and a further 20,000 thereafter.

63 Pfeiler, p. 89.

64 Walter Flex, Der Wanderer zwischen beiden Welten (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919), p. 109 originally published in 1917. This translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine. Note that Richards entitles the book Der Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten.

65 George, L. Mosse "National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany" Journal of Contemporary History 14(Jan. 1979) 4.

66 Richards lists 9 publication of Flex's which reached bestseller status besides Der Wanderer: see pp. 129-130.

Der Schwarmgeist (1910)	29,000	1939
Zwölf Bismarcks (1913)	34,000	1933
Der Kanzler Klaus v. Bismarck	57,000	1937
Vom grossen Abendmahl (1915)	139,000	1940
Wallensteins Antlitz (1918)	80,000	1940
Wolf Eschenlohr (1919)	56,000	1931
Der Reiter und sein Junge (1939)	29,000	1940
vom Hautsee, Revanche		

Wolf Eschenlohr was Flex's uncompleted story of his own personal development in the war - it was to follow Der Wanderer as a sequel.

67 Strothmann, p. 381.

68 Ibid., p. 91 and p. 97. Bartels was radically anti-semitic and falsely accused many authors of Jewish ancestry. Flex's racial purity had to be certified by the Ministry of the Interior.

69 Flex, p. 18.

70 Pascal, p. 108.

71 Flex, p. 24.

72 Ibid., p. 42.

73 Klemens von Klemperer Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Dilemma in the Twentieth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 43.

74 Flex, p. 41.

75 Ibid., p. 53.

76 Ibid., p. 48.

77 Ibid., p. 17.

78 Ibid., p. 53.

79 Ibid., p. 100

80 Ibid., p. 113

81 Mosse, "National Cemeteries and National Revival", p. 2.

82 Ibid.

83 Pascal, p. 108.

84 Gay, p. 53.

85 Ibid., p. 52.

86 Ibid.

87 H. Kohn, The Mind of Germany (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 233. Published in 1922, these last two works appeared after a long silence from Rilke.

88 R.M. Rilke, The Lay of the Love and Death of Cornet Christoph Rilke (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1932) M.D. Herter-Norton trans. All translations will be from this edition.

89 Richards, p. 200.

Geschichten vom Leiben Gott (1900)	55,000	1936
Auguste Rodin (1903)	60,000	1934
Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigg(1920)	38,000	1938.

90 Ibid.

Briefe an einen jungen Dichter (1929)	140,000	1932
Briefe an eine junge Frau (1930)	90,000	1933.

91 As quoted in Gay, p. 52.

92 F.W. Van Heerikhuizen, Rainer Marie Rilke: His Life and Work trans, F.G. Renier and A. Cliff (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1946), as quoted p. 155.

93 Foreword by D. Herton-Norton, Cornet, p. 9.

94 Ibid.

95 Letter to Thankmar von Münchhausen, March 16, 1915. As quoted in Foreword by D. Herton-Norton, p. 10.

96 Van Heerikhuizen, p. 146.

97 Herton-Norton, p. 9.

98 Pascal, pp. 279-280.

99 Strothman, p. 381.

100 D. Schoenbaum, Hitler's Social Revolution (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), p. 191 and Herter-Norton, p. 10.

101 Gay, p. 53.

102 Van Heerikhuizen, p. 38. In 1932, Rilke's son-in-law Carl Seiber investigated the family history clarifiying the work done by Jaroslav Rilke. Jaroslav, Rilke's uncle, had also failed to establish unbroken descent but the coat of arms hint that some connection with the aristocratic family was possible.

103 Ibid., p. 40.

104 Cornet p. 15.

105 Ibid., p. 39.

106 Ibid., p. 55.

107 Ibid., p. 68.

108 Ibid., p. 31.

109 Ibid., p. 37.

110 Ibid., p. 67.

111 As quoted in Van Heerikhuizen, p. 279.

112 Ibid., Letter to Bernard von der Marwitz, p. 281.

113 Cornet, p. 21.

114 Franz Kull. Fünf Jahre Fremdenlegionär (Leipzig: Wilhelm Rohler Verlag, n.d.), p. 3.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid., p. 13.

117 Ibid., p. 20.

118 Ibid., p. 23.

119 Ibid., p. 68.

120 Ibid., p. 51.

121 Ibid., p. 67.

122 Ibid., p. 85.

123 Ibid.

124 P. Zimmermann, Der Bauernroman (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlags Buchhandlung, 1975), p. 64. The translation is mine.

125 Ibid., p. 128 and p. 159. The production of Bauernromane was as follows:

1899-1903	28
1904-1908	50
1909-1913	65
1914-1918	21
1919-1923	44
1924-1928	54
1929-1933	88
1934-1939	119

126 Richards, p. 238.

127 Strothmann, p. 162.

128 Ibid., p. 381. Richards cites the changes of publishers and indicates that a new edition was released in 1935 for which he was unable to provide information. See also Richard Voss, Zwei Menschen (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn Nachf., 1911).

129 Richards, p. 238.

Bergasyl (1881)	48,000	1937
Alpentragödie (1909)	51,000	1940
Hassende Liebe (1915)	30,000	1925
Der heilige Haas (1915)	184,000*	1927
Die Erlösung (1918)	80,000	1925.

130 Zwei Menschen, p. 39. This translation and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

131 Ibid., p. 110.

132 Ibid., p. 47.

133 Ibid., p. 173.

134 Ibid., p. 12.

135 Ibid., p. 38.

136 Ibid., pp. 69-70.

137 Ibid., p. 38.

138 Not only is his own life destroyed but Judith's, his father's who had to sell the estate, and a young boy at the cloister where Peter Paulus taught. The young boy, a religious fanatic, found out that Peter Paulus did not really believe and crucified himself to expiate the sins of Peter Paulus whom he loved.

139 Ibid., p. 173.

140 Ibid., p. 43.

141 Ibid., p. 176.

142 Ibid., p. 171.

143 Ibid., p. 173.

144 Zimmermann, p. 128.

145 Rossbacher, p. 101.

146 See publishers information. J.C. Heer, Der Wetterwart (Berlin: Th. Knaur Nach., 1905). It is interesting that Mendelssohn claims that none of Heer's books made over 100,000 copies, p. 885. This is inaccurate and shows the importance of statistical studies like Richards.

147 Richards, pp. 145-146.

148 Ibid.

Laubgewind (1908)	320,000	1940
Der König der Bernina (1900)	402,000	1940

Although Am heligen Wasserin (1898) is not listed by Richards in the top 100 bestsellers, it reached 458,000 copies by 1940 as well.

149 Der Wetterwart, pp.152-153. This and all subsequent translations from this edition are mine.

150 Ibid., p. 364.

151 Ibid., p. 354.

152 Ibid., p. 206.

153 Ibid., p. 340.

154 Balmer uses the description of Abigail as an independent girl against Jost.

155 Ibid., p. 272.

156 Ibid., p. 359.

157 Ibid., p. 361.

158 Zimmermann, p.66.

159 Ibid.

160 Richards, pp. 145-146. Ten of Keller's books had over 100,000 copies each.

161 Ibid., pp. 162-164. Ferien vom Ich (1915) reached 371,000 copies by 1935 and Der Sohn der Hagar (1907) reached 328,000 by 1931.

162 This conclusion is confirmed by the same stagnation shown in the other two novels by Keller, Ferien vom Ich and Der Sohn der Hagar, which increased respectively only 30,000 copies and 18,000 copies for the same period.

163 The other two novels increased 100,000 copies and 96,000 copies respectively in the same period.

164 Strothmann, p. 238.

165 Gold und Myrrhe had reached 60,000 copies by 1933 and was reissued with another 51,000 copies, according to Richards. Strothmann shows that Keller's Die Heimat (1904) reached 573,000 copies (1938) as one of the Nazi bestsellers but it had reached only 207,000 copies to 1935.

166 Paul Keller, Waldwinter. (Breslau: Bergstadtverlag, 1930). Originally published in 1902. This translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

167 Ibid., p. 13.

168 This explicitness is somewhat surprising considering the usual conservative tone of **Heimatliteratur**. Keller was considered a liberal writer and Waldwinter especially liberal. Zimmermann, p. 123.

169 Waldwinter, p.151.

170 Ibid., p. 287.

171 Ibid., p. 288.

172 Ibid., p. 171.

173 Ibid., p. 167.

174 Ibid., p. 169.

175 Sichelschmidt, p. 22.

176 Waldwinter, p. 151.

177 Ibid., p. 48.

178 Ibid., p. 235.

179 Ibid.

180 Sichelschmidt, p. 219.

181 Richards, pp. 201-202.

Die Eiks von Eichen (1908)	71,000	1937
Bilder aus den vier Wänden (1910)	32,000	1937
Pastor Verden (1912)	57,000	1940
Drohner (1912)	38,000	1937
Das Lyzeum in Birkholz (1917)	96,000	1937
Meerkönigs Haus (1917)	61,000	1937
Der Mutterhof (1918)	200,000	1939
Der Tisch der Rasmussen (1920)	100,000	1939
Der grave Alltag und sein Licht (1922)	79,000	1937
Erlenkamp Erben (1924)	64,000	1932
Die Erbschmiede (1926)	55,000	1937
Der hillige Ginsterbruch (1928)	50,000	1937
Die Wengelohs (1929)	39,000	1937
Das Haus mit den grunen Fensterladen (1930)	32,000	1937
Die vom Sünderhof (1932)	25,000	1937
Die jungen Eulenrieds (1936)	25,000	1937

182 Sichelschmidt, p. 219.

183 Strothmann, p. 381.

184 Felicitas Rose, Heideschulmeister Uwe Karsten (Berlin: Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co., 1933). Originally published in 1909. This translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

185 Ibid., p. 80.

186 Ibid., p. 100.

187 Ibid., p. 101.

188 Ibid., p. 122.

189 Ibid., p. 187.

190 Ibid., p. 7.

191 Ibid., p. 122.

192 Ibid., p. 27.

193 Ibid., p. 42.

194 Zimmermann, p. 114.

195 Sichelschmidt, p. 220.

196 Ibid., pp. 114-115.

197 Mendelssohn, p. 303. Frenssen did not return the compliment for Mann's Der Zauberberg and called it "fully ungerman, a totally foreign book." Rossbacher, p. 38.

198 Rossbacher, p. 248.

199 Richards, p. 132. Die Sandgräfin had only 89,000 copies by 1920 and it reached its total of 122,000 by 1929. Die Drei Getreuen had already reached 134,000 copies by 1920 but only increased to a total of 193,000 by 1934.

200 Rossbacher, pp. 99-100.

201 Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest had reached 199,000 copies and Hilligenlei 165,000 copies by 1920. Both books continued with moderate success through the twenties. Incidentally, Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest is mentioned in Gib mich frei as Lisa despairs of Ronald going to Africa.

202 Werner Jansen, on the occasion of Frenssen's 70th birthday in 1933, accused 'cabals of conspirators' for the small sales of Frenssen's later works. An American critic in Books Abroad refutes this and points out that Frenssen is simply an old man "who does not and cannot think or write as successful contemporary authors do, and it would be ... impossible for him to make a large appeal to a German audience today ....". "Conspiracies of Silence" Books Abroad 8 (Jan. 1934), pp. 36-37.

203 Strothmann, p. 41.

209 W. Alberts, Gustav Frenssen: Ein Dichter Unserer Zeit (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922), p. 277. The translation is mine.

204 G. Frenssen, Briefe aus America (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1923), p. 80. The translation is mine.

205 Pascal, p. 100.

206 See Notes, W.W. Florer, ed., Jörn Uhl (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co. Publishers, 1914) Heaths Modern Language Series.

207 Jörn Uhl, p. 155.

208 Ibid., p. 403.

209 Ibid., p. 79.

210 Ibid., p. 306.

211 Ibid., p. 386.

212 See H. Ridley and K. Bullivant, "A Middle-Class View of German Industrial Expansion, 1853-1900" Oxford German Studies, P.F. Ganz, ed. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 101.

213 Rossbacher, p. 101.

214 Tucholsky, p. 68.

215 Richards, p. 148.

216 Rudolf Herzog, Die Wiskottens (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1922). Originally published in 1905. See publisher's information.

218 From 1932-1936 another 50,000 copies were printed; from 1936-1938, 92,000 and 1938-1939, 32,000 copies.

219 Tucholsky, p. 68.

220 Strothmann, p. 381.

221 Richards, pp. 55-59.

Die vom Niederrhein (1903)	395,000	1940
Das grosse Heimweh (1914)	389,000	1940
Die Burgkinder (1911)	339,000	1938
Das Liebenslied (1904)	321,000	1936
Hanseaten (1909)	294,000	1936
Die Buben der Frau Opterberg (1921)	265,000	1940
Der Gräf von Gleichen (1901)	250,000	1940

Hanseaten was a sequel to Die Wiskottens and Der Gräf von Gleichen was forbidden under the Nazis because of its positive depiction of a Jewish character. It was on the 1940-1942 list of forbidden books. Strothmann, p. 219.

222 Die Wiskottens, p. 58. This translation, and all subsequent translations from this edition, are mine.

223 Ibid., p. 226.

224 Ibid., p. 391.

225 Ibid.

226 Ibid., p. 99.

227 Ibid., p. 105.

228 Ibid., p. 108.

229 Ibid., p. 112.

230 Ibid., p. 116.

231 Ibid., p. 308.

232 Ibid., p. 310.

233 Ibid., p. 429.

234 Ibid., p. 314.

235 Ibid., p. 315.

236 Ibid., p. 95.

237 Ibid., p. 24.

238 Tucholsky, p. 68.

239 R. Herzog Die Stoltenkamps und ihre Frauen (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1936). p. 12. Originally published in 1917. This translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

240 Herzog was probably unaware of the significant Freudian implications in Fritz's almost passionate love for his mother. He meant it to be a positive attribution.

241 Ibid., p. 497.

242 W. Manchester, The Arms of Krupp, 1587-1968 (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), p. 262.

243 Henderson, p. 236.

244 Manchester, p. 170.

245 Die Stoltenkamps, p. 61.

246 Ibid., p. 232.

247 Ibid., p. 277.

248 Ibid., p. 452.

249 Ibid., p. 395.

250 See. R. Angress "Sklavenmoral und Infantilismus in **Frauen-und Familienromanen**" for a more detailed explanation of Herzog's depiction of the Stoltenkamp women.

251 Die Stoltenkamps, p. 92.

252 Tucholsky, pp. 59-68.

253 Die Stoltenkamps, p. 489.

254 Ibid., p. 493.

255 Ibid., p. 494.

256 J. Grimm, as quoted in The Brothers Grimm by R. Michaelis-Jena (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 5.

257 Richards states that in his study "the ever-popular fairytale has been excluded, because it generally had an origin before the earliest limit of this study, but also because prose fiction intended principally for the young was not included.", p. 47. Either Richards overlooked these two books or else he considered that they were not intended only for the young and therefore included them.

258 Waldemar Bonsels, Die Biene Maja und ihre Abenteuer

F. Schneider and M.J. Boyd, eds. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1929). Originally published in 1912. All translations from this edition are mine.

259 Waldemar Bonsels, Himmelsvolk: Ein Buch von Blumen, Tieren und Gott (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1915) and Heavenfolk (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1924) A.S. Seltzer trans. All translations for this book will be from the Seltzer translation.

260 Strothmann, pp. 247-249.

261 H.Fs. Bachmaier. "A publisher's report, 1911-1914" The Era of German Expressionism P. Raabe ed. (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 1974).

262 See advertisements in back of Himmelsvolk, 1919 impression.

263 Ibid.

264 Ibid.

265 Die Biene Maja, p. 5.

266 Ibid., p. 8. This same theme will be shown in Volk ohne Raum by Hans Grimm.

267 Ibid., p. 6.

268 Perhaps Bonsels was criticizing Prussian militarism, which he felt should not be confused with the true scope of nationalism.

269 Ibid., p. 131.

270 Ibid., p. 121.

271 Ibid., p. 48.

272 As translated by the editors, p. vi. Bonsels was himself one of those refactory youths who did not finish school and travelled the world at the age of 17.

273 Ibid., p. 65.

274 Ibid., p. 135.

275 See the introduction by Bruno Bettelheim, in The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairytales (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), pp. 3-18.

276 Die Biene Maja, p. 96.

277 Ibid., pp. 54-55.

278 Ibid., pp. 99.

279 Ibid., p. 107.

280 As quoted in the introduction, p. vii.

281 Heavenfolk, p. 161.

282 Ibid., pp. 164-169.

283 Ibid., p. 127.

284 Ibid., p. 214.

285 Artur Dinter, Die Sünde wider das Blut (Leipzig: Verlag Ludolf Beust, 1927). This was the first of a trilogy. Richards gives 1917 as the date of publication, Mosse in Germans and Jews (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1970) and Pascal both cite 1918. The second book, Die Sünde wider den Geist, was released in 1920 and the third, Die Sünde wider die Liebe in 1922. These were not the only books Dinter wrote as he had books published in his field. As well, he published 'nonfictional' anti-semitic works such as Die Verjudung der deutschen Schaubühne.

286 Die Sünde wider den Geist reached 50,000 copies within its first year while Die Sünde wider die Liebe reached 25,000 in its first year, but increased only another 5,000 by 1928. Richards, p. 117.

287 Richards places it in the top 100 bestsellers.

288 Mosse, Germans and Jews, p. 56.

289 Ibid.

290 Sünder, Artur Die Dinte wider das Blut (Hannover: Paul Steegemann, 1921).

291 Ibid., p. 11.

292 Ibid., p. 14.

293 Ibid., p. 25.

294 Ibid., p. 31.

295 Ibid., p. 36

296 Ibid., The swatiska was adopted by the Nazis in the early 1920's.

297 Ibid.

298 Die Sünde, p. 310.

299 Ibid., p. 393.

300 K. Sontheimer, Anti-demokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1968), p. 136.

301 J. Meyer, Der Paul Steegemann Verlag (Stuttgart: Verlag Fritz Eggert, 1975).

302 Ibid., pp. 61-64. There was considerable scandal over Mein Krampf and the parting of Steegemann and Reimann. It is unclear what transpired but Reimann experienced a 'Damascus' and from then on wrote for Die Brennessel and the SS journal Das Schwarze Korps. In 1944 he even wrote an anti-semitic article. Steegemann changed from a radical republican publisher to a staunch pro-Nazi but was unable to shake his previous reputation: "The Paul Steegemann Verlag, which just one year ago published the evilest and worst bordello literature, has, like so many others, transformed through a wonder." wrote Will Vesper one of the official Nazi writers cynically. p. 66. Translation mine. In late 1934, the Verlag shut down and Steegemann worked for other publishing firms throughout the Nazi period.

CHAPTER SIX: WEIMAR GERMANY, 1924 - 1929

The period 1918-1923 was one of significant and far reaching crisis for Germany. The next period, 1924-1929, seem almost uneventful by comparison. Yet, of course, the tensions of the preceding years had not entirely dissipated and the stabilization and prosperity of Germany during this time must be seen in relative terms. The period is noticeably marked by an economic resurgence which brought both production and consumption levels beyond pre-war levels. Politically, the atmosphere became calmer as fewer disruptive issues and problems forced themselves on the day-to-day working of the Republic. The parliamentary system appeared to function more smoothly unhampered by the radical cleavages of the first years. The December 1924 elections showed that Germany was moving away from the extremes politically: both the National Socialists and the Communists lost about one million votes. The election of the Right's presidential candidate, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in May 1925, although without a majority, symbolized the more conservative swing in German politics. In foreign affairs between 1924 and 1925, Gustav Stresemann guided Germany toward an international rapproachment. The Dawes plan and the Locarno Pact must both be credited to that shrewd diplomat. The progress and stability that the above seemed to represent was, as the 1930-1933 period showed, illusionary. It was, as one historian has called it, a period of "prosperity on credit".[1] The foundations upon which Germany was securing the Republic after 1924 were not concrete but were, for the most part, perceived to be concrete by the German people and this formed

the basis of their expectations and lifestyles: they saw what they wanted to see and to all outward appearances, Germany was once more a prosperous nation.

Prosperity is measured economically even though it implies much more than dollars and marks. The economic experts that gathered under the commission of General Dawes (later Vice-President of the United States) in 1924 to "seek ways and means to balance the German budget and measures to stabilize her currency"[2], pinpointed the reparation payments as the principal obstacle to German economic recovery. Germany's obligation to pay reparations was not the issue with these experts and the Dawes Report which was put forward in 1924 dealt only with the means and terms by which Germany would pay. Accepted by all governments concerned, the Dawes Plan provided Germany with some respite from its reparation obligations and also supplied a substantial international loan.

The Dawes Plan initiated the economic recovery of Germany "the scope and intensity of which were unparalled in previous German history"[3]. The dynamism of growth came from within the country despite foreign loans and investments. Rationalization, the term given to the "post war processes of technological, financial and economic organization"[4], was the key to Germany's industrial economy. Since successful rationalization equal profits, German employers were enthusiastic in applying 'scientific methods' to their businesses. The attitude of labor was initially hostile, believing rationalization to be basically "synonymous with capitalistic exploitation."[5] Once rationalization had moved beyond the first negative stages - for example, the cuts made in the number of employees required with the introduction of

technologically advanced machinery--and the economic recovery was genuinely realized in terms of increased wages and decreased unemployment, the attitude of labor "modified to one of general approval"[6]. As production increased, Germany again became a leader among industrial nations. Its traditional dominance in the fields of electrical engineering, chemicals, and optics were regained and considerable advances were made in the newer industries such as car and airplane construction. It seemed a period that rightfully earned the title 'the golden twenties'.

Although the Republic had incorporated the principles and practice of mediation and arbitration, which involved the government actively in relations between employers and workers, the fact that such emphasis was placed on economic recovery along capitalist lines indicated the real political orientation of the government. Charles S. Maier concludes of the political developments after 1924:

> Weimar had shed its origins as a socialist and revolutionary regime, had emerged as a "laborist" welfare-state, and now seemed likely to come almost prevailingly under the control of the industrialists, working behind the facade of party institutions.[7]

In his classic work on the inflation period, Bresciani-Turroni speaks in his last chapter of the economic "stabilization crisis" which worked insidiously beneath the apparent prosperity.[8] If one were to choose a political 'stabilization crisis'[9] which worked to undermine a struggling parliamentary democracy, the nature of the German party politics would have to be the first consideration. Factionalism, failure of leadership, outworn doctrines and interest group pressure are only some of the factors that contributed to the general

ineffectuality of the Republic governments. The inability of any one party to get a majority with a mandate, and the compromising position into which this placed the successive chancellors, remained unresolvable flaws in the German parliamentary system. As long as there was general economic stability, immediate political crisis could be weathered. Furthermore, two men stood between the Republic and political bankruptcy - Hindenburg and Stresemann.

The death of the first President of the Republic required the German people to choose not only a new president but the path they desired the Republic to take. It was their responsibility to choose a president who would identify with the Republic.[10] The choice of Hindenburg, who had remained a staunch monarchist and militarist and did not accept the basic premisis of the Republic, indicated the strength of the Right in Germany. His election produced immediate repercussions. Significantly, all progressive and democratizing actions taken in regards to the conservative bureaucracy and judiciary were promptly and firmly shelved.[11] In security and relative comfort both institutions carried on in their traditional manner unhampered by further progressive tendencies. Perhaps more important in some respects was attitude of the army who felt that once again one of their own was in control.[12] The stab-in-the-back theory which the army had perpetuated and of which Hindenburg had been a major propagator was now made the official position.[13] The army could again be regarded as loyal. Hindenburg himself made little personal impact on the Republic largely because of his age, his political inexperience and, perhaps, a measure of indifference: his position and political sympathies only came into

direct play in the last stage of the Republic. Hindenburg was a symbol. Stresemann commented that the German people desired "a man in uniform . . . with a chestful of medals".[14] Hindenburg represented to them a strong and defiant Germany, an image the German people wanted to believe and wanted to project. Regardless of any doubts and hesitations that Stresemann might have had about the new President, however, publicly he held the view that;

> Hindenburg's election had made an important contribution to the consolidation of the Weimar state by rallying to it many Germans whose loyalties had previously been tied to the old regime.[15]

As the Field Marshall took up the Republican colours this was true - for the most part, and at least for the next four years. A certain degree of stability was ensured as the worst apprehensions of the Right were calmed.

When Stresemann died in 1929, Carl von Ossietzky, a leading left-wing political journalist wrote:

> The necrologists are already treating him like a monument, as a great man stamped out by history, a Pantheon figure, its marble eyes staring into eternity, where Caesar and Napoleon live.[16]

Yet Ossietzky himself could not dismiss the contributions Stresemann made to both domestic and foreign affairs and compared his success with Bismarck's.[17] Stresemann was Chancellor of the Republic in 1923, and from that time until his death he was Foreign Minister in all the German cabinets. The astuteness he showed as Chancellor in the Ruhr

crisis and inflation continued as he worked toward a policy of general European reconciliation. The Dawes Plan had been only the first step in rapproachment. The Locarno Pact which came into effect in 1925, concluded negotiations which Stresemann had already initiated in 1923. Locarno did two things. First it guaranteed French security which had remained one of the most sensitive international issues since the war. Second, Germany was brought into the League of Nations (officially in 1926) and this established Germany's position once more as an equal within the international community. Locarno was Stresemann's greatest triumph but other successes like the Russo-German Treaty (1926) which pledged friendship and neutrality and reaffirmed the Rapallo Treaty, should not be overlooked. From 1926 on, Stresemann worked on the evacuation of the Rhineland and a final settlement of reparations (the Young Plan) but he saw neither project completed because of his death. Count Harry Kessler wrote in his diary on the day after Stresemann's death: "All Parisian morning papers are reporting the news of Stresemann's death in the largest possible type ... mourning is general and genuine."[18] He was a respected politician and his statesmanship inspired republicans and moderates to maintain confidence in the Republic. In this way, Stresemann contributed to the stability he knew was central to the Republic's survival.

Despite the "ominous developments"[19] both politically and economically in Germany from 1924 - 1929, cracks in the foundation remained unseen or ignored as most of the German people concentrated on the improvements they were part of. Housing and other public construction projects can be counted as among the real, and visible, successes

of the Republic. Subsidies encouraged the building of much needed houses and apartments which were, moreover, "bright, tasteful, and sometimes artistically noteworthy."[20] More emphasis was placed on such things as playgrounds, schools and hospitals in municipal planning. In general, it may be said that the German people experienced a real advance in their standard of living. In turn this advancement contributed to rising expectations to which must be linked the continuing development of leisure as a meaningful part of the average life. Rationalization played a definite role in the direction of leisure.[21] As all aspects of economic activity were streamlined to meet the recovery demands, the trends of modernization and secularization which had begun in the late 19th century were reinforced and rationalized as well. This had many effects. One was to condition both work and leisure habits. Leisure activities were regularized as, for example, organized sports and business took even a greater interest in the profits to be made from leisure. The cinema, and even the new radio (the first station opened in 1923 in Berlin) received serious attention and were packaged for popular consumption along the newest marketing lines. Yet in general, leisure was, one might say, more leisurely. Gone, for the most part, was the frenzied grasping after pleasures that led to escape. This does not mean that the cabarets or nude reviews disappeared, but that increasingly "through good roads, automobiles, railways, boat excursion services, and ... the bicycle, endless crowds of city people (were) debouched on the countryside on weekends, holidays and leisure work-day hours".[22] Jaunts into the country were an expression of a different approach to leisure - one which was more

relaxed than displayed in the previous five years. As Laqueur has said "the gaiety was not artificial, the energy was real, not second-hand"[23] To make a connection between the bestselling **Heimat-Bauern-romane** of 1918 - 1924, it might be suggested that people were no longer reading about the country but went there instead. Of course, the German people did not stop reading. The greater production capacity of the publishing industry that resulted from rationalization, and the economic prosperity, provided a wealth of reading material. The number of titles grew from approximately 24,000 titles in 1924 to approximately 31,000 titles in 1927.[24] But what did the German people read in this period of "the golden twenties" in which the "spirit of Locarno" prevailed?

Chapter Six: Notes

1 Helmut Böhme, An Introduction to the Social and Economic History of Germany (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 102-113.

2 As quoted in Eyck, p. 303.

3 Stopler, p. 97.

4 R.A. Brady, The Rationalization Movement in Germany Industry (New York: Howard Fertig, 1974), p. xii.

5 Ibid., p. 326.

6 Ibid., p. 328.

7 Charles S. Maier, Recasting Bourgeois Europe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 455.

8 C. Bresiani-Turroni, The Economics of Inflation (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968), pp. 359 ff.

9 Ibid., p. 523.

10 Eyck, p. 334.

11 Karl Dietrich Bracher, Die Auflösung Der Weimarer Republic (Villingen/Schwarzwald: Ring Verlag, 1971), pp. 157 - 178.

12 Ibid., p. 340.

13 Ibid., p. 339.

14 Ibid., p. 340.

15 H.A. Turner, Jr., Stresemann and the Politics of the Weimar Republic (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 201.

16 Carl von Ossietzky, "Farewell to Stresemann" Gustav Stresemann 1878/1978 ed. Felix Hirsch (Bonn: Inter-Nationes, 1978), p. 124. This was originally published in the Weltbuhne.

17 Gordon Craig in Germany, 1866-1945, picks up on this comparison. "No German statesman since Bismarck's time had demonstrated, as brilliantly as he was to do, the ability to sense danger and to avoid it by seizing and retaining the initiative, the gift of maintaining perspective and a sense of relative values in the midst of a changing diplomatic situation, and the talent for being more stubborn than his partners in negotiation and for refusing to allow their importunities to force him to accept second-best solutions." pp. 513-514.

[18] As quoted in Gay, p. 136.

[19] Ibid., p. 156.

[20] Stolper, p. 98.

[21] See Brady's chapter, "The Cultural Implications", pp. 401 - 419. He discusses "four well-recognized trends" - secularization, urbanization, cosmopolitanism, and mass culture.

[22] Ibid, p. 406. Brady is speaking here about the breakdown between country and city through rationalization but the trend seems applicable to an assessment of the change in leisure habits.

[23] Laqueur, pp. 229-230.

[24] Mendelssohn, p. 939.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BESTSELLERS, 1924 - 1929

Besonnte Vergangenheit: Memories of a Better Past

The memoirs of Carl Ludwig Schleich, a famous doctor, writer, and friend of many noted Germany publishers and literary figures, reflect the more restrained mood that settled on Germany after the inflation. The reminiscences take the reader from Schleich's birth in 1859 in southern Germany through to 1919. Schleich spent the majority of his life in Prussia and in Berlin especially. Revealing his heart and his politics, he avoids the consequences of the war and the fateful year of 1919, admitting that "the collapse of Germany concerns me so deeply, I cannot speak of it here".[1] Therefore, his memoirs are a journey back to the best times of his life and concern his work and discoveries, his artistic inclinations and his string of famous and wealthy friends. Among the philosophy and wisdom he passes on to the reader, one discerns the message that things were not really so bad in Imperial Germany.

As a professional man, Schleich wrote within his field, his most notable contribution being a dissertation and articles on his discovery of local anesthesia. His memoirs reveal, however, that his true passion in life was artistic expression and that he had only become a doctor on his father's wishes. His own inclination had been to literature and art. Once he had established himself as a doctor, having studied under the reknowed-pathologist Rudolf Virchow, he began his literary career in 1904 with a book of essays and in 1910 became a house author with S. Fischer.[2] Of approximately eleven literary books

written by Schleich, some posthumously released, Richards lists only one other besides Besonnte Vergangenheit as reaching bestseller status.[3] Besonnte Vergangenheit was a commissioned work, an idea originated by the publisher Rowohlt whom Fischer unbegrudgingly accused of 'stealing' his author.[4] Published in 1921, the book of memoirs did not capture the widespread attention of the German reading public until after 1925. (See Table 3). By 1924 only 50,000 copies had been printed. By 1925 a new impression brought the total to 83,000 according to the publisher's information.[5] This must be compared to the next period from 1925 - 1930 in which printings of Besonnte Vergangenheit increased by 162,00 copies or approximately 32,400 copies per year. From 1925 on Schleich's memoirs enjoyed an almost consistent popularity with 110,000 copies printed from 1930 - 1935 and 104,000 copies from 1935 - 1940. The **Gesamtauflage** for the book is calculated at 469,000 in 1940. Schleich was entirely acceptable to the Nazis who listed his memoirs on their 1938 bestseller list with a **Gesamtauflage** (to 1938) of 375,000.[6] Schleich died one year after the publication of his memoirs and therefore did not witness the considerable success this book commanded. In his own time, however, he had been a well known man for his professional work and a well respected man in the smaller artistic circles. He counted such people as Gottfried Keller, Richard Dehmel and especially August Strindberg among his closest friends.

Schleich begins his autobiography with his birth in 1859 into a family of well-established doctors. He relates his family history and some details of his earliest years which he remembers with "childlike

romanticism".[7] His earliest memory (in 1864) is significantly of some impressive Austrian soldiers "in white coats and blue hats".[8] His early school years he recalls as uneventful except his meeting at 10 years old with his future wife. He declared to himself "This one or none"[9] and he married her twenty years later. A chapter is devoted to the family vacation home where he and his sisters played like little "Negroes, Indians and gypsies."[10] The summer was distinguished by a visit from the crown prince Friedrich Wilhelm. From his idyllic childhood, Schleich moves to his carefree student days, rich with friends and rebellion against "the tyranny of learning."[11] His adventures and misadventures, which often revolved around artistic pursuits, exposed him to many people and lifestyles. His friendship with Gottfried Keller dates from this time. One encounter was with an elite hash ring, the members of which recited Satanic poetry while half undressed in a secret apartment. Schleich succumbed to an injection and ended up in a hospital, repentent and wiser. As a warning to his readers Schleich reveals that 5 or 6 of the members of that club ended up in an insane asylum or committed suicide. This period of frivolity ends and Schleich begins a program of serious study first under his father and then in Berlin. From the age of 23 on, Schleich studied medicine under some of the most respected doctors and scientists in Germany. He become interested in narcotics (this time as an anesthesia for medical purpose) under Bernard von Langenbeck. Schleich's interest was based on an outrage he felt at the hazards connected with the general use of chloroform. In 1883 he began his studies under Rudolf Virchow at the Institute der Charité. Throughout this time he

continued a steady contact with the Berlin artists and writers and became quite close to Richard Dehmel. In 1889, after he had opened his own practise in Berlin specializing in surgery and women's health, he married his childhood sweetheart. He began his experiments with cocaine and other narcotics to develop a local anesthesia that might replace chloroform. He was successful in his search and proudly claims that "many hundreds of foreign doctors came to his clinic to learn" from him.[12] To his frustration and anger Schleich's work was rejected among his own countrymen until much later, and he does not hesitate to include a somewhat spiteful paragraph on the politics of the medical and scientific profession. He continues to research and write on his discovery, however, and begins tentative experiments with cancer. More or less finished with his own life story, Schleich devotes his last chapters to remembrances of individuals in the medical and artistic world. Dehmel, Keller and Strindberg are among the better known personalities but there are also anecdotes about some, today, lesser known figures. In these chapters Schleich takes the opportunity to discuss the thoughts of his friends and offer his own philosophy of life, his love of art and his efforts to help his fellow man. In his last chapter Schleich almost apologizes for intentionally leaving out much unpleasantness from his story and concentrating instead on the brighter spots. He admits that the present state of Germany is in flux but he hopes for the best for his country. His last words are ones of consolation and encouragement quoted from Schiller. The book ends with a brief afterword by Stefan Grossman who praises Schleich and his many accomplishments as a doctor and as an artist/writer.

As a non-fiction book, the approach one must take in analysing Besonnte Vergangenheit differs from that taken toward a fictional novel. One need not look for the author's message or perception of society through the characters or as they are worked through the storyline. Schleich's purpose and messages are clearly related and he reveals about his life what he wants his readers to know. This, of course, does not imply that one should not read what stands behind the words which are written so openly. For example, it seems that while Schleich represents himself as somewhat of a cosmopolitan in terms of his professional and artistic endeavors, his comments on the Kaiser, the wars of 1866, 1870 and 1914 and the current state of Germany lead one to suspect that he is a loyal monarchist and nationalist. Further, although he is a doctor committed to relieving the suffering of humanity, one should notice that Schleich has little contact with the common man and moves instead in wealthy circles. Also one must ask what part Schleich's revelations about Strindberg -- whom he praises as a genius -- plays in his autobiography when he lingers on Strindberg's misogyny and unkind games at the expense of his wife. Despite the fact that the book was designed to relate the "times of sunshine" in the author's life, he indulges a fair bit in petty grievances (especially in relation to his professors and medical colleagues), sensationalist tidbits, and, it would seem, a certain degree of name dropping. To be entirely cynical, these add up to an attractive package for the reading public more than to the honest document of a man's life.

The book divides into two parts. The first is the more legitimate highlights from the life of a prominent and respected medical man. It

is to be expected that these happy times are sentimentalized. Of particular interest is his work with narcotics and his path to discovery of a local anesthesia. The popularization of science and the expectation of benefits derived from scientific advancement since the turn of the century increased general interest in the individuals who contributed to such things. The genuine popularity of Einstein is an outstanding example of such interest. Schleich had a share of that interest as his discovery was implemented on a widespread basis after the war. The second part of his memoirs was his reminicences of his friends and acquaintances, which probably had a greater drawing power than his life story alone. Although interesting for its presentations of the various personalities, it is unnecessary to deal with these chapters here. It seems more valuable instead to briefly examine Schleich's approach to (or studied avoidance of) Germany's contemporary situation and national development. For what is revealed in Besonnte Vergangenheit is a man made in the Imperial mold who retained those values into the Weimar period. Throughout the book the reader looks at the world through the eyes of a man who himself gazes wistfully back to the past.

From Schleich's early life two points remained prominent, his positive impression of the Austrian soldiers in their bright uniforms and the important visit of the crown prince to Schleich's home. These set the stage for his attitude to war. He lived to witness three wars -- 1866 (he was 7), 1870 (he was 11) and 1914 (he was 55). Schleich praises the feeling of euphoric exultation that he perceived took hold of the German people during these times and which he had the privilege

of experiencing.[13] For the first two wars he was too young and for the third too old for active service. Instead he worked from 1914 to 1918 in a military hospital. It was difficult for Schleich to accept defeat in the face of the sacrifices Germany had made. He views the defeat as a gaping wound that will not heal. The few instances, such as the above, in which Schleich does speak specifically of the war and Kaiser indicates his position. These are reinforced by comments which are slipped innocuously into the midst of other discussions. For example, Schleich makes a comparison between Moltke and Friederich the Great in emphasizing a large standing army to unite and defend Germany in the middle of his chapter on Ernst von Bergmann, one of his chief supporters aand teachers.[14] He makes few direct political statements and lets the reader draw from inference. Mention of the Social Democrats or the revolution are avoided altogether and instead reference is made to a "community of blood" and "communism of the heart"[15] as ideals worth striving for. One begins to get a clearer picture of his political orientation and ideals through such references but what is significant is the casual acceptance of his position. Schleich critically analyzes philisophical questions, artistic questions or medical problems but avoids an evaluation of his politics and accepts the previous order of things as legitimate. It is important also that he was a sensitive, earnest, accomplished man who did not comprehend the tragedy of his romantic vision of the German nation and of the "unhappiest Kaiser in the world".[16] This perspective, placed into the context of the writings of a prominent and respectable medical expert, is given a good deal of authority. His opinions on his country were not those of a

raving reactionary but of a moderate and educated man. Stated so simply and self-evidently, many German people could agree with Schleich.

It is not entirely coincidental that the real popularity of Besonnte Vergangenheit came with the election of Hindenburg in 1925. It was indicative of the prevailing mood. Schleich was a man from the old world who reaffirmed the values of the old world. He did not have to shout his belief and philosophies but said them with quiet conviction. Despite the popularity of his book from 1925 on, it is doubtful whether Schleich would have been happy in Germany even during the years from 1924 - 1929. Things had changed too much for this representative of Imperial Germany.

Im Westen nichts Neues: The Rejection of War

Carl Ludwig Schleich tried to forget the war, Erich Marie Remarque could not. He wrote in Im Westen nichts Neues

> the generation that grew up before us,
> though it has passed these years with us already
> had a home and a calling; now it will return to
> its old occupations, and the war will be forgotten.[17]

How well Remarque picked up on Schleich's mood in Besonnte Vergangenheit! Remarque's novel was born out of frustration and bitterness against the injustice of war at all levels. He claims in a foreword that "this book is to be neither an accusation nor a confession, and least of all an adventure."[18] The book is not an adventure but it is both an accusation and a confession. It is a confession of disillusionment and it is an accusation against a generation which initiated a war it did not fight. It is "the revolt of the son".[19]

Im Westen took the form of a diary or **Kriegserlebnis.** It is the diary of Paul Baumer who was taken as a schoolboy into the army in 1914, fought in the trenches for his country, and finally died at the age of twenty just before the armistice. It was a thorough rejection of war and criticized some of the prevalent myths which grew around and from the war. Remarque quietly and bluntly declared that the war had cost Germany a generation of men for nothing. Even those who "may have escaped its shells, were destroyed by the war"[20] morally and spiritually.

One historian's recent work on Im Westen concludes that the novel was "more a comment on the postwar mind, on the postwar view of the world, than an attempt to reconstruct the reality of the trench experience".[21] This is undoubtedly true and it is in this capacity that one must also look at the reaction of the German people to the novel, a reaction which came immediately upon its release as a serial in the Vossische Zeitung in 1928.[22] The reaction to the novel was "a reflection of postwar political and emotional investments".[23] The Right felt itself, correctly, immediately challenged by Remarque. Under the direction of Remarque's former employer the communications magnate Alfred Hugenberg, the Right began a campaign of vindiction in which they defended their neo-conservative myths about the war. This was a cause which the National Socialists found particularly inviting and they soon became the main antagonists of Remarque. Just as passionately, others rushed to the defense of Remarque and his work championing it both on artistic and political grounds. Im Westen became the

fulcrum of much heated, and sometimes quite violent, debate. Ullstein and Remarque profitted handsomely from the publicity that caused more and more people to buy the controversial book. Although the book stood on its own merits, the publicity it received catapulted it into a position as, according to some sources,[24] the most popular bestseller of the entire Weimar Republic.

It is ironic that Remarque had trouble getting Im Westen accepted for publication. Working at first as a freelance journalist and then as a picture editor for Hugenberg's magazine Sport im Bild, Remarque used his evenings for creative writing. He had written and published in this fashion two unsuccessful books before Im Westen.[25] After working on Im Westen for only six weeks, Remarque sent the manuscript to the S. Fischer Verlag. It was returned to him with the comment "who today in Germany would still read a war novel?"[26] The Ullstein Verlag accepted the manuscript, however, and displaying confidence and shrewdness launched a major advertising campaign that prepared the German reading public for "great war novel". According to Richards, Im Westen nichts Neues was released in January of 1929, and reached more than 900,000 copies by the end of that year. (See Table 3). The publication breakdown within that year stands as an amazing record. The prepublication publicity encouraged 10,000 advance orders. Within three weeks of publication, 200,000 copies had been sold, and within three months 640,000 copies. Richards was unable to get any further information beyond 1929 but indicates further editions did appear. It has been estimated that by April, 1930, the sales of Im Westen were counted as 2.5 million copies for twelve of twenty known editions.[27] The popu-

larity of Remarque's book was not limited to Germany, and translations were quickly demanded, numbering twenty languages by the end of 1929. The flair of the Ullstein Verlag in promoting the novel was ingenious; for example, German blind veterans received a complimentary braille copy of the bestseller.[28] Once the novel began its climb to success, Remarque left his job at Sport im Bild anticipating his dismissal by the ultra-nationalist Hugenberg. Success had ensured his livelihood. Remarque had gone from relative obscurity to public fame within one year. Yet his success did not please him. Count Harry Kessler wrote:

> The success of his novel has depressed rather than gladdened him. Previously he thought that success could bring him contentment, but now he realized that it cannot suffice a man.29

While Germany debated his work hotly, Remarque increasingly withdrew from the public eye, unwilling even to grant interviews either to answer questions or respond to accusations. The controversy simply raged around him feeding itself on the stores of frustration, bitterness, anger and hatred which surfaced in Germany once again. He worked quietly on the sequel to Im Westen entitled Der Weg zurück which came out in 1931.[30]

In approaching the controversy, it is necessary to have some idea of the story beyond the brief sentence already given. The novel begins at the Front and introduces the main characters through Paul Baumer, the narrator. Paul brings the reader back in time and explains how he and his schoolmates volunteered in the early days of 1914 under the pressure of their parents and schoolmaster. The boys had gone more or less willingly and trusted the reasoning of their elders. In training

camp the boys first began to get a taste of their new life and how different the values of war were from what they had known at home. They learn discipline, injustice and impersonality under the petty tyranny of a former postmaster anxious to enforce his will to prove his authority. Yet the boys also begin to experience "the finest thing that arose out of the war" comradeship.[31] Comradeship is the only value of the Front. At the Front they learn of death and carnage: the few who survive have come a long way from their school books:

> I am young, I am twenty years old; yet I know nothing of life but despair, death, fear, and fatuous superficiality cast over an abyss of sorrow.[32]

Moreover, they could not return to the life of which school books were a major part. At home on leave, they learn about alienation: I find I do not belong here any more, it is a foreign world."[33] Remarque exposes Baumer, and the reader, to every aspect of the war -- the trenches with shelling, gas and No Man's Land -- the hospitals with "carbolic, pus and sweat" and endless irreparable wounds -- and the prisoner of war camps with "kindly" Russian peasants who beg for food scraps and die of dysentery. Paul learns that these Russians and the French who exchange fire with the Germans in the trenches are just like themselves with family and loved ones who await news anxiously at home. Death is the only absolute - nationality means nothing when one shares a man's last hours of life:

> for the first time, I see you are a man like me. I thought of your hand-grenades, of your bayonet, of your rifle; now I see your wife and your face and our fellowship .... Forgive me, comrade; how could you be my enemy?[34]

But war is war and there is little time for such weak human feelings. A soldier has a job to do. Remarque includes as well a bitter comedy in which practical jokes are revenge and sexual encounters only reveal what the boys had stolen from them. Women are mothers who sacrifice without understanding that they cannot give enough. Women are French girls who offer themselves for bread. Women are clean and pretty nurses who understand about lice and bodily functions. Or, finally, women are fantasies that exist on glossy posters. Remarque effectively alternates scenes of violence with scenes of calm, almost ordinary life. The perverse contrast runs throughout the novel until finally, as Paul reaches for a butterfly he is killed. His own grim words are his requiem: After all, war is war.[35]

The reader is to draw three messages from Im Westen nichts Neues. The first and loudest is obvious -- War is Hell. The second is insistent -- the older generation is to blame:

> They ought to have been mediators and guides to the world of maturity, the world of work, of duty, of culture, of progress -- to the future ... The idea of authority, which they represented, was associated in our minds with a greater insight and a more humane wisdom. But the first death we saw shattered this belief. We had to recognize that our generation was more to be trusted than theirs.[36]

The last message is a despairing whisper -- our generation is lost:

> We will be superfluous even to ourselves, we will grow older, a few will adapt themselves, some will merely submit, and most will be bewildered; -- the years will pass by and in the end we shall fall into ruin.[37]

The echo came from the people who read the book, 'Yes, it was just like that.' and, "This is what war was really like'.[38] The critics

chimed in, praising the book for presenting 'the truth of the war'. Challenged by this cry of 'truth', the Right armed itself for battle while the extreme left was satisfied with a minimum of fire. Many of the attacks came on the low level of censorship and pointed to the explicitness of language, sex and 'bodily functions'. The main criticism, however, was of Remarque's presentation of the war and his three messages. One need only contrast Remarque and Flex to understand how completely different the two 'truths' about the war were. The Right had constructed a careful edifice of myths and had provided "the cult of the fallen soldier" as comfort and justification. The Right could not simply abandon these without admitting the partial failure of conservatism. Moreover, the Right felt that Remarque had distorted the reasons for the war, the nature of the army and the image of the Kaiser. The implications behind the following exchange simply could not be accepted. The question is to whom is a war useful:

> "It isn't any use to the Kaiser... He has everything he can want already."
>
> "I'm not so sure about that," contradicts Kat, "he has not had a war up till now. And every full-grown emperor requires at least one war, otherwise he would not become famous. You look in your school books."
>
> "And generals too." adds Detering, "they become famous through war."[39]

One of the tactics used by the Right and exploited by the Nazis was a personal attack on Remarque. This began with accusations that he had not fought in the war, the extension being that if the novel was fiction, it could not be truth. This was an important point for the Right who insisted that their authors had experienced the Front and

could, therefore, relate the actual truth. Later propaganda insisted that Remarque had illegally transferred capital and was, therefore, a criminal. The Nazis joined in with a cry of Jewish conspiracy against which Tucholosky wrote a brilliant satire which revealed "At last, the truth about Remarque."[40] The book itself continued to be criticized as over-sentimentalized, unrealistic and immature as a work of literature. Carl von Ossietsky cut through the noise of the criticisms and defenses and perceived that "this affair is political and not touched by aesthetic categories ...the sole question is whether a deliberately moderate pacific way of thinking ...should continue to be permitted or not."[41] When in December of 1930, Lewis Milestone's film, All Quiet on the Western Front, was shown in Berlin, the seriousness of the political tensions which were once again rising in Germany became more evident.

The film, which should be recognized in its own right as a cinematic achievement, was released outside of Germany first. After initial viewing by the Berlin censorship board, and appropriate deletions to appease the military, the film premiered on December 4th, 1930 in Berlin. The National Socialists under the direction of the Berlin Gauleiter Joseph Goebbels saw the opportunity to bring the issues of the book from the literary journals into the street. Approximately 300 Nazis attended the first showing, waited for the appropriate moment and released stink bombs, mice and a barrage of speeches on the captive theater audience.[42] The next day the episode had reached the streets and the Reichstag and the controversy became fevered. After much official discussion, the film was banned.[43] The Nazi

campaign against Remarque was continued for Goebbels knew he could exploit the situation to his own Party's advantage. Finally, in 1931 Remarque left Germany explaining "I had to leave Germany, because my life was threatened."[44] Remarque had settled comfortably in Switzerland, therefore, well before his book was burnt in May, 1933. On November 20th, 3,411 copies of Im Westen were confiscated from the Ullstein Verlag as well.

As a final amusing note to the publication history of Im Westen, the following announcement was made in the Nazi paper Völkische Beobachter in 1936:

> After all the lies told by people like Remarque, we now bring to you the experience of a soldier who took part in the war, of which you will say at once: that is what it was really like.[45]

Loyal Nazis found themselves reading chapters of Im Westen: the joke was not appreciated by the chagrinned Goebbels.

Recently much good work has been done on Remarque, Im Westen nichts Neues and the film.[46] Such work was needed and the above brief account adds little that is new but does place the novel in the perspective of the other bestsellers of Weimar. In answering the question of popularity, C.R. Barker and R.W. Last see the book as "compulsively readable" first and conclude that it "satisfied a need, and expressed and realized emotions and attitudes to life which the buyers and borrowers did not find expressed elsewhere."[47] The contribution of M. Eksteins is to suggest that the book and the response to it was an expression of "the failure of the postwar experience to justify the war."[48] The passion of the reactions indicated how tender the psycho-

logical wound of the war was. Im Westen was obviously not read by everyone for the same reasons. Some are drawn to such a novel for what the author says. Some are drawn by what others say about the author. Ullstein's publicity did much to expose Im Westen and the controversy did more. Remarque himself argues that had the book not been successful, it would not have aroused attacks.[49] Goebbels arrogantly credited the Nazis personally for the success of the novel. The real credit must go, however, to a combination of all the above factors.

Remarque was severely criticized at the time for claiming to represent a generation. One must admit to exceptions within that generation for some soldiers truly did accept the heroic myths of sacrifice and believed they were 'wanderers between two worlds'. Yet since not all the response to Im Westen was critical, one can say that he spoke for at least a portion of the German people. Certainly Remarque understood the magnitude of the war in forming Weimar society far more than Schleich. However, both are representative of the period 1924-1929. Under the security and stability that was conducive to Schleich's calm vision of the past, rumbled the bitterness and dissatisfaction of Remarque. The Nazis looked upon 'the revolt of the son' and let loose "the revenge of the father."[50] From 1929 on one finds the Nazis as a determining influence on the reading public and the bestsellers.

Chapter Seven: Notes

1 C.L. Schleich, Besonnte Vergangenheit: Lebenserinnerungen, 1859 - 1919. (Berlin: Ernst Rowoht Verlag, 1921), p. 22.

2 Mendelssohn, p. 71. This first volume, Von der Seele, was released with 23,000 copies.

3 Richards, p. 211. Es läuten die Glocken (1912) reached 84,000 by 1930.

4 Mendelssohn, p. 863.

5 See publisher's blurb in C.L. Schleich, Die Weisheit der Freude (Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1924). Richards gives 63,000 copies printed as the total to 1925.

6 Strothmann, p. 381.

7 Besonnte Vergangenheit, p. 18. The translation, and all subsequent ones from this edition, are mine.

8 Ibid., p. 17.

9 Ibid., p. 21.

10 Ibid., p. 30.

11 Ibid., p. 92.

12 Ibid., p. 170.

13 Ibid., p. 22.

14 Ibid., p. 131.

15 Ibid., p. 96.

16 Ibid., p. 22.

17 E.M. Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front (New York: Fawcett Crest Books, 1958), p. 254. All translations will be from this edition. Im Westen nichts Neues was originally published in 1929 by the Ullstein Verlag in Berlin.

18 Ibid., p. 5.

19 Gay., p. 102. This term is most often associated with the Expressionists, which Remarque was not. It is, however, a fitting label for the type of criticism seen in Remarque.

20 All Quiet on the Western Front, p. 5.

21 M. Eksteins, "All Quiet on the Western Front and the Fate of a War" Journal of Contemporary History 15 (April, 1980) 351.

22 Reiss, p. 177 and Eksteins, p. 353. The Vossische Zeitung experienced an increase in sales at this time.

23 Eksteins, p. 357.

24 Reiss claims that eighteen months after the novel was released, 3-1/2 million copies in total had been printed. p. 178.

25 Of his first novel Die Traumbude (1920) Remarque said "a truly terrible book. Two years after I had published it, I should have liked to have bought it up." As quoted in Eksteins, p. 349.

26 As quoted in Reiss, p. 176. Translation is mine.

27 This information, as well as the information on the breakdown within 1929, has been taken from Eksteins, p. 353.

28 Ibid.

29 Count Harry Kessler The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan trans. and ed. Charles Kessler (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), pp. 366 - 367.

30 Richards, p. 199. Der Weg zurück reached 75,000 copies printed with its first year.

31 All Quiet on the Western Front, p. 29.

32 Ibid., p. 228.

33 Ibid., p. 149.

34 Ibid., p. 195. One is reminded of a similar situation in Die Biene Maja.

34 Ibid., p. 200.

36 Ibid., p. 16.

37 Ibid., p. 254.

38 Laqueur, p. 135.

39 All Quiet on the Western Front, pp. 180-181.

40 Tucholosky, "At Last, the Truth about Remarque", pp. 210-212.

41 As quoted in Gay, p. 137.

42 M. Eksteins, "War, Memory and Politics: The Fate of the Film All Quiet on the Western Front" Central European History XIII (March, 1980) 63.

[43] The film was released again in 1931 with substantial cuts but passed unnoticed in the domestic upheaval that now occupied the attention of most people.

[44] C.R. Barker & R.W. Last, Erich Marie Remarque (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1979), p. 18. Apparently, Goebbels approached Remarque and invited him back to Berlin, an offer Remarque flatly refused. Since it is difficult to accept the possibility of repentance, one must wonder what Goebbels' motive was.

[45] Barker & Last, p. 32. As quoted.

[46] Both Barker and Last, and Eksteins leave little to add on the publication history of the book and the impact of the film.

[47] Barker & Last, p. 67.

[48] Eksteins, "All Quiet on the Western Front and the Fate of a War", p. 362.

[49] Last & Barker, p. 18.

[50] Gay, p. 119.

CHAPTER EIGHT: WEIMAR GERMANY, 1930-1933

The historian is often plagued by hindsight which offers the conclusion of events without the formula which produced them. Hindsight which fastens on the nightmare of Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich as the conclusion of the Weimar Republic has caused some historians to search for "the writing on the wall" as early as 1925.[1] Others reach back to Bismarck for 'the beginning of the end.'[2] Although no nation or people can escape their history, that history is by no means simply the fulfilling of prescribed fate. In other words, "if the end of the Republic was implied in its beginning, that end was not inevitable."[3] For all his arrogance after the fact even Hitler was unsure after the November 1932 elections showed the National Socialists had lost approximately 3 million votes from the July election total of 13 million. Because of hindsight as well, the history of the period 1930-1933 often reads more like an account of the Nazis rise to power than the story of the decline of the Republic. One cannot, of course, underestimate the role of the Nazis in the developments after and during 1929. The significance of the Nazis in relation to Im Westen nichts Neues is indicative of the influence they had on popular literature. Yet other factors, especially the economic and political problems, were independent of the rising tide of fascism. One must also not forget the efforts, however insufficient, of the left and persistent republicans, who did try to solve the crisis of the Weimar Republic in their own way. There is, perhaps naturally, a foreboding which surrounds the efforts to save the Republic, for the end of the story is

known. The shadow of doom cast by hindsight must not interfere with the perception of the alternatives and possibilities which were as much a part of the end of the Weimar Republic as were the Nazis.

The roots of crisis from 1930-1933 must be sought in the previous period. Beneath the stability and prosperity that emanated from the 1924-1929 period were unresolved social, economic and political problems which had occasionally made themselves felt but for the most part had remained ignored. These problems, however, implicitly made the stability tenuous. Moreover, the stability of the Republic depended on reality of prosperity not on credit. Once the prosperity was threatened, the illusion of stability collapsed and the Republic faced both economic and political crisis.

The economic problems of the period 1924-29 were many but two may be distinguished as important to the developments after 1929 - Germany's dependence on foreign loans and investments and a persistent agrarian problem. The Dawes Plan had definitely helped to stabilize the Republic after 1923 and resolved many of the immediate problems faced by the government. However, it also initiated an open policy of foreign loans and investments. This economic crutch fostered the appearance of internal prosperity and even allowed Germany to pay its reparation obligations without resorting to its own resources until the Depression.[4] It also provided capital with which Germany could finance industrial and agricultural recovery. The dangerousness of this policy was recognized at the time and it was argued that foreign credit only added to Germany's debts especially with the high interest rates which were charged. The most crucial weakness in the policy was that "were

the influx of foreign credits, for whatever reason, to stop, the house of cards must instantly collapse"[5] Of course this was exactly what happened with the Stock Market crash in October, 1929. Foreign loans were recalled and investments stopped.

The entire economic difficulties cannot be laid at the door of other nations, however, and other signs of crisis had begun even earlier in 1929 than October: "the national product stagnated, investment in industry sank by a quarter of what it had been in 1928, and unemployment was on average 35 per cent higher..."[6] One of the areas in which the Republic had shown itself perhaps most neglectful was in agriculture. The Social Democrats had lost the favour of the rural people in two ways. First, they had traditionally ignored the country and peasant as their sympathies and concern lay with the urban, industrial proletariat. Secondly after 1918, the conservatism of the Social Democrats resulted in the failure to implement agrarian reform; significantly they left the estates of the East in the hands of the large landowners and missed the opportunity to divide the land among the peasants. After 1924 some efforts towards both agricultural reform and resettlement were made within the context of general prosperity. Even after 1924, however, the main thrust was industrial development. With the beginning of world wide depression, as all nations rushed to protectionism, the agricultural segment began to feel the pressure of the previous neglect. In response to the ensuing agricultural crisis the government implemented protective tariffs, substantial financial grants and followed the policy of purchasing surplus products. But, as Stolper put it "the rye crisis became the crisis of the Junker class."[7]

The complaints of this reactionary group found a sympathetic ear with Hindenburg, a Junker and a large landowner himself. Because the Junkers had maintained considerable powers of influence within the government, they encroached "on the freedom of decision-making available to the republican state".[8] The financial aid that was extended to them became a political issue as the urban population failed to accept the extent of aid they felt "was thrown into the laps of reactionaries"[9] The urban masses, moreover, faced their own crisis of unemployment.

The cuts in production that began in 1929 caused the number of unemployed to rise to 2 million, not including those people who never had a job. As unemployment increased the issue of insufficient funds to extend the national unemployment service became central. Already facing economic constraints, the government was burdened with a politically explosive financial problem. There were two possible solutions, the size of the payments could be decreased, or, the contributions from employers and workers could be increased. Meanwhile, government loans subsidized the service. Neither management or labor could resolve a course of action that was satisfactory to both and time only increased the pressure as the number of unemployed doubled to 4,380,000 by December, 1930. By that time, the 'Great Coalition' government of the Social Democrat Hermann Müller had fallen and the Chancellory was opened to Heinrich Brüning.

That Germany faced a severe political and economic crisis became evident with the change in government. Nothing, however, indicated the social repercussions of the crisis as much as the growth of the

National Socialists who polled 6 1/2 million votes in the September, 1930 election as compared with only 800,000 in 1928. The National Socialists had struggled through the "golden" years between 1924 and 1929 plagued by internal factionalism and hindered by an extreme platform and rough-house tactics. Hitler was not idle and had worked at establishing important and respectable connections. These he found "among military men who despised the Republic, agrarians longing for a Restoration, and industrialists anxious to protect their trusts and cripple Socialist trade unions."[10] Hitler's real breakthrough into political circles came in conjunction with Hugenburg. The two joined in opposing the Young Plan (adopted in 1929) which was essentially a revision of the Dawes Plan and, among other things, reduced German reparation payments. The Young Plan was the last major international issue before the domestic situation dominated the center stage.

Brüning's Chancellorship lasted only a little more than two years. Although he was supported by Hindenburg, Brüning had little popular support which from the beginning jeopardized his chances of implementing any sensitive policies to remedy the economic crisis which continued to grow; by December, 1931 the official number of unemployed reached 5,615,000. Brüning's solution to the lack of support was to threaten the Reichstag with invocation of Article 48 of the Constitution which authorized the use of emergency decrees without Reichstag approval if they were signed by the President. As long as Hindenburg supported Brüning then, he was able to put his policies through despite the obstructionist practices of the Reichstag parties. Brüning was diligent in his efforts to turn the economy around. He cut social

services and government salaries and raised taxes. His most fateful policy was to attempt to reverse the **Osthilfe** (financial aid to the Eastern Junkers) and liquidate the bankrupt estates instead. In this way Bruning antagonized Hindenburg and was dismissed after the latters re-election in 1932 for what Hindenburg saw as "agrarian bolshevism."[11]

The re-election of the eighty-four year old Field Marshall enjoys a certain irony in relation to his initial election as the candidate representative of the Right. The entrance of the National Socialists to a major political position recast political symbols and moved Hindenburg from a reactionary to a moderate image. The republicans now rallied to Hindenburg as the only candidate which had enough popular support to defeat Hitler, the main contender for the Presidency. Bruning knew the threat posed by a National Socialist victory and the dependency of his own position. He tirelessly compaigned for Hindenburg unaware of any estrangement between them. In the first election on March 13, 1932, Hindenburg received approximately 18,650,000 votes to Hitler's 11,400,000.[12] The second election brought Hindenburg 19,390,000 votes and Hitler 13,410,000. With Hindenburg's re-election, the moderates felt that they had achieved somewhat of a victory and the November elections seemed to reconfirm this. With the drop in National Socialist votes:

> the legend of their irresistible progress and in vulnerability had been shown false. Indeed, one got the impression that the National Socialist movement had passed its peak and was starting to decline.[13]

The day Franz von Papen took up the position of Chancellor in June, 1932 marks for many historians the real 'beginning of the end'

for the Republic. This man, variously described as "vain, ambitious and intriguing" and "fifth-rate"[14], and his Cabinet of Barons - called so because almost all the portfolios were held by members of the nobility - were unable to raise Germany out of the mire of political and economic crisis. Unemployment figures had reached six million people, approximately one out of every three Germans did not have a job.[15] Production and exports remained low and the bankruptcy rate remained high. Almost immediately Papen left Germany for the Lausanne Conference (June 16, 1932) where the Allies and Germany agreed to a suspension of reparation payments indefinitely. At home Papen initiated a public works program and reversed the deflationary policy of Bruning. Although certain signs of recovery could be noticed, mostly due to renewed confidence internationally, these should not be attributed to Papen. His most significant move was the "rape of Prussia" - the toppling of the Prussian Social Democratic government of Otto Braun. This was a move toward fulfilling his charge to form an 'authoritarian' regime.[16] Papen's position became tenuous after the July, 1932 elections returned the National Socialists to the Reichstag as the strongest single party. Papen tried both to outmaneuver and negotiate with the Nazis but these attempts were unsuccessful. When it was clear that his government could not muster support, and that parliamentary procedures were deadlocked, Papen was forced to resign. On December 2, 1932 the "power behind the throne"[17] Kurt Von Schleicher, the General who supported and abandoned both Bruning and Papen, became Chancellor.

Schleicher's career as Chancellor was brief, lasting only 54 days. In this time he proved himself as vulnerable as Brüning and

Papen in facing a lack of support at every turn. He attempted to gain support by splitting the Nazis through Georg Strasser who represented the left in the National Socialist Party. This failed and Hitler effectively eliminated Strasser. In economics, Schleicher proved ineffectual. His policy of agrarian reform in the East brought the criticism of the Junkers upon him, to which Hindenburg listened. Schleicher resigned on January 28, 1932. The day before Hindenburg had stated "surely you do not think that I would appoint this Austrian corporal Chancellor of Germany."[18] Three days later, Hitler was sworn in as Chancellor and by the time Hindenburg died in August, 1934 Hitler assumed the office of President as a matter of course.

The questions of why Hindenburg appointed Hitler after first rejecting such an idea, and how Hitler actually reached power are beyond the scope of this study. When Hitler had realized his goal of becoming Chancellor, he moved quickly to consolidate his position and the dominance of the National Socialists in the government through **Gleichschaltung**- the 'harmonization' of all state institutions placing effective power into the hands of Hitler and the new National Socialist state. The principle of **Gleichschaltung** was extended to every aspect of society over the next few years, as has been mentioned in respect to the publishing industry. Hitler also moved quickly to resolve the economic crisis and because he controlled the State apparatus, and especially the banking mechanism, he was not hindered by the same problems of Reichstag support. He reassured the agricultural segment by passing laws to protect both peasant and large holdings. Unemployment was reduced through a massive public works program which included

rearmament; at the beginning of 1933 unemployment stood at 6,014,000 and by the end of the year at 4,464,000 and continued to decrease. It has often been argued that Hitler was able to take advantage of a natural economic recovery that was international.[19] Regardless of how Hitler achieved the economic reversal, or how secure the economic revival would prove over time, it appeared to many Germans that Germany had been restored, economically and politically as well. It has been pointed out "there is an essential element of historical continuity between the **Kaiserreich** and the 'Third Reich'."[20] Many of the same values of Imperial Germany became the cornerstones of the 'new' Germany - discipline, duty, authoritarian leadership, and the subordination of the individual to the concept of the "total unity" of a community.[21] Yet it can easily be recognized that the 'new' Germany was indeed new in many important respects despite the use of the past to legitimize it. Both old dreams and new promises played a significant role in the popular support behind Hitler and the National Socialists; Hitler fulfilled both although not always in the manner anticipated by the people.

The social ramifications of the political and economic crisis from 1930-1933 determined the course of Germany in many ways, far more than debates in the Reichstag. The sway of public opinion was watched anxiously and sensitivity to the expressions of frustration and outrage made or unmade politicians. Elections were dreaded. The German people were in many ways entitled to their anger, however. Unemployment crowded the streets with people with nothing to do but brood. Those who still had jobs had to contend with the fear of losing them. Many

people were evicted and found themselves 'citizens' of the shanty towns which sprang up in the forests and parks. Suicides increased. Prostitution and crime increased. Violence increased and became a part of everyday life. Public life was radicalized and politicized. Kathe Kollwitz, an artist on the left, despaired. She noted in her diary "the unspeakably difficult general situation. The general misery. People sliding into dark distress. The disgusting political incitement."[22] Fear and uncertainty marked every life.

The repercussions of such social dislocation found a reflection in the cultural life of Germany. One historian writes that "the years 1930-3 were among the less creative ones in the annals of Weimar culture."[23] Cultural activity could not but slow down as theaters, opera houses, cabarets and music halls closed down. The public could no longer afford the luxury of such entertainment. Even when entrance tickets were reduced, the cut was not sufficient to draw the numbers of people to keep even the more popular cinema going. Literature, however, continued to be produced but "while the number of books published was hardly affected... their price had to be reduced and the income of the writers, including even bestselling authors, fell steeply.."[24] Authors and publishers were both acutely aware, for the most part, of the "horror without end" that defined German society best at this time.[25] A multitude of books articles and essays appeared that seriously addressed what was seen as the problems of Germany and, the most popular, offered solutions. Escape and pure entertainment, almost always factors in popular literature, increased their appeal to a distressed nation. The three bestsellers to be examined next, Der

Wehrwolf, Fridericus. Trilogie and Volk ohne Raum, fall, however, in the former category indicating perhaps a higher degree of both politicization and urgency.

Before moving to the above mentioned books, a word should be said about the effects of the National Socialism on popular literature. Some of the effects have already been discussed in relation to the previous bestsellers. It should be remembered, for example, that certain authors were condemned and others were promoted. Remarque was personally threatened. Thomas Mann had to leave Germany for voluntary exile to escape persecution. Hans Reiman quickly changed his politics to suit the new state. Frenssen found himself quite comfortable. Some authors decreased their production and only cautiously released their works. Some abandoned writing and settled into safe ignominy. Others did not have the chance and were bundled into prison. Publishing houses like the Jewish Fischer Verlag anticipated relocation. Other Houses, notably the Ullstein Verlag, pathetically tried to Aryanize their firms to suit the Nazis. Paul Steegeman attempted a conversion from the Left to the Right, unsuccessfully. Eugen Diederich found himself without any problems at all. After 1933, Libraries and bookshops were closed, or plundered and the 'new' Germany lit up with bonfires of 'undesirable' literature. In the midst of all this the German reading public kept on reading.

Chapter 8: Notes

[1] De Jonge, p. 195.

[2] See Hamerow, Restoration, Revolution, Reaction.

[3] Gay, p. 2. As Gay points out this view is supported by Bracher in his book.

[4] Stolper, p. 99.

[5] Ibid.

[6] D. Petzina, "Germany and the Great Depression" Journal of Contemporary History, 4 (1969) 64.

[7] Stolper, p. 111.

[8] Böhme, p. 111.

[9] Stolper, p. 112.

[10] Gay, p. 157.

[11] As Eyck points out, "agrarian bolshevism" was probably one of several factors which determined the dismissal of Bruning. Hindenburg was especially sensitive to the unpopularity of the emergency decrees and resented the man who consistently required his signature. p. 384.

[12] Thälmann (the Communist candidate) received 5,000,000 and Duesterberg (the Nationalist candidate) only half as many. See Eyck, pp. 360-361. Duesterberg did not run in the second election.

[13] Eyck, p. 434.

[14] Eyck, p. 392.

[15] Petzina, p. 60.

[16] Stolper, p. 121.

[17] Ibid., p. 123.

[18] Eyck, p. 477.

[19] Böhme, p. 114.

[20] H.A. Winkler, "German Society, Hitler and the Illusion of Restoration, 1930-33" Journal of Contemporary History, 11 (1976) 13.

[21] Böhme, p. 115. Böhme cites R. Dahrendorf for these values.

[22] Laqueur, p. 244.

[23] Ibid. This Laqueur feels was not due only to political and economic conditions but because of "a feeling of exhaustion." Even Laqueur, however, concentrates more on National Socialist cultural policy in these last years than what actually did exist among the artistic circles and in popular culture. This period (1930-33) has received little attention in this respect.

[24] Ibid., p. 258.

[25] Ibid., p. 254.

CHAPTER NINE: BESTSELLERS, 1930-1933

Der Wehrwolf: The German Historical Novel

In 1914 when the announcement of war elated the German people generally,many sighed and felt the burden of a decadent past fall from their shoulders. They believed that Germany was surely broaching a new era. Others, with equal exultation, saw 1914 as the beginning of the fulfillment of a great destiny. They recalled from the past such national heroes as Frederick the Great to sanction their cause. Thomas Mann even wrote a bestselling essay entitled Friedrich und die grosse Koalition in 1916 and made a pointed parallel between the achievements of that enlightened despot in the 18th century and the present war effort.[1] The new age did not come in the manner that had been anticipated and neither was destiny fulfilled. With the revolution, a new vision filled the eyes of many and again there was a desire to shake off the past, although this time for different reasons. Others, as has been shown through the previous bestsellers, looked to the past after 1918 not for a destiny but for consolation. Later, under the National Socialists the past again became a dream of destiny and history became a political weapon.

Despite the efforts to dismiss the past both in 1914 and in 1918, it stubbornly continued to intrude upon the present -- as it always does. The majority of German people accepted and maintained an historical consciousness. Their national heroes and accomplishments were a source of pride and granted them an identity distinct from other peoples: for better or worse nationalism is defined in this way at

least in part. The search for identity was, moreover, psychologically crucial during the crisis and dislocation of Weimar society. The popularity of the historical novel which touched upon either national heroes or the meaning and roots of the people can be expected and Richards lists two historical novels among his top twenty-five: Der Wehrwolf by Hermann Löns published in 1910 and Fridericus. Trilogie, published after 1921 in a one volume edition, by Walter von Molo.

From another perspective, it is important to realize that the historical novel had traditionally not been intended as a period study, but is used rather to make a contemporary statement. Often the format of the historical novel allowed the author the freedom to be critical without attracting the disapproval of the censor. As well, historical example carried a seal of legitimization in the same way as tradition was authoritative. Also to the author's advantage is the distance achieved by history which makes the issues and problems in the past seem clearer to the reader even though the same issues and problems exist unperceived in the present. The great challenge of the serious historical novelist is to communicate the connection between past and present to the reader. The historical novelist, therefore, endeavors to do in a popular way what the historian does professionally. One must cynically admit, however, and without exempting the historian's work from the same charge, that the historical novel can easily become a platform for propaganda.

Der Wehrwolf by Löns struck deep into the memories of the German people for it dealt with the Thirty Years War, a significant landmark in German history. The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was remembered and

taught as a time of political disintegration, economic ruin, and widespread starvation, disease and hardship. Its horrors and the legends of destruction had been duly passed down each generation. The political decisions of the Peace of Westphalia had guaranteed the fragmentation of Germany until the 19th century and economic recovery after 1648 was slow. Given figures which calculate that the city of Ausburg went from 80,000 people to 18,000 and the duchy of Wurtemberg went from 400,000 to 48,000,[2] one can appreciate the magnitude of the destruction resulting from the war. However, reservation must temper the rhetoric which fostered such conclusions as those of Gustav Freytag in his 5-volume work, Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit, published between 1859 and 1867: He wondered how,

> After such losses and such corruption of the survivors, a German people had remained in existence, a people which was able after the conclusion of the peace to till the soil, to pay taxes, and, after miserably dragging along for a hundred years, to bring forth new energy and enthusiasm, and a new life in the arts and sciences.[3]

Such conclusions reinforce the cause of nationalism. One significant product of the war was a novel entitled Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus (1669) by Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen which tells the story of the adventures of a 'simple', heroic rogue during the Thirty Years War and his personal and spiritual development. This novel became a classic of German literature.

Both Freytag and Grimmselshausen influenced Löns in Der Wehrwolf's message and setting.[4] From Freytag, he received the basic inspiration and subject of his book the Wehrwolves, a group which had in fact existed during the Thirty Years War. From Grimmelshausen Löns

absorbed the description of life during that time especially the bands of marauders from all sides who lay waste to the land and caused hardship for the people. Löns was also influenced by a book published in 1869 called Tyl Ulenspiegel by Charles de Coster.[5] De Coster had brought together and coordinated the mass of legends which surrounded the character of Tyl Ulenspiegl who allegedly took part in the revolution of the Low Countries against Philipp II in the 16th Century. De Coster's Tyl Ulenspiegl is a "tale of love of liberty and fight for liberation."[6] This became the thrust of Löns book as he similarly cast his main character Harm Wulf into the role of a popular hero. In Der Wehrwolf Löns attempts to show how the German people survived the ravages of the war and what characteristics insured their successful revival as a great people.

As was mentioned in relation to Das zweite Gesicht, Der Wehrwolf had sold 10,000 copies 4 years after its publication in 1910. According to Richards, Der Wehrwolf had reached 90,000 copies printed by 1919, confirming the increase in readership which his work experienced after his death. (See Table 3). However, later publication statistics for after this seem to be contradictory. For example, Richards cites 271,000 copies for the period 1919-1925 -- an increase of 181,000 copies. Griebel, writing in 1934, claimed that while in the years 1918-1923 Der Wehrwolf was behind Das zweite Gesicht "today things are reversed and Wehrwolf is again the most read of Hermann Löns books."[7] Richards calculates 440,000 copies printed to 1935, an increase of only 169,000 copies printed from 1925. Yet the publisher gives the number of copies at 460,000 for its 1923 edition![8] The total

given by the National Socialists, who promoted the novel, is 504,000 copies printed in 1938, an increase of only 64,000 copies for a 15 year period if one uses Diederichs' figures.[9] If one uses Richards' statistics 89,000 copies were printed between 1928 and 1935, and more than 125,000 from 1935 to 1939. Although it cannot be definitely established which statistics are correct, there can be little doubt of the popularity of the book. It seems most probable that Der Wehrwolf experienced two periods of popularity -- the first from 1919 to 1925 and the second after 1928.

The novel begins with a brief history of the area around Luneburg, Löns favorite area, before the Thirty Years War. An old man tells his story of adventure and includes how the area suffered war and pillage through the ages. Löns then introduces the main character, the young Harm Wulf, and the reality of war itself. For a while, the war remains external to Harm's life and he lives happily on his prosperous farm with his wife and two children. Slowly the war encroaches upon the land and the lives of the people as the stories of pillage and murder draw closer. There is an attempt to collect taxes to pay the bands of soldiers but this does not stop the destruction. The peasants begin to realize that "if it keeps on as it is now, there will no longer be any law or order."[10] As the people discuss what they can do to protect themselves and their families Löns introduces the first of his central mottoes: "Help yourself, and God will also help you."[11] He continues with a description of siege and the peasants decide to resort to violence as a means of defence: "Better to have foreign blood on one's knife than a foreign knife in one's blood"[12] This is the second motto. The third comes when the war affects Harm directly. A band of

marauders murder his wife and children and destroy his home. This is the key incident of his life and determines his future as he concludes "insult for insult, blow for blow, blood for blood."[13] Harm now turns his full attention to the war, organizes the local men into a clandestine group called the Wehrwolves who revenge the people, and becomes their leader. Increasingly the foreign soldiers would find some of their own gently swinging from their necks in the trees, their hands holding a sign as a calling card from the Wehrwolves. This revenge comes sweetly and self-righteously for Harm.

On one ride through a forest with his servant (both the horse and servant indicate prosperity and status), Harm finds a half-starved woman who had fled a raid on her home. He takes Johanna in and predictably marries her after a time. She bears him two children (twins) and his life is complete once more. However, he cannot abandon his duties as the Wehrwolf leader for the circumstances of the war and the people had become worse:

> Whole towns were desolate, others had barely one quarter of their people left; whoever was not dead wandered the land begging or else lay half-starved beneath the fortress walls for protection.[14]

Still the peasants persevere showing their strength as a people and a community. Practically, they build fortifications and even a church. Children are born and they are significantly all twins. Life continues and to show this Lons includes the melodramatic touch of having Johanna die of natural causes - on the same day as the king of Sweden. Before she died she entrusted her husband and children to a young local girl, Mieken, who she knew would love and care for them. According to plan, Harm marries Mieken who also bears him children. The war continues.

Löns shows the peasants working with the local Gräf to defend the land. Harm acts as the liasion and collects money from the peasants in exchange for protection and grants of freedom for the town and church. Harm is at all times respectful to the Gräf and Gräfin but expects respect from their servants for his position. The Graf is not a part of the Wehrwolves, however, and Harm remains silent when he questions him about the group. This glimpse of the social structure is interesting for it is indicative of Löns own sympathies for the aristocracy (something that was also evident in Das zweite Gesicht), and it plays on a romanticized image of feudal obligations.

When the war finally ends, the people only slowly return to an almost forgotten normalcy. Harm sleeps for 3 weeks straight. The novel ends as it began with an old man surrounded by children who press him for stories. This time the old man is Harm. The last paragraph brings the reader to the present, to a descendent of Harm's who is proud of his name and his family's past.

In 1929, Kurt Tucholsky critized Der Wehrwolf as "founded on latent sadism" and was appalled at "the monstrous success of such trash."[15] Tucholsky was not unaware of the type of street violence displayed by the Nazis - who had even named one of their groups after the novel - and his criticism is directed at the justification Löns seems to give to that violence which was supposedly directed against foreign, harmful elements. Löns' own chauvinism against foreign people fit neatly into the Nazis perception of their mission. The conception of an elite group of sanctioned 'defenders of the people' as presented in Der Wehrwolf was also attractive to the Nazis. It is more than

likely, however, that the average German reader did not associate the violence so directly with an aggressive cause. Instead they received an image of defense under the circumstances. Harm was the hero who withstood and courageously faced all that was put into his path. He was a symbol of sacrifice and perseverence. As an individual, Harm is romanticized. As a symbol, he is meant to embody the virtues of the people. Löns himself believed that "the peasant farmers are the strength of every people".[16] He carried this point through, as mentioned, in Das zweite Gesicht.

Löns' three mottoes are crucial in understanding his perception of the past and of the present. The characteristics that carried Harm and the peasants through the upheaval and destruction of the war would also carry the German people through their current crisis. Lons was directing this message to those affected by modernization prior to World War 1, but it was a message even more applicable to the post-war period and the turmoils toward the last year of the Republic. The virtues of community, sacrifice, simplicity, hard work, and the willingness and strength to use violence when necessary are to be nutured according to Löns. Moreover, the women as well as the men are depicted positively by Löns as part of the community. They too fight for liberty and Johanna can shoot and ride as well as any young man. They are strong women who stand equal to their men.

Besides the mottoes Löns develops three themes. The first is a celebration of the land which is the foundation of the peasants. Second is a eulogy to the German Volk and the characteristics which ensured their resurgence and revenge against those who had attempted to

destroy them. Finally, and logically from Löns perspective, is a chauvinistic reinforcement of German insularity. This borders dangerously on racial purity, another appealing aspect of Löns for the Nazis. [17] Within Löns' good story then, are powerful messages which he felt were applicable to the 17th century and to the 20th century. When August, 1914 came, Löns wrote his publisher: "My war song for 1914 I already wrote in 1910 with Wehrwolf.[18]

This novel is a clear example of how an author will use an historical situation to translate a message to his contemporary reading public. Given the messages, and not overlooking the excellent story, the popularity of Der Wehrwolf is understandable. This is especially true in the periods 1918 - 1923 and 1930 - 1933, periods of crisis when identity, values and a means of overcoming the crisis were foremost in the minds of the German people.

Fridericus. Trilogie: The Story of a People

Sometime after 1921, Walter von Molo published a one volume trilogy entitled Fridericus.Trilogie, alternately Ein Volk wacht auf or Der Roman meins Volkes. This one volume brought together three of von Molo's books: Fridericus published in 1918, Luise published in 1919, and Das Volk published in 1921.[19] According to Richards, their individual totals of copies printed totalled 103,000 copies printed altogether. The Albert Langen Verlags' statistics for the 1925 one volume edition show that each of the individual counts totalled to 208,000 copies printed independent of the one volume edition.[20] These statistics are significant in relation to the popularity of Fridericus

as a one volume bestseller. According to Richards by 1924 the single volume had only 10,000 copies printed. (See Table 3). The publisher's information for 1925 shows an increase to 20,000 copies printed. If one looked only at the statistics for the one volume edition, then the popularity of the novel in the early Weimar period would seem minimal. One must consider the individual printings as well and conclude that individually the novels had experienced significant popularity at that time. After 1925 the one volume trilogy showed itself as an independent bestseller and reached 100,000 copies printed. It is in the period 1931-1936, however, that von Molo's trilogy experienced the height of its popularity increasing to 485,000 copies, and this despite Nazi disfavor.[21]

Von Molo's relationship with the Nazis deserves a brief mention for it reveals the inconsistency of the Nazi policy towards literature. Von Molo had a firm place in Germany's literature world based on his fairly conservative, nationalistic novels. His specialty was the historical, biographical romance for which he made careful studies but then tended to overdramatize the character. This is true in the trilogy. Von Molo received the praise of authors like Richard Dehmel and was favorably reviewed in the top literary journals. From 1928 to 1930 he was the President of the **Sektion-Dichtkunst** of the Prussian Academy. Two points alienated him from the Nazis. First was the unfounded accusation by Bartels of half-Jewish ancestry.[22] Second was von Molo's perception of nationalism and the historical development of Germany: although loyal he was not blind to the shortcomings of his country. Von Molo remained an outspoken moderate throughout the Weimar

period and avoided and criticized any type of extremism.[23] Despite the conservative, and in many way complementary, thrust of von Molo's work, his troublesome opinions required that he be suppressed.

In an essay which discusses his Fridericus von Molo made the point that such important historical figures as Frederick the Great should not be "misrepresented for partisan, and therefore petty and hateful, reasons."[24] He regretted that by the time his own work came out in 1918 (although he had finished it in 1915)[25], Frederick the Great had already become an overworked and overblown topic through official propaganda, something the king himself would have disapproved of. In his book, von Molo tried for a balanced evaluation that was ultimately favorable. Topics like Frederick the Great, and the Napoleonic Wars continued to be popular after the war and found their newest expression in the cinema with the production of largescale historical epics.[26] One of the most famous was Von Czerepy's Fridericus Rex which led this genre of film. The popular appeal of historical epics which laud German national heroes and glorify such events as the Wars of Liberation against the French are understandable given a people who had just experienced defeat in war. Furthermore, the animosity towards the French grew with occupation and reparations both of which could be easily connected with the German experience under Napoleon. The postwar popularity of von Molo's trilogy, beginning with his interpretation of Frederick the Great, should be seen in the context of a general patriotic revival. A similar view should be taken of the popularity of the trilogy in the last years of the Weimar period.

The format used by von Molo in the first book of his trilogy is

unique.[27] The entire novel evolves within, or around the tent of Fridericus on the battleground. There is little action until the very end with the final, crucial, and victorious battle. The majority of the novel consists of conversation between the king, his officers and envoys, or other minor characters, or else are the king's own reflections on his life and responsibilities. He introduces the characters to bring in new issues and problems for the king. The delivery of letters also provides the oppportunity to bring up aspects of Fridericus which otherwise might be difficult on the background. For example, a letter from Voltaire draws out the 'Philosopher-King' and a letter from a lover results in a discussion of love. Through the brief time that the reader spends with the king almost as his shadow, he is completely exposed. What is emphasized is his loneliness depite the flurry around him.

The novel begins with a discussion between some soldiers outside of the tent. The current situation and conditions of the war are established and the reader is told that the situation for Fridericus does not look positive. The army and funds are depleted and hunger, disease and defeat loom ominously. The soldiers are critical and accuse their king of being too ambitious and alienating the other European nations. He is called "a beast of prey."[28] They are demoralized and this remains the tone of the people around Fridericus. He is without the basic support of his army and officers despite the claim of the loyal men that "thousands of men will die for you...you are not alone."[29]

Fridericus finds the responsibility of being king onerous and

realizes that others cannot comprehend the burden. He is cynical about people and his own capabilities. He is resentful of his father's tyranny and often drifts back to the time before his current burdens. Thus the heroic king is shown with common anxieties and frustrations. Despite this revelation, Fridericus maintains dignity and is an admirable character. His doubts and hesitations will never interfere with his kingship and devotion to Germany. He will do to the best of his ability the job he was born and trained to do. However the image that has grown in the readers' mind is negative and depressing - von Molo's method has been effective. To the end von Molo emphasizes the uncertainty of victory. In battle his advisors urge Fridericus to retreat. When victory comes so does the unity and glory. "In place of eyes he has two stars," is the description of Fridericus.[30] The question is whether the success and optimism in the end erases enough of the pessimism of the beginning? Both the Imperial censor and the Nazis thought not.

Luise, von Molo's second book,[31] concentrates on Luise von Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1776-1810) the Queen consort of Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840) the King of Prussia. Friedrich Wilhelm III had inherited the throne in 1797 from his father (Friedrich Wilhelm II) who had done much to weaken the considerable political accomplishments of Frederick the Great. Unfortunately, Friedrich Wilhelm III proved as indecisive and incompetent in foreign and domestic matters as his father. His greatest failing was to follow a policy of appeasement with the conquering Napoleon. His neutrality left him isolated and he sacrificed international prestige for the chance to escape the ravages

of war. As a result also, Germany lost its empire and became a loose federation of states. When Napoleon attacked Prussia he succeeded in defeating Friedrich Wilhelm III at Jena and Auerstadt (1806). He signed the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 which forced him to cede half his territory to the French and accept French occupation. Luise was the stronger of the royal couple and had consistently urged her irresolute husband to resist the French from the beginning. Noted for her beauty, generosity, strength and courage, she was extremely popular with the German people. In Luise then, von Molo had an excellent and inspiring character from which he could comment on this sensitive period of German history.

Perhaps the most important point in the novel concerns Luise and her nationalism. She considers herself above all a German. Whereas her husband says "Germany is a chimera," she exclaims "I love Germany... Germany is the holiest thing I know. Germany is my soul, my strength... Germany is everything to me."[32] Von Molo's depiction of Friedrich Wilhelm emphasizes his incompetence, his stubborness in avoiding the council of his advisors and his frivolity in times of crisis. To redeem him somewhat von Molo shows that Luise loves him despite his faults. She defends him to the barons and generals who seek her aid by explaining that "he did not have a father who loved him."[33] This also shows Luise as a loving and loyal wife and mother. Although Friedrich Wilhelm actually battles with his men, one cannot excuse his teasing questions of Luise on the colour of her stockings when Prussia was on the brink of invasion. Luise, in contrast to her husband, is shown as an intelligent, astute woman who concerns herself

seriously with all aspects of the government and the people; this attribute is labelled 'unfeminine' by one of the characters. She is practical and often refers to historical or political works, or the German poets to aid her in decision making. She also asks the common people. Luise reflects on the implications of the French Revolution for the Prussian monarchy and asks "can a people govern themselves ... without a king."[34] Another character affirms that "it is best the way it is now" and that "we are all set in our stations through the will of God"[35]. As things look worse for Prussia, Luise becomes more militant. She sees the necessity of a leader for Germany, one who will rally the people. Violence and war do not disturb her, if the cause is worthy: "Nothing great that has any worth comes without blood. I bore my children in blood."[36] The war is lost however. Not to leave his readers on such a negative note von Molo introduces the reforms of the State initiated by Stein and Hardenburg, both characters in the book and actual historical figures.[37] These reforms are presented positively and von Molo suggests that many of the problems and shortcomings were corrected. The last image is of Luise praying feverently and realizing that "we will not perish! we cannot perish!"[38]

Von Molo's third book, Das Volk[39] picks up the story of the German people during the occupation of the French after the Treaty of Tilsit. Not only did Prussia cede considerable territory but Napoleon called for disarmament and heavy war indemnities adding thereby insult to injury. This period is presented by von Molo as one of severe economic hardship, restricted freedom and humiliation. As with the legends of destruction from the Thirty Years War, undoubtedly the legends of this

period were somewhat exaggerated in the memories of the German people. Von Molo uses a very effective method of writing Das Volk. Instead of a narrative he uses a string of short sketches to capture the reactions of the German people to French domination and the defeat of their country. Each sketch is independent and allows von Molo to touch on all segments of society: from the barons to the peasants as well as men, women and children. In place of a storyline von Molo relies on the themes of hardship, anger, revenge and finally, revolt to draw the sketches together. The message of Das Volk is not only freedom and liberation but national unity and community. The style and message of Das Volk is best shown by the sketches themselves. The following four are representative.

A woman complains that her son will not write his exams, that in general the young people do not study anymore but just stand around and talk.[40] She is answered by someone that there is no point in studying until the French are gone. He reassures her that the present situation is really the schooling for young people as it will ripen them. The woman is dubious and says that the boys are talking strangely. Her own son had a dream about the Emperor Barbarossa,[41] and he is dead. She is told not to worry, that the boy is fine and in fact mature. When she insists she is concerned and fears for him, she is consoled that it is because her son is not afraid himself that he shows he is mature.

A father asks his son to repeat the evening prayer. He answers:

> I love my Fatherland because it is my Fatherland. The French are our enemies. We must slay our enemies wherever we find them. We must resurrect our ruined Reich. One only needs courage, strength and will.[42]

The father sends the boy to bed with the words, "Become strong and

worthy so that you might free your Fatherland."[43] The reader finds out that the father is an embittered cripple and witnesses an argument between him and his wife on how their son is raised. The wife counters her husband's philosophy of 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth' with the words of Christ. He rejects Christ as 'ungerman' and an 'enemy' and instead promotes the "Jewish God" and revenge.[44]

A demoralized general calls for his granddaughter Luise.[45] He reminds her that no one concerns themselves about her except for him. The reader quickly draws the meaning of the conversation when the girl insists she cannot leave her French lover. She explains that he personally does not desire the destruction of Germany and that he really loves her. The general reminds her that her father and brothers died fighting the French. He pleads with her but she repeatedly refuses. He kills her and then himself.

In Vienna Napoleon explains briefly to his marshalls that he cannot understand the Germans and they continue their discussion of Austria.[46] Their planning is interrupted as a 17 year old boy is brought in by two guards. After interrogation, it is revealed that the boy intended to assassinate Napoleon with a knife in order to "free Germany." When Napoleon indicates he will pardon the boy, he first asks what the boy would do if his life were granted. The boy bravely (or foolishly?) answers that he would seek another way to kill the Emperor. Napoleon angrily orders the boy killed. The boy's last words were "Freedom lives, Germany lives, Death to tyranny."[47] Upon hearing this, Napoleon admits that he can battle a State but not a people. The plans for Austria continue.

The above sketches stand without comment as to the messages they relate. The advantage of this format is that von Molo could wander from Fichte and his "Address to the Germany Nation" to the turmoils of Friederich William III or the strategies of Blucher, the famous general. The barons were included as were the burgers and all the people that make up Das Volk. The novel ends with the defeat of Napoleon in Russia and the wars of Liberation in Germany. As Luise had predicted, her people did not perish.

Von Molo's three books stand easily on their own as complete novels. There is a definite continuity between them, however, and the basic theme of each flows into the following novel without complications. Von Molo was interested in the variety of response he got on the novels individually and together. In a brief essay he presents the diversity of opinion he received in letters.[48] This essay indicates that popularity does not imply a positive opinion of the work and this is a consideration one must be aware of when analyzing the relationship between literature and its readers. People read for different reasons and draw different conclusions. One letter thanked von Molo for reinforcing the monarchical principle through a positive example of Luise. Another letter criticized Luise claiming that it was too harsh on the monarchy. Das Volk was called a "republican perversion of history" and according to one woman, the only problem of Fridericus was that he lacked a good German woman. Despite the conclusions the reading public might make, the appeal of Trilogy was at a different level. Von Molo's works were positive, although not uncritical, affirmations of German history. Perhaps most important was the optimism.

In effect what Von Molo was saying to his readers was that they should not despair - as Fridericus, Luise and the people had done - and that the German nation will survive and conquer through courage and perserverence. He related the historical examples of victories of spirit over despair in his Trilogy.

Volk ohne Raum: The Great Political Novel

> Write? How could one write? What could one write after the deceptive end of the war - after the death of a world? ... What should one write? Pretty fairytales in pretty words, playthings for the spirit and soul, escape from reality? Or about 'important' trivialities, vices, insanity, disease, malformations, unveiling the secrets of nature and explaining the unconcscious, thereby lying to oneself and one's reader about the one, all important need. Or should one preach and lecture on the finer untruths, the lofty, but not less sinister, deceptions of a spiritual renewal with which everything must begin again? All as if the spirit, the soul and morality come before bread, space and hope! Or should one shout for a new battle, or the other unknown fate, death...?[49]

Hans Grimm asked these questions in his book Volk ohne Raum a novel that is perhaps best known through its title which was adopted by the National Socialists in their propaganda campaign. **Volk ohne Raum** (a people without living space) incorporated the idea of **Lebensraum** and rationalized territorial expansion. The argument was simple: if a people did not have sufficient room to live and support themselves then expansion was required and justified. This was not a new concept and had been tossed about both popularly and academically during the period of German imperial expansion.[50] The interpretation Grimm gave in his book was in relation to colonial expansion as a solution to Germany's problem of insufficient **Lebensraum.** He did not argue for the also appealing **Drang nach Osten** (eastern expansion) which was the Nazi

solution to **Volk ohne Raum.** The choice of Eastern Europe by the Nazis picked up on a recurring desire for an eastern empire but also showed considerable political astuteness on the part of Hitler. The east was much more immediately accessible than overseas colonies and did not require the expense of a navy. The east was less crucial to the Allies and did not threaten their own territories or empires. The east also housed the threatening spectre of bolshevism, something the Allies desired contained if not eliminated. Therefore, Hitler's **Drang nach Osten** was both domestically popular and internationally acceptable.

The idea of **Lebensraum** found popular support in an era of imperial expansion and in Germany was more prevalent than the notion of the 'white man's burden.' When the Allies appropriated not only European territory but all German colonies through the Versailles treaty, the ideas of **Lebensraum** and **Volk ohne Raum** held even more credence and appeal for the German people. As Grimm wrote: "Germany has had too little land and too many people for many years, and through Versailles it is worse."[51] The issue became a significant political one and was incorporated into the programs of parties - the National Socialists and the Nationalists - and also 'non-political' organizations like the **Stahlhelm.** The **Stahlhelm,** founded in 1919, was the largest ex-servicemen's organization in Germany. Ostensibly, it was not affiliated with any party but its aggressive nationalism and anti-communism/socialism indicates its political orientation. In 1928, the **Stahlhelm** issued this typical resolution:

> We hate the present form of the German state with all our hearts because it denies to us the hope of freeing our enslaved Fatherland, of cleansing the German people of the

> war-guilt lie, [and] of gaining necessary living space [**Lebensraum**] in Eastern Europe....[52]

Although the Right was the outspoken advocate of **Volk ohne Raum**, in his novel Grimm attempts to show how the problem transcends political parties even though it is largely a political question. To show this, Grimm's main character, Cornelius Friebott, wavers closest to Social Democracy than any other political belief. Yet he never quite commits himself and remains, like Grimm, an independent nationalist.

It was perhaps appropriate that Volk ohne Raum was published in 1926, the same year Germany rejoined the international community; both concerned Germany's position in the world as a nation. Volk ohne Raum was not Grimm's first book and he began his career in 1913 with the publication of Südafrikanische Novellen. Grimm received his inspiration for this work and many that followed from his own experiences between 1896 and 1910 when he was a trader between England and South Africa. In 1910, he returned to Germany and began to write full time. A second work, Der Ölsucher von Duala, was based on his mission in Africa to document 'French atrocities' for the German authorities during the war. His early works were not very popular prior to the publication and success of Volk ohne Raum.[53] Volk ohne Raum began it success modestly. Although almost from the beginning it proved more popular than anything he had published previously, by 1930 it had only 60,000 copies printed or approximately 15,000 copies a year (see Table 3). After 1930, the novel experienced a tremendous surge in popularity increasing 103,000 copies by 1932 and requiring another 137,000 copies in 1933. Undoubtedly, the promotion and exposure of the novel by the Nazis encouraged its popularity. It was hailed as "the book of current

Germany" and "the novel of the fate of Germany."[54] The publisher's advertisements boasted: "With this book Hans Grimm has written the first great political novel of the German people."[55] It was recommended for "every German man and woman...the entire German youth...the poorest and the richest."[56] It was endorsed by the Volkische Beobachter, recommended for public libraries, and confirmed Grimm's position in the Nazi Writer's Academy. In 1934, an additional 50,000 copies were printed and thereafter, a total of 165,000 copies with 90,000 copies printed in 1940. Volk ohne Raum was Grimm's biggest success and insured the success of his works published after 1926 as well as revived his early works.[57]

For all the publicity which the Nazis gave Volk ohne Raum, Grimm himself was a never a Nazi. Laqueur writes that Grimm "told Hitler that he would always serve the same cause as the Fuhrer but he would never belong to him."[58] Volk ohne Raum, the Magic Mountain (Der Zauberberg) of the Right,[59] is an expression of that German cause Grimm believed he saw initially in National Socialism. As the regime progressed, Grimm withdrew to his ancient renovated cloister. Periodically, he held friendly meetings at the **Klosterhaus** to which he would invite other authors to discuss their writings and common problems they faced.[60] The Nazis were excluded from these meetings. Most of the participants were, however, staunch conservatives. In other words, Grimm continued to be concerned with the fate of his country. This same concern is a central element in Volk ohne Raum. It is not a manufactured piece lightly tossed off to popularize a political phrase. Its 1300 pages are heavy with seriousness, leaving it open to a charge

tediousness. Yet despite the criticism that "it is poorly written and full of digressions,"[61] it remains a powerful work that is appealing because it ambitiously attempts to grapple with current German problems. It appealed because it was a political testament and it became popular at a time when German society could be defined in terms of political conviction.

Grimm divided his novel into four parts. The first, **Heimat und Enge** (roughly translated as A Homeland Without Opportunities) begins the story of Cornelius Freibott in his small peasant village home in Germany in the late 19th century. In this part Grimm clearly lays out the fundamental problems of German society as he sees them. He begins by reminding the reader of Germany's past and accuses the other European nations of either always dividing Germany or confining it. The current problem of Germany, however, Grimm presents as **Landflucht.** The peasants are unable to support themselves on their little plots of land. Moreover, there is so little land left that the peasant children must go elsewhere for work and a home. Grimm introduces a factory spokesman who promotes industry to the desperate peasants:

> The factories are there ... Think about it - a good, secure income and in back a few acres, the pig in the pen, perhaps a cow, your own bread, everything your own. And no children must leave. That is the future. And if you are smart, you'll call the factories here, better now than later.[62]

Although Cornelius' father is not deceived by this rosy optimism, he must take a job in the factories some distance away. Like his father, Cornelius is also destined to be forced off the land. In presenting **Landflucht,** Grimm is very similar to the other **Heimat** authors in what he chooses to criticize. The land and peasant way of life remain the

ideal in Volk ohne Raum throughout and the story of Cornelius is the story of a man trying to regain the land. Grimm differs, however, in both his analysis of **Landflucht** and his solution to it. Although he acknowledges the disruptive influence of industrialization, his criticisms do not dismiss the factories as a part of German society - they too have their place. Cornelius asks the crucial question "If there are so many people...how are the factories going to help?"[63] The lack of room in the country reduces the opportunities of the people to prosper. The solution is to have more room to accommodate all the people of Germany.

After a brief term in the Imperial navy, Cornelius begins work in a metal factory. He meets the character Marten Wessel who introduces him to socialism. Social democracy is a central and serious theme in Volk ohne Raum, and one that is often overlooked by critics of Grimm.[64] Grimm did not take the draw of social democracy for the workers lightly and he shows a critical awareness of the arguments of the socialists. By making Cornelius sympathetic to the Left, Grimm forces himself and the reader to evaluate social democracy from the standpoint of the main character. Both the practical aspects of exploitation and abuse within Germany and the range of theoretical arguments are shown. Cornelius loses one job directly from his association with socialists and even serves a prison term for an 'inflammatory' speech. It is significant that Cornelius' best friend is a social democrat. Moreover, this positive character remains true to his ideals to the end. Cornelius, on the other hand, hesitates to commit himself and is unsure whether the solution of Germany's problems lies in social democracy.

The second part of Grimm's novel he entitles **Fremden Raum und Irregang** (roughly translated as A Misleading Path in a Foreign Land). The story of Cornelius continues in the predominantly English South Africa. Here Cornelius is rudely awakened to the English attitude toward the Germans. He is asked, "Why do you Germans come here anyway? Why do you not stay home?"[65] This section provides Grimm with a platform from which to attack the English which he does strenuously. He explores their conceptions and misconceptions about Germany and Germans. This is not entirely a simple polemic against the English in defense for Grimm searches for the roots of German nationalism. His criticisms are truthful:

> We little people ... we have nothing from Germany. For us Germany is nothing but unfriendliness from the military on down, beginning even in the schools. And just when things are going well, then one is forced to leave. And when one leaves, nationality hangs around one's neck like a noose....[66]

Grimm criticizes the Jews in relation to the question of nationality. He introduces a Jewish character who anglicized his name so that he could fit into colonial society more easily. Cornelius refuses any such compromise and defines himself as a German: "I could not be anything but German."[67]

Despite the prejudices, antagonisms and hardships, Cornelius prospers through his industry and ambition. He meets a colonial woman and they live together happily on her farm. The outbreak of the Boer War (1899-1902) destroys his life. He fights on the side of the Boers and therefore loses the farm when the whole of South Africa come under the British crown. The war is an effective vehicle through which Grimm can criticize British imperial policies and English inhumanity. Not

unjustifiably, he stresses the 'scorched earth' policy that razed the farms of the Boers and the use of concentration camps to hold the local women and children. Disease and death were high in these camps and that Cornelius loses the woman he loves in a camp adds the appropriate melodramatic touch. After a period of incarceration on the island of St. Helena, Cornelius returns to South Africa and works in the city. The issues of social democracy and exploitation are brought up again but this time in connection with the English and colonialism. Grimm makes some extremely interesting points on racial differences which border between the rights of the negroes and the chinese and the distinctions that need to be made between them and the white race. Life becomes increasingly unbearable for Cornelius in South Africa and he, and a cousin, decide to buy a farm in German South-West Africa. Cornelius concludes:

> I have learnt only one thing, that we Germans should serve only under ourselves ... we Germans must stick together.[68]

It should be mentioned that Grimm introduces himself in the novel as a peripheral character prior to Cornelius' move to his farm.

The third part of the novel is called **Deutscher Raum** (or, German Land). Cornelius prospers once again but Grimm does not abandon his discussion on the problems of Germany and the German people. Industrialization, **Landflucht**, social democracy, imperialism, the English, and the races are all reworked. Cornelius turns to books to help him learn and understand; it is interesting that Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks and Gustav Frenssen are mentioned. Cornelius is still searching for answers but is relatively content with his life in the German colony.

Volk ohne Raum is the title of the fourth part of Grimm's book. The outbreak of World War I destroys his prosperity and again everything is taken from him. The Germans surrendered the colony in 1915 and Cornelius after considerable hardship at the hands of the English returns to Germany in the early 1920's. He meets his great love and they begin to travel Germany giving speeches advocating what he has finally realized is the problem of Germany - the lack of living space: "We demand the right of room for every people - that is our internal and external freedom."[69] Grimm as a character plays a more important role in this final section and Cornelius asks him to tell his story. Cornelius is killed by a political enemy during one of his propaganda tours and Grimm relates that he has truthfully told this important story, of not only a German man, but of the German people. Grimm takes time to elaborate on such events as "the swindle of Versailles" and the effects of Locarno. He stresses that these will hamper any solution the problem of **Volk ohne Raum** and that Germany should follow a policy of imperialism to gain the **Lebensraum** that is rightfully theirs. Finally, Grimm emphasizes that this is not a political question in the conventional sense "although they said over and over that it was the government, it was the Junkers or the communists, particularists or Prussians...."[70] It is a question of the German people as a nation.

Within the 1300 pages of Volk ohne Raum are many ideas and points that deserve attention and would be valuable in revealing a contemporary interpretation of German politics. That the novel achieved such popularity in the last years of the Weimar Republic indicates that his interpretation at least partially echoed a more

general feeling. K.L. Carsten makes the following comment on the popularity of Volk ohne Raum:

> This success cannot be explained by its artistic merit or by the writer's skill in telling a long involved story, but by its immediate appeal to the political prejudices of masses of fairly unpolitical Germans.[71]

This criticism is both harsh and somewhat misdirected. Grimm is far more skillful in presenting the problems of Germany to the German reader than Carsten gives him credit for. For example, Grimm's presentation of Social democracy exposed the arguments of the socialists to the reader in a fashion which made such an issue digestable. His presentation is undoubtedly subjective and propagandistic but at the same time it is not an esoteric political pamphlet. Grimm's treatment of Social democracy is considerably more subtle than what is shown in the other bestellers examined here, when and if they even broached the subject. Furthermore, 'artistic merit' rarely aids or determines popularity and thus should not be introduced as a factor. One might also take issue with the definitions implied in 'political' and 'unpolitical'. Grimm was not unpolitical and neither did he believe his readers to be. This was especially true in the last years of the Republic when unemployment and hunger politicized the German people towards radical solutions. Grimm's book, like Hitler's promises, offered answers which although misdirected, were a part of the contemporary mentality of the German people.

Far more accurate is Carsten's conclusion that:

> Grimm told them what they wanted to hear, what they consciously or subconsciously believed, what helped them to

> compensate the sense of humiliation created by the defeat of 1918 and the Treaty of Versailles. He confirmed to them that they were 'the cleanest and most decent and most honest and most efficient and most industrious nation of the earth.'[72]

Such an appeal, as has been shown in many of the bestsellers looked at here, is central to the popularity of the novels which became bestsellers in the Weimar period.

Chapter Nine - Notes

[1] Richards, p. 182. The essay had 25,000 copies printed by 1916, 41,000 by 1924 and a new edition in 1931 to make a total of 43,000 copies printed.

[2] K.F. Reinhardt, Germany: 2000 Years 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961), p. 292.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Griebel, pp. 347, 351-352.

[5] Charles de Coster Tyl Ulenspiegl trans. A.R. Macdougall and intro. C. Huysman, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1943).

[6] Ibid., Introduction, p. IX.

[7] Griebel, p. 361. Translation mine.

[8] Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1923). Originally published in 1910. See publisher's information.

[9] Strothmann, p. 381.

[10] Der Wehrwolf, p. 23. This translation, and all subsequent translations from this edition, are mine.

[11] Ibid., p. 24.

[12] Ibid., p. 33.

[13] Ibid., p. 65.

[14] Ibid., pp. 193-194.

[15] Tucholsky, pp. 170-171.

[16] Griebel, p. 471. As quoted. Translation is mine.

[17] Löns himself turned to such ideas increasingly towards the end of his life. His tolerance of the Jews as shown in Das zweite Gesicht was contrasted with an aggressive vision of the purity of the peasant shown in Der Wehrwolf. Even Johanna is foreign as she did not come from the local area. Yet Löns perception of purity came from an emphasis on nature which gives a distinctive quality to his belief in race. See Radcliff, pp. 34-35.

[18] Griebel, p. 474. As quoted. Translation is mine.

[19] Richards, p. 189. According to Richards, Fridericus (1918) had reached 20,000 copies printed by the end of 1918 and 50,000 by 1922.

Luise (1919) had reached 20,000 copies printed in 1919 and 28,000 copies by 1922. Das Volk (1921) had reached 25,000 copies printed in 1921.

[20] Walter von Molo, Der Roman meines Volkes (Munich: Albert Langen Verlag, 1925).

[21] Strothmann, p. 72. In 1936 von Molo was labelled **bedingt negativ** and Richards' statistics show no further printings for Fridericus or his two other bestsellers: Der Schiller-Roman (1918) had reached more than 100,000 copies printed by 1935 and Ein Deutscher ohne Deutschland (1931) had reached 30,000 copies printed by 1935. See Richards, p. 189. Von Molo continued to produce in Germany after 1933 primarily with the Jewish firm, Paul Zsolnay Verlag. He switched in 1935 to the German Holle-Verlag but did not avoid disapproval from the Nazis.

[22] Strothmann, p. 97. In his trilogy von Molo shows tolerance of the Jews which would have been enough for the rabid anti-semitic Bartels.

[23] See his essays and speeches in Zwischen Tag und Traum (Berlin: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1930).

[24] "Fridericus - Sinn und Unsinn" Zwischen Tag und Traum. p. 286. With such a statement von Molo would clearly not endear himself to the National Socialists.

[25] Von Molo claims that the novel was initially suppressed by the Imperial censors.

[26] Laqueur, p. 246. Such films became even more popular at the end of the Weimar period.

[27] Fridericus. pp. 7-212.

[28] Ibid., p. 12.

[29] Ibid., p. 136.

[30] Ibid., p. 211.

[31] Luise. pp. 215-401.

[32] Ibid., p. 273.

[33] Ibid., 259.

[34] Ibid., 294.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 348.

[37] Karl von Stein's Reform Edict (1807) included the abolition of serfdom, the free exchange and disposal of land property, and the free choice of occupation. Karl von Hardenburg, who followed von Stein after 2 years, secularized Church property, introduced new taxes and promoted freedom of ownership and new agrarian laws.

[38] Ibid., p. 400.

[39] Das Volk, pp. 405-573.

[40] Ibid., pp. 431-432.

[41] Frederick Barbarossa (1121? - 1190) was a well-known national hero. According to legend this Holy Roman Emperor, never died but lies sleeping and will arise one day to conquer Germany's enemies. This is brought out prophetically in the sketch.

[42] Ibid., p. 474.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Von Molo presented a united Germany: no class or religious differences interfere.

[45] Ibid., pp. 499-501.

[46] Ibid., pp. 531-535.

[47] Ibid., p. 534.

[48] "Wirkung Der Werke" Zwischen Tag und Traum, pp. 257-261.

[49] Hans Grimm, Volk ohne Raum (Munich: Albert Langen/Georg Muller, 1935), p. 1246-1247. Originally published in 1926. Note that Richards incorrectly cites 1928 as the publication date. This translation, and all subsequent translations from this edition, are mine.

[50] One should make the connection between the reasoning given by Cassandra to Maja in Die Biene Maja on why the younger bees revolted and left the hive: there was insufficient room in the hive. Bonsels incorporates in his fairytale the roots of the idea of **Lebensraum.**

[51] Volk ohne Raum, p. 1258.

[52] Eyck, pp. 167-168.

[53] Richards, p. 141.

Sudafrikanische Novellen (1913)	30,000	1940
Der Olsucher von Duala (1918)	80,000	1940

Both books were reissued and promoted under the Nazis after 1933 so that the majority of their printings came between 1933 and 1940.

54 See publishers advertisements in Grimm's Der Richter in der Karu (Munich: Albert Langen/Georg Muller, 1933), back pages.

55 Ibid.

56 See publisher's advertisements in Grimm's Der Gang durch den Sand (Munich: Albert Langen/George Muller, 1934), back pages.

57 Richards list two other works by Grimm to reach bestseller status. The first is included in his top 100 list.

Der Zug des Hauptmanns von Erckert (1932)	230,000	1940
Luderitzland. Sieben Begebenheiten (1934)	35,000	1940

58 Laqueur, p. 97.

59 Ibid.

60 See E. Blunden, "The Klosterhaus Readings, 1937" German Life and Letters 2 (1937-38) 33-38.

61 F.L. Carsten, "**Volk ohne Raum.** A note on Hans Grimm "Journal of Contemporary History 2 (April, 1967) 221-222.

62 Volk ohne Raum, p. 143.

63 Ibid., p. 146.

64 For example, Carsten limits his observation on Grimm's presentation of social democracy to pointing out "the theme of collusion between the British and the social democrats." p. 225.

65 Volk ohne Raum, p. 342.

66 Ibid., p. 389.

67 Ibid., p. 995.

68 Ibid., p. 600.

69 Ibid., p. 1243.

70 Ibid., p. 1237.

71 Carsten, p. 223.

72 Ibid.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have attempted to do seven things. First, I have attempted to make use of the statistics compiled by Richards by analyzing them as a whole and then choosing the top twenty-five bestsellers between 1914 and 1933 to examine in detail. As noted, much more information could be extracted from the statistics and there are future research possibilities. Second, in presenting the individual bestsellers and their publication history I have used Richards' statistics but supplemented where possible further information on the authors themselves, their careers and other bestsellers, and sometimes their publishers. The individual publication histories were taken from their publication dates through to 1940. Since most were published before the First World War, it was felt necessary to include some indication of how these books fared in the more peaceful years before the tumultuous Weimar period. It was also felt that the period after 1933 would add perspective to the books and fate of popular literature under the Nazis. Third, in relation to the contents of the bestsellers, I tried to provide a précis of the storylines and characters so that some of the flavour of the novels might become clear. In this way I was able to present the essential messages of the author and indicate the way in which he or she tried to communicate them. Fourth, I looked at some of the conscious themes and unconscious assumptions the authors displayed in their novels. Industrialization, Landflucht, nationalism, and war were some of the overt themes examined. The depictions of women and the social structure were chosen as subjects which would reveal the

unconscious values of the author and the degree of social and political awareness beyond the obvious thrust of the novel. Fifth, I attempted to provide suggestions as to why the books became individually popular during one or more of the four periods delineated between 1914 and 1933. I tried to clarify some of the types of links which exist between the economic, political and social environment in which the books became successes and the books themselves. Sixth, I have provided brief historical sketches for each of the four periods chosen. I did not intend in these sections to raise any controversial issues or present any new information. Rather they were to outline the general political, economic and social trends for a background into which one could place the bestsellers. Also included in these sections were brief accounts of the development of the reading public and literature industry. Finally, I have attempted to offer some general and basic observations on popular literature and the reading public in the Weimar Republic.

Three directing questions introduced this study: what did the German reading public read and bring to popular success? when did they read certain books? and why?

Richards was the base from which it was determined which bestsellers would be examined. Twenty-five books were chosen. While the length of this study seems to show that the number of books might well have been cut, at the same time an analysis of only twenty five out of eight hundred and sixty-five is in some respects insufficient. A wider sample could have provided more substantive results. Ideally, all the books could be examined in relation to their publication statistics,

period and degree of popularity and their contents. It would be valuable to devise various criteria from which to analyze the books. For example, how many of the total eight hundred and sixty five were **Bauernromane**, **Heimatromane**, love stories, war stories, parodies, historical novels, etc.? It became obvious, moreover, that Richard's statistics were incomplete in some cases and the possibility that his inaccuracies might affect the conclusions must be considered. Exhaustive research could be done on the publication statistics of each book beginning with information from the individual publishers. In other words, much is left to be done with the statistics Richards has compiled, but this would have involved a much larger study than was intended here. A limited study of the top twenty-five bestsellers does contribute, however, to an initial understanding of the popular literature and reading public of Weimar, Germany.

Before looking at what the bestsellers in this study reveal about the reading public and Weimar society, a word must be said on the nature of the reading public. The most significant problem that arises when dealing with the reading public is its vagueness as a social group. Yet it is vital to any study of popular literature to understand just who the people who made up the reading public were in terms of such things as class. Considerations of age and sex should also not be overlooked. For example, class determines in a very practical way the expenditure allowed for such a leisure activity as reading. Age, sex, and class influence what basic perceptions of life and society the reader brings to the literature. It is important to remember that the reading public was not homogeneous°. The same reading publics did not

read the same books and those who did, did not read the same books for the same reasons. The historian should follow the example of the publisher who promoted books to different publics to ensure they would reach the appropriate reader. That the reading public was not more fully examined in relation to its composition was not due to oversight, but rather due to research limitations. Moreover, the above points were not introduced to raise issues for this study to resolve, but were introduced because one should be aware of the amorphous nature of the reading public and how this affects an understanding of the relationship between popular literature and the reading public.

Some attention was paid to the primary role the publishers played between the bestsellers and the reading public in this study. Each novel had a considerable history before its release, as it lay in a publisher's hands. Large popular publishers received almost daily a deluge of manuscripts anxiously submitted by eager authors; most received rejections. From amongst this deluge, however, after careful consideration on the part of the editors, a book was chosen for publication. Usually the popular publishing houses did not run strictly on the idiosyncratic personal tastes of the publisher but followed the tide of public opinion as long as the public was still buying. Ullstein was such a publishing house and was willing to cater to a variety of tastes in the reading public, a policy which earned it the condemnation of more self-righteous and politically committed publishers like Eugen Diederichs who almost consistently published nationalistic-conservative authors. As an alternative to submitted manuscripts, a publisher might commission an author for a specific

work, as in the case of Hans Reimann and the Paul Steegemann House.

Once a book was chosen, much careful thought was put into its actual production - costs were calculated and each aspect, from illustrations to print and paper to the cover design was carefully considered. As a businessman, the publisher was involved in a speculative venture in which profit was more often than not the primary motivation - however, some publishers acted as the patrons of specific authors in whom they had confidence or in whom they believed they had a creative artist. Furthermore, while a publisher was usually known for the publication of literature, presumably acting as the handmaiden of culture, the daily bread and butter of the house came from the overlooked staples - textbooks, encyclopedias, dictionaries, professional books on such subjects as medicine, law and business, and children's books.

When the costs of production have been determined the publisher turned to the reading public. It was his responsibility to promote and distribute the book to the greatest number of people possible; the book has to be accessible to the readers. As was shown for Buddenbrooks, one of the central considerations was the actual cost of the book. To capture more potential buyers, the publishers devised both cheaper and more expensive editions, the difference lying in the paper, print and binding. Inexpensive series were introduced and paperbacks became increasingly important in the post-war period. Far more crucial in many ways was promotion. This was done in three ways. The book was advertised directly to the reading public in which the book clubs and

reading societies played an important part. Authors would be encouraged, as Rilke was, to travel the cultural circuits to promote his book. Second, the publisher also made a point of liberally distributing free copies to newspapers and journals for review and often used their own journals and magazines as a forum for advertising and review. Third, the book and the author were publicized as much as possible through interviews, guest appearances, speeches and the like. The advent of a controversy over book, or author, as in the case of Im Western nichts Neues, only proved to increase sales. Some publishers like Steegemann intentionally commissioned works on highly controversial subjects and exploited the emotions behind the controversy.

The role of the publisher between an author and his audience was extremely important and the marketing strategy used could often make or break a work regardless of its intrinsic worth. Obviously it was in the best interests of the publisher to do everything within his power, and within reach of his pocketbook to promote the book towards success. His philosophy accordingly was optimistic as well as speculative. Yet if a book failed to capture public interest, production, and often the author, was discontinued, again regardless of worth. The authors who found themselves patrons were grateful (with some measure of resentment) for not being the victim of sales. Some authors, however, proved to be consistent producers of bestsellers and were a boon to the publisher. These authors, like Courths-Mahler, Herzog and Grimm, found themselves famous and independently wealthy.

What should be clear from the above is that popular literature is and was a commodity, a product of an economic system, influenced and determined by all the 'objective' economic pressures within that system. All levels are affected from the dependent author, to the publisher who had to consider, among other things, production limitations (i.e. the restrictions on paper during the war) and competition, to the public itself which had to be able to afford the popular literature, a difficult proposition in times of severe economic hardship. Finally one must also not forget the libraries, book clubs, bookshops, critics and reviewers, censors and even other authors who all contribute to the literature industry and affected the relationship between popular literature and the reading public.

Turning now to the bestsellers themselves during the Weimar period, certain basic observations can be made. Following the pattern of all the bestsellers from 1915-1940 in Richards' lists, the majority of the top twenty-five bestsellers were published prior to the war: fourteen were published between 1899 and 1913, five were published between 1914 and 1917, four between 1918 and 1923 and two between 1924 and 1929. Only six of the total were thus published during the Weimar period. The earliest was published in 1899 and the last in 1929. Eleven different types of novels were represented in the top twenty-five. There are five **Heimat-Bauernromane**, five **Frontsromane/ Kriegserlebnisse**, three **Frauenromane**, two parodies, two fairytales, two historical novels, two positivist-industrial novels, one political novel, one adventure novel and one memoir. These are only generally defined types of literature, however, and all the categories cross over

to some degree. For example, all the **Heimat-Bauernromane** entail a love story and therefore, have a distinct connection with **Frauenromane** in appeal. Also, a war novel may be considered an adventure novel, and so forth. Of the twenty-five authors only two were female and only three achieved two bestsellers each among the top twenty-five. Only three of the books, Im Western, Tagebuch and Die Dinte may be considered 'liberal' novels. Jörn Uhl and Der Wetterwart were both considered to be liberal in their own time but cannot be considered so now against the backdrop of the others. Therefore twenty-two of the novels were conservative in their thrust.

That the majority of the books were conservative is the major conclusion to be drawn about the popular literature of the period. It is important to realise however that this was not a conservatism that can be defined in a singular fashion but was expressed variously in society. For example, the conservatism expressed in Buddenbrooks was one which expressed the feeling of the **fin de siécle** that was prevalent among Germany's intellectuals prior to the war. This was the same conservatism that greeted the war as a release. Mann mourned the passing of the good solid burgher. This conservatism is different from the conservatism of the German authorities during the war, or the conservatism of the **Bauernromane**. **Heimat and Bauernromane** were to a certain extent an expression of paranoia of the closing grasp of industrial society. The concern about modernization and industrialization intensified under the exacerbated conditions after the war, bringing the **Bauernromane** to popularity - a popularity which declined in the years of prosperity between 1924 and 1929. The conservatism of the

Bauernromane was considerably different than that of the positivist-industrial novels written by Herzog which actively promoted the industrialization of Europe. The conservatism found in Fridericus was nationalistic while the conservatism implied in Volk ohne Raum was exploited by the Nazis as reactionary, imperialistic and racist. If one observes the trend of the bestsellers, moreover, it seems that the reading tastes of the German public became increasingly conservative towards the end of the Weimar period. The period from 1918-1923 showed a vitality in the different types of literature that became popular. The variety also indicates the presence of other reading publics along side one another. In the period 1924-1929, the memoirs of Schleich fit comfortably into the secure conservative atmosphere which prevailed. Im Westen's popularity significantly falls at the end of the period and spills into the next. The last period is marked by solid conservatism in the bestsellers surplanting Im Westen. This coincides with the consolidation of conservatism in Germany.

The predominance of conservatism in the bestsellers of the Weimar period reveals, and in many respects confirms, conclusions about the German people during the period. The basic conservatism of the people was not a monolithic phenomenon as has been stressed, and the conservative interpretations given to society varied in the solutions as well as in the problems perceived. This is evident from the contents of the bestsellers examined here. If conservatism was the dominant thrust in the bestsellers, the next question is why?

Perhaps the most important events influencing German society and thus the reading tastes of the people in the Weimar period were the war

and the defeat. With the defeat of Germany and the Imperial way of life, traditional values collapsed. Consequently, the need to stress or regain familiar values, implicitly conservative, became prevalent. For the German reading public this took the form of reading pre-war literature which in a sense may be considered "escapist", although not in the frivolous way this term often connotes. Faced with defeat and trauma, the German people sought in their pre-war literature the security of the past. Escapist literature presents to the reader an unreal but believable world and characters who fulfill fantasies or, perhaps more important for the German reader during the Weimar period, overcome tremendous environmental and personal obstacles to find happiness. The adventure story is for the male reader the same as the love story is for the female reader. While the heroes and heroines are battling, however, the reader is not faced with serious philosophical questions to answer. Love is usually the 'simple' problem that is presented. Yet the examination of the popular literature in this study reveals a far more serious level than is usually expected from popular literature. Each of the novels had a serious intent beyond pure entertainment - and one can say this without dismissing the entertainment value of the novels. The conservative-escapist **Bauernroman** took industrialization and modernization to task. Tagebuch provided titillation but also made a social comment. The two parodies show a critical eye as well. The war literature - excluding the two written for a specific purpose during the war although significant for their later popularity - shows above all that the reading public was not motivated strictly by escape or avoidance of contemporary problems. Although one might judge

the solution in Der Wanderer as unrealistic, the fact that the solution fulfilled a need when it was presented speaks to the validity of the book for the reading public. The bestsellers fulfilled needs, reassured the insecure, reaffirmed values and morals, provided a perspective on life, reconciled the living to death, defended what was held to be just and attacked what was believed to be unjust. In the final evaluation, beyond simple entertainment, the above psychological compensations must have figured as central to the appeal of the novels and thus, was why each novel became successful. The historian must conclude that the choices of the people were understandable in relation to the political, economic, social conditions around them. The choices were symptomatic of developments in Weimar society.

The above study of popular literature and the German reading public between 1914-1933 was undertaken as a historical study to examine an aspect of German society during the Weimar Republic. Both the questions this period of German history raises and the problems it poses for all individuals, makes such a study worthwhile. However, this study was also undertaken to shed some light through concrete example on the whole contemporary debate which surrounds the relationship between society and art. The intricate complexity of that relationship has been affirmed in this study. It is clear however that the relationship is much more than an exchange which one may presume to determine. The act of reading is an individual act despite the fact that neither the book or the reader is independent of society. At the same time, what occurs is a social act of communication, an exchange of ideas and emotions. This study has also indicated the importance of

the ideas and the emotions in the bestsellers and the response these evoked in the reading public. This, it would seem, is the most basic level of the relationship between a society and its art.

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