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GERMAN NATIONAL CHARACTER: A STUDY OF GERMAN SELF-IMAGES

by

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# German National Character: A Study of German Self-Images

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This report is a delineation of some aspects of German national character structure based on an analysis and interpretation of various German self-images and expressions of attitudes and beliefs about German culture and the world at large. It is a qualitative study of German cultural expectations about character and personality seen from several different points of view; the synthesis presented here is one that derives from an analysis of images -- some of them explicit, some of them implicit -- evoked by Germans' descriptions of themselves and by their interpretations of their own behavior and the behavior of others. For practical purposes, the emphasis of the study has been upon themes that appeared to be significant in personal and family life, and

1. The principal work for this report was done in collaboration by an anthropologist (myself) and a social historian (Dr. Selly Hoyt), both of whom worked with informants -- sometimes jointly and sometimes separately -- and each of whom took responsibility for the analysis of certain other types of material. Each sampled the material on which the other was working and made full use of the other's interim analyses. The ideas presented in this report grew out of a continuing interchange between the two collaborators, but the responsibility for the organization and presentation of the results devolves upon myself. The working papers on particular subjects that follow upon the main report were prepared by each of the authors individually on the basis of joint decisions.

This study was done within the framework of earlier studies of European cultures made in Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures, in which one (or both) of the analysts had participated and which provided a context for a comparative analysis. It may be added that both participants in this study worked fluently in German and that both had had previous experience of German culture -- one by having spent several years of her childhood in Germany, the other by having grown up in a bilingual German background home. Both began with a good working knowledge of German history and contemporary German literature, and I myself had participated in American wartime studies of Germany.
The types of material chosen for analysis were selected for their relevance to this general subject. Potentially, each type of material—life histories by German and German background informants, published autobiographies, fictional presentations in novels and films, in juvenile stories and in cautionary tales, folk and fairy tales, pedagogical discussions and child care and youth guidance manuals, newspaper and journalistic reportage, literary criticism, etc.—provided us with a different approach to problems of living in and thinking about the world and to depictions of personality. The several kinds of material were chosen for analysis because they reveal the structuring of experience as it is expressed in different modes of communication. Each with its different content and purpose reveals a fantasy image of the world that is organized in terms of formal stylistic expectations about the handling of reality and that is congruent with the patterning of awareness in German character structure. Thus the world structured by the selective memory of an informant or by the selective imagination of the novelist, the personal relationships synthesized by the child care expert out of experience and an ideal of conduct, the delineation of character and plot in the fairytale each have a different manifest content and style but evoke related images for creator and audience. This report is, essentially, an attempt to integrate these various kinds of material into a whole in terms of the imagery evoked as a way of obtaining insight into German character structure.

The groundwork for this study was already laid in intensive studies of German character and some work on German communities that were particularly relevant to wartime and immediate post-war problems and that, necessarily, were phrased in terms of German culture as it was manifested during the Nazi regime and soon after the military defeat of Germany. In part the intention

of the present study has been to bring together such earlier studies and to
discuss some of the hypotheses developed in them in a somewhat wider context
and with greater time depth in order that we might have a more generalized
picture that would be relevant to the current situation.

However, this study does not attempt to delineate the immediate situation
in Germany, nor is it a study of German society. Such studies can be made
only within the living society and are currently being made by research workers
in Germany. Some of the material that has gone into this study has been provided
by German informants who were visitors in the United States and who intended
to return to Germany in a short time, and by informants who had worked recently
on German problems in Germany, and the films and some of the written source
materials analyzed are entirely contemporary and may be wholly concerned with
what appear to be current problems. Other of our informants had grown up
before World War I and their understanding of German problems was modified by
distance in time and space even though they were (and had continued to be for
many years) in communication with relatives in Germany. And certain of our
source materials dated back 100 years or more, e.g. Knigge's book on the
management of personal relationships, Über den Umgang mit Menschen (of which a
new edition was issued in 1962), and some juvenile literature, and the early
Gartenlaube novels and Gartenlaube-type of novels, some of which (for instance
Stifter's books) are enjoying a new popularity in post-World War II Germany.

In order to understand and analyze the strictly contemporary materials
and to place in context some of the older materials discussed by informants,
it was necessary to have a working knowledge of present day conditions in
Germany, but in this report no attempt will be made to outline the social
Situation that has developed in the past eight years, or to discuss specific attitudes towards such questions as the effect upon German action of the division of Germany into zones of occupation or, now, into two political entities (although the recognition of this as a basic problem led us to work especially with German attitudes towards fragmentation and unification), or the effect on German life of the continuing presence in different regions of Germany of displaced German nationals, refugees from areas now outside German control, and Volksdeutsche who fled from or who were forced out of other countries in Europe (although we attempted to interview informants about their attitudes towards refugees and did considerable work on German attitudes towards outsiders), or German attitudes towards defeat and the management of reconstruction (although German attitudes towards problems of autonomy were central to this study), and so on. Germans, especially visitors, were extremely reluctant to discuss their life during the Nazi regime and during the war with American interviewers (though, of course, considerable information was obtained incidentally in the course of interviews and conversations) and in this report we have not been able -- as we had hoped -- to work on shifting emphases during crucial periods in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. What we found among our informants was a denial or a repudiation of the immediate past (phrased in very different ways depending upon the experiences and past and present situation of an informant) and attempts either to cut loose from the past or to throw bridges back to the more distant past as a way of building a new stability or as a way of reconciling oneself to the extremely unstable present. Working with this material, we attempted not so much to relate it to the immediate social situation as to integrate it with other materials on attitudes towards time, towards stability.
etc. as a way of understanding German character and expectations about character.

Thus we used the multiple images of the present and the past as clues to the
personality of the image-makers and attempted to deduce from them what German
expectations about character were and are.

In this study I have attempted to make statements about regularities in
German character structure without specific reference to regional, religious,
class and occupational variations -- but with full awareness that such differences
do exist and are extremely important in German thinking and in relationships
with Germans abroad and at home. Germans are likely to have intense feelings
about the locality and the group in which they grew up and they expect other
Germans to have equally strong feelings about their own Heimat and customs and
people (though in both cases such feelings may take the form either of deep
loyalty or passionate repudiation). Germans have particularist attitudes --
which are balanced by an idea of Germaneness (Deutschum) and of German culture,
of the German people (das Volk -- a conception which was developed and exploited
in Nazi thinking, but which has a much wider application than was given it
during that period) and of the continuity of German thought -- and are also
exceedingly articulate about their own particularistic forms of thought,
recognizing them as relevant to Germans in general. Similarly, Germans are
status oriented -- are sensitive to behavior and ideas related to status --
though their expectations about how they should behave to others and how others
should behave to them will vary very considerably depending upon who they are
and who the others are. Among our German informants there was none who was not
concerned with some problem of this sort and few who did not refer, directly
or indirectly, to published discussions of the past twenty years about German
etc. as a way of understanding German character and expectations about character. This we used the multiple images of the present and the past as clues to the personality of the image-makers and attempted to deduce from them what German expectations about character were and are.

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"Authoritarianism"; many, even in speaking German, had incorporated this idea into their vocabulary — irrespective of whether or not they accepted it and approved its application to German individuals, German politics, or the German hierarchical system. Interacting with an American, who was assured by them to have read about "authoritarianism" and to have views on the subject, informants felt they too must have and express an opinion of their own. Consequently, this too is a subject about which contemporary Germans are very articulate. Repudiating so-called "authoritarian" tendencies in themselves, some informants would attribute authoritarian attitudes to "Prussians" or to "civil servants" or to "Protestants" or to "lower middle class fathers" or to "other families but not my own"; or, attempting to modify the implications of this term as used in application to Germans, some referred to "the Western European family" (c.f. Lowis, 1952) or to "the Victorian pattern of the family," etc. This report is written with full awareness of existing and ascribed differences in the context of behavior and of differing opinions about the context of behavior, so that specific illustrations may refer more especially to one group of Germans than to another, but the point of reference is a regularity in behavior and belief that is of more general application.

3. This use of foreign-language terms is extremely common in German (as is counterbalanced by periodic attempts — as during the Nazi regime — to do away with "foreign" phraseology). Related to it was a complaint, reported by Americans who had interviewed Germans who had returned to Germany from visits to the United States, that they were unable to work new materials (especially scientific materials) because they could not "translate" them.

4. In interviewing Germans it was our practice not to make any reference to "authoritarianism" or to studies of German culture on this subject until or unless the informant himself (or herself) did so.
At the same time, it should be said that the core of the material presented here is middle class and the character structure which is described is predominately that of middle class Germans. By this I do not mean that it has reference only to middle class Germans — for many of those who are described in the terms used here and who attributed relevant behavior patterns to themselves and others were not, in fact, "middle class" persons. Thus, Louis Ferdinand's autobiography, The Rebel Prince, exemplifies ideals which I shall describe as much as did the life history of an eighty-year old woman whose father was a minor employee of the Imperial Railroad and who was, herself, a nursemaid for many years in homes in Germany and in the United States, though neither were, in German socio-economic terms, middle class individuals. The point is rather that Germans who were — and are — middle class exemplify a type of character structure and an ideal of life that is shared in and approved by Germans as a whole.

In this report I shall discuss first the organization of the German family and then the upbringing of the child and, finally, attitudes towards the world and the self that appear to develop out of the family system and the learning experiences of parents and children.

I.

Studies of German family life and of German culture as it is expressed in family life have, in general, focused upon the nuclear group of father, mother and children and upon the delineation of the relationships among the

5. Prior to 1933, the main deviants appear to have been on the one hand the so-called Lumpenproletariat (mainly unskilled workers, many of them of non-German origin) and, on the other hand, the upper Catholic aristocracy and the corresponding Catholic peasant group of southern Germany. At present such a social description is made well-nigh impossible because of the extreme shifts of groups that have taken place in the past ten years.
members of those two generations who live together in das Elternhaus (the
parents' home). From the German point of view this small group, although
ruelial, is but part of the family. The family is, in fact, a much more
inclusive group consisting of members of at least three generations and of
numerous households, each household independent of all the others but linked
by the ties of affection, influence and personal interest of the several
members in each. An understanding of the relationships of the nuclear group
is dependent upon visualizing its members within the larger context of the
family as a whole.

In the household a married couple and their children belong to two
families -- that of the husband and that of the wife, -- each of which has
its ramifications and its informally acknowledged "head." Children are welcome
visitors in many households because they are brother's-child or sister's-child.
Grandparents have a definite place in the households of their children because
of their relationship with the grandchildren. Thus in the larger family the
links which are given special importance are those (1) between siblings, and
(2) those between grandparent and grandchild. Family lines overlap but, in
general, members of separate families do not mix very much; obligations and
friendship may be extended to include spouse's siblings (and perhaps their
children) but not to their whole group viewed as a "family." Thus the family
lines remain quite clear, although an individual can count himself as a member
of two families and feels close to others. Family relationships are regarded
as permanent -- so much so that they are commonly maintained with close affinal
kin even after the death of the linking relative. This sense of permanence
is reflected in juvenile stories where the good step-mother encourages her
step-children to remember their true mother and attempts to build a parallel

Visiting the different relatives in Germany was a whole summer's occupation. First my father's sisters who lived in Hamburg and Cuxhaven and Hanover. My father died during World War I but after that war my (maternal) grandfather sent them all food and clothes because my mother lived with him and she kept in touch with her sisters-in-law and their husbands and children. Then we visited my mother's maternal family in Kassel and in Diets and one or two other places — my mother's aunts and uncles and cousins. Only two of the cousins were special friends of my mother, but both my mother and one of her maternal uncles (who lives in the United States) and his wife and daughter visited every one of these families — though at different times — and both helped them after both wars. My mother's uncle's wife also had a large family in Germany whom she visited, but we only knew where they lived; we never even knew their names. Then we had to visit my step-father's brother and sister. When we were with them we met their parents-in-law but we never got to know them and the two sets of parents-in-law never appeared at the same functions. My step-father's parents were dead.

After World War II the obligation to look after relatives was divided up more or less as follows: My mother looked after her first husband's sisters and their children and their children — but not after the families of her nephews' and nieces' wives and husbands, even though some of them were known to be in need. My mother and her brother shared in looking after relatives of their father. My mother, her brother and a cousin (mother's brother's daughter) looked after my mother's maternal family, and these people in turn took over the responsibility of looking after the graves of kin whose immediate families lived in the United States. My mother and my step-father jointly took care of his relatives, a task which my mother took over after the death of my step-father. The parceling out of responsibilities was discussed very thoroughly and in minute detail — but no one even considered the possibility of caring for anyone who was outside "the family." The one exception was that some of my mother's maternal relatives in the United States (cousins who were not in close contact with their relatives abroad) told her that she should use the clothes they gave her as she saw fit because her "families" were so large.

This pattern of obligation was maintained not only by visits and (in difficult times but also by commitments) on every other family occasion — at weddings and births and on christenings, when notices had to be sent to the proper people, at Christmas when children had to be remembered and children had to write to adults. The lines between the different families were crossed only at times of mourning when a relative might take notice of the fact that the relative of a relative had died. Except that
kin even after the death of the linking relative. This sense of permanence
is reflected in juvenile stories where the good step-mother encourages her
step-children to remember their true mother and attempts to build a parallel

6. So, for instance, a German background informant describes the families
to whom she felt related, some of whose members lived in the United States and
others in different parts of Germany:

Visiting the different relatives in Germany was a whole summer's
occupation. First my father's sisters who lived in Hamburg and Cuxhaven
and Hanover. My father died during World War I but after that war my
(maternal) grandfather sent them all food and clothes because my mother
lived with him and she kept in touch with her sisters-in-law and their
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also by communications on every other family occasion
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to the proper people, at Christmas when children had to be remembered
and children had to write to adults. The lines between the different
families were crossed only at times of mourning when a relative might take
notice of the fact that the relative of a relative had died. Except that
Each of the nuclear family groups lives independently of all the others and, although brothers and sisters are supposed to stand together in times of crisis, any attempt to intervene in one another's lives is regarded as an invasion which is deeply resented. Each is, as it were, a guest in the other's house. And, in fact, the occasions when different members of a family come together are likely to be kept within a slightly formal context: birthdays, confirmations, weddings, anniversaries, and so on. This applies to parents and adult children as well as to siblings who have grown up in one home. So, (cont'd.)

6. (cont'd.) My step-father sometimes visited some of mother's maternal kin, I do not think that, over a period of more than forty years, anyone in one family met any member of any other family among all those whom we, as children, regarded as "our" family.

7. This is reflected also in the world of the fairytale, where the good and loving mother continues to aid her child after death (e.g. in the German version of Cinderella). The reverse situation (another aspect of the fairytale) may come out in the deep resentment felt by a child who has a "bad" step-mother, e.g. an informant explains why she left home as a very young girl:

Our step-mother was so mean to us. She slapped us and hit us and didn't take care of us. And my father wouldn't listen. He only had eyes for his beautiful young wife. I don't blame him. She was very beautiful and he forgot everything else. He would come home late in the evenings and then he only saw her. She never had a child.

8. The fact that kinship obligations are extensive and that kin belong to a trusted group made it possible for hundreds of thousands of Germans to find "homes" during and after the war when they were bombed out or had to flee, but equally the fact that relatives had to share in one household made for extreme friction among those involved. For them the line between guest and fellow-member of a household tended to break down and each, as informants said, "grated" on the other as they had to share crowded quarters. "Only when they left could we breathe again" (konnten wir aufatmen), said a sister-in-law -- as if the situation had been one of gradual personal suffocation.
for instance, speaking of the break between father and son when the son has grown up, a man said:

I think that after sons are out of the house the fathers do not care so much. They would take it very seriously if the son would try to assume any authority in the house or question a decision, but as long as he is taking care of himself and is outside, there is not so much interest in his own decisions.

And, speaking of his father visiting him in his house, he continued:

... things ran along the same lines as usual when Father visited, and he did not expect to be treated in a particular way; he expected only the courtesy which was due to an old man visiting anyone.

The organization of the larger family is, in a sense, a replica of a regional map of Germany; each nuclear group is independent of the others and has its own rules and feelings about its own small Heimat; autonomy depends on having a place where everyone other than an actual member of the household is a guest. Beyond this, the fact that they are members of a family unites them against the rest of the world, irrespective of where they live. At the same time, living apart from the family -- in a home of one's own, in a different city, in a different part of Germany -- gives a person a sense of independence and of individuality. It is as if regional particularism supported particularism within the family as a whole, and as if this, in turn, supported the sense which the individual has of being a person in his (or her) own right. Thus it would

9. Related to this is the feeling Germans have that Germans remain German no matter where in the world they may go -- and the feeling that "Auslandsdeutsche" or "Volksdeutsche" (foreign-Germans or Folk-Germans) are unwarranted intruders when, by force of circumstance, they return to Germany.

10. In this connection, it is significant that dreams of emigrating from Germany -- including day dreams about going to explore "desert regions" -- are likely to be phrased as solitary adventures. The young boy who wants to leave Germany dreams of going alone or at most with an intimate friend. At the same time, Karl May, the dreamer-adventurer of his own fiction, is, above all else, in the far places where he adventures -- a German.
that the family -- that permanent membership in a group -- is a necessary
condition to feeling oneself an autonomous individual, but that autonomy also
involves removing oneself -- placing oneself to some extent outside the family
to which one belongs.

For Germans the family is the most stable and permanent factor in life,
even in the "abnormal" conditions that prevail today. So, for instance, Wenke,
discussing the necessary family and educational conditions for achieving
maturity, writes (Wenke, 1952, pp. 106-107):

In the face of the present difficult circumstances one might doubt
whether these conditions should be treated as the normal ones ... I believe it is necessary to hold to this and I do so not out of a lack
of concern or out of blindness for the miseries and unhappiness of our
time or else because I do not take seriously the difficulties of life for
countless young people; rather I base this on the following consideration
which may seem to be theoretical but which has very practical results:
The normal remains normal, even if it becomes more unusual and -- what is
even more important -- the abnormal does not become normal just because it
increases rapidly. Precisely to counteract resignation to abnormal
circumstances, I believe it is necessary to uphold the advancement of the
normal so that the monstrous situation does not prevail in which the abnormal
has become the rule and the normal has become the ideal or even the utopian.

Krausuer (1947) discusses one aspect of this problem in his chapter
entitled "From Rebellion to Submission" (Chapter 10) in which he describes the
contrasting imagery of "the home" and "the street" in a series of films made
in the 1920s. In these films, the return of the rebel from the street to the
home is phrased as a retreat from an independent, individualistic position
into the greater safety of family life. Thomas Mann, in Tod in Venedig, and
Hermann Hesse, in Steppenwolf, describe the isolation of the individual who
cuts himself off from the group to which he belongs, and the psychological
dangers to which he is exposed. (In both cases the protagonist is destroyed.)

Generally speaking, in contemporary discussions of problems of personality,
membership in a group and individual autonomy are not proposed as alternative
solutions, nor is one phrased as an aspect of the other. Rather the two are
phrased as if they were parallel to each other, as when Seelmann (1952) writes:

The human being is an entity closed in itself and at the same time,
as such, is a member of a larger group. (p. 16)

Nevertheless, for the child, autonomy is contingent upon having been a member of
a group; the child is said to learn how to be an individual and how to be
a group member by having lived in the family.
Thus, in the post-war world -- partly in reaction to the preceding period --

the central importance of family life is reiterated even in the face of the

impossibility of creating or recreating a complete family for countless Germans.

In theory, if not in practice, the ideal remains the practically desirable.

In this, contemporary writing echoes a theme that has been central in German

fiction during the whole of the past 100 years.

This does not mean that Germans regard their own family life as idyllic.

On the contrary, informants' accounts of family life regularly emphasize the

stresses and strains of living in a family. For each German, his own family

is in some way exceptional -- unlike other German families, usually in the

degree of harmony or disharmony maintained. Yet each statement about own

family is likely to be a double statement. So, for instance, an informant may

insist that everyone in his family got along very well -- and later say that

this was because, in fact, no one had -- in his opinion -- anything to say;

the children kept everything they could to themselves rather than provoke a scene.

In this connection, one may cite the continuing popularity -- among

young German readers (cf. Haseloff, 1953) -- of the family novel (e.g. the

stories by Haarbeck, n.d.; Kastner, 1949; Sapper, 1950, 1951, 1962; Schumacher,


13. Cf. the discussion of themes in the popular novels in Die Gartenlaube

in a paper by Nelly Hoyt, below.

It is difficult to say to what extent the consistency with which such

double statements occurred was a function of the interview situation in which

an informant, at first feeling his way, tried to say what was expected (or

something he felt would be unexpected) and later -- as the interview progressed

or in another interview -- amended or altered the original statement or made

a quite new statement on the same subject. In any event, the ambivalence must

be seen not only as ambivalence about family life but also about a relationship

to an interviewer.
Or an informant might insist that her family was very harmonious and later
say that her family quarreled all the time but that, unlike other families
which were torn by such strife, hers got along very well because of the continual
disagreement: they quarreled safely because they were so close. Or an informant
might say that his own family was in every way an example of "the authoritarian"
family, where everyone had to give way to the father's wishes, and later describe
his paternal grandmother as the person who, in fact, made the important decisions,
whom the children -- her own children and her grandchildren -- feared, but
to whom the grandchildren turned when they wanted to do something contrary to
their father's wishes, with some assurance that they might get their way.

Or an informant, comparing English family life with her own said that English
fathers "might express their disapproval about something -- for instance, the
magazines which their children brought home -- but would not insist because
the children have to learn for themselves"; in contrast her own father "could
never stop telling the children about his disapproval; so there were always
arguments." Asked whether the children (adolescents and university students)
stopped doing the things that were disapproved of or forbidden, she said that
they did not and "that was why we were always arguing." Her brother, she said,
continually ran away from home in protest, but "we got used to it -- we knew
he would come home when he was hungry."

So, from informants one gets a picture of family life where the ideal is
seldom approximated. What informants tend to stress is rather the deviation
from the ideal -- the personal resentments within the family, the suffering
of children who are not understood and who are not helped to realize hopes
and plans and who rebel futilely against the demands of their parents, and the
"heavy hand" of the father, etc. -- but at the same time they emphasize closeness of the relationship among siblings, the gaiety of family occasions, and the tightness of the family group. The difficulties of family life are rather the difficulties of adolescence than those of small childhood.

Geborgenheit -- security -- is a key word in descriptions of the life of the child with its parents in any memory of childhood that is positive and accepting; in German this word has emotional overtones of trust and warmth and loving care (however strictly that care may be exercised) that modify the gray chill that seems to be connected with that other key word for home and family, Ordnung -- regulated order.

Studies of German family life have emphasized the central position of the father in the family. Thus Schaffner writes (1948, p. 15):

Family life revolves around the figure of the father. He is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, as far as this is possible for a human being. He is the source of all the authority, all the security, and all the wisdom that his children expect to receive. Every other member of the family has lower status and lesser rights than his.

It is the father who issues orders and expects them to be obeyed ...

The father also serves as a model for his children. He is a Vorbild (an ideal) for them to follow. This imposes upon him the duty of living on the level of his own standards, and makes him a rather remote and lofty figure ...

The German father lays so much stress upon respect for his authority that he actually may sacrifice other familial values in order to maintain it.

At the same time, a major drama in family life arises from the fact that father, who is the undisputed head of his own home, must be subservient to others abroad and may take out his resentments (not publicly expressed) on members of his family on whom he can safely impose his demands.
The German mother is depicted as a secondary person in the home, always subordinate to the father. So, according to Bateson and Mead:

Diagrammatically stated, a German child has three mothers: the mother who is a loving companion and friend — while father is away; the mother who becomes father’s ally and deserts and often even sacrifices her child to the father when he comes home; and the mother who, in spite of the utmost docility, incurs father’s disfavor and so, via suffering, turns back to the child when father has gone away. Playmate mother, betraying mother, suffering mother, form a cycle...

And, according to Schaffner (1948):

Thus a woman’s relationship to her children and her status within her home are variable and insecure. There can be only one authority in the home (the father) and only one court of appeal. The woman has essentially a child’s status, and the children sense it.

Her adjustment in her marriage depends on the degree to which she complies with the standards and demands of her husband; the most frequent solution is to identify herself as completely as possible with him in order to minimize the chances of friction...

The mother, whose marriage relationship may provide her with no more than physical security and a routine life of service and association with her husband, is likely to direct the greater part of her feeling and affection toward her children...

But the mother can compete for the children’s favor in her own way. The father’s influence is based upon authority, hers upon the affection which she can introduce into the relationship. She maintains her hold upon them, not by virtue of fear or respect, but by “mother-love,” the strongest emotional tie within the German family...

The accepted pattern is for the wife to identify herself with the husband’s point of view, remaining subordinate to him, and for the child to find his own “natural” place, subordinate to both.

It becomes a major problem when the father and mother do not come to a large measure of agreement and unity... Then the unresolved marital conflict is passed on to the children, who are forced to make a choice between them... However, German children particularly resent having to make such a choice; they prefer the simple, straightforward family pattern, without a marital conflict.

"The simple, straightforward family pattern, without a marital conflict" is the ideal. But in a sense, Schaffner's description states the ideal of family relationships as it might be phrased by Germans who are reacting against this ideal. In fact, the basic point about the German family is that, for practical purposes, it can have only one head. In theory, the father and mother form a single entity; in practice this means that either one of the marriage partners may be the dominant one (and it is likely to be known to everyone which it is) but that, if it is the mother who runs the family, she is likely to phrase decisions as "Vater will es nicht" (Father doesn't want it), using the father's ascribed position to bolster up her actual one, and removing the responsibility for decision-making from herself. In a family of this kind, the father, having deferred to the mother's judgment, will be expected to back up her statement of his position.

From one point of view, the head of the German household is not a lawmaker but a chief executive. That is, the rules that govern good behavior, the decisions that make possible the maintenance of Ordnung (systematic order), the discipline that is imposed for the sake of order and comfort have nothing to do with personalities or with any one person's ideas and convenience, but...

18. Lowie's point -- namely that the patriarchal family is typical of western Europe and that "by 1930 masculine patriarchy had become obsolete in Germany" (Lowie, 1962) -- is a somewhat different one. Current writing and the statements of younger informants substantiate Lowie's finding -- i.e., that the position of the head of the family has been modified over the past 40 years or so in Germany.

17. Preferably also, the mother should "act with dignity" and not "give" about her abilities. A common complaint of younger, professional women is that "when women get together at a Kaffeeklatsch the only thing they talk about is how they manage their men, how they twist them around their fingers."
The more we think about education for obedience, the more clearly we recognize one thing: we should not subordinate our little ones to our caprice (Willkür) but to a firm, clear, dependable law (Gesetz), which gives them lives steadiness (Halt) just as the laws of nature give it to us adults. They are iron (Eisen -- literally, brass or bronze). We suffer the consequences or have success depending upon whether we touch the glowing stove or warm ourselves nearby it. Nature does not give reasons for her laws, she leaves it to us to discover or not to discover reasons and relations -- and in any case her laws remain unchangeable.

Since obedient children do not obey our caprices but the law, since it is necessary for them to obey not for our sake but for their own, they do not deserve praise or reward for obedience. We grownups do not expect any special recognition if we, for instance, do not touch high tension wires, or if we do not steal ... Children thrive best if they grow up apparently unobserved and get the feeling that they are placed within an impersonal / rule of / law in which there is room neither for the caprice of the adult nor for that of the child. (p. 41)

From this point of view, the head of the household is simply the guardian of correct practice, as the mother is also when she helps the infant master the tasks which are set "by life." At the same time, however, the child is continually told that it should act thus and so, should do this and not that because Father or Mother wants it or does not want it; or a mother may coax a reluctant child by saying "Tue es mir zuliebe" (Do it for the love of me), or a reluctant adult may be urged to "Do it for your brother's sake so he won't be hurt," or to "Do it for the family's sake." Thus, although the rules may be as those of the Medes and the Persians, an individual may be continually urged to act properly on personal grounds. Similarly, there is a fairly general belief that children are naughty -- and that adults indulge in bad behavior -- for personal reasons. "Was hast du mir wieder beschert!" (What a

16. In the same way, almost every adult German can recall being spoon fed as a small child: "One spoon for Matti, one spoon for Vati, and one spoon for Opa and one spoon for Oma and one spoon for Tante Emma ..."
present you have given me again! is a remark made by a parent at a child's
naughty behavior. Thus although the "law" may be impersonal and phrased as
if it came from the external world (Life, Nature, History, Fate, custom, good
manners, what people think -- and the necessity of being independent of what
people think, are all invoked) the administration of it and the need for it to
be administered are phrased in personal terms, whether a child or an adult
remembering childhood feels that "it was done for our own good" or that "it
was just because Father (or Mother) wanted it that way," i.e. it suited the
parents for personal reasons. Practically, of course, Father (and Mother)
are the interpreters of the law, but they ought to be harassed executives, not
lawmakers. So, for instance, an informant remembers:

When I was eight or nine my mother, in a fit of exasperation, told me
that she had to break my will in order to bring me up. As soon as she
said this I felt that, since she never could break my will, it didn't
seem worth constantly fighting her as she was only doing what she had to
do ...

Among the justifications for having a single head to the family it is
said that if there were not a single decision-maker (and this grants that

19. The problem of the personal and the impersonal is one that continually
preoccupies Germans. So, on the one hand, while a person may be criticized
because he always "takes everything very personally" (i.e. feels that all
criticism is directed at himself), on the other hand the sense of taking a
personal interest, of having a personal relationship is extremely important.
The problem of personal relationships to people and to things is one aspect
of the deep anxiety about the development of "Massenmensch" -- mass people --
out of the German "Volk." Ideally, what is personal ought to be without self-
interest. This was made especially clear in the 1920s when one way of dividing
political parties was in terms of whether a party was a Weltanschauungspartei
(a party that represented a philosophy) or an Interessenspartei (a party that
spoke for a special interest group) and a favorite criticism of an opposing
party was that its philosophy was a mere facade -- it was not a Weltanschauung-
partei, but in fact a Interessenspartei using philosophy as a mask for private
interest.
decisions are necessarily arbitrary at times) nothing would ever get done --
   witness the continual bickering that is necessary to get anything done in a
   family! -- and that children do not know and if left to themselves will
certainly do everything the wrong way so that they must be guided by a firm
and single hand. In these terms, decision-making is a duty that is forced
upon the head of the household for the sake of others; it is an arduous
occupation but, if carried out well, gives the household firmness (Halt) and
ensures some measure of harmony.

Rodnick (1948) emphasizes the warmth and affection that characterized
the relationship of fathers and small children whom he observed in Hesse.

In fact, this is not incompatible with the more usual description of the father
as a strict disciplinarian. During the child's preschool years the father
is a somewhat distant figure in that he takes little part in the care and
education (Bildung) of his sons and daughters, but when he does approach
the child it is he, rather than the mother, who is likely to be tender, playful

A common complaint is, however, that a person in a superordinate
position "never listens." This is a point made repeatedly by Germans who
participated in American-organized seminars and group discussions.

Thus there is a tendency to repudiate pleasure felt in taking the
initiative and in exercising strength and power for its own sake. Nevertheless,
it is possible for a man to grow up with great feeling of individual-
ity and to identify with a father who, although strict and demanding, acted
with independence and initiative in moving away from his own family, and who
regarded himself as an individualist for doing so.

In German terms strictness is not necessarily synonymous with
severity.

This is, of course, not peculiar to German culture, but characterizes
the relationship of father and young child in western European cultures in
general.
and indulgent. During these years (unless things go very wrong — and then
it is the mother who is blamed) the father is tender and the mother is the person
who regulates life and habituates the child to Ordnung. So, when the child
is older and the mother calls in the father or threatens to call him in to
discipline the child (as she also uses the figure of St. Nicholas as a threat
to the naughty child), it is at least in part the child's faith in the father's
benevolence that is destroyed. The mother's betrayal of the child to the
father (when she joins with the father against what the child regards as its
own interests) is a second step that follows upon an earlier disillusionment.
Thus, as the child grows towards school age there is a realignment of the
powers of control: the mother relinquishes some of her control to the father
and, in so doing, makes it clear that she is the father's subordinate, so that
the child learns within the home the limitations of the individual's position
in a hierarchy. And as the child learns — from the mother — that (just as
previously it had to be good in order to earn the mother's affection and
gentleness) it must now be good in order to regain the father's pleased bene-
volence, it also learns that there is an ever-spreading effect of punishment
from those nearest to those furthest and most powerful.

24 For a nightmare image of the strict mother and the tender father,
21 "Parents and Children: An Analysis of Contemporary German Child Care and
22 Youth Guidance Literature," in which the writer describes the marriage of a
23 "witch" and a "rabbit-man."

25 This seems to be indirectly echoed in the fairytale situation of the
27 father who, after his wife has died, brings home a wicked step-mother. In
26 these stories, however, the father remains an ineffectual figure.

27 On this point, of. my discussion of attitudes towards punishment in
28 "Attitudes towards Wrong-Doing and 'Making Good Again,'" below.
At the same time there are two other sets of people who, in general, continue in their friendly and indulgent relationship to the child; these are, on the one hand, the grandparents and, on the other, parents' brothers and sisters (especially unmarried ones who do not have parental responsibilities that may modify their attitude towards children in general). Grandparents do not have any direct responsibility for the upbringing of their grandchildren and therefore, it is said, they can afford to be more indulgent. (This tends to be the view taken by parents.) But grandparents are also "visitors" in their children's homes and one of the ways in which they can gain entry and maintain their position is by consolidating their relationship to the grandchildren. This they tend to do through indulgence -- so that one has an impression that grandparents (having no pre-established position) bribe their way into their grandchildren's hearts with goodness and use their prestige with their own children as a way of getting their own way. Thus the hierarchy is extended outside the household (but still within the family) and children learn that, in time of trouble there are those who can shield them (or at least mitigate the punishment meted out by parents), and that, when things are going well, there are those who will give them rewards beyond the ones given by parents. But in the end, it is found that this depends upon keeping the right to the grandparents' indulgence -- upon being "good" in their eyes.

For a discussion of such a relationship on a personal and a political level, cf. Louis Ferdinand's descriptions of his and his brother's relationship to their grandfather, the Kaiser, on the one hand, and his occasional remarks about the relationship of the Imperial family to the populace of Berlin -- particularly his comments (pp. 26-28) on the interfering intermediaries who prevented the exploitation of popularity (The Rebel Prince, passim).
The role of mother's and father's brothers and sisters (where it is not the case, a pseudo-parental one) is somewhat different and I shall discuss this in another context.

Siblings are supposed to stand together and, in facing the world outside the family, they are likely to do so. A good deal is made of keeping up appearances in this respect. However, within the family, sibling rivalry — especially between brothers and brothers or between sisters and sisters — is encouraged rather than discouraged. Children are expected to share their toys and occupations as a way of learning how to live in a group. Between brothers and sisters this does not create great difficulties in the play group of small children (since toys are, to some extent, sex-typed and therefore brother and sister do not in fact share the same toys but can — if they get along with one another — combine them in joint play); but between brother and brother or sister and sister, there is generally considerable bickering. The lesson (or one of the lessons) which the child is supposed to learn is how to do without the things it cannot succeed in getting for itself. The "harmless" opposition of brothers, when they are young is also regarded as a way of strengthening their character, and German men generally do not hesitate to describe their antagonistic relationships with their brothers. So, for instance, Louis Ferdinand writes about his quarrels with his elder brother, Wilhelm.

26. Compare the handling of rivalry in Louis Ferdinand's account of his childhood (The Rebel Prince, passim) and in Elisabeth von Gutenberga's account of her own childhood (during approximately the same period) in another part of Germany (Holding the Stirrup, 1965, passim).

29. The usual punishment (and one that is recommended in terms of its character building effect) is to take the object of dispute away from both children if they cannot settle their quarrel by themselves. Each child may, however, strive to get the adults on its own side and against its opponent.
Although my brother had a rather mild temperament and did not take advantage of his position, the antipathy was there and even increased as we grew... I cannot absolve those responsible for our education for the unhappy situation that developed. They not only failed even to bridge the rift but sought to deepen it by encouraging our antagonism. I remember quite clearly rows with my brother which invariably ended in fist fights and bleeding noses. The grownups who witnessed these conflicts made no attempts to pacify us. On the contrary, they frequently incited us to ever harder combat, evidently having the time of their lives watching the two little cocks fight it out. To them it appeared to be a harmless thing. Actually it severed the ties between two small souls. (p. 18)

He then goes on to comment about his own two sons:

To Kira's and my great satisfaction there is not a vestige of antagonism between my two eldest boys, Friedrich and Michael, now thirteen and twelve years old, respectively. They squabble, heckle, and frequently fight, but they are inseparable. Though Friedrich is much taller and stronger than his younger brother Michael... he never tries to impose his authority as a first-born on his brother or his sisters. Neither Kira nor I would stand for such a thing. (p. 20)

In the first passage quoted the relationship is shown as it was seen through a younger brother's eyes (and incidentally the eyes of a brother who eventually supplanted his brother); in the second passage it is a father speaking. The fact is that (according to Louis Ferdinand) the two boys in the elder generation were also "inseparable" until they became university students. Between sisters, the rivalry and antagonism are to some extent muted because girls are supposed not to fight openly, but sisters no less than brothers stress the differences between themselves and the others.

The most intense and enduring and perhaps the happiest relationship in the German family is that between brother and sister. Brother and sister who are close in age are mutually protective, especially against the adult world, and can trust each other with confidences that would otherwise be unshared. Ideally it is a relationship in which the sister gives much more than the brother, but he in turn feels respect as well as affection for his sister that
The brother-sister relationship is the prototype for a relationship between boys and one girl that appears to have developed in German schools where there are mixed classes. For the most part boys and girls (but especially boys) are "ashamed" to have anything to do with the girls in the class, but occasionally there may be one girl who is selected, as a young informant said, as "the class girl -- someone everyone admires" who provides communication between the two groups of children. In the boys' eyes, however, she performs an even more important function: she has to try to cover up for those who do not behave and must be willing to give her lessons to be copied by those who come to school unprepared. In Speyer's Kampf der Tertia (1927), the central feminine-tomboy figure, whose presence in the school is never explained and who is depicted as extremely partial and fickle and also as, in the end, stronger than all the boys together as she rescues them from a losing battle with another group of boys. In a sequel to this story, Die Goldene Horde (1931) there is a devious rivalry between the girl leader and the boy leader of the class, which is so resolved that each is confirmed in his and her position, but the formal leadership is returned to the boy. These two novels were the ones most often cited as "books you have to know about" by informants who grew up in the post-World War I period.
It is the deeply sentimental relationship between brothers and sisters that tends to hold together the larger family after the children have left the paternal home.

During early adolescence, when the play group of boys and girls (which was made up of brothers and sisters and a few neighborhood children of different ages) has broken up and separate groups of boys and girls have formed, the relationship to the "best friend" of the same sex also becomes important.

In spite of interest among most adolescents in sports or other forms of youth activities, there is a strong preference for going off with one other person -- the best friend. This relationship, at its best, counterpoints the rivalrous relationship of brother to brother or sister to sister. For the best friend is the nearest equal in whom one confides, with whom one shares enthusiasms, with whom -- in the case of a boy -- one goes adventuring, to whom one confessor one's deepest thoughts and one's doubts and troubles, and from whom one expects sympathy and understanding and, sometimes, help. Unlike any other relationship friendship is supposed to be mutually uncritical. Friends may disagree but

The devotion of brothers to sisters and the admiration of sisters for brothers is exemplified in the relations of siblings to the individual who is looked up to as "head" of the family -- a position which, over a period of years, may pass from brother to sister and back again (and may even include an affinal relative -- the wife or husband of a loved brother or sister).

A person may, in fact, have more than one best friend. So, for instance, a man described how, during the years when he was a Gymnasium student (secondary school), he had one very close friend with whom he studied and talked "about intellectual things but never about personal matters," and another with whom he shared his "personal" life. Among girls intense rivalry may develop between the two girls who are both the close friend of another. (Comparable data on boys' triads was not obtained because no such set of friends could be observed.)
they should accept each other; if the disagreement goes too far, the friendship is likely to be broken off. In this symmetrical relationship between two boys or two girls, each partner is supposed to be perfectly loyal to the other; this includes knowing about and understanding but not passing judgment on the other's acts, since passing judgment would place one in a superior position to the other and so upset the delicate balance.

This ideal of friendship persists into adulthood but, in the case of boys, actual adolescent friendships are likely to fade out as the two go on into their "real" -- adult -- life. If such friendships do endure, they tend to retreat in the private life of the individuals concerned, and are not conspicuous because the two persons involved do not maintain the somewhat formal style of other adult relationships. Among women, on the contrary, friendships of this kind may continue through life, even outlasting long periods of separation. These long-time friendships are easy to identify because of the open and easy intimacy between the two women. Such friendships can be extremely stormy, but as long as the belief in each other's loyalty and fundamentally uncritical attitude lasts, the relationship is likely to continue, surviving the changes that occur after the two women have married and have households that may be conspicuously different from each other's.

However, the very fact that friendship is felt to be a symmetrical relationship that is rooted in shared experience and emotion, makes it difficult for adults to form new friendships that are regarded as having the same depth.

For an example of different ways of handling a symmetrical friendship relationship -- as outlined by children -- cf. my discussion of "Wrong-Doing and 'Making Good Again'..." below, especially the story of "The Lost Hat." In this story the writers (boys and girls) described what can happen when one partner upsets the even balance of a friendship.
For, unlike French friendships -- especially those between men -- which are formed on the basis of a community of interest (and so can be formed at any period of life and between persons who have little in common besides a particular interest in which they share), German friendships are based primarily on a community of feeling and trust in the other's emotional relationship to oneself: each provides a mirror for the other's feelings. In this sense, friendship -- which is formed outside the home -- can (in part) be classified with familial relationships as belonging to the private relationship system of the individual in which the true content is emotion and other kinds of interest serve mainly to channel and exemplify what is felt. Other types of relationship, based on mutual interest, may "ripen" into friendship, but they are also likely to be felt to be "empty" in comparison to friendship. In this sense, friendship is parallel to the relationship between brother and sister except that in the former the symmetry and in the latter the complementary aspects of the partnership are emphasized.

34. Kastner, in Das fliegende Klassensimmer (a novel for young adolescents) describes a masculine friendship in which the two men who had "sat on the same beach together" are after years of separation reunited by a group of boys who admire and love each of them. The two are reunited in the school which they had attended and during the celebration, one of the friends tells the boys: "... Do not forget your youth. That sounds superfluous to you, who are still children. But it is not superfluous. Believe us. We have grown older and nevertheless have remained young. We know exactly, we two!" (p. 165)
II.

The central fact about German education (Erziehung) in the home is that it is character education and that its focus is upon the training of the will. The ideal of this education is to produce an adult individual who has so completely incorporated his training that he can move around the world where and how he will, untouched by opinion and responding to the good and automatically rejecting everything that does not correspond to his internal image of what is good and right which was built up through years of habituation. However, since "Life" sets hard tasks and there is always the danger that one's own impulses may get the better of one, it is necessary to learn how to master difficult tasks, how to forego easy and desirable pleasures and how to accept or master suffering in order to achieve and maintain full adult status. The education of the child consists in teaching it -- by means of example and habitual practice -- a set of principles and in training its will so that conformance with these principles will be entirely "natural." Instruction in skills and the acquisition of knowledge are secondary to this aim insofar as they follow and are dependent upon character training. In this there is no fundamental difference in the aim of education (Erziehung) for the boy and for the girl. The upbringing of boys may be somewhat stricter than that of girls because boys are harder to bring up and because boys are expected to produce more and are subjected to greater hardships in life than girls. The difference is rather in the skills in which they are instructed and in the kind and amount of knowledge which they are expected to acquire. Thus occupational training is defined as masculine or feminine but character training is not (or at least is much less clearly)
A person's capacities are inborn — God-given and/or inherited, depending upon one's point of view — and, as such, everything that a person is able to accomplish comes from within. Ordinarily this means that the individual's capacities must be awakened by some other person and that education involves reaching the individual's inner life (Geist and Seele, both aspects of the inner personality). Yet since everything comes from within, the exceptional person may have intuitive knowledge of things for which others require training, and the very exceptional person — the talented artisan, the creative artist — is able to rise above circumstances that are ordinarily determining, i.e., a harsh or impoverished or uncomprehending environment, sickness and weakness and infirmity, even a misformed character; in this respect Germany's great artists (as one reads and hears about them) are like the suffering fairy tale heroines and the young-some fairy tale heroes who prove themselves and rise triumphant either because they master suffering or because they do not recognize situations in which ordinary people suffer. The romantic ideal of life and

35. In this connection it is not without significance that child care manuals discuss upbringing in terms of "the child" (das Kind) without differentiating between "the boy" and "the girl" — and give examples of good and bad behavior for both; similarly, youth guidance manuals continually refer to "youth" (die Jugend — a term for which there is no adequate translation into English) including in this term adolescents of both sexes and giving examples of both girls' and boys' behavior (but with greater differentiation in the content of examples than is the case when "the child's" behavior is exemplified). It is not my intention to suggest that the actual content of the behavior discussed is not different (in some respects) for boys and for girls (this appears to be taken for granted) but only that the same principles of upbringing appear to apply equally to both.

36. It should be noted, however, that the figure of Goethe as "the ideal" provides an almost complete contrast to these other figures. Goethe's struggles were either internal or were played out in his creative writing.
The belief in the value and excitement of adolescent rebellion -- and the very
real sense of loss that adolescent dreams cannot be fulfilled or must be foregone
in favor of unoriginal and prosaic occupations -- are based on this conception
of the individual's inborn capacities which he (or she) can draw out and develop.
The thing that is not at all clear is whether the individual is born with a
certain combination of good qualities -- which must be awakened and developed
-- and that weakness or evil result either because the work on the good qualities
has not been done or because bad qualities have later been implanted; or
whether the individual is born with a double set of good and bad qualities,
some of which must be fostered and others of which must be uprooted or at least
made ineffective. Images suggesting both types of source occur (often in
descriptions given by one individual). What is clear is that specific capacities
(for good or else for good and for evil) make their appearance at certain ages
and that education in part consists in preparing for and in part in making
use of these at the proper time.

In spite of a belief in the capacity of the gifted person to initiate his
own development or to teach himself to rise above his training (or lack of
training), development (Entwicklung) is essentially a response to initiative

37. Thus one writer on child care (Plattner, 1962) indicates the different
ages at which a parent may expect such qualities as "the love of truth" or the
ability to see reality, or the capacity to "understand a command" or to "accomplish
a task" to become operative; and another writer (Hetzer, 1947b) indicates that
it has been statistically substantiated that whereas 6% of children of six years
are boosters and liars, at the age of 10-12 the proportion rises to 29%.

38. In this connection, however, see Nelly Hoyt's discussion of Karl May's
relationship to his grandmother and father (in "Karl May: Living a Dream ...",below) as this was described by May and by German writers about May -- where
May's ability to rise above his own weaknesses are attributed to the indirect
effect upon him of both the father's and grandmother's characters.
taken by another person (in the first instance, the parents) or to the result when no initiative is taken. In the latter situation everything is almost certain to go wrong: children who are left to themselves without instruction or who are permitted to take the initiative (without previous training) are assumed almost invariably to do the wrong thing, even when they are approaching adulthood. For this reason children must, above all else, be taught to obey their elders and must be made to obey consistently and continuously until, from long habituation, they are able to obey themselves, i.e. until their will has been trained and put at the service of what is understood to be good and right and desirable. The exercise of free will (by the adult) in these terms consists not in making a choice between possible alternatives but essentially in being freed from the necessity of choice by the "spontaneous" and/or stubbornly resistant selection of what is understood to be right or correct. There are two major crises in the child's development, both concerned with the growth and training of will. One, the so-called period of stubbornness (die Trotzperiode), occurs when the child is two-and-a-half to three years old and is of relatively short duration if it is properly handled. This is when the child discovers its self (sein Ich), discovers that it can set its own goals and strive to attain them, and tries out its new-found powers by opposition to its elders in every way, large and small, and by tantrums when it cannot have its way or if it is forced to accept things it does not want. The second crisis occurs at adolescence, coinciding with the child's sexual awakening and its rapidly increasing capacity to form attachments to people and ideas outside the home and its awareness of and interest in the adult world.
This second crisis is essentially a repetition of the first but on a much larger scale and with very different and far more complex content; in both, however, the focus of the child's attention is upon its own self and upon its own efforts to strike a balance between inner impulse and the outer environment unhindered by the rules and regulations imposed by settled adults. Although during the first crisis little or no difference is made in the discussions of its manifestations among girls and boys, the second is quite sharply differentiated. Both girls and boys are described -- during adolescence as moody and subject to swings between exalted romantic flights of fancy and melancholy self-doubt; both are (during the early years at least) attracted by idealized, somewhat older members of the same sex; both are given to extreme secretiveness in relation to their family; both indulge in "silly and fantastic" behavior. But the manifestation of this crisis is considered to be much more violent in boys than in girls; the phrase "die Jugend muss sich austoben" (youth must have its fling, must exhaust its fury) applies to boys rather than to girls. As conceived of by Germans, the period of "youth" extends from the early 'teens until approximately the mid-twenties; the period of the crisis of the will begins rather early in this time and may be of shorter or longer duration, but it must be lived through if the adolescent is to become a full adult. If the child's will was "broken" during the first, childish crisis, it

...
will be endangered during the second one; but likewise, if its will was not
held within bounds during the first, the second one is also likely to be
dangerous since the child's powers have been weakened by self-indulgence, etc.
Success in the education of the will depends upon adults giving the child
stability and support (Halt) and providing regulated order (regelmäßige Ordnung)
during the crises of the will as well as at other times, for only in this way
can the child develop inner stability (innere Halt) and an internalized sense
of order (innere Ordnung). Contemporary educators believe this can be done by
three means: (1) by so completely training the child before the explosive crisis
of self-recognition occurs that it will -- "without thinking about it" --
continue to accept the main rules of life; (2) by providing an extremely stable
and unchanging environment, which, for the adolescent includes inducing him
(or her) into a good work situation; and (3) by keeping the child's confidence
and trust -- without which the adult cannot have insight into the child's
problems and ideas and, consequently, ceases to exercise a controlling influence
over the situation.

Ideally, the well-educated child is tractable (folgsam) and pliant
(folgsam) and willing (bereitwillig) — except during the crises of the will.
From the point of view of parents, however, tractability and pliancy and ready
willingness are difficult to achieve; parents have to fight against unwillingness
to be educated for at least any time a child is likely to become stubbornly
resistant and then must be forced into acquiescence. From the viewpoint of the
person being educated, this is experienced as a kind of physical invasion of
privacy: The image which is repeatedly given is that of a beleaguered fortress
or an entrenched position closed to influence from without. **Auflehnung** —
the usual word for "rebellion," — literally means to lean up against; the
teleagued rebel resists a breakthrough by leaning toward and warding off the
40
attack.

The closed impenetrable fortress is a reversal of the images used for a
good relationship, which is characterized by imagery of penetration, especially
41
of seeing into another person. The good parent and the good child can look
into each other's eyes and see love, or joy, or sorrow, or amusement, or
honesty, or generosity, or even a deeper mystery. The small child can be
read easily and the parent, in making a judgment, takes little chance that he
(or she) may be proved wrong, but by the time the child reaches school age it
has learned to keep secrets and is capable of duplicity and dissimulation,
and by the time it reaches adolescence it may have a whole world of its own
about which the parents know little or nothing and, additionally, it has
learned how to protect this world. Then the parents can be even less certain
of their power of insight (are less certain that they know and are right about
what they know) and force may be a relatively ineffective means of penetration.
This is a stage of development when the child may readily question the parent's

40. This interpretation was obtained from postural images, from the
postures taken by informants as they attempted to describe and illustrate the
meaning of rebellion. The idea is a static one; the content of the behavior
may, on the contrary, take a great variety of active as well as static forms;
i.e., "when you are rebellious you close your mouth and say nothing"; "when I
was rebelling against my father I took piano lessons, of which he disapproved";
"my brother always ran out of the house..."; "I would shout back at my father";
"the only thing we could do was to go into our room, close the door and sulk";
"I would do everything I had to do in an exaggerated way"; "I went around
looking dirty and unkempt"; and so on.

41. There is a characteristic difference, however, in the imagery used
by adult and superordinate and child and subordinate. For whereas adults and
superordinates look at and into the child and subordinate, the child and
subordinate say that the adult or superior "does not listen."
(especially the father's) infallibility and rebel against his demands. In older German families (the families of informants who grew up before World War I), the child broke with parental authority in one of several ways: (1) the child kept its views to itself and outwardly conformed to the standards set by the parents; (2) the child aired its views and was discouraged by ridicule and threats; (3) the child aired its views in the form of a joke -- and in this case the parent might accept them; or (4) the child aired its views and was forced into submissive obedience.

In the first situation, the child felt (it is said) that the father knew but that there was nothing he could do and that, in fact, it didn't matter as long as child did what was expected. Indeed, Germans say that their parents were likely to know what they were thinking and were secretly rather proud that the children had ideas of their own. Speaking from the point of view of the parents, an informant said:

They sort of expect the Sturm und Drang in their children. They expect their children to run counter to them and see no reason why they should make concessions because of that. But if it didn't occur, they would be surprised ... They act outwardly as though they were having trouble with their children going counter to them during adolescence, but the father who makes the biggest fuss in disagreement with his son often -- if you bring him into discussion -- quite honestly realizes that he was -- that he is glad his child is that way. At least he'll come out with that ambivalent attitude toward it. That's the way he was and that's the way they are. They're not too terribly surprised that there isn't accord from generation to generation. I think parents expect there won't be, but nevertheless don't act according to this expectation.

These are also the possibilities suggested by younger informants today. Any one of these alternatives may, of course, characterize the behavior of one individual at different times or under different circumstances.

This informant was an American who worked very closely with a variety of German religious groups, who interviewed parents and children and lived in a number of German families shortly after World War II.
Thus the parents expect the children to have developed independence of mind but nevertheless to continue to behave as if they agreed with their parents -- as long as they are at home.

In the second situation, in which the child aired its views and tried to talk about what it would like to do or how things ought to be done, informants described how the parents would respond by saying, "You don't know anything about it," or "Life will teach you otherwise," or "Wait until you try it out, experience will teach you to change your ideas," etc. One informant, a woman who felt that her family life was exceptional in that it had been harmonious in spite of disagreements and arguments, considered that this continual belittling of the adolescent's dreams and new ideas (which characterized her own parents' behavior) gave them the feeling that they would never achieve adulthood and discouraged them from trying to "make anything new realizable and practical so that in the end they just gave up and did what everyone else did."

Rather more rarely, informants said that they might be able to get away with saying or even with doing something providing they found some way of phrasing it as a joke, i.e. not as something to be acted on seriously that might undermine the father's position. "Then," said one informant, "my father might accept it. So I was always working very hard, trying to think how to make these jokes -- because my father would get the point and wouldn't mind."

Father and son are here engaging in a kind of double talk with themselves and with each other as a way of getting around a difficulty.

44. This informant was a young man who had a very intense reaction to all discussions of German "authoritarianism" and who felt that he had a very heavy-handed father. The family was anti-Nazi but did not (or could not) leave Germany.
Nevertheless, there was a general expectation that on some occasion the
father (or, less likely, the mother) would "make a big scene" or would "make
an example" and bear down with his full weight -- "und dann gab es einen solchen
schweren Knall" (and then suddenly there was a roar, or crash). It seems to
be the echo of these memorable, but not necessarily frequent, experiences that
keeps German children in line, that gives them the impression that fathers
shout (which they are quite likely to deny when they hear a stage-acting
"German father" shouting), that makes them feel that they are being bullied
into submission.

From this it appears that the young person learns and continually has
confirmed that there is a necessary split between independence of mind and
independence of action. That is, he learns that it is safe -- and even
desirable -- to disagree with others in one's own mind, but that the expression
of disagreement depends upon one's relative position to those to whom one is
talking. To one's best friend one may say everything, although what is said
should not be phrased so that it will appear to be a judgment of the friend;
with one's colleagues one may disagree, but since this is likely to lead to

45. Germans differentiate between such scenes as these and the bickering
or nagging that they feel are a part of everyday life in the family.

46. An example (from a juvenile novel) of such a scene is given in another
paper ("The German Family ..." by Rhoda Nottrax, pp. 27-29). In this scene
(as opposed to informants' accounts of actual occurrences) the father speaks
very quietly and the whole of the family take the father's side and join in
trying to make the erring child (preadolescent) give in to the father.

25 Shouting at subordinates who then shout at their subordinates, or having
the person shouted at who just previously has shouted at others, are frequent
comic devices in German films. A momentary silence is more likely to be used
in a serious or tragic situation. Apparently this is a silence that speaks
louder than words.
[213x780]it is safer to keep one's opinion to oneself or, at least, not to state an opinion in a situation in which discussion will follow. In relation to those who are lower than oneself in a hierarchy, one becomes the person who "knows," but one's own position of infallibility is difficult to maintain. Thus, a modern German father explains his relationship to his father and to his children:

I do not emphasize /my authority/. I know it better because I am a father... One of the things that impressed me most... when I was five or so, I overheard my father speaking to his brother about something which had happened where his brother said that in some argument that I had had with my father I really had been right, and my father said that he had realized it later on, but he felt that it was more important to maintain the principle that a father had to be obeyed under all circumstances... which was disturbing to me and which led to the fact that I always emphasize to my children if I make mistakes and they happen to be right, I do not care to be right, in the way that my father emphasized it —- that just because I am the father, therefore I am infallible.

Nevertheless, speaking from the point of view of the child, German informants feel that, whatever they may think, the expression of disagreement with the father (or another superior) may lead to distortion and may serve to emphasize the weakness of one's own position in contrast to the strength of the person opposed. "Therefore, outwardly, you conform."

The young person has learned that security lies in being both autonomous and submissive. But in accepting this, he violates an underlying principle of German education, namely that the individual should become "a whole person," that he should "be what he is altogether." It is clear that this is not a compromise position, but one in which two forms of behavior are carried on simultaneously and the necessity for maintaining such a position is placed...
I
ia the o;teral world: submission has been forced upon the weaker person.

To protect this security it is necessary not only to exhibit submissiveness but also to convince oneself—and others—that the person who forces one to submit is strong and able to crack down whenever necessary.

The acceptance of this autonomous-submissive position is based not only on adolescent experience; it has been built up from earliest childhood in the double training which the infant and small child is given in obedience and in control over its own body—both of which require the development of disciplined self-control. On the one hand, the child is taught obedience by techniques of habituation to a fairly rigidly imposed systematic order (Ordnung) and, at an early age, learns to associate a whole series of related activities with one command, e.g., "It is time to do your lessons," or "It is bedtime, get ready for bed," so that order and obedience means following out a whole patterned set of activities triggered by one phrase. (It is a common complaint of German parents that children are forgetful and have to be nagged into getting through such a series—until they have learned "thoroughly"; it is a common complaint of children that parents go on repeating things that "we know already.") The things a child is not to do are more diverse, so that it seems to be more difficult to pattern them—and there is at times a flow of comment, "Don't do that," or "I've already told you to stay away from that." Parents and children (and the experts who write about them) give the impression that the number of things not to do and the number of mistakes that can be made are without limit, for they do not fit so well together as the patterned things-to

48 For a more detailed discussion of childhood training, cf. "Parents and Children... " below.
and often interfere with carrying out the correct pattern. On the other hand, the child learns that it must control its own body and its reactions to accidents that happen as it begins to walk and run and climb and explore the physical world and to the pain that is part of growth. Parents are cautioned not to restrict their children's physical activities too greatly, for only by hurting themselves and experiencing the consequences of their acts can they learn to be strong and self-reliant and to bear the inevitable suffering associated with "mastering the tasks set by life."

Consequently, where the earlier childhood education has been more or less successful, the adolescent has learned both to obey quite automatically and to be relatively self-reliant. So, for instance, outside of larger cities, parents do not hesitate to allow twelve or fourteen year old children go off in pairs or groups for two or three-day or even week-long trips which the children themselves have to organize and pay for out of their own money. (It may be added, however, that they have learned how to organize such trips from family excursions and/or from excursions taken by school groups.) Parents feel relatively assured that the children will neither come to serious harm nor get into serious mischief. Like the *Wandervögel* of another generation (who were an older age group), children going off on their own can exhibit their good behavior and their self-reliance. The fact that children - adolescents --

49. Turning back to the Nazi propaganda film, *Hitlerjugend Quex* (cf. Bateson, 1945), it is not without significance that the crucial scenes in which the little hero (who has been shown to live in a disorderly and disorganized world and to have inadequate parents - a father who cannot bear pain and a mother who cannot take over parental responsibility) chooses to become a Nazi takes place in the outdoor excursion world. First of all, this is a world apart from parental (and in general adult) authority and forms of behavior; but secondly, in this juvenile world Heini (the hero) is given the choice between a group who take advantage of their situation to be vulgarly self-indulgent and sexually lax, who represent juvenile disorder (the "Communists" of this film) and a group who surpass adult standards of neatness, cleanliness, order, etc. Moving outside his home, Heini chooses the group to which the ideal adolescent belongs.
have demonstrated that, left to themselves, they are no longer "sure to do the
every thing," does not materially affect their situation at home or in school
or at work as young apprentices. There they are still learners who "have not
achieved anything yet" and their self-reliance is not matched by activities
in which they take responsible initiative. Rather, initiative is defined as
doing of their own accord the things which are expected of them.

Self-doubt and a belief that one is not anything yet (a belief that is
repeatedly dinned into the ears of the young) help make the autonomous-
submissive position a very tenable one for the adolescent, irrespective of
whether he has had a good or a poor childhood education. The sense of the
unfinishedness of the adolescent emerges very clearly from a description by

Wenke (1962) of the problems of the refugee youth who have been separated from
their homes and families. Describing those who come from a disturbed background
he writes:

There / in the refugee situation / we find the permanent, gradually
strengthening effect of disorder as an actual reality. One has to expect
to find an adolescent who has adjusted himself to this existing disorder
with all the consequences of danger, neglect and ruin. In most cases
the relationship and fatal interaction between inner impulse and outer
influence — that is, of character and situation — are quite apparent.

Inferior parents have children with inherited burdens and taints and at
the same time they in their own way create a milieu to which such children
are highly susceptible. If they cannot get out of this circle, if they
are not taken out of this road by resolute help, the permanent injury
becomes irreparable. These children and adolescents cannot help themselves
of their own accord not only because the necessary impulse is lacking
but also because they do not recognize the danger in which they stand ...
(p. 11c)

Yet according to Wenke, those adolescents who have had a sound upbringing are,
initially, no better off than the others:

A completely different picture emerges when external fate suddenly
removes from the young person the order in which he has hitherto lived.
Just because he previously knew an orderly life, he is at first entirely
helpless and does not arrive at a meaningful meeting with life. If, as
is generally the case, the loss of order also puts him into economic
difficulties, then he can find no support in the airless room and without
help he would rapidly founder. It might be thought that he would have
greater reserves of strength than the person who had already grown up in
disorder. That is true, but the ability to assert or maintain oneself
can first make its appearance if the vacuum is put aside and a new order
has been found. At first the shock is too great. And the shock is greater
because the adolescent not only has lost outer order and now faces nothing-
ness but also because he mourns for everything that was dear to him.
that belonged to his life, that fulfilled him, to which he clung: his
parents, his siblings, his friends, his home (Heimat). But if he succeeds
in arriving at a new meaningful meeting with the world, then those strengths
will grow again which in his earlier life had developed happily and richly
and which were only shaken, not destroyed. They will now help him to
overcome his fate internally and to build up a new life. (p. 111)

Thus the adolescent, no less than the young child, needs guidance if he is
to succeed in becoming a full person. Traditionally, it is the father who
criticizes, who combats the adolescent's willful behavior, who -- in the end --
succeeds in producing a citizen who has a job and marry and accepts "the
tasks set by Life." But as the child grows up, the parental sphere of influence
is narrowed down: the child goes to school, becomes an apprentice or (if he
goes on with his education) becomes a university student, and in each of these
situations the child comes under influence other than that of the parents. So,
for instance, a fourteen year old boy talks about being punished for misbehavior
in school:

**Interviewer:** What does your father say when you are punished in school?

**Informant:** When I was punished in school? I usually didn't tell him ... So I usually didn't tell him about it until a few days later. A few
days later I dared to tell my parents, "Well, everyday I get kept after
school but I get lots of fun out of it." My father got a little bit
angry but he said, "As long as you get punished for being -- for not being
good, it's all right with me, as long as you get punished ..." My father
said, "I'm glad I don't have to do it, as long as the teachers do it ..."

And an adult informant remembers when he went to the university at nineteen:

The moment I left for the university my father said: "In the future
I won't tell you anything and you will do what you want, and suffer
what you must if you make mistakes." I think it was the average German
attitude on the part of the father.
So the father accepts substitutes for his own authority -- in the person of
the teacher (and others) and in the pain which the young individual suffers
when he makes mistakes. The father does not abdicate; he simply is not on
the scene.

The figure of the adult teacher-father or teacher-mother who completes
the education of the young individual outside the home is one with a long
history in German culture. But since World War I a new educating figure has
appeared in German literature of various kinds: a younger man who stands an
intermediate position between that of a father and that of an adolescent, who
outside the home, and who is able to win the confidence of boys because he
himself "has never forgotten his youth." This man is not necessarily
especially young himself (professional youth leaders are frequently men in their
thirties or even older), but he is unmarried and he is frequently a somewhat

50. Striking illustrations of such leaders appear in novels and in youth
guidance writing and in other writing on social problems since World War I,
but no special attempt was made to look for earlier depictions of such figures.
It should perhaps be added that there is another traditional figure that, in
some respects, corresponds to the young leader; that is the figure of the faithful
retainer who is (quite often) a subordinate of the father but who guides the
young man into the right channels by means that are within the expectations
of the son rather than the father. A figure of this type appeared in several
post-World War II movies that were seen and analyzed: in two films the man
was an army sergeant, in one he was an old family servant, in one he was a
fellow-employee, and so on. A difference between the faithful retainer and
the young leader is that the former is (1) clearly related to the father figure
involved; and (2) is also subordinate to the young man whom he guides. The
young leader, on the contrary, is semi-independent or wholly independent and
he is superior to the young man whom he guides. Where the faithful retainer
wins the son to good behavior by clinging to him and setting aright what the
young man does wrong, the young leader attracts the young men to him and they
are won over to the idea of good behavior in which they themselves exercise a
certain initiative.
The personality -- standing outside the social group for whom he does not need to maintain distance in order to protect his privileged position; on the contrary, his special talent is for frankness and openness which, in turn, encourage frankness on the part of the adolescents with whom he is in contact. Consequently, a special virtue of this man is that he can penetrate into the life of adolescents, into aspects of their experience from which parents are at this time excluded. Confidence and confession -- which were of great importance in the training of the younger child -- once more become operative with the adolescent.

Theoretically at least, the adolescent (like the child) can confess and make wrong-doing good again but without disclosing his private life to his parents and his family.

In childhood, the alternative patterns for handling wrong-doing were to try to get away with it and then to reform oneself, or to accept punishment and thereafter try to avoid situations in which one could be caught and punished for wrong-doing, or to confess and make good -- in which case one started over with a clean sheet. (The German image is to "let the grass grow over it" -- as if the wrong-doing was a corpse now safely buried in a grave.)

51. One is reminded by some of the descriptions of this young leader of the romantic 19th century figure of der Einsiedler -- whom Nelly Hoyt has identified as the typical outsider in the popular novel of the period. (For comparison in more recent fiction, cf. the character of der Nachttraucher in Das fliegende Halskrauz der Klassensimmer and the sockecker in Kampf der Tertia.) In other cases the young leader is an outsider in quite a different way: he is the expert who stands outside the family. In this case he is less a leader than an adjuster of broken lives, standing above and outside the groups of those to whom he brings help.
In adolescence, the alternatives were traditionally either to engage in open rebellion which often terminated in extreme isolation, or to accept the autonomous-submissive pattern which then was carried on into adult life. The relationship to the young leader is essentially one in which the young person combines getting away with it and confessing and making good -- but avoiding public punishment and the spreading effects of punishment.

The young leader was of course one of the very prominent figures in the Nazi organization of Germany, and his position -- as it was interpreted by various analysts of German culture and character (e.g. Bateson, Erichsen) -- was defined as that of an elder brother, the leader of a rebel gang opposed to father and to the virtues of adult life. However, as he is pictured in the literature of the 1920s (e.g. Kästner's and Speyer's novels) and in recent youth guidance and pedagogical literature, he is rather clearly a kind of junior father (sometimes he is literally a father's younger brother) who is dissociated from the immediate family, who encourages the young in all kinds of semi-illegal exhibitionistic feats, but who is, in the long run, working in the same interests as the father. This does not mean that he is actually allied with the father, but rather that he accepts more or less the same values. Bridging the child's world and the adult world, he stands for theoretical values that are lost when the adolescent must combine independence of thought with submissive behavior, i.e. for the development of an individual whose thoughts and actions are an entity, who is so well trained that, rather than wasting his will in futile opposition or sinking into apathy, he is able to conform and fit in willingly into an adult life of duty and service and to feel that he is doing so as an autonomous and spontaneously acting individual.
In his role of youth guidance expert, the young leader is clearly well-off to the adult, parental world. However, in his attempts to create or restore family life by caring for the problems of the delinquent or disturbed child (the child who has gotten into trouble and who, from the parents' viewpoint, has become unmanageably bad), the expert also appears as a reformer of adult behavior. His method of reform is indirect for he does not tell parents what they must do in order to have good and manageable children who will prosper and become adequate adults; instead, he teaches parents how to educate themselves. A slogan which occurs repeatedly in manuals to be read and used by parents (whether of small children or of adolescents) is that the education (Bildung) of a child begins with self-education (Selbsterziehung) of the parents. The parents no less than the children must so incorporate their ideals and their training that they can act wholly "naturally." The younger leader-adviser shares in their ideals and shows them how they themselves can realize them with their children.

Thus it would seem that, in one sense, the young leader makes it possible for childhood to be prolonged almost into adulthood and for a much greater

52. It should be added that the masculine expert-adviser is concerned primarily with children in the adolescent age group — at least insofar as the writers of manuals depict themselves in the examples which they give.

53. At the same time, it is nowadays believed that certain aspects of education that were traditionally undertaken during adolescence, during the Reifejahre when the boy (and to a lesser extent the girl) was given an explanation (Auffklärung) of sexual life, should be pushed back into earlier childhood and that the child should, by slow learning, become habituated to correct notions about adult sexual life. A great German anxiety is that the child will be frühreif — prematurely sexually aware; where in the past an attempt was made to prevent this by strict training and ignorance, the attempt is now made to prevent it by teaching the prepubertal child how it should behave later.
part of the adolescent's life to be included in the educational process

(Rezierung) than when character education is mainly limited to the family,

but, in another sense, there appears to be developing -- through the young

leader (who is in some cases "the expert") -- a rather specialized adolescent

education in which rebellion and opposition to family values and the whole

second crisis of the will are used to integrate the adolescent into social

life outside the family and at the same time preserve family values.

From the foregoing discussion, it will be apparent that the image of

the youthful leader does not wholly coincide with the version with which we

were familiar in the 1950s. However, it is an image that proceeds and continues

after the special Nazi version. And it is my hypothesis that this figure is

an adolescent version of the image of the father known in earliest childhood

-- the father who stood outside the confines of the small world in which the

young child was being trained by the mother, the father who was at the same

time playful and indulgent with the young Stammhalter (son and heir), who

could joke and who jokingly called his child the very names which he used

later in anger (Dicksopp, Schreibals, Strampelpeter, etc.) and also, proudly,

kleiner Mann -- little man -- according him in miniature the status he is so

loath to grant his growing son in later years. This early father is the one

who has not yet accepted serious responsibility for the upbringing of his child,

the father who is, in fact, the thorn in the side of the mother, for he permits

and encourages behavior which the mother will have to stop. It would seem

that, with the displacement of grandfatherly figures who combined prestige

54. See for instance in Bundy and Eyferth (1952), passim, the descriptions

of the desirable household in various kinds of adolescent homes.
with indulgence of grandchildren, a new masculine image of an indulgent and
yet educational figure has been emerging, who is on the side of life rather
than of death.

For, essentially, as I have said, this leader has considerable resemblance
to the Einsiedler -- the outsider who has accepted his position at the periphery
of the social group. The alternative to acceptance of this position -- in
German tradition -- is for the person who has been removed or who has removed
himself from the social group to commit suicide, not in order to escape, but
on the contrary as a way of getting back into the group. Suicide, in German
terms, is the ultimate way of "making good again" so that through death the
errant individual is reintegrated into the group against which he rebells.

It has been pointed out that, for Germans, the end of adolescence is
in itself a kind of suicide, in that at this time, when the young man and
the young woman accept the responsibilities and duties of adult life which are
grey and drab by comparison to the dreams of adolescence, they are renouncing
a future which they have come to recognise is unrealisable and that this is
felt to be a death of one aspect of the personality.

It would seem that in a world in which the time-span is more limited
and in which it is accepted that one is unlikely to become an indulgent
grandfather, i.e. to pass from being a harassed executive to the top of the
ladder of the hierarchy, the newer young leader -- no longer isolating himself
-- promises a future when, if no one is very important, nevertheless those
who are men can "remember their childhood" and in so doing bring adolescent
and adult values (in which both share) closer together.

55. See Nelly Hoyt's discussion of the outsider, below.
This is, of course, an interpretation of something which seems to exist mainly as a possibility. Only work on German culture in Germany itself can indicate whether it is a possibility that has promise of realization and what forms such realization may be taking, especially where the very persons who might be filling such a role are absent or appear to be dissociating themselves from responsible, ongoing life.
The following six papers, each a critical summary of one aspect of the work on German culture and national character structure, are designed to give more detailed accounts of particular types of material that went into the making of this analysis and to indicate how these were treated in collaborative work by Nelly Hoyt and myself. They are intended to serve as background for the main discussion and to provide the reader with a series of images of German culture derived from a variety of sources. They do not, however, cover the entire range of materials used as sources, but only certain ones which, it seemed to us, might be less familiar to students of contemporary German culture or which (in the case of the analysis of German children's story completions) provided insight on a particular point from material not readily available to someone making a study of a culture from a distance. In addition, the background materials included a study of German adult fiction beginning approximately with the period of the first World War, analysis of a number of post-World War II German films seen in New York and a re-study of the Nazi propaganda film of 1933, Hitlerjunge Quex, which had first been analyzed by Gregory Bateson in 1943, and considerable work on contemporary German culture.

1. This work had been done by myself during World War II in the course of work on German civilian morale problems, and was only brought up to date by further analysis of post-World War II novels and biographical writing.

2. Cf. Bateson 1943 and 1946. Bateson's analysis of this film contains some of the major theoretical points about German character structure, expressed in terms of the Nazis' portrayal of themselves contained in this film. It is an essential document for anyone working on problems of German character.
A brief study was also made of "Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschafts-Zeitung," which was read for current and generalization of attitudes over a six month period in 1952. All of this was conceived of as background material for work with German informants, which was done by Nelly Hoyt and myself.

The several papers included here illustrate also the two viewpoints that went into the making of the study — that of an anthropologist and that of a social historian — and so give an indication of the formal collaboration between the two participants in the study even though each of the papers was written up separately.

Taken as a whole, the papers provide a series of self-images of German character and personality seen at different periods and from different positions within German culture. The first paper, based on analysis of current books on child care and youth guidance, presents attitudes towards education expressed for the most part by psychoanalytically oriented "experts" in popular books intended for use by parents and other persons charged with educational responsibilities; in this paper an attempt is made to assess expected roles of parents and children.

Two papers then follow on German youth literature, using books which are currently read in Germany but many of which were read also by the parents and grandparents of the generation now growing up, i.e., by those who, in the main, were our informants on German culture. The first of these, on the family novel, gives a composite picture of the family as it appears in such books and discusses a number of recurrent themes related to the family that are parallel to themes found in other materials studied. The second paper is a discussion of one writer, Karl May, whose adventure novels are the prototype of the German
youth literature of adventure; this paper describes the novels and the underlying themes and indicates the place in German culture given to Karl May, the author-hero, by German literary critics. From the two papers there emerges a double image of "the German" as he is presented to young readers (who may read both types of literature at approximately the same age) -- the ideal member of a family group and the ideal individual, adventuring in a world of his own making.

The next two papers summarize work done on Die Gartenlaube, a family magazine which was published continuously from 1863 to 1887 and which was familiar to all our informants -- whatever their attitude towards the contents might be. In this study, Nelly Hoyt concentrated especially upon the novels that were published in the Gartenlaube in the mid and latter part of the 19th century (as well as other "Gartenlaube" type novels by the same and other authors) -- on the types of characters and types of plot that appeared in this popular literature in an attempt to provide background and context for contemporary self-images. One theme -- the reintegration of the outsider -- was selected for more detailed analysis here as this, it seemed to us, is one of great importance in any view of German culture in the past 50 years.

The final paper is based on material collected in Germany in the summer of 1952, by two American social psychologists, Gladys and Harold Anderson. This also deals mainly with one theme -- the handling of wrongdoing in fictional accounts by German children, where the children were provided with the plots and themselves supplied the denouements.

The several papers here included were all written at the conclusion of the study and so, implicitly, are based on the whole of the material, but each is intended to stand as an independent unit illustrating the subject matter of the final synthesis, for which I myself have taken the responsibility.
Modern German educators emphatically agree that all aspects of the growing child must be seen as parts of the total personality (Gesamtpersönlichkeit) and that each aspect -- the body (der Körper), the mind (der Geist), the spirit (die Seele), and the character (der Charakter) -- must be educated with equal conscientiousness (Sorgfaltigkeit).

This total education must begin in the earliest days of life.

Care for the spiritual (seelische) health from the first days of life is just as much a necessity for the child as is painstaking physical care. Extraordinarily much in its future life depends on the physical and spiritual care of the child in its first months and years of life.

1. This study is based upon books prepared by specialists in child care and youth guidance for the layman (parents, teachers, youth leaders, and others concerned with education -- but primarily mothers). The books were selected from among those available to German readers in bookstores in the summer of 1952 and from among those said (by booksellers and others consulted) to have a popular sale. All of the books have been written within the past 30 years; all those cited in this study (several more especially pedagogical books and pamphlets were read for background but not cited) are new or have appeared in new editions or new printings since 1947. One at least -- Eduard Spanger's study, which was first published in 1924 -- continued to appear in new printings during the Nazi regime and has been reprinted since. These books follow one quite consistent trend in German thinking about child care and youth guidance, a trend which was clear (especially in the pedagogical literature) in the post World War I period of the Weimar Republic and which is continued now in the post World War II period. Without further investigation in Germany with German parents as well as with German experts, there is no way of knowing to what extent such books as these are in fact used, are in fact models of actual behavior. They are important mainly as they give us insight into the experts' views of what models for parents should be and into the problems which the experts, looking back at their own experience, in guidance, regard as crucial to the education of contemporary parents and children.

2. In German Geist and Seele are terms with overlapping meaning, though the first refers rather to the intellectual and the latter to the emotional aspect of inner or spiritual life. Technically, Seele can be translated as psyche; in ordinary speech it refers rather vaguely to inner life -- to all that touches upon the core of the personality.
In earliest and early childhood the foundation is laid through a suitable direction of health -- which must always visualize the whole person, that is, body and spirit -- for the adult's health and ability to face life, as, contrariwise disregard (Misserachtung) for the challenge (Forderung) of managing health (Gesundheitsführung) has as its result vulnerability to shock, weakness, and defective strength to carry things through (mangelnde Durchschlagskraft) in the battle of life. (Hetzner, 1947a, p. 5.)

Thus, one of the purposes of this early education is to armor the child to face life, or, as the same author suggests, it is the duty of the adult to see that the growing powers of the child are guided towards the fulfillment of the tasks (Aufgaben) which it must master (bewältigen -- also means to overpower) in life. (Hetzner, 1947a, p. 7.)

Education, from the beginning, is goal-oriented, but the goal is a general rather than a specific one: the child is to be educated to face "life" and the problems and duties (Aufgaben has this double meaning) posed by "life." It is to ensure this desired result that educators urge upon parents the necessity for the most conscientious care of every aspect of the total personality.

In thinking about education, Germans formally distinguish between two aspects of the process: Erziehung (upbringing), which is concerned primarily with the development (Entwicklung) of the child, i.e., with character formation, and Unterricht (instruction), which has to do with imparting information and with laying the groundwork of skills on which, at a later age, knowledge and technical skills are based. Ideally, the two aspects of education are linked

3. One may contrast this view of the care of the infant and the small child with that expressed by comparable French writers who stress the delicacy of the newborn and the dangers that surround it in the outer environment and who urge upon parents the need for the most conscientious care because of the slowness with which the infant adapts itself to the outside world. (Cf. Metraux and Mead, 1953.)
In the concept of Bildung, for the cultivated man (der gebildete Mann),
underlying an extensively educated spirit and mind -- self-discipline and higher
education. Not everyone can achieve Bildung, but Lebensstürdhigkeit (the
ability to meet life's problems) is an educational goal attainable for almost
everyone, since this is mainly dependent upon upbringing and concerns character
rather than knowledge.

Traditionally, parents are responsible primarily for upbringing and
combine this with instruction mainly insofar as it concerns the home, while
teachers are responsible for more formal instruction. For the well brought
up child who does well in school, there is little need or occasion for contact
between the adults in the home and in school. Life also is a teacher (German
parents say -- especially to adolescents: "Life will teach you..."), and
life sets tasks and tests for the young person in which he must be able to
display autonomy (Selbständigkeit) -- which has been learned especially in
the course of his upbringing. For the young man or girl, as also for the
school child, meeting the situation depends upon firmness of character (Halt);
mastery -- whether this consists in accepting a situation or in overcoming it -- is possible if one can will something sufficiently. Thus, a young
German scholar, inveighing against the "mechanical selection" of American
college students by means of batteries of "impersonal" tests, insisted that
such tests "do not take into account how much someone wants to do something"
and quoted the proverb "wer es will, kann es auch" (whoever wants -- wills --
to do something, can do it). From this point of view, even where intellectual
training is concerned, character formation is central and primary in German
education.
adolescence is a lengthy process, beginning--as upbringing--in early childhood and continuing, although in diminishing and altered forms, well beyond the years when the young individual begins to regard himself as autonomous and beyond the time when (although this varies much with social class and occupation) he is partly or wholly economically independent. "Die Jugend" (youth--with reference to an age group) is a rather elastic term as it is used in German but tends to include both the group of those who are adolescents and an older group (from about 16-25 years) who in one way or another are already partly or fully involved in their life work.

Discussing the legitimate demand of adolescents to be regarded not as children but as an age group with specific characteristics and demands and needs and the "romantic" aspirations of youth to be "something very special," Spranger (1951) writes:

"The high flights of self-evaluation and the demands on life made by a young person are screamingly incongruent with the true situation of the youthful person. As yet, he is in truth nothing. Even given the greatest freedom, he would still be nothing as yet. His productivity is limited to presentiments. His will is not yet firm (fest), his judgment is not sure (sicher), his feeling is not moderated (gleichmässig--symmetrical, evened out). His dreams of world travels and returns from his first job "outside" after a quarter of a year, disillusioned. His adventurous plans are stranded on the disenchantment (Ernüchterung) of his helplessness." (p. 154)

4. The phrase "die Jugend" may be used generally to cover the whole period (about 14-25) or more especially for the adolescent group (14-18), but composite words including "Jung" or "Jugend" are used in reference to the older group (16-25): die jugendliche Arbeiterin (the young working girl), das Jugendverein (young people's club), and so on. The youth of different social classes differ in the kind of independence that has already been achieved (so that different groups cannot be directly compared with one another) but have in common a sense of incompleteness.

5. Spranger's book, Psychologie des Jugendalters, (of which the 1951 edition is the 22nd printing) was first published in 1924. The passage quoted here has not been changed from that in the 8th printing (1947), the earliest with which comparison could be made.
During the whole period of small childhood, the school years, early and late adolescence the individual may be subject to education (Erziehung and Unterricht) and, in the later -- adolescent -- years, he is in the process of testing out and adapting himself in terms of his education. Youth is the long period when one is first growing out of childhood and then, later, growing into "real life" (das eigentliche Leben). And traditionally, upbringing, which was begun in the home, was -- especially for the boy -- completed outside the home as part of die Jugend. Then adults other than the parents might have a moral as well as an intellectual or craft responsibility for the training of the young individual, for the apprentice, for the young Knabe on a farm, for the young businessman learning his business in a strange city, for the student in a university away from home.

In the past 30 or more years there has been continuing controversy (at least among educators) about the respective responsibility of home and school for the upbringing (Erziehung) of the younger child still in school.
In the Nazi period a radical attempt was made to increase the
social responsibility for the upbringing of the school child and youth from
both home and school. But at present (as during the Weimar Republic),
the controversy continues between those who emphasize the importance of
the traditional upbringing in the home and those who see the need for the school
(and other types of organization) to take over at least part of the task
of character formation as a way of preventing character deterioration and of
implementing desired social change.

One of the deep anxieties of the 1920s -- about the dangers inherent in
the development of the mass-person (der Massemenschen), who was pictured as
a mechanized person without individuality or will and so no longer fully
human -- has taken a new form in fears about the destiny of the "youth-
without-tics" (die bindungelose Jugend), i.e. the masses of young people
living and looking for work or working far from their homes and the influence
of their parents. Significantly, their basic problem -- at least in one
study -- is seen to be one of character, and the suggested solution is one
in which Erziehung is central -- as a way of making up for the earlier

7. Thus an informant, who is sharply critical of German education,
discussed at length the struggle between her schoolteacher sister and other
teachers in a progressive North German school, where the sister is endeavoring
to alter the character structure of the pupils by the use of new text books
and new kinds of school activity against the steady obstruction (according
to the informant) of other teachers who say this is not their task -- they
are there to instruct the children.

8. Thus in Georg Kaiser's Gas I (a post-World War I play) the person
deteriorates into a hand or a foot or an eye, becomes a lever or another part
of a machine -- with catastrophic results. Or, in Metropolis, an automaton
is substituted for a living person, again with catastrophic results. German
artistic productions of the 1920s reflect very clearly the anxiety about
Massemenschen -- mechanised, mass-people.
education that was incomplete or ineffective. Writing about groups of those young people living in various kinds of "homes" as refugees, as jobseekers, apprentices, young industrial workers, etc., Bondy and Eyfbrth (1952) say:

We call them "youth-without-ties" for many are lacking not only home and work but also ties to the family and, indeed, true ties with people altogether, ties to their work and to spiritual worth; in the final analysis they are lacking a sense of the meaning of their lives. They have become mass-people with all their characteristics: their isolation and lack of direction, their pleasure-seeking and restlessness, their fear and hopelessness. They are unhappy even if they do not clearly know it. (p. 5)

And further:

They are incapable of making their own decisions; they have no firmness of character (Halt); they show no readiness to take over responsibility; they lack the will to come to terms spiritually with the affairs of their life, and they are unaware of the motives of their actions. So in many respects they show the characteristics of mass-people. (p. 55)

The authors describe these young people as "prematurely ripe and pure materialists" (frühreif und reine Materialisten) -- pleasure-seeking (that is, impulse-controlled) and interested in immediate reward (that is, eager to earn and spend money at once rather than willing to discipline themselves to further -- less immediately rewarding -- training at useful occupations).

Without further educational care (Erziehung), they foresee a dark future for this youth:

9. In some respects the picture given of these youth-without-ties closely parallels the picture of the Communist youth given in the Nazi propaganda picture Hitlerjunge Quex, with the difference that the present group is portrayed as unorganized and apathetic and apolitical. One interesting point is that, although they are said to be work-oriented, one of the main difficulties is that they do not have the right attitudes towards work. (of. Bateson's discussion of Hitlerjunge Quex, 1946.)
Our worry is that from the youth without work and without home there will be developed people—fully-without-ties. That society in turn they would lead a meaningless, impulse-directed, unfilled life. The data show why too readily be ruined (verwahrlosen) and become criminals and that later period their children would grow up just like their parents. (pp. 34–56)

To prevent this personal and social tragedy, these writers see the need for the development of leaders who could combine the role of parent and ideal educator outside the home, and whose task it would be to turn the various institutional "homes" (Lehrlingsheim, Berglehrlingsheim, Industriehäus, Berglehrlingskliniek, etc.) into true homes built on personal relationships and shared activities and shared values—

fostered by the leader(s) of the same and— at least in boys homes— opposite sex as their young charges. Thus, in a new transformation, it is clear that home and a parent-surrogate are regarded as central to the proper development of youth.

Many of the same kinds of character faults and difficulties are discussed by psychologists who write about the problems of individual children for the enlightenment of parents and others engaged in upbringing. Here again the emphasis is upon the failure of family education, but whereas in the case of the youth discussed above the criticism was implicit, it is made explicit.

are individual parents and individual children are concerned. So, for instance, Soelmann (1952) writes:

In fact, discussions of the problems of children and young people who are away from or have no home are rare in the child care and youth guidance literature as such. On the contrary, the authors write as if every child had a home and only rarely cast a side glance at "times like ours" or any aspect of life outside the home. As far as they are concerned in their books, the child is prepared within the home for life outside the home, and only life's misadventures outside the home are cited as examples of what happens when education is neglected or misapplied (e.g., in the case histories of sexually miseducated children given in Soelmann's book on sexual education of the child).
Only very seldom do children come to the clinic the origin of which difficulties in education (Schwerekindheit) can be linked to biological inheritance or physiological injury... For some reason they/otherwise healthy children have not succeeded really learning to self-function and in living themselves into the family group. For this reason they also have not succeeded in becoming members (Rangordnung) in comradeship, friendship, kindergarten, school, youth group, and in apprenticeship. Through this life has become difficult for them, they themselves have become difficult, and it has become difficult for parents and educators to bring them up. (p. 20)

With rare exceptions the difficulties, as they are described by the courts or child education, go back to the family and to miseducation by the parents. For the child's problem or bad behavior is placed on the parents. These methods have resulted in making the child ineducable, in any good sense, in and outside the home. So, in the end of his study of sexual education and civilization, Soelmann has the following to say about the youthful criminals who corrupt and seduce other lonely, unwanted, over-curious, oppressed, or greedy problem children whose education has been a failure:

Most of these perpetrators were badly or wrongly brought up children. They gave those who brought them up various kinds of difficulties. They were reproved and often severely punished. But all this had no effect because they received no real understanding and above all did not have the educational climate that they needed. They felt themselves pushed out of the way, misunderstood and without help. And so they developed a striving towards secretiveness and experienced the benefits which they were denied in abnormal ways because they could not obtain them in normal ways. If today a large proportion of those culprits is between 14 and 25 years, it is because these young people were denied, during the war and post war period /World War II/, an ordered-family atmosphere, goal oriented upbringing (Erziehung) and direction (Leitung) and a loving guidance to the right life. (p. 187)

Family life and the parents are, in German thinking, almost exclusively decisive for the education of the child, and family education (Erziehung) is preparatory for all else in education in that character formation takes precedence over other kinds of learning. For good or for bad, children become
Many people are of the opinion that there is "much too much bringing up." They would rather not bring up their children at all, but forget that there is no such thing as "not-bringing up." Everything that every word, every act, whether in dressing, in housework, in respect or in fun, everything the child sees and hears of us in the hours of the day, the way we work on it — well or badly, it works. As long as we breathe, as long as we live, we educate our children for better or worse, as long as our child lives with us. (p. 6)

And the first lesson for the parents to learn in reading the experts' books is that they must educate themselves to be educators. True motherliness or the ability to be a genuine educator are regarded as instinctive and/or as an aspect of the personality of certain individuals. Some few people who are gifted, are able to act with a sureness based on their own instinctive knowledge. But others — by implication, most parents — have to learn, have to make themselves into good educators of their children. This, then, is where the expert comes in: not to supplant the parent, but to help the parent towards self-education and to rescue parents and children whose education has gone amiss.

Like the authors of cautionary tales for children (of which the most famous is perhaps Der Struwwelpeter, which has been given by fond relatives to small children for more than 100 years) and like Knigge in his book Über den Umgang mit Mensehen (a book on correct behavior in interpersonal relations written in the late 18th century, a new edition of which was issued in 1962), the child experts educate, at least in part, by means of the warning example and by promising parents that they can learn — without suffering —
by knowing about the difficulties and suffering of others. Parents are
taught how-to-do-it by learning how-not-to-do what others have done. In the

Foreword to her book on Mistakes in Education (Erziehungsfehler, 1947a)

Hetter writes:

In this book an attempt is made to show how mistakes in upbringing
are made in life and to advise ways in which these mistakes can be
avoided. Not all the many different mistakes in upbringing could be
discussed, but only a small number of them which, because of the
frequency with which they occur and the seriousness of their consequences,
deserve special attention. That which is important -- namely the right
understanding for questions of upbringing -- can be wakened by such
a sample from the totality of mistakes in upbringing. The practical
examples given are partly from experiences in the work of the educational
adviser (the author of the book) ... (p. 5)

And Plattner (1951) recommends her book to her readers because

One can become clever through the harm that has come to others and
through this avoid much that is wrong; one can make useful for oneself
the good ideas of other people and thereby lighten one's own burden;
both to the advantage of the children. (p. 6)

By showing how some parents and children behave -- inviting disaster from
which they can be saved only by the intervention of the expert who then sets
them onto the right track -- the guidance books show that if parents educate
themselves to be educators they will have a happy family life and a healthy
child and -- by implication -- no need for help from outside the home.

Unlike the experts, who can produce rapid and lasting changes in the
relationships between parents and children and so in the behavior and character

These books -- where the "bad" person is anyone (even possibly
oneself) -- provide a contrast to didactic literature of the Nazi period
and to the attitudes of this period when the enemy was named and classified
and was (for the good Nazi) someone not myself. But they express equally
clearly the need to dissociate oneself from undesirable characteristics --
which one would have if one did not behave otherwise. (Cf. Bateson, 1946.)
of the children, the parents who are pictured in their books are, by and
large, neither omnipotent (in the sense that they are not able, by their own
methods, to accomplish the desired end) nor omniscient (they are unable to
see what their children's problems are or what they themselves are doing
wrong). On the contrary, the opportunities for making error appear to be
countless ("not all the many different mistakes in upbringing could be
discussed") and parents -- no less than children -- are likely to make many
of them if they do not bring themselves -- consciously to be educators.

This education of the educateur (Erziehung zum Erzieher) consists not
merely in learning procedures and precepts (i.e., people -- and children --
are too different from one another for hard and fast rules to apply), not
merely in applying learned principles (for mere knowledge is an active
impediment to "natural" relationships); rather, what is learned must be
incorporated into the person's own life in such a complete way that it
fosters a "natural living-together of parent and child." So, for instance,

Hetzer (1947b) warns:

There is a great difference between whether the child accompanies
its mother in the daily routine, helps here and there, just as
the mother helps it to pick up the fallen doll carriage, and then,
when she sees it is necessary, uses some express educational measure,
or whether the mother "gives herself up to the education of her child,"
thinks from early until late what could be good for the child, continually
hovers about to observe and watch over it, spends the day pulling at
the child, so that there is no more time for her and the child to
live together naturally. There where, in the second case, there is no
real life relationship, even the most tested methods of education are
of little help. The child will somehow be stunted, even though one
tries to do the right thing as far as fulfillment of precepts is
concerned. For in these circumstances, the child lacks the ground
(Grund -- ground or basis) of common life with the adults in which,
in order to succeed in later life, it must strike deep roots. 12 (pp. 3-4)

12. Italics mine. Note that the child who is consciously educated is
a forerunner of the "youth-without-ties" in that it has not "struck roots" in
a common life with adults.
Thus the parent who has merely learned is no better off than the parent who
does not know; in both cases the child is likely to be a "Sorgenkind"
in problem child). The parent’s learning must be so fully assimilated that
it is "natural" — that the parent need not think but can automatically
react to a situation and can do so wholly. This is one of the basic necessities
for trust on the part of the child.

It is clear from this that the German parent is not invited to learn
skills, which the expert is prepared and able to teach, but rather is expected
to become a kind of person. In this, German child care and youth guidance
books are strikingly different from those written by and for Americans (and
from French books of the same kind). Where the American mother

The expert herself (or himself), of course, is assumed to have special
qualities of knowledge and skills. In this respect the educator
outside the home differs to some extent from parents. But she
(or he) must no less be a pattern for those who are being educated. So for
instance Gamper (1952), in discussing "the influence of the camp leader,"
writes:

One of the greatest psychological powers (Kraft) in upbringing
is the power (Macht) of examples, in the good as in the bad. It is for
this reason that surroundings (Umgebung), example (Beispiel) and model (Vorbild) are of such determining meaning.
The camp leader takes a very prominent position as a model for the
children, even if the camp is only a small piece of life... The colossal
position as ideal which the leader takes on in the thought and feeling
of youth, one can only picture if one understands how to recall the
role played by youth leaders in our own life... (p. 17)

Thus the expert and specially trained and skilled "leader" is no
less important, from the point of view of character, than is the layman
parent.

given many explicit directions about what she is to do in carrying
out the daily routines of care for her child and the procedures of training
(and the kind of person she is -- or should be -- is more or less implicit)
this kind of very detailed information necessary for specific skills is
almost wholly lacking in comparable German books. (The main exception is
in sexual education, where, nowadays, German parents are told very specifically
what and how and when to tell their children; here it is acknowledged --
indeed emphasized -- that the parents are likely not only to have incorrect
attitudes but also to be uninformed or misinformed. But books in sexual
education are, like others, mainly concerned with Erziehung.) The subject:
matter of German expert books is not what to do, but rather how to do it and
how to get the child to do it; that is, the content of the procedure is
secondary to the detail of method -- in the question of upbringing. So,
in a chapter on "First Lessons in Upbringing" for the child in its second
year (Hetzler, 1947a), weaning and cleanliness training are discussed briefly
as examples of how to teach by gradual and continual habituation and, after
the briefest discussion of technique, the mother is told that she must be
patient and must expect differences in the speed with which different children
learn to be clean (Zimmerrein -- room-clean) (pp. 16-17). Similarly, the
first three chapters of another book (Plattner, 1951) -- about half the book --
are concerned with (1) obedience, and how to obtain it -- with examples,
(2) punishment, and how to administer it -- with examples, and (3) autonomy,
and how to foster it -- with examples.

15. One of the major differences between Erziehung and Unterricht is
precisely in the matter of content, for where content is secondary in Erziehung
it is primary in Unterrichtung. Informants invariably describe instruction
(in school) in terms of extreme attention to the detail of content.
On the one hand, it seems to be assumed that the parent can learn the
details of what to do elsewhere and by other means and that individual differences
are too great for specific procedures (as far as content is concerned) to be
applicable to all. Thus, while the mother may be told that a child should
have a good "natural" diet of healthy foods, only a few examples of such
foods are given and no instructions for preparing them for the child.
The emphasis is rather on how to get the child to eat well at the proper
time, etc. And on the other hand, mere knowledge is not enough. For children
will see through appearances:

Children will sense behind all the adult's knowledge, behind
all the interesting details, the uncertain, unclear, compromising
attitude of the educator and, because of this, will be unable to
take over and build upon the natural attitude towards sex which
the educator is only acting out for them. (SeeLmann, p. 20)

Insight on the part of the child -- when this involves the recognition of a
discrepancy in the adult -- is fatal to the educational relationship.
Consequently, what is important is for the parent-educator to be a person
who incorporates learning in own behavior and character and for the parent
to have insight into the child.

The central character in the child care literature is the mother, but
(in the books written by women) there are two mothers to choose between: the
mother who makes mistakes with her children and the expert-mother who sets
things straight and -- in the case of her own children -- never really lets
them get out of hand. In the youth guidance literature (which may be written

16. The fact that German child care literature focuses on the mother-
child relationship is, of course, not peculiar to Germany.

17. This reverses the fairytale situation of the good (but usually dead)
mother and the wicked step-mother. In juvenile novels, however, the good
step-mother who, after many difficulties, is recognized as good and lovable
by the grateful children is one of the stock characters.
by a man) which concerns somewhat older children, the central character is
likely to be someone -- usually a man -- of rather indeterminate age -- but
of great experience -- who is able to achieve wonders through a quasi-comradely
relationship to the child or adolescent who is in trouble. Thus in the
current literature on child care and youth guidance (some of it newly written
since World War II, some of it dating back to the 1920s) the views expressed
and the advice given are not so much those of two parental figures (mother
and father) as they are those of a mature, motherly feminine figure (who may
write in part about her own children) and a somewhat younger, emotionally
more distant, masculine figure. Though both stand in a complementary relation-
ship to those being educated, the experts are not, strictly speaking,
masculine and feminine versions of each other, and father (as an immediately
influential figure) has been eliminated.

The family, as it appears in the pages of these books, is decidedly
truncated. Although the experts emphasize the importance of unity between
the parents and of a full family life, the father appears only rather
distantly as a co-educator (Mitziher) or, in examples of parental mis-
guidance and juvenile difficulty, as a worried or angry or outraged companion
of the mother or, summed up in a few phrases, as the second villain who

18. The comradely male educator is also a stock character in juvenile
novels; he is someone who has great influence for the good, but is not the
person in highest authority (of, the novels of Kastner and Speyer).

19. For the male writer (with the partial exception of Spanger, who
writes from a rather lofty philosophical position) another, older expert
(perhaps the one who trained the writer) has a fatherly position. So, for
instance, Seelmann continually quotes "my teacher, Dr. Leonhard Seif"
(now dead) to whom his book is dedicated.
Disturbs the peace of the home, who excites or spoils or spans the darling
or the naughty child. Other relatives, including other siblings -- where
a particular child is concerned -- appear in even more shadowy form. The
books are directed towards the mother, and are concerned with the relationship
of one mother and one child, who is presumably one of several in a family-
rich-in-children (eine kinderreiche Familie).

A recurrent image of the relationship of German parent and child is that
of the gardener and the plant. Thus stressing the inviolability of the
child's own personality, Plattner (1951) writes:

As little as we could make the smallest blade of grass grow if wonderful
powers of life did not work in it without our actions, as little as we
can turn grass into weed, just as little can we form our children.
We are gardeners, not gods. (p. 65)

And elsewhere:

Educators are not to be compared to artists but to gardeners who, with
much knowledge and experience prepare the ground and protect from harm,
but for the rest must patiently wait to see how their plants develop
of their own accord according to their own rules of growth ... Our care
should not lead to overfeeding, and the protective hedge around the
paradise of childhood must not turn into a hothouse. (pp. 152-153)

Or Hetzer (1947a), urging parents not to put off education until some later
time, but to begin with the young infant, writes:

This putting off is just as nonsensical as if a gardener were to wait
with the care, for instance the watering, of a bed which he has sown
until the plants growing out of the seed had broken through the earth
or until the plant's buds and leaves were clearly recognizable. (pp. 5-6)

Or Seelmann (1952) asks:

What about vulnerability to seduction (Verführungskraft)? Must not
the ground on which the seed of seduction falls be specially prepared
in advance ...? (p. 175)

20. For a discussion of the English version of this image, cf. Mead,
Sometimes the child as a whole is likened to a plant (as in the first two examples and, more doubtfully, in the next), but at other times the child is rather the container in which plants grow and the plants themselves are character traits, some of which are inborn in the child (Keim -- sprout -- is sometimes used as an image for these) and some of which are sown.

Thus Plattner (from whose writing the images of the child as a total plant are taken) writes:

He was a little boy without knowing it, was himself unhappy about the weed of envy and jealousy which had grown in his heart. (p. 30)

Or:

Only when we sense that our child is moved, that it is opening the little door of its heart and is listening to our words with all its senses, only in such moments can we lay seeds in the childish heart which later perhaps will grow. (p. 105)

Or:

In early childhood the ground is prepared on which later the riches of the spirit can unfold ... Not on what we say but much more on what we are does it depend whether the roots of belief in God reach down into the dreamlike experience of earliest childhood. (p. 155)

Or:

Pride holds down the underbrush of vanity and prepares the ground on which the love of truth can grow. (p. 125)

And sometimes the plant alters its quality as it grows. Thus, Plattner writes about education for truthfulness:

Everything that helps the healthy thriving of the child, helps prepare the ground on which later the love of truth can grow. It is particularly important not to damage the little child's pride. For the love of truth is nourished by pride ... proud people without any educational intention spread around them an air in which love of truth can grow and thrive.

What comes to life under their protecting hands is the spirit of the courage of conviction (Bekennermut) ... This spark in pioneering people becomes a flame which nothing, not even faith and torture -- in a real or in a symbolic sense -- can extinguish. (p. 135)
Here the child appears to be the container and the ground in which a plant (the love of truth) will grow which, as it flowers, becomes a fruit.

Another image which is associated with childhood and growth is that of the step or stage (Stufe). In contrast to the image of the plant which can thrive or be stunted, can be implanted or uprooted, pine away in artificial light or respond to the natural light of the sun, the image of steps is an entirely -- or almost entirely -- mechanical one. According to ideas to which this image is related the child inevitably goes through a series of stages of growth which are independent of experience -- though the child's character depends on how it is treated at each step, that use is made of the particular stage of growth.

A third image is that of unrolling, unfolding, or of externalizing; the common term for development (maturation) is entwickeln which, literally, means to unroll (but is also used in photography to refer to the development of a film); related terms are entfalten (to unfold or develop) and enthüllen (to unveil, to reveal). Later development may be referred to as ausbauen (building out) or ausbilden (to form further) -- which involve the idea of improving upon something which already has a form; it is this that leads to Bildung and here (as in other images that may involve instruction) the emphasis is more on formation or on impressing form on the learner. The image of the steps or stages is one of automatic growth; the image of development is one of revelation of existing qualities. These two are commonly used in close conjunction with the plant image -- so that we are given a total

It is not inappropriate to recall here that one term for the young infant is das Wickelkind (the child rolled up in its swaddling clothes).
im, one might rather say mosaic, since the combined images are, in fact, incongruous, of the child as being born with certain predispositions (Anlagen) and innate qualities (Kein -- sprout is sometimes used for these), as having to go through steps or stages of growth (Stufen) which are predetermined, in the course of which there is a process of opening up, of revealing (Entwicklung), and during which the parents work on the child -- preparing the ground, fostering some qualities, implanting some qualities, removing and uprooting others which may be innate or implanted, even creating ground (e.g. the ground of personal relationships) in which roots can take hold and grow -- so that it will reach a kind of ripeness at each stage and, finally, the ripeness that is adulthood. The natural and the mechanical images of growth are, in fact, combined in the image of ripeness, i.e. the child who is ripe to go up the next step; the child who is prematurely ripe (frühreif) -- who has emotions and ideas and experiences which it cannot handle adequately because it is as yet at too early a stage. One stage in growth is referred to as die Reifejahre -- early adolescence, the years in which the child is coming to sexual maturity. The most significant point about all this is that although parents as educators cannot alter the qualities with which a child is born and each child differs from the next in the combination of qualities, i.e. character is formed under their guiding hand -- what will be revealed, what will develop, depends upon the way in which they care for the plant, not

22. This is somewhat doubtful since some qualities seem to be implanted in the course of development and the ground may be prepared for them in advance. The glass splinter in the story of the Ice Queen has the same effect of change of character. And, at another level, see in "German Children's Stories" the plot versions where a change in character in a child follows upon one act of an adult -- when the adult returns good for evil.
during the stages of growth to stunt or foster the qualities inherent in or
implanted in the child. Thus the child is pictured as having potentialities --
but those can be realized only as the adult acts upon the child.

There are several themes that interweave in the child care literature:
(1) the child must learn to obey so that it is able to fulfill the tasks set
by life and can be trusted to be alone without endangering itself; this
obedience must become implicit and automatic; (2) the child must learn to
become autonomous so that it can face life independently of others and also
can enter into relationships with others and so that it can meet the trials
of life; (3) the child must develop a sense of itself but at the same time
must never become aware of itself as the center of attention; and (4) the
child must be loved and protected from various kinds of danger but at the
same time it must not be spoiled or weakened by "overfeeding" of tenderness,
or by overprotection from reality -- lest it become helpless and/or frühreif --
or by too great demands or by too few demands on its growing powers. Each
of these themes plays into the other.

The world of the pre-school child is sometimes known as "the children's
paradise" (das Kinderparadies) and it may be pictured as surrounded by a
hedge -- with the implication that the parents control how much of reality is
let in from the outside. This sense of security in an enclosed place is

23. For another example of the gardener-plant image of upbringing, cf.
the passage from Marlitt's novel Goldelse (written in the 1860s) quoted below
in Nelly Hoyt's discussion of the Gartenlaube novel.

24. Small children's stories, such as Sophie Reinheimer's Tannenwalde
Kinderstube (The Pine Tree Nursery) are built on this theme. The general
assumption is that small children live in a world of fantasy out of which
they only gradually move towards reality, and that their reading during the
earlier period -- or the stories most meaningful to them as told -- consists
mainly of the fairytale variety. In this connection it is worth noting that
in a recent study of Berlin school children, fairytales (Märchen) are said
to make up 50% of the reading matter of 8 year olds (Haseloff, 1965).
In infants' descriptions of a happy childhood, emphasis is on the concept of the word *geborgen* (which may be translated as "secure" but carries the deeper connotation of sentiment lacking in the English word). The ideal of such a childhood is to keep this paradise a happy and contented one and to make the child gradually prepare the child to leave it when it goes to school and meets reality outside the home. During this period the child should slowly get a sense of itself and of itself as a member of a group. About this, Piaget (1951) writes:

*The way in which this first fitting in of the ego takes place is important for future life. If the little one feels in "eigen" of which it is first becoming conscious, as part of a larger "we" in which it knows that it is secure (geborgen), in that it receives and needs and is allowed to give what it can, and so grows towards a personal life (Eigenleben), then it has everything necessary for a childhood paradise.* (p. 111)

In order to become part of the "we-group" the little child should not be kept apart from the rest of the family, but should have its own "play corner" in the room where Mother and it should be able to accompany Mother at her work -- both as a form of companionable play and as a way of gradually learning to take over small duties. At the same time it is necessary for the child to learn to be by itself from the first days of life -- so that Mother can safely leave it without

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26. So, for instance, a German-trained child psychologist, observing American day care centers during World War II, claimed that the small children in them were "unhappy" mainly because they were constantly being entertained with play and games and suggested as a therapeutic measure that they be allowed to take part in cleaning up and cooking, etc., which would make the day care center much more "homelike" for them. The idea that the small child should continually form part of the family group, that it should not live wholly in the nursery (Kinderstube), that the enclosed space in which it lives should be psychological rather than actual, is a definite change since World War I in middle class families.
being at its beck and call and without feeling that the child may be in
danger. This is one of the early lessons in obedience that leads to autonomy;
the child must learn to be able to be both alone and completely with people.

(Which also means that when the adult attends to the child, she must be
"fully" with the child but that the adult should not continually "hover over
and observe" the child or amuse it -- since this would spoil their relationship
and make the child demanding and dependent.) As a first step in this direction,
mothers are urged to let the young infant "cry it out" so that it learns to
control itself and also to enjoy food and companionship when they appear.

The mother may be warned that, for instance, the 5-7 week old child is
naturally a "screamer" -- because of the many new impressions impinging on
it -- but that the screaming will stop of its own accord as soon as the child
"masters" these new impressions, providing the adult is able to endure and
wait (Hetzer, 1947a, p. 15). In this way, the parent, now as later, makes
use of a stage of growth as a training device for the child. Then the child
learns to accept companionship and care at specific times -- and, for the
young child, the care should always be given by the same person who does the
same things at the same times in the same way (as part of the program of
training by habituation); this is regarded as essential to the development
of trust, on which the parent-child relationship and especially the winning
of obedience is said to be based.

The successful training of the child depends on the adult being orderly,
consistent, patient (doing the same thing over and over until the child can
take over and do what is required of its own accord), and quiet. In beginning
this training, the parent can build on the child's own inborn need for order.

So Hetzer (1947a) writes:
The behavior of the newborn child very much favors habituation to a definite order; one could almost say that the child obeys this orderliness before we begin our upbringing to orderliness and that, if we do not insist on the maintenance of order /i.e. a schedule/ in the first days of life, we take it out of this /natural/ order ... It is therefore understandable that the child learns to accommodate itself quickly to the order we prescribe for it and that, there where we destroy the natural order through irregularity, the child is brought out of order so that one succeeds only with difficulty later in acustoming it to regularity. (p. 14)

Thus the infant, in its first stage of life, is prepared by the parent to accommodate itself to orderliness (Ordnung) and regularity (Regelmässigkeit) and to trust and enjoy the adult by whom these values are insculated.

For each stage of development there are, as expressed in the views of the German experts: (1) things that can be done only at that stage -- or, rather, that can be done most easily at that stage but only with difficulty later on (e.g. habituation to systematic regularity (Ordnung) in early infancy); (2) things that cannot be done at that stage (e.g. attempting to teach a child of less than 18 months by words alone or by means of punishment); (3) things that must be done at some stage because a later stage has not yet been reached (e.g. linking word and action in training the very young child because it does not yet know that a word stands for an action; at this stage the mother must be willing to repeat each command on many occasions (instead of saying something once and expecting a correct response) and must insist that the child match word and action so that the child will become habituated to the relationship between word and deed); and (4) things which are done at each stage to prepare the child for stages still to come, sometimes in the distant future (e.g. the parent "prepares the ground" -- for the love of truth, for the development of pride, for the life of the spirit, for endurance -- long before these may be said to develop).
In learning obedience the child progresses from the first mere-or-lose passive stage in which it learns to accept prescribed orders to the next stage (up to about 16 months) during which it becomes active and learns to participate in actions in which words and actions are repeated over and over.

At 18 months or so, the child begins to understand the meaning of "yes" and of "no" but cannot yet be expected to obey prohibitions (Verboten) in the absence of an adult. When the child is two, it can carry out verbal requests and begins to obey prohibitions of its own accord (selbstständig). Then a series of things begins to happen: The child says to itself (as its mother has said innumerable times, always patiently removing the child's hand):

"Knives you may not touch" -- and it leaves the knife (or the cake or Mother's colored pins) on the table. It becomes possible to combine a series of desired actions in one order, i.e. the mother says: "It is time to go to bed" -- and the child begins the whole series of activities involved in "going to bed" without having to be told to do each one of them. Consequently, after a time, only a few commands are necessary and the child acts without realizing that it is being obedient. Contrasting the well brought up and the badly brought up child, Plattner writes:

So with increasing age the single order more and more takes the place of many specific demands. An obedient child is not overburdened with orders, while orders and prohibitions fall like hail on other children:

"Leave that alone!" -- "You know you should not do that!" -- "Sit properly at table!" -- The obedient child sits properly without thinking about it and without even knowing that he was once told to do it. (p. 12)

Obedience, which the child has begun to take on itself at two, has become automatic and the single command starts an automatic chain reaction. Commenting on this, Plattner looks forward to the future:
With this upbringing at a later age, when will and conscience are fully developed (entfaltet), a simple and friendly word, for instance, "Do your homework now," will be obeyed, taking it completely for granted, and the wish to play more will be overcome. How beautiful the life of the school child can be if we have laid the right foundation in the small-child age! (p. 12)

This kind of automatic obedience can be furthered if, instead of thwarting the small child who wants a forbidden object, the mother encourages the child to do what the mother herself would do (e.g. lets the child put the pretty pins out of sight and temptation).

There is, moreover, a characteristic of the two to three year old child that helps the parent to teach it obedience -- this is the pedantry of the child itself. At this age it is recognized that the child itself has a need for having everything exactly as it should be and that it is disturbed by what is changed or unusual. Knowing how things should be, the child of its own accord takes over the task of seeing that they are kept as they should be. So Plattner (1951) writes:

One can observe in two and three year olds a readiness for obedience that is almost unbelievable to an adult -- a minute (peinlich -- which means mainly "painful") exactness, a peculiar longing for conformity (Gesetzmässigkeit) which takes amiss every deviation from the rule. Little children will fly into a delicious rage (kostliche Entrüstung) if one of a row of drawers is not entirely closed or if the usual places at table are changed or if indeed any change is made from a rule which has once been made. "But you said ..." they say reproachfully. This peculiar childish pedantry makes it possible to accustom the small child to particular rules which give firmness and order to everyday life. (pp. 10-11)

Thus a stage which is regarded by Americans as an especially difficult one to get through comfortably, is given very positive and constructive meaning by the German expert who is so majorly concerned with the problem of how the child itself is to take over the task of enforcing good behavior in
At three, when the child knows what it may and may not do, when it is able to obey of its own accord, then it must be punished if it is disobedient. Punishment should not be revenge, but a help. Thus, Plattner writes:

Everything has to be learned. Therefore the child has a right to make mistakes and a right to punishment which helps it to overcome mistakes. (p. 82)

Punishment must follow every misdeed -- even if the child has hurt itself in committing it (e.g. when it has burned itself on the hot stove); the child must learn that disobedience is followed by punishment -- and injury does not have this effect. What it must learn is to be obedient, otherwise in later life it will not have achieved self-control and will come to certain grief, as in an example given by Plattner:

Some years later the young person will test the ice and will himself know that he must not go on it if it is not strong enough. If he has learned as a child to obey, he will now obey his own insight. But if he was disobedient and obeyed only when he was watched and forced to do so, if he has never learned to overcome a forbidden desire of his own accord, then he will walk on the ice and break through it. (p. 44)

Neither threats nor promises of reward are regarded as useful in teaching or obtaining obedience. Rewards distract the attention of the child -- after a while it becomes "accustomed" to them, will not do anything without reward, and the child turns into a "cool calculator who works only for the sake of the reward" (Hetzer, 1947b, p. 84). Nor should the child be reasoned with.

26. It is not clear in these books whether this pedantic stage precedes that of the stubbornness period (see below) or is another aspect of it. It is worth noting also that the three year old has progressed to the stage of being able to carry out repetitive tasks (e.g. setting the table, watering the plants) and should therefore be given small household duties for which it has responsibility. Thus another use is made of the child's pedantry.
in advance: the child's "Why?" is simply a way of getting around doing as
it is told. What it should learn is: first obey, then you will find out why
it was necessary -- knowing why is the consequence, not the cause of doing
something (Plattner, pp. 16-18). Through simple commands, through helpful
punishment, the child learns not that obedience is a matter of "unless" or
"because" or "so that" but that it is something self-evident (selbst-
verständlich). "Self-evident" here means a lack of consciousness; the child
has so internalized the commands and the idea of obedience before it has
developed self-consciousness that, ideally, it does not even know there is
a problem involved.

Obedience, it is clear, is quite impersonal, though it is built on
trust in the adult. In keeping with this conception, it is best to give
orders and directions quite "impersonally": "One doesn't do such a thing"
(So was macht man nicht) or "Who opens the door, must close it" (Wörter
Tür aufmacht, macht sie auch zu). But more important, the parent must
treat her own word "like one of the Commandments" or "like a law of Nature";
she must never break her word, change her mind, make an exception, or make a
mistake which must be corrected by a change of order. For if the parent
makes a single exception, takes her word back only once, is caught out in
one mistake she risks that the child will get the idea first that it can
get its own way by begging or fighting or stubbornly resisting (i.e. that

27. This is entirely in keeping with the feeling that it is "life"
which sets the tasks, tests the performance, rewards or punishes. Both
the mover and the moved act for impersonal reasons. Contrast to this, however,
the extremely personal involvement of parent and child as pictured by children
in their own stories (cf. "Analysis of German Children's Stories ..." below).
it can be stronger than the parent), and second that the adult, in making
domains, is acting out of sheer arbitrariness or caprice (Willkür) and
the child will then become resistant. It is apparent that the "law of nature"
definition of a command is lost as soon as a personal relationship between
actor and acted-upon becomes a basis for action.

Education in obedience for the small child (pre-school child) and school
child has as one of its goals the taking over of this same task -- or at
least in some measure -- by the adolescent. Thus, describing the developmental
changes that take place in adolescence, Spranger (1951) writes:

The deeper the glimpses (Blicke) into own self become, the more frequent
is self-judgment (Selbstbeurteilung), and in self-judgment also lies
self-education (Selbsterziehung). In few young people does the belief
in their own accomplishment (Fertigkeit) go so far that they themselves
have the opinion that they do not need any more upbringing (Erziehung).
But their relationship to upbringing is different from that of the child
in that they themselves begin to choose what effect an educational
influence should have upon them. As soon as this selectivity is paired
with self-discipline (Selbstzucht) and conscious work on own character,
education by outsiders (Fremderziehung) has irrevocably gone over into
self-education. No miracle can make intentional educational measures
have an effect on the youth if he does not will it himself. Therefore
upbringing during this stage consists basically in making the will
for self-education (Selbsterziehungswillen). (pp. 151-152)

In a word, the adolescent's own will is to be placed at the service of further
education of the self: when the adolescent can "choose" what effect measures

28. Willkür has a double meaning, both involving the idea of choice;
on the one hand, it can have the sense of free choice and option (handeln
Sie nach Ihrer Willkür -- act according to your own discretion) and, on the
other hand, it can have the sense of arbitrariness and despotism.

29. Germans may adopt the intermediate position of asking one to do
something for the sake of a third person, e.g. as small children are fed,
spoon by spoon "one for Grandmother, one for Grandfather, one for Uncle Hans,
etc. Or a member of a family may put pressure on another one to act in a
particular way "for the sake of the family" -- or "Father," or "Grandfather,"
etc. In contrast, friendship is an intensively personal relationship --
but friends ought never judge each other's actions.
Taken by others are to have on him, he must be brought to "will" the correct
cases and to work with "self-discipline" and "consciousness" on his own
character. It would seem, then, that the adolescent is -- among other things
-- being prepared to become the self-educating educator.

With the adolescent, the rules and commands and prohibitions may be
just as impersonal, but success depends upon a subtle alteration in the
relationship between the two people involved, for then, in order to win and
keep the confidence of the adolescent and to urge him on to self-education,
it is necessary -- youth guidance writers say -- for the adult to adopt a
genuinely "frank" and "open" and "comradely" attitude; success depends not
on altering the expectations about what must be done, but on taking account
of the lessened distance between the two people. This seems to be related
in part to the recognition that, while adults can easily see through a
small child (and so know what is going on), the adolescent is able to
keep secrets (and so the adult will not know what is going on and may make
mistakes unless the child is encouraged to confide in the adult); in part it
is related to the fact that the adolescent has achieved a measure of
independence (Selbständigkeit) and so acts out of personal choice.

30. Actually, the child's ability to have a secret, private life is said
to begin much earlier than adolescence. So, for instance, in discussing the
development of the child of five and six and the differences in this period
from the one preceding the stubbornness period, Metzer (1947a) writes:

The behavior of the child towards the adult is no longer as simple
and uncomplicated as before the third year. The six year old already
has its own world, about which the mother, even if she is always with
her child, knows nothing. What is going on in the child, one can only
conjecture (vermuten). The child now also becomes able to fool others.
The first examples of hiding things and of telling lies come now. (p. 45)

So the pre-school child, in its newfound ability to have a life of its own,
seems to prefigure the adolescent in keeping this a secret life and in making
a wrong use of its new power.
During the whole time that the child is learning obedience, it is also
getting training in self-reliance and personal autonomy. This is believed
to begin when the infant accepts the fact that "crying accomplishes nothing."
But true training in autonomy begins when the child is able to move around
-- when it begins to walk. Then it becomes very essential that parents allow
the child to experiment with and practice using its own body. The child then
must not be "anxiously protected," for, as Hetzer (1947a) says:

The child must become clever through the harm that comes to it (Schaden),
that is, one or another accident (e.g. falling down) is an unavoidable
necessity. (p. 28)

And Plattner (1961) writes:

... without bruises and scratches no child can become a real person.

What the mother forbids in regard to physical experimentation out
of anxiety, an inborn pressure forces the child to do to test out its
powers. The order given by the forward-driving will to life is stronger
than the mother's prohibition. With such prohibitions one deprives the
child to disobedience. (p. 31)

But not only is the child driven to disobedience. If the mother does things
for the child which it can very well do for itself, the child turns into a
helpless sissy (Mutter's Häschen — Mother's little son) who tyrannises its
parents: "As long as it 'cannot' the mother must" is the conclusion reached
by the protected and fearful child. And so, through helpless dependence,
the child compels the parents to continue their personal care and supervision,
and then the way to independence must later be "battled with endless effort."

The child who, on the contrary, is allowed to experiment with jumping
and running and climbing and who learns to take no notice of the painful
incidents that are part of the process is also prepared to face the difficulties
of life and master them. Concerning physical pain, an expert said to her own
child who had a toothache (Plattner, 1961):
"In all growth there are difficulties to overcome. Also when you children grow in me and I bore you, I had to bear hardships and price just as you do now because you are getting a new tooth. But as a result I had you. Don't you want to have children sometime too? The tooth is a good preparatory exercise (Vorübung) for getting through such a pain." (p. 75)

The significant point is that congruence between types of experience is established not through overt likeness of content but through the method used, through the attitude a person has to a great variety of experiences with a single, generalized connecting link such as "pain."

The culmination of the small-child period of life comes when the child is ready to go to school, but the climax of this period comes about as midpoint---when the child is two and one-half to three years old. Before this time and after it, the child is easy to lead (lenksam) and ready to learn, but at midpoint the child suddenly becomes conscious of its self and of its own will and, for about six months, it goes through the famous stubbornness phase (Trotzperiode). The correct handling of this stage is important not only for the whole of the child's life, but also because it is the first of two such climaxes. A second one of the same type (though with different content) takes place in the midst of adolescence. Both are necessary for the development of will and pride in the adult, and both are periods of difficulty for child and responsible adult. In one way, the child's whole previous upbringing is intended to get it through this stubbornness phase: if it has learned to obey, it will continue to think that obedience is natural and it will not exercise its new found will by refusing to carry out ordinary daily activities, but if parents have to use force in this period (because they have put off measures of education needed earlier) then there will be "conflict with the world around it and scenes of stubbornness" (Trotzsaissen — tantrums) On
the other hand, if the child is given no chance to exercise its newfound self-consciousness and will -- and for this it must have achieved some autonomy -- it will grow up into a "weakwilled, characterless person" (Hetzer, 1947b, pp. 28-29). After the stubbornness period has died out (if the child is treated correctly) of its own accord, the child again becomes ready to learn from others and can undertake new tasks.

Consciousness of self and of own will is central to the small child's life, but this consciousness appears rather suddenly and -- after a brief and stormy period -- dies down, to rise to a new climax in the middle of adolescence. The child is born with a readiness for order which must be fostered in infancy and, if it is well brought up, it has a new kind of readiness to undertake tasks (Aufgabenbewilligung) when it is "ripe" to go to school. The intermediate period (2½ to 3 years) of self-will is a stage when the child attempts to act on its own, to set its own goals -- and this, indeed, is one of the valuable characteristics which must be protected and which can be lost if the adult attempts to "break the child's will." However, parents are given little instruction in how to make constructive use of the period for children. They are told they must not punish the child "too much"; they must only see to it that ordinary rules are kept. They must be willing to hold off and wait -- they will be able to take up the task of upbringing again if they are patient: "In the following time of willingness-to-undertake-tasks everything can be done without difficulty that could not be accomplished during

Perhaps the most common criticism made by Germans about other Germans as educators is that they "break the child's will." It is also one of the most longstanding warnings given: One must educate the child without breaking its will.
the period of stubbornness." (Hetzer, 1947a, p. 63) In contrast, the management of "Sturm und Drang" -- of the problems and difficulties and bad experiences of the adolescent period of self-will -- is one of the central issues of some writing on youth guidance. In fact, this climax of self-recognition and striving in the midst of the period of "youth" is one of the climactic points of the whole of life -- and the earlier "Trotzperiode" is in a sense merely a prefiguration.

Although a child will be stunted in its development if it lacks attentive love, and will be endangered and dangerous if it is neglected (vorwahrlöst) and does not have family companionship, and will turn into a rebel or a sycophant or a will-less slave if too great demands and too great pressures are put upon it (especially at certain periods of development), the greatest anxiety seems to center on the possibility that the child may be weakened and spoiled, may be made frühreif and also unsocial through over-attentiveness, overfeeding (Überfütterung) of foolish affection, overcarefulness, etc. For not only is such a child enfeebled and made unable to exercise self-control or to submit itself to guidance, but also -- since overfond parents are portrayed as wavering people who first give in to everything and later rue the inevitable results -- the child has no basis for trust in people. And, most important, where so much attention is focused on one person, the child gets a false sense of its own importance -- sees itself at the center

32. For other examples of this type of climax structure in German culture, see Wolfenstein and Leites (1950).
In addition to the type of only child whose adult life is ruined by its parents' "meaningless and immeasurable spoiling," another type of situation is described involving an only child who -- if it is a boy -- is predestined to become a homosexual (Schultz, 1951):

The inability to love — can also manifest itself in a particular direction. We shall again give a completely simple and obvious example. Everyone knows the particular type of woman who is usually haggard and narrow-featured, cool, devoid of feeling, calculating, avaricious, untender, domineering, irritable, uncommunicative — in short a type who, as an old woman, could be regarded as a "witch"... Only one type of man is susceptible to these women as long as they are still young and attractive. These are the men who, in the jargon of the clinic, are called "little rabbit men": soft, gentle, shy, big-eyed, poorly endowed by Nature, mostly spiritually not very independent, but orderly, conscientious, passive natures...

Such couples never have more than one child. If the only child is a boy, it grows up from the beginning of its life in the following situation: Mother — bad, cold; Father — soft, good, tender. In the earliest period of development, long before any conscious memory, this child has had the experience of one sex as good, the other as bad. We have already pointed out that every person develops from a plantlike existence of childhood through a childish sexual preoccupation with the self and a youthful preoccupation with others of the same sex to a full person. This breakthrough to becoming a full person is only possible when the woman becomes for the man something worth striving for, becomes a goal of desire (Sehnsucht). This is not the case for the type of child pictured here, on the contrary. The image of the woman, the bad mother, is deeply bound up with fear, refusal, hate, opposition, stubbornness, and so on. In the depths of the unconscious of this person there will be no inclination to break out of the homosexuality of the boyish and youthful period into adult life with its responsibility.
Individuality, too great awareness of its self, makes impossible the integration (Einleiderung) first into the family and later into any other group. And, if one goal of family up bringing is to make the child into a whole person, the other is to make him into a group member. Thus, Sigmund Freud (1962) states the double aspect of the human being: the human being is a unit closed in himself (a self-contained unit). But over and above that he is as such also a member of a larger community.

To prepare the child for social life, it behooves parents to have several children (eine Kinderreichefamilie is the phrase for the ideal family). And, dividing their attention among all the children, parents must learn to moderate their demands, to remember that each child is different from each other one so that different measures must be used for each to obtain the 

33. (cont'd) What is the result? When the child of such a couple comes into the period of youth and adulthood, it remains bound in its tender and sexual impulses to itself and to its own sex (to the father); we have before us a homosexual. (pp. 99-101)

The witch-(step)-mother and the indecisive father are stock characters in German fairytales, usually in tales involving two daughter figures, one (step-daughter) is good (like her dead mother) and is rewarded after many tribulations, the other (witch's daughter) brings destruction upon mother and daughter. Like parent, like child is one of the underlying themes of these stories as also of the psychologist's imaginative description. This description also is an expression of the kind of anxiety felt about discrepancies between husband and wife.

34. A difference is made very carefully between treating each child individually in terms of its own constitution and innate qualities and giving any child too great conscious awareness of itself as a separate individual. (But the two aspects of the problem of individuality are dealt with separately, as is also the question of violating or wounding the child's own sense of its dignity and worth by laughing at it or in any way belittling its achievements.)

35. "Der Mensch ist eine in sich geschlossene Einheit. Aber ausserdem als solche noch ein Glied einer grösseren Gemeinschaft." (p. 15)
desired results, and to control their expressions of fondness -- in a word, to take the middle course of exactness, for the sake of their children's character development.

Part of the education in social life consists in playing with other children. (This, of course, is considered to be much more difficult for the only child than for the child with siblings.) Here again the child is expected to learn through the difficulties that occur. The following is one of the kinds of example given about what can go wrong and how the mother should act (Plattner, 1951, pp. 78-80):

Five year old Karl and four year old Fritz jointly have a tricycle. Fritz is riding on it; Karl "wants to too." Fritz doesn't want to give it up. Karl tries to take it away. So neither one can ride. They get into a fight. The mother hears their furious howling and comes.

She judges the quarrel according to the immediate situation and insists that Karl give the tricycle to Fritz, because Karl's fury and stubbornness are obvious. Karl feels unjustly treated, because Fritz has ridden already. Full of opposition to his mother, he determines to get back at his brother. Still worse is the little devil that has awakened in Fritz's soul. He did not let Karl ride and now he and not the stupid Karl is riding again. Wasn't it sly to get appearances on his side. He has the advantage and Karl has the disadvantage. How Mother let herself be fooled! He had thought she knew everything. In spite of this triumph, Fritz has an uncomfortable feeling. The pleasure in the tricycle is spoiled...

The writer then supposes that the mother gave the tricycle to Karl, and indicates that this would have had equally bad results.

It is not the duty of the mother to be a judge but to be the representative (Vertreterin) of the laws of life ... But the law of life does not say: "If two quarrel the one who is right gets the advantage." It is rather: "If two quarrel, both have disadvantage." This disadvantage even the small child should feel. Therefore the mother should take away the toy about which they were quarreling ... If the mother acts in this way in every instance of a quarrel quietly as if it were a foregone conclusion, then the child -- in an age when intellectual understanding is still impossible -- grasps how foolish quarreling is.
Thus children who have learned the disadvantages of quarreling, of envy and jealousy, etc., learn the advantages of getting along with each other.

Explicitly -- but more often by implication -- the personal desires of the individual child are not central, but rather a kind of impersonalized necessity for adjustment. Selflessness (whether stated positively or negatively -- as in the example given) is a necessary part of social life. In this sense, life as a member of a group -- though it is pictured as half of the totality of experience -- is the reverse of life as an individual.

In one specific aspect of education, experts insist that parents take the initiative in instruction as well as upbringing (i.e., turn instruction into a form of upbringing) and that they do this in a new way. Where, even in the parents' generation, children did not receive formal sexual enlightenment until they were given an explanation (Aufklärung) at about fourteen years, parents are now urged to begin sexual education with the first questions asked by the small child, so that they will have a correct and wholesome (instead of incorrect and dirty) attitude and a fund of correct information by the time they become adolescent. Thus, sexual education, from being education for a stage of life to be given at that stage (an obvious impossibility, the experts agree) is to be turned into gradual education preparatory to a stage of life -- and, of course, the whole of adult life. But more than this, the sexual education, as Seelmann (1952, p. 41) writes, "should lead the children to naturalness, to a more self evident attitude" (will die Kinder noch nur wieder zur Natürlichkeit, zu eine selbstverständlicheren Haltung).

Here again, correct education leads to behavior which is automatically correct and "natural."

One of the most striking generalizations about the child care and youth guidance literature is the belief that, whatever potentialities for good and
evil a child may have (and parents who are anxious about the ineffectiveness of
their educational measures are given one out -- namely, the assurance that there
are a few -- but a very few -- children who simply are born with only bad
characteristics) the good potentialities are realized only insofar as they are
fostered by long and unremitting guidance. Bad potentialities, on the contrary,
are brought to life by single events -- one mistake, one omission, one occasion
neglected is sufficient to encourage a "weed" to implant itself and grow in the
child. And furthermore, left to itself the child almost inevitably will make
the wrong choice, the foolish decision, indulge in some reprehensible activity.

At the same time, the well brought up child is capable of self-education
and -- sometimes only with help to be sure -- even the adult who has been
misguided but who determines to do better by a child can educate himself or
herself to be a good parent. Consequently, although the future always appears
to be dependent upon the past -- so that one must in some way make up for the
past in order to take a new step ahead into the future -- the child educators
set a limit upon the retracing of steps necessary to make things good again
(alles wieder gut machen) in their optimistic assurance that the educator can
educate himself, that parents can learn how to become people who can bring
up children who can take over their own adult self-education.

36. The conception of "self-education" (Selbstersziehung) is carried over
into academic life nowadays, as one finds in a discussion of the "educational
responsibility of the university" by Helmut Thielicke (1952), the rector of
Tubingen University, in the course of which he says:

The dignity of academic life consists not in making the young student
the object of any kind of regimentation but rather the subject of
self-education (Selbstersziehung) and for this purpose must leave a
space for personal responsibility and at the same time for the risky
experiment that the young person will find his way to his own destiny
(Bestimmung) or will fail to do so. If education (Erziehung) is to be
discussed, then at most in the negative sense of giving an opportunity
for self-education. (p. 7)
II. GERMAN CHARACTER PORTRAITS: A VIEW OF THE
WORLD PRESENTED IN JUVENILE FICTION

1. The German Family: An Analysis Based on a Study
of Juvenile Stories about Home and School

-- Rhoda Métraux

Juvenile fiction presents an image of the world as the
adult writer believes and intends it to be seen by his youthful

1. This analysis of the world of the family as it is presented
by adult writers to young German readers is based primarily on a
study of selected German juvenile novels written between 1880 and
1939. Most of the stories analyzed are available in new printings
or editions prepared since 1945 and, with one or two exceptions, all
were selected from books currently available on booksellers' shelves
in Germany. All are books referred to, for one reason or another,
by German or German background informants; many of them were re-
ferred to as perennial favorites in recent reviews of juvenile fic-
tion in German newspapers; some were cited as examples of current
favorites in a recent study of German juvenile taste in reading
(Haseloff, 1953). The books are, then, standard books by popular
authors, the oldest of which (i.e. the books by Stinde, Sapper,
and Haarbeck) have been read by young readers since well before
World War I, and the newer ones by readers who grew up during the
latter part of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime -- as well
as in the present. Haseloff (1953) indicates that the "young girl's
book" (i.e. the family novel) is nowadays read by younger readers
than formerly, reaching the height of its popularity in the Berlin
sample studied among readers 11 and 12 years old. Others (i.e. the
novels of Kästner) are read by boys as well as girls in their early
teen. For purposes of comparison, three novels of school life
(Speyer's Kampf der Tertia and Die goldene Horde and Kästner's Das
fliegende Klassenzimmer) have also been included as well as one nov-
el by Kästner which combines the family and a flight into pure fant-
sasy (Der 35. Mai). All of these are regarded as books for younger
'teen age' readers, i.e. readers under 18.

Books intended for younger, pre-adolescent German readers are
of a somewhat different type and, although one or two may be re-
ferred to here, are not specifically included in this study. It
should be borne in mind that folk and fairy tales have been the rec-
ommended reading for the very young in Germany for many generations
and it is not surprising to find that certain fairy tale themes
(sometimes in inverted form) recur in the family stories. One or
two of these also will be referred to though they do not form an
integral part of this analysis. Novels analyzed specifically for
the purpose of this study include those by Haarbeck, Kästner, Roob-
ol, Sapper, Schanz, Scharrelmann, Schächer, Speyer, Stinde, Ury,
Wildhagen, and Wustmann. (For titles, cf. bibliography.)
audience. The fantasy world so presented -- whether it be an imag-
inary one or one of "every day reality" -- is not the world as
it is seen by children, but rather an interpretation by adults
who are providing models for children. What these models are,
and how they are to be used by children, varies from one culture
to another, as does the attitude of writer and parent and child
towards fiction as a conscious or unconscious means of teaching
and learning. In this study I have selected for analysis one
type of German juvenile fiction which, according to German adults,
has had long popularity among young German readers -- the family
novel which purports to be an account of "real life" as it is ex-
perienced by heroes and heroines not too different from the read-
ers themselves. For the most part these juvenile novels are in-
tended -- explicitly -- not only to entertain but also to instruct
their youthful readers and perhaps, indirectly, adults as well;
some of them -- especially such older books as that by Stinde (Die
Familie Buchholz) and those by Sapper (Das kleine Dummerle, Die
Familie Fürfling, Werdun und Wachsen) -- are intended for "family"
reading. Agnes Sapper's books are so described on a recent jacket
blurb:

These agreeable stories are of high educational value
(eraetherischem Wert); may they continue to find their
way into every German family.

And the author herself, in the original dedication of Die Familie
Fürfling, to her mother, wrote:

You have shown us what a blessing accompanies through
life those people who have grown up in a large circle
of brothers and sisters and in simple circumstances
under the influence of parents who, with trust in God
And in a joyous frame of mind, have understood how to do without the things that were denied them.... 

I would like to present not your family but one animated by the same spirit in this book about the German family (in diesem Buch der deutschen Familie).

And in the foreword to a later edition, Sapper hopes that this book and its sequel will find their way "to all those who have understanding for genuine German family life." In somewhat the same mood Schumacher addresses her young readers at the conclusion of Das Turm-Engèle:

I think you will have learned one thing from this story -- that true happiness does not consist in beauty, riches and a life without worry and least of all in pretending to be more than one is. When one is young one does not believe that quite, but older people can at once differentiate between genuine and unngenuine (echte und unechte) people.

So, in forewords and conclusions (as well as in the courses of the stories) the authors ensure that the reader will learn the lesson which the story implies and, on occasion, include the reader's elders in the audience.

For the most part, these novels present highly moral and idealized versions of family life and of the problems set for and solved by the young heroes and heroines who are the central figures in the stories and whose experiences -- whether at some crucial period in their development or throughout a long life depicted from early childhood to late grandparenthood -- are central to the plots. The ideal of family life changes little in over fifty years of storytelling, but the earlier versions of family life (e.g. the stories of the Pfaffling family and of Turm-Engèle and the Wildfang series) differ from the later ones (e.g. the
(1) stories of the Nesthökohen and Trotzkopf series) in the explicit-
ness of idealization and, to some extent, in the means by which
the ideal life is to be attained, and (in the case of Kästner
particularly) in the recognition of fallibility. Sapper, in the
foreword already quoted (written at the turn of the century), in-
timates that the ideal German Pfäffling family had a basis in re-
ality, in the past experience of the author herself. Ury plays
between fiction and reality when, in the conclusion to her book

Nesthökohen und ihre Küken, she writes:

Yes, my Nesthökohen lives. She lives everywhere where a child
is the sunshine of a harmonious parental home. Where a grannie
mirrors herself in her grandchild. Where warmhearted friend-
ships live on through childhood and adolescence. Wherever one
works and strives, wherever one wins the produce of the German
home-earth, in the city and the country, wherever anyone
spreads happiness and joy in his own home. Everywhere there
my Nesthökohen is at home.

Kästner, writing in the late 1920s and 1930s, is insistent that
his own versions of life are fictions, as when, in Das fliegende
Klassenzimmer, he gives a fanciful description of how the story
came to be written, and when he intersperses the telling of the
story of Punktcohen und Anton with chapters of author's comments,
including one about the "happy ending":

Now you could perhaps conclude that things in life
come out as justly as in this book. That would be a
fatal mistake. It ought to be so and all reasonable
people take pains to have it so. But it is not so.
It is not yet so.

We once had a school companion who regularly denounced
his neighbors. Do you think he was punished? No, the
neighbor whom he denounced was punished. Do not be
surprised if in life you are sometimes punished
for the crimes of others. See to it, when you are grown
up, that things will be better. We ourselves have not
quite achieved it. Become more decent, more honest, more just and reasonable than most of us are.

The world is said once to have been a paradise. Everything is possible.

The world could become a paradise. Everything is possible. (pp. 168-69)

Thus the older writers tend to present the young reader with an ideal picture of a world which, they intimate, is based upon reality -- the fictional model for the children's real behavior, they suggest, is based upon an already existing reality. Kästner, on the contrary, points out that the fictional world has not yet been achieved, but for him it is also -- as he presents his picture to children -- a possible reality located some time in the future.

In these novels it is not so much the values that alter as the recognition of and acceptance of behavior that is less than the ideal in the world of fiction (and by implication -- for the purposes of the authors -- in actuality). This is especially clearly illustrated by changing attitudes towards fallibility in the parents portrayed in the novels.

Stinde, writing a family novel in the 1880s for an adult audience, counterpoints the solemnity of the Gartenlaube novel with his humorous impersonation of a naturally clever but fallible mother, yet he, no less than the Gartenlaube authors

2. For a discussion of the 19th century Gartenlaube novel, cf. below, two papers by Nelly Hoyt.

3. The play on doubles that is so important in German humorous writing is well illustrated by this book which is written by a woman, though the fictional "I" in the book is a woman, Frau Wilhelmine, who illustrates the frailties of woman and comments upon the frailties of men.
or the authors of extremely earnest and sentimental didactic stories for the young (of which Scheuβ's *In der Feierstunde* is a minor example), values the family as the center of life and emphasizes the importance of good character. Similarly, Kästner, writing in the late 1920s for a child audience, counterpoints the straightforward seriousness of slightly earlier writers into whose territory he has moved, but he too supports and recreates their values out of a recognition of fallibility. In his stories it is (uncles, teachers, etc.) not so much the parents but intermediate figures, who stand between full-fledged adults (parents, the head of a school) and children, who -- themselves fallible in other respects -- are the infallible educators; and the children themselves -- learning in spite of adult fallibility and in somewhat devious ways how to become perfect children -- may have to bring the parents to heel. Early or late, directly or indirectly, the stories of family life have an underlying didactic intent. In the 1980s a writer could convey to adults -- through humor -- the idea that parents were fallible; (though being of good character they could nevertheless succeed with their children); in the 1920s a writer could convey to children -- through humor -- the idea that parents were fallible but that one could nevertheless acquire a good character.

In between these two writers there are such authors as Haarbeck, Sapper, Schumacher, and Ury, who write for a more special audience of young girls and whose families are patterns of perfection -- at least as far as the elder parental generation.

4. The fallibility of humanity is, of course, also the subject of the savage rhymes and cartoons of Wilhelm Busch, whose work, created for adults, gradually also became the special property of children.
(The parents of the heroines and heroes) is concerned; the change from infallibility to fallibility occurs rather among the parents and heroines themselves as they in turn become parents and bring up other children. It is mainly these writers who provide the pattern of family life discussed in this study.

The families in most of the stories are middle-class families -- some of them richer, others poorer and struggling, but most of them professional families in moderate circumstances -- and the ideals portrayed in the novels are essentially those of middle-class life. The father in the Buchholz family is a small business man; the father in Das Turm-Engel is a worthy bell ringer in a small town but his beautiful and talented daughter moves into a middle-class position at the same time that she learns to appreciate her own background; the father in Pfaffling family is a struggling music teacher who becomes the respected head of a music school; the fathers in the Wildfang series (Dr. Röder) and in the Westhäkchen series (Dr. Braun) are doctors, one in a small town, the other in Berlin; the father in Gunhild die Reiterin (the scene of which is laid in Norway) is a small landowner; and so on. The children likewise become teachers and nurses and doctors and lawyers and engineers and estate owners -- sometimes slightly improving on their parents' positions, but in general remaining well within the "good" middle-class orbit --

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5. In the school stories studied (by Speyer and Kästner) parents are distant or absent and the highest school authorities are also distant; in one of the later family stories (Wustmann's Gunhild die Reiterin) the ideal parents are killed off in a catastrophic landslide and the brother and sister are left with a passive but all-wise grandfather to rebuild a new family life on the wrecked foundations of the old.
and also, like their parents, they become the parents of a new
generation.

The stories focus upon the life of the family to the exclusion
of most other events whether in the place where the scene is laid or
in the world at large. The boundaries are at their widest when
the author (e.g. Wildhagen) apostrophizes German youth in the per-
son, for instance, of a little boy who dares not own up to some-
thing he has done, or when the author (e.g. Sapper) invokes the
unique German Christmas; the boundaries shrink to the nearest hor-
izon where home (die Heimat) is concerned for then the relevant
world is limited, at least in emotional tone, to the view visible
from the windows of the parental house (des Elternhaus). In the
introduction to Die Familie Buchholz Stinde sets the essential
scene:

Whoever is interested in knowing about intimate family life
in the solitude of a great city (Berlin) will participate
in the worries and joys of Frau Wilhelmine and will regard
her letters (the book is written as a series of letters to
the editor of a newspaper) as sketches of the life of the
capital city, which consists not only of asphalt streets and
long rows of houses but also of many, many homes, the doors
of which remain closed to strangers. (p.5)

Similarly, in an early scene, Wustmann circumscribes the horizons
of Gunhild's life, seen from the mountain meadow where she is herd-
ing her father's cows:

The mountain meadow (Alm) lay before her, a little field
surrounded by birches; very near the mountain rose up into
the clear blue sky; on it lay everlasting ice which in a

6. Contrast to this the wide horizons pictured by Karl May
in his adventure stories in the Near East and in the American
Far West. Cf. Nelly Hoyt's discussion below. The common bound-
dary to the two is, however, the symbolic one of "Germany" and
all that is German."
broad bend, following a ravine, wound into the depth of
the valley. Eight hundred meters below she saw the lake
on whose shore the properties of the mountain peasants
lay. There lay Björgvin, her father's estate (Hof), with
its white house and red barn, there on the slopes were the
gardens and slopes in which the fruit trees stood in rows.

Bright as silver the lake mirrored the sun; toylike the
farm buildings greeted the mountain meadow where Gunhild
was the cowherd. (pp. 6-7)

And similarly, lying on their lookout hill, the boys in Kampf der
Tertia could distinguish the world of the town (their enemy) and
the world of the school (in which they lived in safe independence).

The two sets of boundaries -- the wider and the family is
called "the German family."

Sometimes, in these stories, we are told the name of the city
or town in which the story takes place, sometimes only its general
location, e.g. "a small town in southern Germany." Sometimes we
are given definite, though incidental clues, to the period in
which the story takes place, as when the author of Nesthäkchen
and ihre Küken explains:

Each one had his own worries. In the bitterly expensive
period that followed on the World War, it was not easy
for a young doctor to found his own hearth. (p. 10)

(But even so, we can only place the story in the late 1920s be-
cause we already know -- from earlier volumes -- that Nesthäkchen
was a school girl in the immediate postwar period.) Equally of-
ten the reader can infer time and the passing of time only from
by Haarbeck,
minor details. So, in the Wildfang series, the father first goes
out on calls in his carriage and later, when the children are
grown up, we learn that someone has an automobile. In Speyer's
Kampf der Tertia the children chew gum (an American importation) --
a fact mentioned by German informants as something that impressed
them when they first read this book in 1928 or 1929 -- and there
are cars and motorcycles and one boy has a flier hero. As the
heroes and heroines grow up we may follow them to a school or a
university, to another city, to the place where they take over
their professions, even -- though rarely -- overseas to faraway
places (as when two of the Pfaffling children go to German Africa,
one as an engineer and the other as the bride of a pioneering
farmer). So we are given, at best, a general sense of a period
and a place, and -- but this is especially evident as we move
from one novel or novel series to another rather than as we read
one series -- a sense of the passing of time. And yet, essential-
ly, in these novels we are living in a timeless and eventless
world bounded by the garden surrounding the family home and hap-
penings outside are heard only as faint echoes which can perhaps
be meaningfully interpreted by the reader but which do not -- in
terms of the story -- affect the lives of those within the gate.
In these novels, most of which are deeply concerned with problems
of character building and fulfillment, children are brought up to
face "reality" and "life" and "the world" effectively; but the
reality which, eventually, they face -- especially in the novels
that take the protagonists from childhood to adulthood or old age
is the reality of the family world -- of courtship and marriage
and home and the upbringing of the next generation. Quite often
in effect, the end contains the beginning: Wildfang, who became the mother of

7. It is not inappropriate to point out here that contemporary
child care and youth guidance experts, who are extremely concerned
to make the growing generation good members of the wider social
world, are equally concerned in their books with the world of the
family as far as upbringing is concerned. Cf. my discussion of
this subject, above.
youngest siblings and so a kind of partner of her father, marries a widow (her childhood sweetheart from whom she parted to stay with her own family) and becomes a successful stepmother;

Wildfang's youngest brother becomes a doctor, like his father, and eventually rehabilitates the family home; Nesthäkchen, who studied medicine to become her father's assistant, marries a young doctor who becomes her father's assistant; the youngest Pfaffling boy (the real hero of this series), whose father was a music teacher, becomes, not a professional musician, but a music instrument maker;

Gunhild and her brother -- whose parents are killed and whose ancient homestead is destroyed by a catastrophic landslide -- recreate the home and the property (but double it as they both marry and settle next to each other). So, in these stories, the life of the family in the long run turns back upon itself and recreates itself in new generations, essentially unaffected by and having no effect upon external events in time and space. There is a symbolic unit -- Germany -- in which everyone participates, and within this are other small independent units made up of families. There are landscapes and people who have reality insofar as they are seen by the characters in the stories but, in another sense, they are without meaningful content and have no independent existence. The world

From the point of view of the reader, there are, of course, other worlds which one can enter by reading a different type of fiction, e.g., Karl May's adventure novels in which an isolated German, Kara ben Nemai or Old Shatterhand, wanders through the Near East or the American West far from home and the family. Or there is the world of the folk and fairy tale, which German experts regard as the special province of children who have not yet left the "childhood paradise" (Kinderparadies) of small childhood and home; or of the saga, which is the province of the pre-adolescent; and so on. The world of the imagination is divided into genre and is also, it would appear, strictly age graded.
of the family is a closed world with its own hazards and trials
and eventual triumphs and solutions to difficulties.

Public and official life hardly touches upon the characters
in these novels. Each of the men seems to exist, as it were, inde-
pendently. Most of the adult men have the kind of work that assures
them of some sort of autonomy; they are not officials but doctors
and lawyers and estate owners, and so on, and in any case, the de-
tails of their professional life do not enter directly into the
stories in any significant way. If Turm-Engele's father has offi-
cial duties, he fulfills them without fail and punctually because
he is a dutiful and methodical man, not because of pressure upon
him; if Pfaffling doubts that he will be chosen as the head of a
music school, it is because the new school is in a strange city
where people may not know him well enough to judge his real merits;
if a young doctor has a hard time establishing himself, it is because
times are hard. People act and succeed or fail in terms of their own
merits -- or because of circumstances outside any reasonable control

Germany exists as an idea -- as a beloved way of doing things,
as a series of landscapes, as the summation of a kind of character --
but hardly as a political entity. For government -- and this only
incidentally -- does not exist in these novels beyond the locality.
A minor character is a Burgomeister, or some boys have a snow fight
on a street and get into difficulties with the police, but on a
larger scale government and politics neither adorn nor trouble these
books. Nor, although most of the writers are piously Christian, do
sectarian differences appear in their pages. There are ministers
and people pray and go to church, but never once does the reader
follow a character into a church during a religious service. In
these novels we find good Christians and good Germans, but no reference to religious dogma or political opinion.\textsuperscript{9}

The plot development in these novels is likely to be episodic—to take the form of a series of sketches, each of which more or less carries forward a story. Some of the authors are, indeed, much more adept than others in developing plot, but in general the interest focuses rather upon the situation that displays character than upon the interweaving of events. For the underlying interest in the stories is the climax of character development rather than the climax of external event. (This is, however, less true of Speyer's two stories than of the others.) So, for instance, in 

Das Turm-Engele we follow the heroine, Engele, from childhood to young womanhood and learn first how she becomes a pretty and spoiled girl and then, through a series of adventures, how through suffering and the reeducation following upon suffering, she becomes an appreciative, loving, and capable young woman, ready for romance and bound to her home. In Die Familie Pfaffling the basic plot turns upon whether or not the father becomes the head of a music school and upon the various economic difficulties of a poor but respectable large family, but the episodes, loosely strung together, each illustrate an event that tries and proves the character of one or more of the children in the family. In the first volume of Wildfang's story, we first see how the tomboy heroine (Wildfang) eludes her responsibilities as the eldest daughter of a widowed father, how she comes to grief through disobedience (swinging on

\textsuperscript{9} In this study I have, of course, deliberately avoided the specifically politically oriented literature of the 1930s and no attempt was made to tap specifically sectarian books for a limited audience.
a forbidden swing, she falls and becomes paralyzed) and then how, having learned to accept and so to master her great suffering, she recovers and becomes the responsible, self-sacrificing foster mother of her own siblings. As the heroes and heroines grow up, we learn how through suffering or misunderstanding or happy accident they become engaged, get married, set up their own homes and begin to cope with the problems of their own growing children. And so on.

The family of the juvenile novels is "the family rich in children" (die kinderreiche Familie). The seven children in the Pfrölling family are a problem because the family is, at first, poor; in spite of this, the family is happy and united. There are six children in the Röder family in the Wildfang series (and these children -- with some exceptions -- have large families when they marry). There are several children in the Braun family in the Nesthäkchen series. Two children are minimally necessary for the safe upbringing of the child. The only child (e.g. Turm-Engel, Pünktchen, and a host of minor characters in these novels and stories) are inevitably problem children and their parents are regularly exceptional in their mishandling of the child's upbringing. Sometimes the only child is permanently saved -- or is brought through a critical period -- by contact with other children and by contact with parents of several children (e.g. a child prodigy is able to give a concert after he has played with happy children; the erring son of a hotel owner is reformed when he is

10. This point of view is entirely consistent with that of the child care expert, discussed in the preceding paper.
sent to live in the country with a family of relatives; a young flirtatious girl is saved from becoming frühreif by living in a large family; Turm-Engele plays with a family of neighboring children, imbibing the healthful atmosphere of their home; Fünf- ten and Anton -- both only children -- select each other as friends and in the end become foster relatives). The only child may be cherished or neglected -- its fate is always problematical. If not in the first generation (where a story may concentrate upon a single household), then at least in the second generation -- when the children grow up and scatter and marry and found households of their own -- the family consists of numerous households, each independent of the others and bound to the others only by ties of affection that are renewed on ceremonial occasions: birthdays, marriages, and christening celebrations, holiday visits, or care in crises. The separateness of the households is symbolized by their scattering not only in one city but quite regularly in different parts of Germany -- in country and city, in North and South. Too close residence (except perhaps for sister and brother) creates a lack of mature independence; the child who stays too close to home -- as an adult -- has not achieved (from the viewpoint of the novel) autonomy (selbständigkeit). Maturation involves physical removal from one place to another -- but not a loss of deep and sentimental attachment to the parental home, to das Elternhaus, and one's place of birth.

11. Thus in the fairy tales too there is the problematical heroine -- the little princess who is the only child -- and the bad and good stepsister pair, each of whom seems to typify one of the two possibilities for the only child (suffering and triumph or pride and a fall).
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evrwryone lived under one roof, sat at ono table

: table itself is a symbol for the meeting of the united
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the table

proKý,".s a place where the individuals in the household or family

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various households --

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children and grandchildren and cousins --

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a table for a common meals and so we wee them together for a Sunday

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dirner, for a holiday meal,

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or an anniversary celebration.

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a link between persons who are apart.

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aunts nho live in the country are likely to send boxes of good

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food for special occasions, as if,

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they too could affectionately join

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At the same time, recognition of this almost unbreakable
12.
tie to the home is itself a sign of maturity. So, for instance,
Turm-Engele -- sadder and wiser for tragic experiences away from
the home she had wanted to deny -- finally returns to the tower room
of her young childhood and looks out:

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That is,

and the united larger family.

an o,, ,t together and, when they are there, all fogether, they are
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Among the larger family group, people from the
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grandmother and grandfather, aunts and uncles,
usually draw up around

at the coffee table set for a birthday
Secondarily,

food itself can be

Grandmothers or uncles and

by sending food for their relatives,
all the others present at

With enchantment she looked out over all the known houses and
Engels had
hills. Distance no longer had a lure for her.
returned gladly, go gladly to the homey, cosy nest (ins
heimi asche, enae Nest) and knew now that happiness does not
(p. 222)
come from outside but rather from within the heart.

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13. Sitting at one table is also a general symbol of telbnging
Cf., for instance, the repeated use of a table as a
to one group.
symbol of this kind in the Nazi propaganda film HItleru1jume Que2.

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14. Commenting on the American family, a young German student
exclaimed quite spontaneously: *The American family is so loose;
not even the table dreas them together." Thus the table is not only
a symbol of unity, it is also a device for making unity possible.


the table. The table itself is movable -- for now we see the
family gathered in the dining room, and now, on another occasion,
the coffee table may be set in another room or under a shady tree
or even -- when a large family goes on an excursion -- at an inn
or in the woods.15

For the smaller family of the single household, the central
table serves a more general purpose.16 We see the family together
at meals, but the same table (or another like it) holds the
Christmas presents -- a pile for each member of the family17 --
and in the evenings, the family sit around the table, each busily
at work. So, on a winter evening, we are shown the Pfaffling
family gathered together:

What kinds of work were done in the Pfaffling family at the
big table under the hanging lamp that was lighted as early
as five o'clock! Of the four brothers, one was doing his
Greek, the other his Latin, the third his French, the fourth
his German lessons. One stared into the air and sought for
clever ideas for his composition, the other thumbed his

15. Similarly, in Germany, no departing relatives or guests
are permitted to take a train without a package of sandwiches or
other food to eat on the trip. This is not merely a matter of
economy -- but rather a symbol of the continuity of the relation-
ship.

16. On the image of the family table, cf. the descrip-
tion of the Gartenlaube cover in Nelly Hoyt's discussion of
journal.

17. The table may be split into many tables. Thus, Louis
Ferdinand describes a family Christmas in his childhood before
World War I in the place of his grandfather, the Kaiser, where
each person had an individual table and an individual Christmas
tree -- instead of one table with one tree at the center.
(The Rebel Prince, pp. 8-9)
dictionary, the third murmured conjugations, the fourth
scratched arithmetic on his slate.... Mother sat with
her sewing basket at the head of the table and next to
her little Else who was supposed to busy herself quietly
but did not always succeed in doing so.... (pp. 22-23)

The table draws the family together but does not necessarily
unite them in their occupations. In contrast, the meals shared
by an uncle and a nephew symbolize their rather fantastic rela-
tionship in Der 35. Mai:

Uncle Ringelhut was Konrad's father's brother. And because
the uncle was not yet married and lived all alone he could
call for his nephew at school every Thursday. Then they ate
together, conversed, drank coffee together and only towards
evening did the boy return to his parents. These Thursdays
were very funny.... He and Konrad ate all sorts of crazy
things. Sometimes ham with whipped cream. Or pretzels and
bilberries. Or cherry pie with English mustard.... And
if they then felt sick, they leaned out of the window and
laughed because their neighbors thought that Pharmacist
Ringelhut and his nephew had alas gone mad. (pp. 5-6)

Here the food on the table expresses the mood of a shared rela-
tionship.

Aside from the table, each member of the family -- or each
group of family members -- has an appointed place that is his
own, where he or she is likely to be found. Father has his study
which is sacred to him. Mother has her sewing table, sometimes
at a window, sometimes in an alcove, sometimes in a corner of
father's room. The children have their own rooms -- or at least
the children's room (die Kinderstube) which they share.18 If by
any chance another relative -- a grandfather or grandmother --
lives in the household, the likelihood is that this person will

18. Writers on child care problems nowadays suggest that the
little child be drawn into the family earlier by giving it a play
corner in the room where the family meets and where Mother works;
the corner is still essentially a separate place though it is with-
in a larger whole.
have a room apart and, except at meals (and sometimes even then), will live there -- not joining the evening group around the table but occasionally inviting everyone to join him (or her) in this semi-separate residence. Even the maid, whose room is in the kitchen, has her room apart from the rest. Thus -- ideally -- the German home provides both a place where the family can appear as a united whole and places where each is a separate individual, apart from the rest. So the home in the novel illustrates the dual aspect of the single personality as it is often described in the psychological literature and as it is summed up, for instance, by Seelmann (1952): "The human being is a unit closed in itself. But in addition as such he is also a member of a larger community." 

19. Stifter, in his mid-19th century educational novel, Der Nachsommer, takes the ideal of the separate room to an extreme. Thus his young hero describes his father's theory about rooms: In any case none of Father's rooms was permitted to show signs of immediate use, but should rather always be made neat as if it were a room for display. It shouldn't, however, show what its particular purpose is. Mixed room as he expressed himself, which could be more than one thing at a time -- bedroom, playroom, and so on -- he could not abide. Everything and every person, he used to say, could be only one thing, but this it must be wholly. This stress upon strict exactness impressed itself upon us and made us respect the demands of our parents even if we did not understand them. (p.6)

The disasters that follow upon lack of privacy (the lack of a room of one's own) are among the most common of the recurrent tales told by German informants describing life in Germany since World War II. Family life disintegrates when there is no place to be apart, such informants say; friction increases -- and even knowing that the situation is unavoidable and irremediable, each person gets the feeling that the other is deliberately irritating him. Reiberei -- the word usually used to describe such friction -- includes the idea of "grating"; thrown together without possibility of escape each person grates, teases, provokes the other. Thus in thinking about actual daily life, the ability to be apart is a prerequisite to being together in a frictionless, smooth situation.

20. "Der Mensch ist eine in sich geschlossene Einheit. Aber ausserdem ist solche noch ein glied einer grösseren Gemeinschaft." (p.15)
The house itself provides a shell within which the family forms a set "closed to strangers"; the table provides a meeting place where the separate units in the family are turned into "members of a larger community."

Ideally, father and mother have, within the household, entirely separate responsibilities: mother runs the household and father provides for it. Mother exhibits her responsibility by having a perfect household, perfectly prepared to receive father whenever he comes home. (In fact, in the stories, the difficulties of young marriage center on the problem of how the inexperienced wife does or does not manage to realize this ideal. In the older stories, the bride finally achieves her goal; in the more modern ones, the ideal is recognized but seldom attained -- the heroine (Nesthäkchen or Trotzkopf, for instance) is a well meaning but comparatively hopeless housewife -- but nevertheless a success at being a wife and mother because of her personality.) Yet, despite their separate responsibilities and their separate ability or inability to fulfill them, mother and father form a single unit before the children and the outer world -- in all decisions and expressions of opinion about family decisions, they must be at one (einig), must be of a single mind. This does not mean that they must be alike; on the contrary, mothers and fathers in these stories are markedly different from each other. If father (Die Familie Pfaffling) is active and outgoing and quick-tempered, mother is quiet and reserved and patient, and seldom gives way to impulses. If mother is quick and gay and foolish (Nesthäkchen), father is steady and patient and more farsighted than his wife.
Thus, ideally, mother and father are complementary to each other and each supports the other with his or her own particular talents and strengths. Mother, as a matter of course, however, adapts herself to father's personality and needs. Where she cannot or will not do this (as is sometimes the case in a marriage of the younger generation) the marriage and the family run into difficulties that can only be overcome when and if the wife solves the problems that prevent her from doing her part. In Wardton und Wachsen an older woman advises a younger one about the respective responsibilities of husband and wife:

"... Many a violin maker is a simple artisan or business man. My husband conceived his work as an artist and we were taken up in cultivated circles, as you too will be. But in spite of this, exactly in this situation, the woman is important, the man wins or loses through her." 

"But the wife is much more under the influence of her husband?"

"I hardly believe so. The whole running of the house-keeping, the raising of the children, depends more upon the woman; through her the man is raised up or pulled down...." (p. 103)

But, essentially, in these stories neither mother nor father is a dominating or dominated person -- rather together they are/one -- the good father and mother make decisions together, behind closed doors: father calls mother aside, mother calls father aside when there is news, when a decision is to be made. And the children learn about the news when the decision about what is to be done has already been taken by the parents. Or the parents together prepare surprises for the children: it is mother and father (or, as in Wildfang's story, father and the responsible eldest daughter) who prepare the Christmas tree in the Christmas room -- and the children enter into the situation only when everything is arranged
In Die Familie Pfaffling, one of the crucial scenes is that in which an eldest son is permitted to sit with his parents while they make a difficult decision -- he is a witness rather than a participant, and in becoming this is, to a certain extent, separated from his younger siblings for, having his parents' confidence, he is expected not discuss the problems with the younger children.

In these stories, mother is so important that she is replaceable. One of the things a child learns is that mothers are, in one sense, multiple. Mother may be dead -- but there must be a mother in the home. The theme of the stepmother is an important one in these stories and fears about the unloving mother are played off in children's fears about the stepmother. Yet, there is in these stories no example of a stepmother who is not a loving mother -- the problem is for the children to discover this earlier or later in their relationship to her. One of the characteristics of the good stepmother is that she does not deny the real mother; on the contrary, being a good stepmother includes keeping the image of the real mother bright and clear in the memory of the children. The children, however, must discover that the stepmother -- whom initially they may doubt and who may appear strict and exacting -- is good and loving and cares about their wellbeing and happiness, and sooner or later (sometimes at once, sometimes only after a struggle) she becomes "Mutter" or "Mutti" to them in the fullest sense. In Kästner's Fünfchen und Anton there are three mother figures: the well-to-do inattentive mother of the little girl who leaves her in the hands of a nursemaid-governess; the
wicked governess (the dupe of a thief who seduces her into turning the house keys over to him) -- who is, in fact, anything but motherly; and the poor but worthy mother of Anton, who cannot manage the difficulties of life alone with her little boy. In this story the problems of how to have a complete household and a perfect mother and how to get rid of the bad characteristics of a failing mother are solved by having the governess jailed.

and b: having the good mother (Anton's mother) take over the upbringing of both children in the well-to-do household. The real mother, now made completely ineffective, remains.21

The positions of mother and stepmother are exemplified in the following quotation from a letter written by a young girl soon after her father's remarriage (Wildfang als Bankfisch):

In the house itself Father led us both /daughter and stepmother/ into his study to the portrait of my first mother who died when I was still very young. He was deeply moved; I could see it. Then he gave me a kiss and said softly: "Lu, if your mother can see us now, she will be happy that you have a mother once more." (p. 205)

And the mood of the relationship of dead mother, stepmother and children can be judged from the following passages in which a child who has been unwilling to accept the stepmother is suddenly reconciled to her (Wildfang als Mutter):

Altogether she /the stepmother/ was completely different from what Brigittchen /the little girl/ had thought. How loving and careful she was with little Willie. Not at all like a stepmother: And how good she had been to Paul when he had stolen /money/. If she had not been there, he would in the end have been beaten by Father. And it had made a great impression on the little girl that now on Gisela's birthday

21. Cf. also Nelly Hoyt's comment about affinal relatives in the Gartenlaube novels who remain in a household after the connecting relative has died.
she had gone with Father and the stepchildren to the
cemetery to the grave of their dead mother and that she
had taken the wreath of the forget-me-nots from Gisela's
basket and had laid it on Mother's grave and had said:
"Children, never forget your good first mother." And how
happy Father had been. Yes, at Mother's grave, that was
beautiful! (p. 55)

The little girl, Brigitte, then calls her stepmother "Mother"
and the new mother gives her a necklace which had belonged to the
first mother (and which the father had wanted to give to his sec-
ond wife):

She /the stepmother/ put the necklace around the little girl's
neck and said: "Father agrees that I cannot wear this jewel
because it belonged to your mother and you will be the first
one to wear it after her."
"Until I am grown up and married you can wear it, Mother,"
Brigitte said, smilingly.
"No, you will be the first one to wear it after your mother.
as is the family custom. Father will keep it for you and you
will have it as a remembrance from your first mother but also
as a remembrance of the hour when Tante Gretel /the speaker/
became your second mother who never wants to push the first
one out of your heart." (pp. 55-56)

So the ideal family is able to include the dead among the living
and the ideal stepmother replaces the mother without displacing her.
Unlike mother, father is permanently himself. He may die,
but -- in these stories -- he is not replaced by any other man who
takes over family responsibilities within the family as does the
necessary stepmother.

As long as the parents are living and are in charge of their
children, grandparents and aunts and uncles play entirely different
roles from the parental ones. Where responsibility and obedience
link together parent and child, other relatives (especially grand-
parents) attach themselves to children primarily through justified
indulgences and "spoilimg." Grandchildren take it for granted.
that grandfathers carry sweets in their pockets; grandmothers
in their grandchildren with sunny understanding and good sake --
or other luxuries which they do not expect to obtain from their
own parents. So, for instance, grandmother (Nesthäkchen and
ihre Küken) calms her raging grandchild at a birthday party:

But what are grandmothers for in this world? Grandmothers
lovingly overpowered the little raging child and even
before everyone sat down little Urzel was sunny again.
"You are spoiling the child, Mother dear." Dr.
Hartenstein /father/ did not agree entirely with his
mother-in-law's educational methods. (p. 34)

Or grandfather plays with his grandson (Wildfang als Mutter):

When Grete /mother/ had no time... she carried little
Willie into Grandfather's room. Then he shouted and
rejoiced, for no one could play so beautifully and quiet-
ly as Grandfather. Willie was allowed to sit on his knee
and play with his watch chain or listen to the tick-tock.
or Grandfather sang him a little song or let him tear a
big newspaper into little pieces. That was wonderful, for
there was a marvelous mess and it made a lovely noise. (p. 69)

I never knew my father could play," said a German In-
formant. When we were children, he sat in his study and we were
afraid of him. But with his grandchildren, when he got to be
"Opa," he could play Indians with a feather duster on his head,
and, poor man, he could read until he didn't have any voice left.

Cf. also Louis Ferdinand's account (1952) of his relationship
with his indulgent grandfather, the Kaiser. That this indulgence
was effective is also evident, as when Louis Ferdinand explains
why (after his elder brother had married a commoner) he obeyed
his grandfather and came home:

My choice to return to Germany and Europe was not voluntary....
True, in being obedient I did not live up to being a "rebel."
But I should have despised myself for letting down a grand-
father who had taken my side during all these years. I did
not deem it right to add to his grief. I would have felt a
deserter had I not fulfilled his wish to take my brother's
place. (p. 250)

Thus indulgence -- in a grandparent -- gives another reason for
self-controlled obedience.
1. Or grandfather comes to visit (Wildfang als Tante):

2. Especially fine were the daily visits of Grandfather who never came into the house without a little piece of chocolate or a sugar candy in his pocket. (p. 130)

3. Similarly aunts and uncles -- except when they replace parents temporarily or permanently -- are expected to be affectionately indulgent and to help their nieces and nephews. Mother's friends and father's friends are assimilated to aunts and uncles and, indeed, any person with whom the child may have some relationship of confidence and trust/ become a pseudo-uncle or pseudo-aunt, i.e., Uncle-Doctor (the child's doctor), Aunt-So-and-So (the landlady of the house) -- irrespective of whether this person is on intimate terms with the parents. Thus, the child grows up in its home surrounded by loving and indulgent relatives who come to the house but who do not live in it. There are no strangers or outsiders to the family in the home, as far as the child is concerned.

4. Three related themes recur in various forms in these stories in connection with the upbringing of the children: (1) the harmony and happiness of the family and the wellbeing of the children grow out of complete, natural obedience; (2) happiness and a good character are achieved through pain and suffering; and (3) secrets may involve suffering -- and, as far as children are concerned, every secret is bad except the secret which one keeps for another's benefit (a self-sacrificing secret), all others are likely to lead to disaster.

5. Reward and punishment play an unimportant part in these stories as far as parents and children are concerned; rather, disobedience, disregard of rules, failure to be kind of child one's
parents expect one to be, tend to carry their own punishment.

So, for instance, a young girl makes friends with an undesirable young woman who gives her shoddy "romances" to read and encourages her in a secret flirtation with her scapegrace brother (Wildfang als Backfisch):

Physically Lu had not yet suffered. But she ran the danger of losing the breath of attractiveness and youth which is peculiar to untouched, pure girls and which alone creates the wonderful magic which, unknown to her, surrounds the young girl. Made /undesirable friend/ had long since lost this breath of youth, this flower magic and she now buried herself with taking it away from little Lu. Rosy as a peach blossom when she came to Buchingen, it now seemed as if the delicate petals were fading.... She had been introduced to all the secrets of flirtation and trilling and her great fault was that she had not followed her conscience and turned away. She had played with wrongdoing and now wrongdoing played with her. (pp. 78-79)

Discovery by a parent or some other responsible person, confession, remorse, are the way back to the right path -- the way to "make good" again and to gain happiness.

Occasionally, however, a parent must make a child suffer for its own good. So, for instance, in Die Familie Präffling, the youngest son, Frieder, is a gifted musician who cannot stop playing the violin, in spite of the fact that he has been told to limit himself to practicing for a certain number of hours a day.

One day he plays long past the time -- deliberately. Frieder tells his father he is sorry:

"You must be made sorry," said the father. "If you had just forgotten in your enthusiasm that you had played over the time, I could easily forgive it, but if you remembered that you should stop and did not want to obey, if you did intentionally what I had expressly forbidden, then your violin playing is at an end. What do you think would happen
if all you children did not obey, if everyone did as he
thought best? That would be as if an orchestra no one
followed the director, but rather played when and what
he pleased. No, Frieder, my children must obey, your
violin playing is at an end, I will not say forever, but
a year and a day. Give it to me!"

/Frieder refuses to give up the violin. The father
picks up the boy, sets him down again and insists that he
give up the violin of his own free will./

But the child did not let go. From all sides, loudly
and softly, his brothers and sisters said: "Give it up."
And as the mother saw how passionately he pressed the in-
strument to himself, she asked painfully: "Frieder, do you
love the violin more than Father and Mother?" The little
boy stayed still.

"Then keep your violin!" called out the father. "Here
is the bow as well, you can play as long as you like. But
you will be our child only when you give it to us." And,
opening the door to the entry, he called out loud and threat-
eningly, "Go out, you stranger child!"

/After several hours of exile in the entry, Frieder
brings his father the violin covered up "like a little corpse."/

The father took the package away from him quickly and
put it aside, took hold of his little boy and drew him to
himself and said in a warm tone: "Now everything is well.
Frieder, and you are our child again." Frieder cried his
pain away in his father's arms. (pp. 214-218)

Thus, the child learns to do the right thing "of his own free
will" and learns that love and security are dependent upon
willing obedience. Frieder's father later enlarges on the nec-
essity for obedience and self-control:

"You cannot stop /playing/, Frieder? It is only that
you do not want to because it is hard for you. But don't
you see that we can all stop if we must? Do you think I
would not rather go on playing than give a music lesson to
Miss Vernagelding when the term? Do you think that Mother
would not rather go on reading her lovely books after supper
then stop after half an hour and mend stockings? And that
your big brothers would not prefer to play rather than do
their lessons? And that the swallows would not rather get
food for themselves than go out and get food for their
nestlings, as God has ordered it? And Frieder Pfaffling
wants to stand all alone in the world and say: 'I cannot
stop.' No, he would have to be ashamed before all animals,
before all people, before the dear Lord himself. ... There
are no exceptions, Frieder, whoever has a firm will, can
stop in the middle of a bow stroke on his violin, and that
you must learn too. Take pains and when you feel that you
have acquired a firm will, then I will let you play your
violin every Sunday for an hour." (pp. 272-73)

In the end, Frieder tells his father that he has learned how to
have a firm will. He has practiced it at meals: "Three times
I stopped when I had the greatest hunger. Even when we had pan-
cakes...." (p. 273) He then is given the violin. This is an
event that follows Frieder through his life, even after the death
of his father, and eventually he realizes that his father was
right: what he has learned has made it possible for him to find
a happy solution to the difficult problems of his life.

Similarly, in the case of Wildfang, a fall from a forbidden
swing (which she did not know was broken) is the pathway to suf-
fering but also to reform and to a life of self-sacrifice, and,
in the end, happiness and contentment.

The young readers of these books can learn a double lesson
from the adventures and trials of the young heroes and heroines:
(1) obedience leads to harmony and happiness; and (2) disobedi-
ence leads to suffering but makes a good person out of the suf-
ferer. The rewards of suffering are very great.23

And the suffering which is rewarded may be of very different
kinds, serving different purposes: making right a wrong, accept
ing sacrifice for the sake of others, overcoming a desire,

23. It is well to keep in mind, however, that German children
have also read cautionary tales, such as Der Struwwelpeter, where
the erring child comes, inevitably, to a bad end.
mastering a weakness. An important part of the idea of suffering is the recognition of its value. So, for instance, a bride looks back on a time of self-sacrifice (Wildfang als Tante):

Yes, there had been a time when she had thanked God because she only knew joy and no sorrow and then there was a night... when sleep fled because there was only pain and misery on earth for her. Today when she looked back at that time, it was nevertheless beautiful and rich and she would not have wanted to miss it in her life. "Poor is a life without sorrow, without pain, without sacrifice and without love," she whispered. (p. 222)

Or a teacher comments on a little boy who had just made a suicidal jump from a gymnastic apparatus in order to master his cowardice and to impress others with his daring (Das Fliegende Klassenzimmer):

"Well, that he has succeeded in doing," said Justus. "And pull yourselves together! Don't forget that breaking a leg is less bad than if the little fellow had gone through the whole of his life fearing that others did not respect him. I really believe that this parachute jump was not so idiotic as I at first thought." (p. 131)

An alternative, safer mode of behavior is suggested by a fellow pupil who challenges the popular opinion that by jumping from a height the cowardly little boy has proved himself to be especially courageous. Insisting that he jumped only out of despair and shame at his timidity, Sebastian -- the fellow pupil -- says to the others:

have you ever considered whether I have courage? Has it ever occurred to you that I am fearful? Never. Therefore I shall tell you that I am in fact unusually fearful. But I am shrewd and I don't let you notice it. My lack of courage doesn't disturb me particularly. I am not ashamed of it. And that is because I am shrewd. I know that everyone has faults and weaknesses. It is only important that these faults do not show....."

"I prefer the person who is ashamed," said another boy/
"I, too," answered Sebastian softly. (pp. 136-37)

Thou shalt concealment of a fault is, then, a possible alternative. The predication of the fault; but even the advocate of concealment believes the other course of action is the preferable one. Implicit in this statement is the belief that people and things should be what they are "entirely" -- and the gnawing doubt that they may not be what they seem. 24

The value of the reckless act is that it proves not only that one can act in a courageous way but also that one is a courageous person (and proves it not only to others but to oneself as well). But this principle works in both directions -- one single act can show up a person as a coward, another single act can show him to be a brave "hero." Thus, in Die Familie Pfaffling, an elder brother deserts his younger brother on the street because he is laughed at by his classmates. The father calls his son, Otto, a "coward." And the mother tells him:

"Yes, Otto, he had to consider you cowardly, because you were -- and on other occasions in the same way. You must always be independent of what others think about you. Asking for forgiveness does no help, only fighting against cowardliness helps, demonstrating that you can also be brave." (p. 115)

Otto then reverses his behavior -- goes back and does what he had refused to do earlier, allowing himself to be laughed at. The father also reverses his judgment:

Mr. Pfaffling gave his son a happy, warm look and said, "There are many kinds of heroism. That was one kind. No, child, you are no coward." (p. 116)
Theoretically, since the whole person is continually judged in terms of the single act, it would seem that judgment of character would be subject to continual swings from bad to good and back again. In these stories there are two deterrents to this: (1) the belief that the person who acts out of weakness, out of error, out of deliberate choice of wrong-doing will continue in such acts until or unless he is forced out of them; (2) and the belief that once a person has been induced to act in a good way (either because of initial good training or because he has learned through suffering) he has become good and cannot fall back into evil ways. Thus the little boy who has once demonstrated that he can be brave assures others and himself that he will be brave -- on all occasions. This sets an automatic limit to the number of times one need suffer in order to be rewarded.

Correlated with the belief in the value of suffering is a way of looking at things in which any detail can, so to speak, be set beside any other detail and in which any detail can stand for the whole, i.e. suffering in one way prepares one to manage suffering in a totally different situation; mastering fear in one situation means that one has mastered fear itself; disobedience in one detail is a sign of disobedience (and vice versa).

25. This point is illustrated especially clearly in Hitler-Junger Quex -- where the film characters swing back and forth in their opinion of the little hero, but the audience can follow a series of single acts by the hero, each of which only reinforces the initial "good" move toward the Nazi orbit.

26. Cf. Nelly Hoyt's discussion of suicide in her paper on the reintegration of the outsider. This belief in change through a single act, is, however, at variance with the belief expressed by child care specialists that the process of education is one of long habituation. The belief in the significance of the single act comes out, however, in their repeated assertions that a parent can by one omission, one bad example, etc., set in motion a whole ser-

30ies of bad actions on the part of the child.
Making the point that children no less than adults grieve and suffer, Kätner (Das fliegende Klassenzimmer) comments:

3. There is no difference (es ist gleichgültig) whether one cries because of a broken doll or, at some later time, because one has lost a friend. In life it is irrelevant what one grieves about, what is relevant is how much one grieves. (p. 15)

8. Congruence, proportion and interrelationship are, in this sense, irrelevant; perhaps more exactly, it can be said that content is exceedingly important when the single act is considered by itself, but that content is irrelevant in arriving at a generalization.

12. The educational value of the pain and suffering that follow upon error and disobedience and actions based on some character fault or weakness is dependent upon shared knowledge. For only if the child is guided through the maze of wrongdoing and pain by an exemplary and wise adult does it profit by its experience. The problem children and minor villains in these stories are children who have been neglected or misguided -- who have been spoiled, or made frühreif, or encouraged (consciously or unconsciously) in behavior that results in a bad character. There is, however, a

21. difference between the older and the more modern stories in this respect. In the older stories, the parents, or wiser parent substitutes, see through their children, discover wrongdoing, and labor to correct whatever is wrong. In the newer stories (Neustäkohen, for instance) the parents may be equally insightful, but they may merely say, "I ought to punish you for this" -- without carrying out the punishment -- /the words are effective. Or

28. the parent-figures (the head of the school in Kampf der Tertie and, to a lesser extent, the head of the school and the beloved
Teacher in *Das fliegende Klassenzimmer* stand aloof and watch the children to prove that they are (in spite of appearances) being good. 27 The assumption in this situation is that the parents (or parent figures) know what is going on but withhold action and the expression of opinion until the children's own acts have been carried to completion. In *Das fliegende Klassenzimmer* a major episode, and in *Kampf der Tertia* the central plot, turns on the fact that the child protagonists commit forbidden acts in a good cause and plot-tension arises from the problem of whether they will be punished for the one or rewarded for their success in the other. In Kästner's story punishment is turned into reward; in Speyer's story the children are punished when they fail to carry out certain necessary steps successfully but they are, in the end, rewarded very fully for their final success. 28

27. In this connection, cf. the recent speech by the Rector of Tübingen on the University's educational responsibilities, quoted in my discussion of the child's education (p. 39, footnote 36). The idea expressed there -- that the university's responsibility consists in providing the means of self-education -- is entirely congruent with the picture given in Speyer's novel, which was published in 1927.

28. In *Kampf der Tertia*, recognition of the children's success involves a public exhibition of the wounds of battle. The children (adolescents in a boarding school) have fought a mighty battle with the children in a town to rescue the town oats from destruction. Now, their success acknowledged by "the Doctor" (the head of the school) they march past him and past their teachers and comrades in other classes:

The Third Form (Tertia) is marching. In front the Great Elector /Class Leader/breathing heavily, bruised and asthmatic. A half step behind him the honorary leader /a girl/fresh, rosy, white-gold and brown, uninjured, unwounded and unchangeable, with an impudent smile and a proudly lifted forehead.

In the first row Reppert, Lüders and Borst -- Borst who had turned from a fearful, clumsy rabbit-boy into a hero of the Iliad....

And all the others followed, scraped, flayed, limping and bandaged in the most peculiar parts of their bodies. (cont'd)
In both cases the children have to keep a secret -- which is, in one or another sense the eventful goal is concerned, a good one. In both cases the secret is one that is shared by many people -- including an adult (though not the adults who are, formally, responsible for the children).

In these stories there are only two kinds of acceptable secrets: the secrets that concern a happy surprise for another person and the secrets that conceal suffering and self-sacrifice for someone's benefit. And even these secrets are likely to be shared with at least one other person. Mother and father share in the preparation of Christmas for the children -- keeping everything hidden from the children until, the preparations complete, the moment of revelation comes. One confidante shares in the knowledge that a young woman has sacrificed her hoped-for marriage to care for her own family. Otherwise secrets and concealment carry with them the possibility of danger for the person -- usually a child -- who is not open. Making something good again that has gone wrong involves confession of what has been kept secret; the fact that parents usually see through their children may serve to avert the danger in time.
1. Although parents can bring up their children correctly;
2. parents have insight into their children and children learn to
3. conform to their parents.
4. Although all siblings are assumed, in these stories, to get
5. along with one another and the sibling group is pictured as cohesive and friendly, the closest and most affectionate relationship
6. between siblings is that between sister and brother. The warmth
7. of the relationship is expressed especially in the sister's tender
8. attentiveness to her brother's needs; it is the sister rather than
9. the brother who is careful and insightful. 30
10. This tender relationship between brother and sister is echoed
11. indirectly in the relationship of the bride and wife to her hus-
12. band's family: from the first moment that the boy brings home his
13. fiancée she enters into the family -- calls the parents "mother"
14. and "father" and becomes a sister to the other siblings. So, for
15. fiancée
16. instance, a boy brings home his (Bräut), whom no one in the family
17. had previously met (Werdan und Wachsen):
18. Mrs. Pfaffling stood upstairs, heard happy laughter
19. and called down, "Welcome!" Two gay brown eyes locked
20. up. "That must be Mother!" called a happy voice in a
21. somewhat Bavarian accent and, hurrying ahead of her
22. fiancé, the bride... came upstairs and gave Mrs. Pfaff-
23. ling her hand. "May I say Mother?" She found herself
24. drawn warmly and feelingly to a mother-heart. (p. 54)
25. Scenes of this kind set the stage for the beginning of a new
26. cycle in these stories -- in which the parents become grandparents
27. (and eventually die) and the grownup children begin to bring up
28. their own children -- usually with greater difficulty than their

29. 30. In this, these stories echo the fairy tale situation in
30. which sisters are also comforters and protectors of their brothers.
In many novels, the reader learns that parents are almost perfect (but not all adults) and that children have difficulties and problems to be solved; following the same heroes and heroines into marriage and parenthood, they discover that parents too have difficulties.

But, as they follow the grownup children in their independent careers, it is also clear that the relationship of parents and children is one that does not, essentially, alter. So, for instance, Sapper (Werden und Wachsen) writes about the continuity of the relationship:

Just as the parents formerly were pleased when the little ones took their first steps, so now they also were when their big children took their first independent steps in life; and just as they were happy when a new word appeared in the child's vocabulary, so now also as new ideas and ambitions awoke in the young people. For they do not regard themselves as finished, these two parents, and for this very reason they are not, but go ever further onward. With this difference from their youth-that now they have clearly recognized and can keep to the main direction in which they want to go. Because of this they exercise an often unconscious leadership over their children. For in an unknown land -- and that is what life is -- we gladly follow those whom we see striding ahead quietly and with dignity, with courage and a cheerful countenance. And so the grown up Pfrählings children follow. (folgen -- also means to obey) willingly and in all freedom of movement the direction taken by their parents. (p. 110)

From this it would appear that the individual, moving from childhood and adolescence into adulthood, becomes -- in the ideal world of youth fiction -- both perfectly independent and perfectly dependable. The young adult goes his own way following "new ideas and new ambitions" -- and yet his parents, from whom he has moved away, are still his guides. Just so, Karl May, adventuring in faraway places, is also the embodiment of all that is "truly German."
A recent survey of the literature read by youth in Germany today shows the persistent popularity of many of the nineteenth century favorites. Ranking high among the adventure stories about far distant places are the travel-adventure stories by Karl May. He remains the favorite for male and female readers, their age ranging from ten to eighteen. His books, in their well-known green and black backs and their colorful pictures on the cover are being reissued and reprinted in their traditional nineteenth century designs and his heroes, himself included, seem to have as much reality today as they had eighty years ago.

Karl May's popularity, which was almost instantaneous after the publication of his first adventure volume, raise, a good many questions which belong to the field of literary criticism, but which also belong to the field of culture study. The intense reality which he gives to his creations, the concretization of his flights of fancy and his transmutation of everyday life make him an arresting figure. The persistence of the Karl May Präge parallels the persistence of the popularity of his books.

For fifteen years, from 1918 to 1933, the Karl May Jahrbuch worked with the mystery that is Karl May. To the literary critics of Germany he has become the symbol of the Volksdichter, not the popular writer, not even the writer for the people, but the mouthpiece of their longings and aspirations.
representative of their yearnings in whose writings good always triumphs over evil and who creates the perfect hero figure. As a man, however, he appears very much like the "wilde Deutsche," the "Heimatsucher" of German fiction: he is the outsider who tries to reintegrate himself into his time and society and who achieves this reintegration by living a dream. To understand his position in the past and in the present we must examine Karl May the man, Karl May the writer, and Karl May the symbol.

I. The Man

Karl May was born on February 25, 1842, in Hohenstein-Ernstthal, Saxony. His father was a poor weaver yearning for a better existence, who saw in his son the person who would perhaps achieve this better existence, and who therefore pushed him in that direction, towards the one road which was open to the poor, lower classes, the one position which would give them some status -- that of the teacher. Apparently, Karl May was blind for four years of his early childhood. During this time his grandmother played an important role in his existence. She was a born story teller with an inexhaustible fund of fairy tales and seems to have been the most vivid figure of his childhood, the person to whom he was most drawn. She is the goodness and light of his early years, whereas his father represents the drive, the urge, the pushing force. In his own memoirs (Ich) Karl May draws a sketch of his father who accomplished in ten hours what other weavers needed fourteen hours for, and during these ten hours he was the
tyrant against whom no one dared to stand. But during the other four hours
"father's other soul smiled at us." The boy stands between the active
reality of his father and dream world of the grandmother. His mother and
sister remain completely shadowy figures.

Very early in his childhood we find that the dream world created by
his grandmother assumes reality for him. When his mother fails to obtain a
loan which is to help him to attend a seminary he runs away with the idea
of going to Spain in order to secure help from a "noble robber" -- a gesture
which seems symbolic of his later life.

In 1857, with scholarship help, he manages to attend the seminary for
teachers in Waldenburg. Around Christmas time his sister pays him a visit
and tells him that there is not even enough money in the house to buy candles
for the Christmas tree. Karl May steals some candle butts and gives them
to her. His comrades denounce him and he is excluded from the seminary as
a thief. This first minor misdeed shows him only as thoughtless but
goodhearted and has nothing of his later pathological desire for adventure
as destiny.

Since his misdeed is really a minor one, he is accepted into another
seminary and, in 1861, becomes a teacher first in Glauchau, then in a factory
school in Chemnitz. Around Christmas time he commits a second misdeed which
tosses him out of his apparently secure existence. His roommate on occasion
had lent him his watch. Leaving for home on his vacation, Karl May takes
the watch as well as a Meerschaum pipe belonging to a friend, which he
intends to give to his father. Perhaps he intended to replace the articles
after the vacation, but he is arrested immediately and spends six weeks in
prison.
After this imprisonment his life seems destroyed. He emerges from this experience with a definite feeling that there is only some sort of higher justice which is not man made, and that he is being pushed on the road to evil. In 1865 he is arrested again and condemned to four years of forced labor. The reasons given for this latest arrest are extremely vague. Most sources speak of "seelische Erkrankung" or "seelische Entartung" (spiritual sickness) but do not make the specific accusations very clear. He still dreams of the noble robber, but he himself is nothing but a petty criminal.

He is released after three years and the last and wildest period of his Sturm und Drang begins. Apparently it was during this second imprisonment that he first conceived the idea of becoming a writer and of writing for the people. He wants to write simple stories which are to be parables for the higher truth, but fate seems to be against him. In 1869 he is arrested again, this time apparently for murder which he did not commit. He escapes while being transported to prison, is seen in Marseilles, disappears, reappears in Bohemia, where he is arrested once again. This time he spends four years in prison. When he emerges in 1874 a cleansing and crystallizing process seems to have taken place. The dream is now going to replace reality in his life. He begins to write in 1874 and between then and his death in 1912 he writes 64 volumes, most of which deal with adventures written in the first person. He has escaped into another life. Karl May the petty criminal who has spent seven years in prison becomes "Old Shatterhand" and "Kara ben Nemei"; dream and reality are fused. In his own eyes as well as in the eyes of his readers these hero figures are Karl May.

One of the great controversies concerning Karl May from the very
beginning deals precisely with these figures: Could Karl May conceivably be Old Shatterhand or Kara ben Nemsi? Had he visited the regions which he so eloquently describes? Despite the controversy one tends to agree with Stolte that such questions are really immaterial for an assessment of his works: "He creates a cosmos; a whole world crystallises around him; it is entirely incidental whether this world resembles reality or not." (p. 41).

The question of Karl May's travels is therefore not of vital importance in the evaluation of his works, but it is interesting to note that two trips can be definitely established from documentary evidence, one to the Orient from April 4, 1899 to August 1900, and the other to America from September 5 to December 20, 1909 -- both long after his most important works dealing with these regions had been written. There may have been a trip in 1866, but it is very problematic.

Karl May's first literary activities are in connection with magazines. He directs four magazines for the publisher Münchmeyer: Beobachter an der Elbe, Deutsches Familienblatt, Feierstunden, and Schacht und Hütte. It is in these magazines that he publishes short stories and his first travel tale.

Shortly after the beginning of his literary activities he marries Emma Follner, a young orphan who seems to have been beautiful but not very intelligent and whose desire for material comforts leads him to resume his relations with Münchmeyer, which had been interrupted. In four and a half years he writes five serials which are published under a pseudonym. These serials are not usually included among the works of Karl May. According to sources sympathetic to him they were substantially changed by the
I publish or without Karl May's knowledge and seem to have been based on an appeal to sensationalism. They will later become the source of great trouble for him.

At the same time, however, he continues to write youth stories, many of which appear in the Gute Kameraden (a magazine which is still published) and his fame continues to grow. As the Grosse Brockhaus (1928-1935) puts it, he achieves middle class respectability (Bürgerliches Ansehen), fortune and extraordinary popularity -- and all that in a relatively short time. Although his oriental travel stories begin to appear in 1880, the Winnetou stories -- which first appear separately around 1892 -- are the real basis of his fame. Until 1898 he lives through the really happy period of his life, everyone expects his books, they are recommended by educators and particularly by the Catholic priesthood. The public thinks of him as being the Old Shatterhand of the Winnetou stories. His dream has engulfed his life, he lives his dream. A famous anecdote tells of his conversation with a friend who is admiring his collection of arms. The friend asks: "Sincerely, how did you acquire all these arms?" Karl May, astonished, replies: "Didn't you read my Winnetou?"

In 1899, at the height of his fame, he leaves for the Orient with his wife and it is during this trip that the catastrophe suddenly breaks: Old Shatterhand, Kara ben Nemsi, the noble hero, is in reality someone of shady past, who has served prison sentences! While he is on his trip Münchmeyer dies and his successor, contrary to all agreements, publishes the early anonymous volumes under Karl May's name. He discovers for the first time the changes and additions that had been made, but the press decries his
Immorality and the scandal breaks. May accuses the publisher but attacks are heaped on him from all sides. He cannot prove that the new edition is illegal because the documents concerning the agreements have been destroyed by his wife. His marriage ends in a divorce and once again he seems to be, if not completely the outsider, certainly on the fringes of society.

But once again this upheaval serves as a catharsis – as a “Entlerung” – and results in a reintegration into society through a new creative effort, through a new marriage. He sees this period as one of atonement, of achieving joy and peace through suffering. His goal now becomes to create something really great, something that will translate all his experiences into great dramatic forms:

In any case I kept on to the goal of my desire to create at the end of my life, after having reached maturity, a great beautiful poetic work, a harmony of liberating thoughts, where I dared to draw light out of darkness, joy out of unhappiness and happiness out of my suffering.

To give fairy tales and parables now in order at the end of life to arrive at truth and reality...

Though he does not write a real drama, as he had hoped, he achieves, at the end of his life, one of the most interesting of his books, his autobiography: Ich, in which he sets forth his credo of loving all those who have made him suffer. Three years before his death he travels in America with his wife Klara May. Towards the very end of his life the persecutions

2. "Für alle Fälle aber kriegt ich mein Wunschiel fest, am Abend meines Lebens, nach vollendeter Reife, ein grosses, schönes Dichterwerk zu schaffen, einen Zusammenhang erlösender Gedanken, in dem ich mich erkämpfe: Licht aus meiner Finsternis zu schöpfen, Glück aus meinem Unglück, und Freude aus meiner Qual. – Jetzt Märchen und Gleichnisse geben, um dann am Schluss des Lebens daraus die Wahrheit und die Wirklichkeit zu ziehen..."
against him die out and he once more achieves fame. One week before his
death he addresses great crowds in Vienna expressing his great life-motiv;
"Kupoy ins Reich der Edelmenschen" (Upward into The Realm of Men of Noble
Character). On March 30, 1912 he dies in his villa "Shatterhand" in
Radebeul near Dresden. His fame, however, does not die with him. To date 11 million copies of
his works have been printed, and it seems that not all of his works have as
yet been published. According to information given in the most recent
Austrian edition, (no date, but must have appeared between 1946 and 1960)
his books have been translated into twenty languages. A Karl May Foundation
organized after his death and directed by his wife Klara until her death
in 1944, and now under the direction of the Landesverwaltung Sachsen is
keeping alive the realities of his dream. In the garden of his villa a
"Wild West" block house serves as Karl May Museum and, preserving the fiction
of reality, perpetuates his fame. The Romanführer (1951) includes him among
those writers whose fame lives on and thus lifts him out of the realm of
the pure youth fiction into that enjoyed by adults, and, in spite of the
decades that lie between his imaginary travels and the present, a recent
German traveler in this country remarked about the great landscapes of the
West: "It really seemed quite familiar, for I had read so much about it in
Karl May."

3. How much Karl May is part of the experience of German youth can
certainly be seen from the fact that his books, in particular Winnetou, form
the basis of the "Indianer" games which are a great favorite.
II. Karl May The Writer

Among all of Karl May's works, the most famous are doubtlessly the six volumes dealing with his travels through the Orient and the three volumes dealing with the American West. The six Orient volumes were the first to appear, between 1880-1887. Winnetou followed in the 1890s, but the ideas must have been in Karl May's head already, for the story of the Orient trip seems to take place after the Wild West experiences. Kara ben Noms, the hero of the Orient volumes, is older than Old Shatterhand in the first two Winnetou volumes, his guns are the ones he acquired in America; he constantly refers to his American experiences and he uses techniques of "creeping up" on the enemy learned from the Indians.

The six Orient volumes are a unit and form a complete circle. The very first adventure in the desert leads to the series of subsequent adventures and involves a mystery which is solved at the end of the series; a whole series of subsidiary -- one is almost tempted to say tributary -- adventures, which have their inception in the first volume feed into the main stream of the story but are gradually solved in the successive volumes and disappear again until only the one pure stream is left. The first volume, therefore, seems to be a series of unrelated adventures, so that this book has little cohesion and the various chapters appear to be somewhat disconnected. In contrast, the subsequent volumes flow smoothly.

4. 1) Durch die Wüste; 2) Durchs wilde Kurdistan; 3) Von Bagdad nach Stambul; 4) In den Schluchten des Balkan; 5) Durch das Land der Skiptären; 6) Der Schutz.

one into the other, each subsequent volume beginning exactly where the
other left off. Out of all of these volumes emerges the noble figure of
Kara ben Nemsi, who is superior to all around him because of his nobility,
his goodness, his physical strength, his astuteness and cleverness as well
as the superiority of his extraordinary arms and unbelievable horse. It
is his nobility of heart, his profound love for the oppressed which makes
him fight evil, but he is as magnanimous towards his enemies as towards his
friends. As he expresses it in his speech to Nasir Durimeh (Durchs wilde
Kurdistan) his aim is to teach by example, and through his example, to make men
better. (Cf. below.)

Volume I: Durch die Wüste

Accompanied by his servant, friend and guide, the little Arab Esmi
Halef Omar, Karl May travels through the regions of North Africa towards the
Sahara. Since he cannot pronounce the German name, Halef calls him Kar
ben Nemsi (Kara son of the Germans), and this is the name by which he becomes
famous throughout the whole realm of the sultans: North Africa, the desert,
Kurdistan, and the Balkans.

In this first volume the adventures begin, each seeming an entity
in itself and yet each carried through ten further volumes until they are
finally resolved one by one.

Adventure No. 1: Trained through his Indian experience in reading foot
prints, Kara ben Nemsi picks up the trail of two horses and a camel and he
and Halef follow that trail. After a while they find the body of a European
killed by a bullet. On his finger he has a simple wedding band inscribed
EP, juillet 1830, which Kara ben Nemsi takes off and puts on his finger.
Not far from the dead man he finds a piece of newspaper which tells of the
murder of a French merchant in Blida and the search for an Armenian trader suspected of the crime. Kara ben Nemsi picks up the trail of the two murderers. Halef, who at first only laughed at his attempt to read the prints, is now profoundly impressed by his knowledge and astuteness. The two soon reach the two murderers who are accused point blank by Kara ben Nemsi. He takes away their loot but lets them escape for the time being, telling Halef that he will be able to pick up their trail quite easily since one of the horses has a very distinctive gait. After a while they follow the murderers through the desert towards the salt lake of the Schott el Usherid. (Karl May uses this part for a long and detailed description of the landscape, one of his devices which lends vividness and reality to his books.)

Adventure No. 2: Kara ben Nemsi and Halef undertake to cross the deadly Schott el Usherid with Halef’s friend Sadek as guide. (Long and detailed description of the Schott, extremely vivid.) The crossing is extremely dangerous and to lose footing on the narrow trail means certain death in the slimy salt swamp. The Schott is not flat but full of hills and humps so that travelers can easily be ambushed. Half way across, their guide is shot by the murderers and disappears in the Schott. Kara ben Nemsi is able to kill one of the men, but the other escapes. As they find out later, his name is Hamd el Amsat. They are certain that he is the real murderer and also the Armenian referred to in newspaper clipping.

Halef and Kara ben Nemsi are in great danger but they are rescued by Omar ben Sadek, Sadek’s son, who swears the terrible oath of the blood feud and goes with them to revenge his father’s death. After safely crossing the Schott, they reach a small oasis where they find Hamd el Amsat (vivid account here of Turkish officials in North Africa, again one of the devices by which Karl May’s narrative achieves its vividness and sense of truthfulness). The official lets Hamd el Amsat escape and Omar follows his trail.

Adventure No. 3: Quite some time later. Kara ben Nemsi and Halef are now in Egypt, in Kertassi. Kara ben Nemsi briefly alludes to an adventure in Cairo, where he was able to help some important official who then supplied him with a very special passport which gives him real standing wherever the Sultan’s rule reaches. (Not only does Kara ben Nemsi show himself to be superior in every respect, but he has now acquired an official standing. Whenever his own astuteness cannot get him out of an adventure safely the special “firman” will do it.)

Halef, who loves to exaggerate, has spread Kara ben Nemsi’s fame as hekim, doctor, and he finds himself called to cure the wife of the rich Abrahim Mamur who lives on the Nile, near Kertassi. Kara ben Nemsi insults Abrahim Mamur by insisting that he must see the patient; Mamur finally consents on condition that he himself will be present and she appears heavily veiled. While Kara ben Nemsi holds her pulse she whispers to him in Serbian “save Senita.” Kara ben Nemsi promises Abrahim that he will heal his wife.
in about five days. When he returns to Kertassi he meets an old river captain
whom he knew previously and who tells him that he has a passenger, a young
man who is looking for his kidnapped bride. His name is Isla ben Yafei.
He tells Kara ben Nemsi the story of his bride who was sold to an Egyptian
by a supposed friend of her father Barud el Amasat in Skutari. Both he and
her father have been searching for her. Her name is Sanitza. Kara ben Nemsi
tells him then of Abraham Namur and together, through difficulties and
obstacles, they rescue her. They are pursued by boat by Abraham Namur who
catches up with them, but in the end Kara ben Nemsi is able to convince the
authorities of Abraham Namur's guilt and he has to flee.

Adventure No. 4: Karl May and Halef have reached the Red Sea (Karl May
inserts here a long quotation from the Old Testament and then discusses the
continuity in the appearance of the landscape). They take passage on a
sambuk which is attacked by pirates and Kara ben Nemsi and Halef are made
prisoners. The pirate ship lands so that the leader Abu Seif - Father of
the Sword - may make a pilgrimage to Mekka. Kara ben Nemsi and Halef are
able to overpower the guards and escape. They reach Dschidda from where
Halef is going to leave for Mekka. Kara ben Nemsi secretly decides that
he will attempt to get there too.

Adventure No. 5: Karl May and Halef are taking a ride together near
Dschidda and meet a Beduin whom they discover to be woman, When she learns
from them that they know Abu Seif and also that Halef is going on a pilgrimage
to Mekka, she asks them to follow her to the "cursed branch" of the Ateibeh
(an Arab tribe). Malek, their sheik and the woman's father, tells the
story of his tribe: Abu Seif stole his daughter, Amscha, and forced her
to marry him. After some years she escaped and returned to her tribe,
bringing her daughter Hanneh. On a pilgrimage to Mekka the Ateibeh met
Abu Seif's men and fought on the sacred soil around Mekka. As a punishment
they have been cursed and can never enter the Holy city. Since Hanneh,
the granddaughter of the sheik, has never been there yet and cannot go as a
young girl, they ask Halef to contract a sham marriage and take her to
Mekka with him and to return her safely after the pilgrimage. Kara ben Nemsi
is to wait with the Ateibeh until Halef returns.

Adventure No. 6: While Halef and Hanneh are in Mekka, Amscha helps Karl
May to enter the Holy city. He is able to visit some of the holy places
and even to get some of the water from the Sam-Sam well, but suddenly
he meets Abu Seif who recognizes him. He has to flee and is pursued by Abu
Seif who, in turn, is followed by Halef and Hanneh who also recognized Kara
ben Nemsi. In the end Halef is able to kill Abu Seif. In gratitude Malek
consents to a real wedding between Halef and Hanneh, who have fallen in
love with each other.
1. Adventure No. 7: Karl May has traveled with the Ateibeh and has also made some excursions alone. On a visit to Ueskat he meets an Englishman, Sir David Lindsay, who wants to conduct archeological excavations and engages him as guide. Karl May sends a messenger to the Ateibeh and discovers that Halef has been sent to the Schammar Arabs as representative of the Ateibeh, to ask whether they could be received into that tribe.

2. Adventure No. 8: Lindsay and Karl May travel along the Tigris and after an adventure where they recapture their stolen horses meet up with the Haddedihn under their Sheik Mohammed Emin. The Haddedihn are a subtribe of the Schammar. After an initially hostile reception, they become the guests of the tribe. During the meal Mohammed Emin tells Kara ben Nemsi that the Haddedihn had been attacked by another tribe. He sent his son to the Pasha of Mosul to protest but his son was made a prisoner and sent somewhere. The Schammar are now at war with the Pasha who has also stirred up some of the neighboring tribes against them.

3. Adventure No. 9: Mohammed Emin hopes to enlist Kara ben Nemsi's help and hopes to persuade him to find out the plans of the two other tribes. As a prize he promises him one of his most beautiful horses, the black stallion Rih (the wind). Kara ben Nemsi shows his extraordinary prowess on horseback (using tricks he learned from the Indians) and is allowed to ride Rih on the reconnaissance trip. After several adventures during which he is captured by one of the enemy tribes and escapes again by killing a lion, he returns to the Haddedihn with all the information about the enemy's plans.

4. Adventure No. 10: Karl May promises to stay with the Haddedihn and fight against their enemies. He trains them to fight in European formation and disposes them in a sort of pincer movement. In the meantime Halef and the Ateibeh join the Haddedihn and are accepted into the tribe. The Ateibeh, Haddedihn, and their allies (tribes convinced by the eloquence of Karl May to fight with the Haddedihn) fight a victorious battle against their enemies in the "valley of the steps." (The battle becomes famous all over the Arab world and with it, of course, the name of Kara ben Nemsi.) Most of the enemy tribes are made prisoner and under Kara ben Nemsi's beneficent advice the peace terms imposed upon them are lenient.

5. Adventure No. 11: Kara ben Nemsi is sent to collect some of the herds of the enemy tribes as reparation payments. He discovers there three prisoners, Jesidis (i.e. called devil worshippers). He frees them and brings them to the Haddedihn. (These Jesidis have a semi Christian religion.) These men have a message to Mohammed Emin from his son Amad el Chandur, who has been taken by the Pasha's men to the frontier fortress of Amadije. It is decided that Mohammed Emin, Kara ben Nemsi and Halef will accompany the Jesidi who live in Kurdistan and will go to Amadije in order to free Amad el Chandur. They leave Sir David Lindsay behind.
Adventure No. 12: On the way there Karl May and Halef stop in Duzuli where Karl May visits the Pasha, impresses him with his importance, and learns of his plans to attack the Jesidi, who are going to celebrate a great religious festival. When they reach the Jesidi Kara ben Nemsi is able to warn them of the Pasha's plans and thus enable them to take precautions.

These are the adventures of the first volume. The following five volumes pick up each of these adventures and carry each to its solution. The last adventure is the first one to end and then the story works backwards step by step until the very first problem is solved in the last volume.

Volume II: Duroha Wilde Kurdistan

1. Karl May helps the Jesidi to defeat the Turks and then stays with them to watch their great festival and to learn the Kurdish language, which he is able to do in three weeks. Halef, who had been against the "devil worshippers" also joins against the Turks and when Kara ben Nemsi asks him why he says: "Don't you yourself always help those who are in the right, without asking whether they believe in Allah or some other god?"

2. Karl May, Halef and Mohammed Emin leave the Jesidi for Amadije. (Here Karl May inserts a long quote from Prester John and a discourse on the Christian sects living in the mountains of Kurdistan and their history.) They stop overnight in the village of Spinduri where Kara ben Nemsi wins over the chief of the village, who gives him a beautiful dog and also asks him to take a present to his son-in-law, the Bei of Gunri. In Spinduri they meet David Lindsay who has been following them. Kara ben Nemsi, on his magnificent horse, with his dog and his guns, rides on accompanied by his companions. They reach Amadije, where they have to stay quite some time, but in the end -- thanks of course to Kara ben Nemsi's resourcefulness -- they are able to free Amad el Ghandur. While waiting for the propitious moment, Kara ben Nemsi is able to cure a young girl and thus wins the gratitude of the girl's great grandmother, a very mysterious figure. She tells him that her name is Marsh Duriueh and that if he ever should be in difficulties while traveling through Kurdistan towards Bagdad to ask for the Ru'l Kulyan, the spirit of the cave.

3. On their way to Bagdad, near Gumri, Kara ben Nemsi and his companions are held up by a group of Kurds who are trying to steal their horses, particularly Kara ben Nemsi's beautiful Arab stallion. They shoot in defense and kill one of the men, thus becoming victims of the blood feud.
Finally they reach Gumri. The Bei is their friend, particularly since Kare ben Nemsi had been able to help two of the Bei’s men in Aribije. As guests of the Bei they go with him on a bear hunt. They are attacked by Chaldean Christians (Nestorians) and all are made prisoners. Thanks to Kare ben Nemsi and Marah Durimeh, who is a former princess, peace is finally re-established.

Towards the end of this volume Karl May speaks of himself and his reasons for traveling. Sitting on a stone and looking out over the landscape of the mountains of Kurdistan he thinks about his travels:

My thoughts ranged back over mountains and valleys, over the land and over the sea, back to my own country. How wonderfully God had led me until now and watched over me while great, well-equipped expeditions had perished and had been wiped out in those same regions where I had found a friendly welcome. What was the reason for this? How many books had I read about foreign regions and their peoples and how many prejudices had I absorbed? I had found many a country, many a people, many a tribe very different and much better than they had been described... Even the most savage people respect the stranger if they themselves are respected by him...

In his conversation with the old Marah Durimeh she says to him:

"You too are struggling with life, with men around you, and with man within you."


7. "... auch du ringst mit dem Leben, ringst mit den Menschen ausser dir und mit den Menschen in dir selbst" (p. 583).
Finally he tells her why it is that again and again he leaves his country:

who languishes in the desert, learns to appreciate the value of the drop of water which saves the life of the thirsty. And who has known sorrow without having found a helping hand, he knows how wonderful is the love for which he has yearned in vain. In such a way my whole heart is filled by that which I did not find, by that love which made the Son of the Father come down to earth to bring the message that all men are brothers and the children of one Father.

After Marah Durimeh's indictment of missionaries who do nothing but sow discord and quarrels Karl May gives his real credo:

You yourself have said that you are wishing for the messengers of action. God divides his gifts differently. To one man he gives the gift of conquering speech, to another he gives some other way of action. The gift of speech is denied to me. That is why I cannot remain at home. I must go out again and again, in order to teach, not by words, but by being useful to all those with whom I stop a while. I have been in countries and with peoples whose names you hardly know. I have stayed with white, yellow, brown and black men; everywhere I have sown love and charity. And always I have been richly recompensed if they said after I left: "This stranger knew no fear. He could do more and knew more than we did and yet was our friend. He respected our god and loved us. We shall never forget him, for he was a good man, a brave companion — he was — a Christian!" In this manner I announce my beliefs. And if I should find only one person who will learn to respect and love my beliefs through me, my work has not been done in vain and I shall gladly lie down to my last rest somewhere on this earth.

8. "Wer in die Wüste schmachte, der lernt den Wert des Tropfens schätzen der dem Durstenden das Leben rettet. Und wer Leid trage, ohne dass sich ihm eine Hand helfend entgegenstrickt, der weiss, wie köstlich die Liebe ist, nach der er sich vergebens sehnte. So ist mein ganzes Herz erfüllt von dem, was ich nicht fand, von jener Liebe, die den Sohn des Vaters auf die Erde trieb, um ihr die Botschaft zu verkünden, dass alle Menschen Brüder sind und die Kinder eines Vaters" (p. 584).

Halef, Kara ben Nemsi, the two Arabs and the Englishman continue their return trip to the Schawuar region, south through Kurdistan towards Bagdad. They are traveling through dangerous territory. They make a prisoner who is freed through Kara ben Nemsi's intervention and thus becomes indebted to him. He is the brother of a sheik who treats the travelers with great kindness. After various adventures the sheik becomes their prisoner. The two Arabs want to kill him, Kara ben Nemsi opposes it and they quarrel. Kara ben Nemsi returns the horse to Mohammed Emin. In the end Kara ben Nemsi wins the Badedilm back to his side, but in their desire to placate him they now release the prisoner before he told them to do so. In the end this is their undoing. "Alie they all scatter to hunt for meat, Halef and Kara ben Nemsi hear shots in the distance fired in rapid succession--they rush there and find a group of Persian travelers attacked by the sheik and his men, and the two Arabs are helping the Persians. Halef, Kara ben Nemsi and the Englishman rush to the rescue and defeat the Kurds. The sheik is killed, Halef and Kara ben Nemsi are wounded, Mohammed Emin is killed. After they recover from their wounds they bury Mohammed Emin. During the burial Karl May's thoughts again stray:

Who could only go with the sun! Who could follow it far, far from here to the West, where its rays are still shining over one's own country! Here, on this solitary hill the longing for home reached for me, this yearning from which no one in foreign countries can escape who has a feeling heart in his breast. "Ubi bene, ibi patria" is a saying the cold indifference of which can only be accepted by homeless men without sensitiv-. The impressions of youth can ur be erased completely and memories can sleep, but never die. They awake when we expect it the least and bring that yearning whose pain...
After the burial Amad el Chandur disappears leaving Rih behind for
Karl May. He is going to avenge his father's death.

Karl May decides to accompany the Persian and his family to Bagdad.
The Persian is fleeing from political persecution and also trying to
join the "death caravan" of pilgrims who are carrying the dead of the
Shiit faith to their holy places for burial. After a series of adventures
the Persian and all the members of his family are killed. Karl ben Nemsi
and Halef fall ill with the plague. (A very full description is given
by Karl May and also how he cured himself and Halef.) They are separated
from the Englishman and finally reach the Haddedihn to whom they bring the
news of Mohammed Emin's death. Amad el Chandur has not yet returned.
Halef has a little son, named Khara ben Halef. After a prolonged stay with
the Haddedihn, Karl May decides to go to Damascus and then to Palestine.
Halef will come with him.

(At this point Adventures 8 to 12 of the first volume have really
been carried to their completion.)

On their way to Damascus Karl May and Halef meet a merchant and his
servants. A brief conversation reveals him to be the uncle of Isla ben
Maflel, Senitza's bridegroom. He begs Karl ben Nemsi to be his guest.
While Halef ben Nemsi and Halef are exploring the town they run into Abrahim
Hamur and later discover that he is posing as a nephew of the merchant
(who had never seen this nephew and only knows him to be such by a letter
he has brought). The next day Hamur disappears with a great many valuables
and Karl ben Nemsi decides to pursue him together with the robbed man.
During the pursuit they again meet Sir David Lindsay. Karl ben Nemsi is
briefly made prisoner by Abrahim Hamur, who, believing him doomed, brags
that he is a chiefman of a robber band which has branches all over the
lands of the Sultan. Karl May escapes again, but so does Hamur. Karl
May follows his trail to Istanbul where he stays in the home of Isla ben
Maflel. The threads of the story gather in a knot: Karl May comes across
Omar ben Sadek, who is still pursuing his father's murderer. Omar kills
Abrahim Hamur and gets the jewels back. In the meantime, however, Karl
May has discovered that the two villains, Hamel Amasat and Barud el
Amasat (of. Durch die Wüste), are trying to get the wealth of the family of
Isla ben Maflel's other uncle, who lives in Adrianople, and also the wealth
of a French merchant, Henri Galingré. It is the uncle in Adrianople whose
son had been killed and then impersonated by Abrahim Hamur. Karl May leaves
Istanbul and Lindsay, but has with him Halef, Omar and Osko, Senitza's
father who still wants to avenge his daughter's kidnapping. In Adrianople
they are able to warn Isla ben Maflel's uncle that the "saintly" man who is
staying with him is in reality Barud el Amasat, his son's murderer. The
man is imprisoned, but escapes with the help of accomplices. Karl May
finds a mysterious note from Hamel el Amasat to Barud and decides to pursue
the escaped prisoner. The four men continue their road into the mountains
of the Balkans.
Karl May discovers that the men he is pursuing are members of a wide-flung organization of outlaws and continues his pursuit in order to prevent further evil. These men are known as those "who have gone into the mountains" and the name of their leader is the "Sohut." Karl May is able always to enlist the forces of good on his side, and to persuade people to help him by telling them that he is not a policeman but that he is always fighting on the side of the good. One of the men he meets tells him, "Your soul is kind and clear, your eye is transparent and your heart hides no treason..." (p. 40).

Through his ingenuity and his strength Karl May gets himself and his companions out of various predicaments and dangers. He is always able to surprise the robbers whom he is pursuing and to overhear their secrets; they believe that he has a pact with the devil. Wherever he stops he does good to the deserving poor (usually by giving them money which he was able to take away from the robbers). Always he takes advantage of some moment of "leisure" to speak of the Christian religion to the Moslems whom he meets.

In one village while helping someone he hears of a supposedly saintly hermit and discovers that this man is in reality an aid of the Sohut.

Kara ben Nemsi is able to expose the hermit, but the police, who are bribed, let him escape together with the other men whom Kara ben Nemsi had been pursuing, though the hermit has been wounded. This book is one long pursuit with various adventures. Finally Kara ben Nemsi is able to interpret correctly the note he had found in Adrianople. He knows now who the Sohut is.

The outlaws attempt to lure Kara ben Nemsi to a cave where they have held men for ransom. He pretends to be interested in this cave, which is supposed to contain riches, but of course is able to discover the secret. On their way there Kara ben Nemsi and his companions stay with a man who sells charcoal; he is the brother-in-law of the charcoal burner who is also the guardian of the famous cave. Kara ben Nemsi kills a bear, but not before the bear has killed the hermit (who had been left behind by his companions).
On the way to the jewel cave Kara ben Nemsi again surprises the outlaws ambushing him and overpowers them. One of them, in his surprise at seeing Kara ben Nemsi appear so suddenly, steps back towards the cliff and falls into the abyss. After tying up the outlaws, Kara ben Nemsi and his companions continue to the jewel cave. There Kara ben Nemsi of course is able to overhear a very important conversation from which he gathers that his friend David Lindsay is in the power of the Schut and is going to be brought to the jewel cave. He also overhears that Henri Galingré is held prisoner by the Schut and that Hamd el Amasat is bringing Galingré's family and that they are all to be killed. Kara ben Nemsi returns to his companions and finds that Osko has left them to go back to the cliff where they had left the outlaws, one of whom had been Barud el Amasat. Kara ben Nemsi goes back after him and sees Osko and Barud struggling on top of the cliff. Barud falls into the precipice and Sonitsa is avenged, and adventure No. 5 is completed.

The two men return to the jewel cave, this time openly, and manage to dupe everyone. They ride off and return on the following day to free Sir David Lindsay. Together with Lindsay they ride to the village where the Schut lives. He is a highly respected man in the community, but Kara ben Nemsi is able to unmask him and free all the prisoners, including Galingré. Galingré is the uncle of the man whom Kara ben Nemsi found murdered in the desert and he is able to return to him the wedding ring which he had taken from the dead man. All together they pursue the Schut who is trying to escape and reach Hamd el Amasat with Galingré's family, Kara ben Nemsi pursues the Schut on Rih on a high plateau which is cross-crossed by deep crevices. The Schut's horse loses its footing and falls into one of the crevices. In the meantime Omar pursues Hamd el Amasat, who has abandoned Galingré's family. Though Omar had sworn on the Schott to kill his father's murderer, (also the murderer of Galingré's nephew) Kara ben Nemsi's influence is such that he fights with him, and having blinded him, lets him live.

The first and second adventures of the first volume are now completed. Karl May has accomplished his task, has freed the Balkans from the evil influence of the Schut and his band, whom he has destroyed (or rather pursued by him they have destroyed themselves), good has triumphed and Karl May will return home. Before they separate he gives Rih to Halef.

Epilogue (appended to volume VI)

Because of the numerous letters he has received Karl May is going to add a few pages to his last book:

... I see to my great joy that I shall have to add an epilogue.

I say to my joy, for many hundreds of letters, received from all parts of the Fatherland and abroad, have proved to me what a close relationship has grown up between myself and my readers. What the newspapers have written about the six volumes is very pleasant and honors me; but I am
much more touched by the many letters from old and young, high and
humble, and to see that not only have I become a friend of my readers,
but that my companions share in this also.

It is especially my good, faithful Halef Omar whose later fate
and present situation interests a good many, I can safely say that
this dear little fellow has won all hearts.

This last adventure tells of Karl May's return to the Haddedihns several
years later, with David Lindsay whom he has met in Damascus. They arrive
there, after having recovered Rih from horse thieves. There is great rejoicing.
Together with a group of Haddedihs under Amad al Chandur, they take part in
a pilgrimage to Mohammed Rain's grave. There, because of Amad el Chandur's
stubbornness, they have to fight the Kurds who have come to the grave of
their sheik. In the battle Rih is killed and Karl May grieves over his
death and preserves a cloth soaked in Rih's blood. But Rih's strain is not
lost; he has a son and a daughter. And when Karl May and Halef part,
Karl May knows that his teachings and examples are not lost either; Halef
has become a Christian, and he and his son Kara will perpetuate the memory
of Kara ben Narmi.

Winnetou

In order to give a still clearer idea of the variety of Karl May's
imagination and the enormous sweep of his imaginary travels it is also
necessary to glance, if only briefly, at the three volumes of his most
popular of all stories: Winnetou. This story deals with the chieftain of
the Apaches, Winnetou, his sister Naacho-tachi and his white friend Old
Shatterhand (Karl May). It is from Winnetou that Karl May, working as a surveyor for the railroad, learns all his Indian tricks -- soon, of course, surpassing even his master. The three volumes which deal with Winnetou's story are more disconnected than the scenes of the Orient trip but again the central theme is that of the fight of good against evil. The summary in the 1951 Romanführer (Vol. II, p. 452) stresses precisely these points of the Winnetou story:

... both men always support good against evil and help right and decency to achieve victory. Winnetou and Old Shatterhand have only good and noble traits, which are based on a Christian foundation ... In the last volume Winnetou is killed and dies in Old Shatterhand's arms with the words: 'I believe in the Saviour. Winnetou is a Christian.'

Old Shatterhand, like Kara ben Nemsi, emerges as the superhuman hero. His physical strength is such that he can fell an enemy with a single blow of his fist (hence he is called Old Shatterhand); he knows the country perfectly, he has mastered foreign languages -- English, of course, but also a variety of Indian dialects; he knows the Indians' habits and customs.

He is an excellent horseman; he knows how to read tracks; he is a perfect marksman with his two famous guns, the "markiller" and the extraordinary repeater-gun ("Henry-stutzen" -- a unique gun, given to him personally by its inventor, Henry). In their fight against evil Winnetou and Karl May never kill their enemies. They make them harmless and leave the retribution to God.

Perhaps the most interesting of all Winnetou books, however, is the very last, written thirty years after the preceding volumes: Winnetou’s Erben. Here Winnetou transcends the mere travel story. He becomes almost a "saint"
(of. Stolte), a symbol for all that Karl May meant to teach in his books.

Reality and dream are so closely woven together that to separate the strands would mean tearing the whole pattern.

Old Shatterhand, now a well-known writer, suddenly receives a mysterious message in his home near Dresden, asking him to come to the Wild West, or rather, what used to be the Wild West. Old friends and old enemies ask him to come and "save Winnetou." There is a movement afoot to build a monument to the dead chief and to cheapen (verkitschen) his memory by trying to represent him in a stone monument. Now almost seventy years old, Karl May decides to return to America. He goes accompanied by his wife Klara. Before he goes he is visited by a man named Eiter, who is in reality the son of Santer (the villain of the early Winnetou volumes), who pretends he wants to buy the translation rights to Winnetou. In reality, of course, he wants to destroy the book because it dishonors his father's name. Karl May and his wife arrive in America. Although the Wild West is no longer the same, Karl May manages to meet some of his old friends, as well as Santer's sons; he is able to perform several feats (catching horse-thieves, for instance), and at the place where Winnetou's will had been buried and where, in the earlier Winnetou story, Karl May had found gold they now dig again and find Winnetou's writings. These are to be the real monument to Winnetou, not a statue of stone. In the end a new spirit triumphs, a new future breaks for the Indian tribes:

... The great past of a people does not live on only in monuments of stone or metal, but also in the spirit and the aspirations of the grandchildren who show themselves worthy of the heritage of the fathers by valuing it, holding on to it and building on to it, developing it further as a blessing for themselves and for all humanity.12

III. Karl May The Symbol

It is perhaps this last volume which shows best how closely life and dream had become interwoven in Karl May's own thought. As in the Epilogue to the Orient volumes, he presents his reader with a true situation into
which he then weaves the threads of his fancy. One might say, too, any
author who writes in the biographic style, making himself the hero of his
stories, can be put on the same level with Karl May. What is so extraordinary
in the case of Karl May is that not only he, but also his reading public
can him as Sara ben Nemsai or Old Shatterhand. The real man, the thief, the
prisoner, are completely lost. If in the latter days of his life his name
is dragged through the mud and his old faults are resuscitated, today only
the noble figure of the champion of good against evil seems to survive. He
is an outsider in his own society, in his own time. He is a son of the
lower classes, a weaver’s son whose only aspiration for a position in life
could be that of teacher. He translates this sense of strangeness in his
own “Heimat” in his speech to Harah Durimeh into a yearning to go out, to
roam “in der Ferne,” to become physically the outsider in his own country,
at the same time reintegrating himself into his society by bringing, preaching,
acting its highest ideals to an alien audience.

By carrying his Heimat with him wherever he goes, by stressing his
belonging to the Heimat through the yearning, Karl May maintains his
position within the society from which he is seemingly escaping. Heimweh
(homesickness) reintegrates the outsider into his country. Some sense of
this is given in a poem by Konrad Krets which Karl May himself admires and
quotes:

Land of my fathers, no longer my own
No ground is as holy as yours.
Never will your image disappear from my soul.
And if I were tied to you by no living bond
The dead would bind me to you,
Who are covered by your earth, my fatherland.

13. Land meiner Väter, länger nicht das meine,
So heilig ist kein Boden wie der deine.
Nie wird dein Bild aus meiner Seele schwinden.
Und knüpfte mich an dich kein lebend Band
Es würden mich die Toten an dich binden,
Die deine Erde deckt, mein Vaterland!

(Vom Bagdad nach Stambul, p. 174).
Thus Karl May achieves a twofold purpose: he becomes a hero, but he also achieves that solid middle class security and financial position which the weaver's son could never hope to achieve had he lived a "real" life.

To understand and to gauge Karl May's extraordinary position among the writers of juvenile fiction and among writers of the Unterschichtsliteratur, for Karl May cannot be considered a writer of youth fiction alone -- one need but glance at the enormous amount of material written about him and about his role since 1918. One of the most recent and most comprehensive studies to come out about him is Stolte's Karl May als Volksdichter (1936), which summarizes preceding studies and clarifies his role in the literary history of Germany. Stolte lists about 320 articles and books about Karl May between 1918 and 1933, of which a great many appeared in the Karl May Yearbook. He divides the material into several sections: The Karl May quarrel; Karl May the man; Discussion of Karl May Themes; The aesthetic and literary importance of Karl May; Karl May and morals; Karl May's importance as educator; Karl May's influence; Karl May's folklore value; and a section dealing with miscellaneous material about him. Thus Karl May achieves a stature and a significance far beyond the actual importance of his stories. The wish expressed in his speech to Marah Durimel seems to have come true: He translated reality into a dream, but the dream in turn seems to have become a reality.

In his Karl May, Ein Leben - Ein Traum, Forst-Battaglia writes in 1931 that the reasons for, or rather the sources of, the deed which was punished by six weeks of prison (he refers to Karl May's first infraction of the law) are quite clear: an impulsive megalomania (Grossmännersucht) and at the same
Give a real natural goodness (Güte) which is in conflict with merciless

And Stolte writes:

These roots, which are dormant in the German as in any other people, produce the enthusiasm (Schwärmerei) for the noble robber (and) the hatred for the learned pettifoggers. With most people they remain

literature, with Karl May they become his life... (p. 37).

Only by recalling the elements of his early life can one understand how Karl May weaves the thread of his fancies. Just as the boy found himself between

father and grandmother -- between action, violent action, and world of the

fairytale -- so the man stands between the regions of lower classes (the

Unterschichtliche) and those upper classes to which his education might

call him to belong. But he escapes even beyond that world, that specific

well-defined world of the teacher. As the boy constantly escaped from the

father to the grandmother, the man also escapes from the life of reality

into the life of fancy. But by forcing the dream to become reality he fuses

into one all the conflicting elements in his life.

To gain a deeper understanding of the position occupied by Karl May

in the thinking of German literary critics and literary historians one must

consider seriously what they have said about him. Again the summaries and

conclusions in Stolte's book serve as the best example of the enormous

proportions which the Karl May question has assumed. Karl May is regarded

as a Volksdichter (a people's poet); he is the one who -- like the troubadours

of the Middle Ages or the Minnesänger -- catches the gesunkenes Kulturgut.
and translates it into a form which the upper classes can accept.

Karl May himself saw his position as that of the story-teller, the fairy-tale teller:

"The highest, fullest and, as far as I am concerned, favorite form of art of poetry, is the fairytale. I love the fairytale so much that I have given up my whole life to it, my entire work. I am Grasswalder. This Arabic word means story teller."

In this statement, which he made very shortly before his death, Karl May came perhaps closest to understanding his own real unreal position.

But according to the critics, Karl May's stories are not fairytales. They are legends (Sagen) -- stories tied in time and space, stories which can be taken as truth, which are taken as truth, stories which have around them the eternal motif of the noble element in man, the Edelmann. According to the critics, this is the way that his stories must be understood in particular perhaps Winnetou.

Old Shatterhand and Winnetou separate themselves from the framework of the story, from the person of their creator, leave the territory of the literary creation and enter the primitive consciousness as

14. The concept of gesunkenes Kulturgut is an important one in German literary criticism and refers to the tendency for art forms to be preserved in modified form as they are popularized by those in the lower strata in a society, long after new styles of high art have been developed by creative artists.

15. As Elisabeth Hellersberg noted in an unpublished paper on "The Strange Far Away places are both threatening and alluring and nostalgia for far away places is important in German fantasy. In his tales Karl May expresses and makes come true the yearnings of a group who could rarely realize their dreams which were also his own. In the alluring accounts of his travels they identify with his hardships and triumphs. He has done what they would like to do and so that he has only dreamed these adventures is lost from sight and becomes immaterial.

Having seen Karl May's role in this light, the next step for the
novel writer is a very logical one. Karl May's Winnetou is connected
by nature with the motifs of the Siegfried legend, elements by
which:

1. Siegfried leaves his father's castle and goes to far distant lands.
   A young man leaves Europe to make his fortune in America.

2. Siegfried comes to a blacksmith and receives his sword, with which
   he later accomplishes his heroic deeds.
   The young emigrant meets the gun maker Henry who gives him a unique gun.

3. Siegfried is sent by the smith out into the forest.
   Recommended by old Henry, the young man gets a job with the railroad
   and goes West as a surveyor.

4. Siegfried proves himself a hero when he accomplishes the most
   difficult of all deeds, the heroic deed par excellence: he kills
   the dragon.
   The young immigrant proves himself a real Westerner: he kills the
   buffalo, kills the grizzly bear with a knife and catches the mustang.

5. Siegfried gets his name "der Gehörnte" after bathing in the dragon's
   blood.
   The young Westerner, after knocking out his enemy with a single blow
   of his fist, is henceforth known as Old Shatterhand.

Thus to substantiate Karl May's position, the critic goes back to the
heroic past of Germany and establishes a thread of continuity with that
grand past. But Stolte -- who is but summarizing and clarifying what others

17. "Old Shatterhand und Winnetou lösen sich aus dem Rahmen der
22 Erzählungen von der Person ihres Schöpfers, verlassen das Gebiet des Schrift-
29 stehlichsten und gehen als lebende Gestalten in das primitive Elements
30 Uber. Die Literaturersage wird Volkssage. Sogar die Gestalt Karl Mays lebt
31 vielfach als sagenhafte Persönlichkeit weiter" (Stolte, p. 82).
The story about Karl May -- goes even further in 1924.

In not only the Siegfried legend which is at the root of many German legends, but in the older Heiland (Savior) motif.

According to Benz (Rhythmus deutscher Kultur, 1923), it

The legend of the Heiland that the true German spirit emerged

In Germania, in this legend and through this legend, as a mystic Deutsche (spiritual German), because he understands and loves, and suffering Christ as hero and glorifies him as a spiritual hero-figure in the epic.

The genius of old Germanic and Christian elements into a heroic figure.

This is really what is Deutsch. This conception of the true German;

Fernheimer's judgment of Karl May,

In Karl May's writings, the fusion of mystical and heroic elements forms the oldest, still unsolved task of our culture, the Heiland.

question, the fusion of the Germanic with the Christian elements into the particular form of the heroic legend. In this Karl May, even if the strange and the far way is alive in him, remains the eternal German.

If the Heiland question is truly the symbol of what is "Deutsch", then Karl May, -- symbolizing through his writings this eternal question and translating the yearnings of the humble folk -- crystallizes the figure of the eternal German. His stories about travels in the Orient and in America.

In the late nineteenth century transcends time and space, the-osmosis is his century suddenly achieve an almost architectural strength, and the story his dreams are made of becomes the life of the German people.

Vorbild im Heiland Liede verherrlicht" (p. 14).

19. "Aus dem Zusammenkommen mystischer und heroischer Wesenheiten gestaltet sich die älteste, der Lösung harrende Aufgabe unserer Kultur, die 'Heiland-Frage,' die Vereinigung des Germanischen mit dem Christlichen zu jener noch eigentümlichen Form der heroischen Legende. Hierin ist Karl May, mag in ihm noch so sehr das Fremde und Ferne lebendig sein, swig-deutsch" (p. 155).
A Magic Mirror for Society.

- Kelly Schuyler Hoyt

That historians reveal as much about their own time as about the period which they are describing is nowadays accepted almost as a truism. Similarly, the social image as it is reflected in the novel gives us insight into the attitudes of authors and the audience for whom they write, as John Brumstedt said in his study of the German social structure (1945, p. 5) that a study of literature can become a vital supplement to research into social history. Although it is evident that the relationship between fiction and the behavior of people as this can be observed in a living society is extremely complex, the study of literature can give us insight into significant cultural themes as these are expressed in the handling of plot and the delineation of character and are mediated by the imagery of a writer or a group of writers of a given culture though they may be distant from us in time and space.

Approaching the novel from this point of view, the question immediately arises: What kind of literature, what type of fiction? Although the basic problems of analysis are the same, it is necessary to distinguish -- in terms of author and audience -- between the work of highly individualized character by great creative artists of a period and the "popular" novel or short story which feeds the literary market for a brief span of time, which affords immense pleasure and interest to a large reading audience but which -- even

1. For discussions of cultural analysis of various types of fantasy material of Bateson (1945 and 1946), Eriksen (1950), Wolfenstein and Leites (1950) and discussions of the subject especially by Mead, Métraux and Wolfenstein in Mead and Métraux (1963, passim).
though it is translated and read by other audiences abroad -- rarely survives the fashion of the day.

In Germany in the 19th as well as the 20th century, artists and critics and historians of literature -- as well as ordinary readers -- have tended to make sharp distinctions between the novel that is intended to transgress time and space in its significance and the story that is intended to appeal to readers of a particular time and place, that at one and the same time is intended to provide writer and audience with a mirror image of their life, and an outlet for their wishful thinking and dreams of action and escape.

In German criticism the distinctions made are not only in terms of literary quality but also in terms of the supposed social characteristics of the intended audience. Thus, discussing the use of literature by the social historian, Kohn-Bramstedt (1937, p. 200) writes that "the investigation would be very one-sided if he did not glance at the so-called 'lower type' of literature" (Mittel- und Unterschichtsliteratur), that is, at the literature of the middle and lower strata of society. The educated German reader today is likely to disclaim interest in the Unterschichtsliteratur of the past -- since that he is unmoved by the trials and tribulations of Marlitt's hardships.

2. This is, of course, an arbitrary division since productions of high art may reach -- directly or indirectly -- as large and diversified an audience as so-called "popular" art and no less than "popular" art -- though perhaps in a more complex way -- express themes that are significant in a given culture.

3. Such a writer may, of course, alter his literary position. So, for instance, Karl May -- who was at first regarded primarily as a popular writer and a writer for youthful readers -- has gradually become, in the minds of a whole school of German literary critics, the literary symbol of one kind of timeless German thought.

4. Based on discussions of German literature with German informants.
knowledge incomplete if he has not read Freytag's Soll und Haben, or Goethe's
Der hohe Schirm — all popular novels of the mid-19th century. Nevertheless,
all of these were (and some still are) widely read in Germany and, from the
viewpoint of the German social historian as also of the student of German
culture they are an important source for the study of a particular period
and, in that they provide us with comparative material, for an understanding
of contemporary Germany.

This study, which is intended to provide background and time depth for
the analysis of contemporary German culture, concentrates on the popular
fiction of the mid-19th century, the literature that is believed by Germans
today to have had (and in some instances still to have) the widest "mass"
appeal. The output was very large and the problem of sampling it for the
purpose of detailed analysis a difficult one. However, certain of the writers
were originally published in a special type of journal and are known for
their association with these journals which in Germany, particularly since
1848, have been almost indispensable to family life. This is the middle-
class family journal which has been read by all sections of the middle class
and has been known to and often read — though more sporadically — by both
upper-class and aristocratic Germans and members of the lowest strata in
German society. Among these periodicals, the most important undoubtedly has

5. German informants who grew up in the first 30 years of the 20th
century are likely to say, if they are educated people with a professional
or well-to-do business background, that they did not read Die Gartenlaube,
but that they saw it; they explain that it came to their home together with
other magazines (presumably of more special interest) as a matter of course,
and that everyone in the family at some time or other "looked at it" to know
what was going on, or perhaps enjoyed some special feature, or read a story
or two when they were tired or sick, but that it was not something which they
could take very seriously.
been *Die Gartenlaube*, which was founded by Ernst Keil in 1853 and which appeared without interruption until 1936; in 1936 its title was changed to *Die neue Gartenlaube* and publication was continued until the outbreak of World War II. According to Kohn-Bramstedt (1937, p. 200), *Die Gartenlaube* is the prototype of the family journal -- of which it was one of the first -- whose success made the family journal a permanent institution. The importance, continuity and wide appeal of *Die Gartenlaube* provided a criterion for the selection of novels to be analysed, and this study of the 19th century German *Unternehmertalaliteratur* will therefore deal primarily with novels and stories which appeared in this journal.

In order to understand the enormous success of the novels, it is necessary first to examine the aims and the appeal of *Die Gartenlaube* itself.

The intended aims of the magazine were set forth in an editorial address to the reader which appeared in the first number in 1853:

*Greetings (Grüna Gott), dear people of the German land,... When during the long winter evenings you sit near the cozy stove in the circle of your dear ones, or in spring, when the white and pink blossoms fall from the apple trees and you sit in the shadowy arbor with some visitor -- then read our paper. It is to be a magazine for the house and the family, a book for big and small, for everyone who has a warm heart beating in his breast, who still receives pleasure from what is good and noble! Far from all reasoning politics and all opinion arguments in religion and other matters, we want to present you with really good tales, and lead you into the story of the human heart and of peoples, into the struggles of human passions and of past times...

we want to entertain you, and educate you through entertainment. The breath of poetry shall fly above it all as the perfume over the blooming flower, and you shall feel at home (einsimeln) in our arbor, in which you shall find true German coziness (Gemütlichkeit) which speaks to the heart...* (Quoted in Borovits, 1987, p. 48.)

This statement sets forth very clearly what the *Gartenlaube* aimed to do.

Its success was enormous and mounted rapidly: In 1853 the subscribers numbered 5,000. Seven years later they had risen to 100,000. By 1867 the
number was 225,000 and by 1881, 378,000 subscribers received the magazine. The number of readers whom it actually reached must have been much greater, for it was lent back and forth and read aloud in reading circles and social gatherings. In 1876 Karl Gutzkow called it "the classic of the present" (Gartenlaube, 1876, p. 532) and in 1928 it seemed to have survived all the changes of historical development and remained the symbol of the true German spirit. Families whose parents subscribed to the Gartenlaube in 1854 still carried a subscription in 1928, thus providing a real sense of continuity and stability and a feeling for the eternal fatherland. So, for instance a subscriber writes in 1928 ("What the Gartenlaube of my childhood was; our readers speak," Gartenlaube 1928, p. 199):

... if today, on a dark fall day, I leaf through the old volumes, I am once again experiencing the dreamlike mood of security and that love for the German Heimat which the Gartenlaube awakened and fostered in the child, and the thoughts about Americanization, stereotyping and rationalization of our life disappear ... In how many hearts does the Gartenlaube lay the foundation, from youth on, for the love of the Heimat, the love for the German fatherland. May it continue to do so until the German spirit (Wesen) is once more recognized in the world.

The basic reason for the enduring popularity of the Gartenlaube is that it translated into concrete form the overwhelming feeling of the 19th century German middle class that the core, heart center of everything is the family. It is a Familienblatt, "entering into the circle of the dear ones."

Its cover (always the same) shows the family in the garden. The early cover combines with the picture of the family in the arbor the symbol of the arts and sciences which it will bring to them; the later cover merely shows the members of the family in the garden, all generations, from the youngest to the oldest, and on each first page of the separate numbers appears a vignette, showing the members of the family around the table. The family journal
Little people something about the *mittelhochdeutsche* poetry, or the events of medieval history? The miniature portraits of great German men, the descriptions of the beauties of the German landscape and the diligence of German towns..." In such discussions the journal intended to introduce the political-national element imperceptibly, to arouse a real feeling for the German fatherland and weld together, especially after 1870, the newly founded Reich.

The "German" element, however, is not the only one which fills its pages. The literature and writers of foreign countries were included as well; there were articles about statesmen and politicians of different countries and persuasion, there were articles about philosophers and historians. (Cf. Horovitz, 1937, p. 54.) The list of the collaborators for this type of material is quite impressive: for instance, Treitschke, Theodor Fontane, Heinrich Laube, Karl Gutzkow, Robert Gieseke, Alexander Jung, and so on.

In order to give a clearer picture of the appearance of the Gartenlaube and its varied contents one might glance at some typical year, perhaps one of the earlier years, where it tried to appeal to all of the German lands while as yet there was no Germany, perhaps the year 1865:

The general divisions for each weekly number are always the same. First, very often about the illustrations, of which there is at least one in each number. The illustrations are about family and work, later about the wars perhaps, always sentimental. Biographies and character sketches of great men appear in most of the numbers. Each number contains a chapter of a long
serial story and at least one, perhaps two, short stories. Descriptive essays about travels appear frequently. Illustrated articles about medical discoveries and new developments in the field of the sciences are a regular feature -- Darwinism occupies the stage at this moment. Special features about exhibitions or festivals, travelogues and information about foreign countries appear more prominently after 1870. A definite reporting column about war news appears in 1864 (war with Denmark about Schleswig-Holstein) and in 1866 (war against Austria). The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 occupies a prominent place not only in 1870-71 but in many following years. A regular feature of each individual number is the column "Blätter und Blüten" ("Leaves and Blossoms") which contains brief stories, information about the illustrations, letters from the readers, appeals about missing persons and information for and about the Auslandsdeutsche, the Germans abroad.

All these general divisions are well represented in the year 1865, and an examination of a few of its numbers will give an adequate picture of the Gartenlaube as it appeared to 19th century readers. The first number, which appeared in February, contains an illustration one entitled Barmherzig und Herzig, which shows a nun, leading a wounded soldier, with a poem about it. Such poems and pictures showing nuns or monks tend to disappear once the Gartenlaube becomes involved in the Kulturkampf.

The historical sketch deals with an 18th century character (Franck) and his experiences in prison. The biographical character sketch introduces Heinrich Heine at home with chatty touches about conversations with the poet. Miscellaneous articles deal with certain peasant customs in Norway, satisfying an interest in far distant places, or such articles as the history of the
An insurance organization at Gotha. In the column "Blätter und Blüten,"
there is an article about German goods which are sold under foreign names
and there is an appeal to send books to a German library for German soldiers
fighting in the Union army of the American Civil War. A special little
letterbox contains information about money collected for the soldiers of
the Schleswig-Holstein War. The serial Der Richter occupies five double
column pages and continues of course through several numbers.

In the second number of the year A. E. Brehm, the famous German naturalist,
contributes an article about various animals, "Bilder aus dem Tiergarten,"
while those interested in the exotic can find satisfaction in an illustrated
article about a day in the harem. The home country also is represented with
an article "Aus deutscher Weinstadt," while a patriotic article recalls the
poor treatment received by German soldiers in Napoleon's Grande Armée.
"Das Blut das hier geflossen," concludes the article, "macht jedes deutsches
Hers noch heute bluten so oft es an diese Ereignisse denken muss." (And this
half a century after the events!)

The third number has a little more local color, with a "Volkabild,"
a description of Christmas as it is celebrated in the Tyrol. And one factual
report presents case histories from the court of assizes, while another
describes Germany's industry: the manufacturing of needles under the
high sounding title of "The one-eyed Archangel of Civilisation" ("Der
einsaugige Erzengel der Kultur"). The travelogue takes the reader to Iceland.

6. "The blood that flowed here," the article concludes, "makes every
German heart bleed even today whenever one thinks of those events."
The "Blätter und Blüten" describes the Schiller Institute in Vienna and contains some anecdotal material. In the fourth number, a biographical sketch presents a German in America; a special article deals with the Junkers ("against the so-called patriarchal Junker-rule"), while in "Blätter und Blüten" there is a highly critical article about divorces in France and information about recent excavations in Pompei.

In the fifth number, the serial Der Richter is concluded and another one, Erkennt und Erkämpft, begins. The poem is devoted to a very difficult problem: "Das Lied vom Salz" discusses the salt tax in Prussia, and the biographical article sentimentalizes about the "Herzenskämpfe" of Heinrich von Kleist. There is a new serial again in the seventh number. A hunting story especially for male readers is included, while a brief little item "For young women by young women" warns of the dangers of dreaming too much before one's wedding. The following two numbers contain items of special importance for the day, i.e., violently anti-slavery articles about the American Civil War, in which Virginia is called "the Junker state par excellence" and is compared to Mecklenburg. Numbers nine and ten deal with medical problems concerning children. In the tenth number, an illustrated poem shows an old nurse presenting "her" boy's first baby shoe to the young bride, while a social document tells the memoirs of a prison warden.

The above description of the contents of some numbers in one year gives a clearer picture of the variety of material and how this material was geared to the various members of the family, of both sexes and of different ages. At the end of the year, the weekly numbers were collected in one weighty tome, bound together with the famous covering illustration and a table of contents which spreads over two triple column pages.
The philosophy, despite this variety and wealth of material, the novel was the greatest drawing card of this family journal. The type of novel, which appeared in the Gartenlaube originated in the "Young German" movement -- in the work of writers who -- reacting violently against romanticism and using the novel as a vehicle for their ideas -- paved the way, between 1830-1850, for the Gartenlaube itself. Karl Gatzkow, the author of the famous and weighty Die Ritter vom Geiste (The Knights of the Spirit) and Theodor Mundt, the author of Lebenswirren (Life Entanglements), are, in a sense, the spiritual fathers of the Gartenlaube novel, and Mundt's description of the novel in Lebenswirren can be taken as the leitmotif of the Gartenlaube.

There he maintains that the novel insinuates itself into the rooms and the families, sits at the table, listens to the evening conversation, and in good time one can put something under the nightcap of the Herr Papa or whisper something into the ear of the Herr Sohn (the son) while he smokes his pipe...

The novel is to be didactic -- is to teach, to present the reader with a picture that will make him yearn for a "happier, stronger, more high-spirited life." In fact it should make him "quite unruly with impatience and yearning."

Such a novel, claims Mundt, is a "Deutsches Haustier," a German domestic animal, the presence of which one loves and feels necessary. (Cf. Horovitz, 1937, p. 49.) If one recalls the aim laid down for the Gartenlaube by its editors in the first year that it appeared, one might feel that the role of the novel is quite parallel with that of the Gartenlaube itself.

In the early days, the editors envisaged the novel as short -- the novels of the 1860s run for two or three numbers. This is in keeping with the prospectus of the magazine which asks for novels as short as possible, with no more than two or three continuations. The subjects of the stories are to be taken from the history of the fatherland (Lokalnovellen) or from the conditions of the life of the people (Volknovellen)... (Cf. Horovitz, 1937, pp. 50-51.)
Very soon, however, the novel began to exceed two or three issues and, contrary to the expectations of editors and publishers, the popularity of the magazine seemed to grow with the length of the novel. One reason for this is that towards the end of the year 1866 the Gartenlaube had found an author whose popularity was such that her name became almost synonymous with that of the magazine, and who translated the aims and aspirations of the Frauenblatt into concrete realities. This was Eugenie John, who was better known, and is still known by her pen-name, E. Marlitt. After the appearance of Marlitt's first novel, Die zwölf Apostel, (which was still brief), the paper experienced "an astonishing increase in circulation" (Kohn-Ermstedt, 1837, p. 209). According to Zang, the enormous success of Marlitt's novels and the huge circulation of the Gartenlaube are interrelated. Marlitt and the Gartenlaube have become concepts that can be called "volkstümlich." (cf. Zang, 1835, p. 108). No less a writer than Gottfried Keller said about her that she possessed something of the "divine spark." "She has a fluent style, an elevation of feeling, and a forceful representation of that which she feels; none of us can equal her." (Horovitz, 1937, p. 4). Marlitt died in 1887, but two other women writers, W. Heimburg and E. Werner (the latter died in 1918 and thus really closes the 19th century) carried on in the same vein and along exactly the same lines.

All three, speaking for their middle-class family readers, depict the "healthy morality" of that class and the "decaying morality" of the aristocracy, draw a fantasy picture of the regeneration of that aristocracy by marriage with members of the middle class, reward virtue, punish crime and always end with a complete family unit restored to a life of "happy ever after." No
"It is a well tempered passion without fulfillment" (Zang, 1936, p. 39).

The main plots of these novels always deal with some family circle element, and if the circle is broken or incomplete, with the attempts to close the circle again.

Such is the core around which all actions crystallize. Ruth Horovitz in her discussion of the "Gartenlaube" novel has isolated five major patterns developing around the central core (1937, p. 71):

I. Class pride wants to prevent a marriage between members of different classes, particularly noble with non-noble. Either the hero - a nobleman - is himself a liberal, or else his family is converted to liberalism or it is discovered - in all sorts of roundabout ways -- that the girl - a commoner -- is really of noble or half noble origin (Goldelse by Marliitt would be a good example of this).

II. Class pride and exaggerated egotism oppresses the humble girl (it usually is a girl) who is full of lofty, dignified feelings, within the family or foster family (the latter is more usual). In the course of the story the oppressed heroines obtain their rights. Very often, though oppressed, they are actually of lower origins than those who oppress them and their opinions show dignified liberalism and humanitarianism, whereas their oppressors are hypocritical pietists. (Marliitt's Das Geheimnis der alten Mansell is a classic example of this type of story.)

III. A sudden social rise leads: a) to hard heartedness b) to fraud and sin, and thus undermines the life of the family. Quite often the father or some important member of the family has become a speculator and a swindler,
and dies or kills himself (or emigrates to America). After the collapse
both the family and the enterprise have to be built up again modestly,
honestly and successfully. This type of novel is particularly popular in
the period after 1870, the "Gründerjahre" when the wealth brought in by the
payment of French reparations resulted in wild speculations. (Two examples
are: Marlitt's Im Hause des Kommerzienrats and E. Werner's Glück auf.)

IV. Through a woman — who wants to be emancipated or else who is self-
willed in some other way — an engagement or a marriage is broken and a
whole family is disunited. In the end there is some solat, the woman either
has a change of heart or is made harmless and the family circle unites again.
(Im Schillings Hof, Das Haldeprinzesschen, Die zweite Frau by Marlitt are
striking examples of this type of plot.)

V. A continuity of action related to the past: Political events have
torn the family apart and undermined its happiness. A very common factor
here is the flight of one part of the family to America because of persecutions
resulting from the events of 1848. The younger generation, who have grown
up in America return to Germany, and after many roundabout attempts find their
way back to the family (or create a new family) and find a Heimat, peace
and happiness in Germany. (E. Werner's Ein Helider Feder is the most
striking example of this plot.)

To gain a clearer understanding of the plots and a closer knowledge of
German 19th century fantasy it might be of interest to examine more closely
two or three of these standard plots as they are worked out by Marlitt.
The most common plots are (1) those which center on a marriage between noble
and non-noble; (2) those in which the heroine finds herself oppressed and
(3) those in which a self-willed woman is responsible for harm and hardship.
Goldelse, Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell and Die zweite Frau, among the
most popular of Marlitt's novels, are also the most classic representatives
of these three types of story.

Of all the novels Marlitt ever wrote Goldelse was without doubt the
most popular and most famous. Published in the Gartenlaube in 1866, it
assured the fame of the author immediately. A good deal has been written
about the story and its characters. It appeared in book form in 1890, it
was translated into English, and in the 1951 Romanführer is discussed as one
of the books which are still popular today. If one has read Goldelse one
has not only read the standard plot, but one has met the fictional German
family par excellence -- one knows what a Hero and heroine look like, how
they think, speak and act, and what to expect of a villain in this world of
the novel.

The Ferber family is poor because the father, an officer, had
refused in 1848 to fire upon the revolutionaries, his brothers. He is a
liberal and as such finds it increasingly hard to find work. His wife, born
von Gnadenwitz, of old Thuringian nobility, married him for love and thus cut
herself off from her family (which had been degenerating for the past
generations). She helps supplement the father's income by needlework,
while their lovely daughter Elisabeth gives piano lessons. In the evenings
they all sit together around the table, father, mother, daughter and the
little brother Ernst; often Elisabeth plays for them, improvising beautiful
melodies on her rickety old piano.

Into this poor but happy home comes a letter which brings great joy.
Ferber's brother, who is a forester (Förster) in Thuringia, needs an aide and
the Prince is willing to consider his recommendation. As it happens the
Forsthaus, located in the "green woods" lies close by the old family castle
of the Gnadenwitz. This castle, in ruins, had been left by an old cousin.

7. No date on the book, but the illustrations are dated.
An exploration of Schloß Gundeck, the old castle, reveals the improbable - described in great detail by Karlitt, and within a week the family is installed in its new home. Elisabeth, when her uncle calls "Goldelse"

bouquet of her lovely golden hair, "is her own room looking towards the valley and a new piano and every evening she plays for the ancestral family, her uncle included.

Nor piano playing is heard by their neighbors who have the lovely little niece in the valley, the Lindhof. Fraulein von Walde, a cripple, has there with her relative and companion Baronin Lessen, while her brother travels away from his country. Fraulein von Walde asks Goldelse to come and play for her once or twice a week. The uncle is against it, because he hates the hypocritical baronesse, but the father urges Albert to accept the invitation:

"It is true that until now I alone have held my child's soul in my hands. As it was my duty I have been anxious to awaken each germ, to support each little shoot that wanted to bend outward. But I have never wanted to raise a weak hothouse plant, and now to me and to her, if that which I have tended tirelessly for eighteen years, was hanging rootless in the soil, to be blown away by the first breath of real life. I have brought up my daughter to face life, for she will have to struggle with it as any other human being. And if I should close my eyes today, she will have to take the helm which I have held for her until now. If the people in the castle are really not good acquaintances for her, that will soon become apparent. Either both parties feel it immediately and separate, or Elisabeth passes by that which is against her principles, and therefore nothing sticks to her."  

Elisabeth therefore does accept the invitation and for the first time leaves the shelter of her family circle. In Lindhof she meets hypocrisy and ugliness. The baronesse' son, Baron Holfeld, pursues her, though she does not understand him. Helene von Walde loves him and fails to see his hypocrisy.

6. "Ich habe allerdings bis jetzt die Seele meines Kindes allein in den Händen gehabt und bin, wie es meine Pflicht war, eifrig besorgt gewesen, jeden

Kern zu wachen, jedes Pflänzchen das ausbienen wolle, zu stützen. Nichtsdesto

weniger ist es mir nie eingefallen, eine kraftlose Treibhauspflanze erziehen zu wollen, und was mir und ihr, wenn das was ich seit achtzehn Jahren

unermüdlich gehegt und gepflegt habe, wurzelloos im Boden hinge, um von ersten

Windhauchen des Lebens hinweggerissen zu werden. Ich habe meine Tochter für das

Leben erzogen; denn sie wird den Kampf mit demselben so gut beginnen müssen wie

des andere Menschenkind auch. Und wenn ich heute meine Augen schließe, so

muss sie das Steuer ergreifen können, das ich bisher für sie geführt habe.

Sind die Leute im Schloß, der That kein Umgang für sie nun dann wird sich

das bald heraustellen. Entweder es fühlen beide Teile sofort, dass sie nicht

zu einander passen, und das Verhältnis löst sich von selbst wieder, oder

aber Elisabeth geht an ihm vorüber, was ihren Grundsätzen widerspricht, und

es bleibt deshalb nicht an ihr haften."
The unappealing administration of the property causes the return of the owner von Walde, who sends away many of the bad servants, but because of Holsode allows the baroness to remain. Goldelse, who considers her mother her friend, and who has no other friend and also no secrets from her, tells her everything including Holsot's behavior. But the day she first feels herself failing in love with von Walde she returns home to find her mother in bed with a migraine and keeps her secret.

"If the mother had been sitting in her armchair in the window-niche, between the protecting curtain and the greenwall of trees outside, the dear corner would have become today a confessional. Elisabeth, kneeling on the footstool, with her head on her mother's knee, would have opened her overflowing heart before the motherly eye. Now she pulled the sealing secret back into the deepest recesses of her soul, who knows if she would ever find the courage again to speak of that which, because of the existing circumstances would frighten the mother and fill her with anxiety about her daughter."

She is able to protect von Walde from an attack by one of the dismissed servants and shows that she can be as decisive as a man, though she is truly a woman, and, when she plays with her little brother, still a child.

In the meantime one of the great mysteries of the Ghadowitz family has been solved. While doing some repair work on the wing, the workmen have discovered a secret room with a casket and an old diary dating back to the Thirty Years' War. From this diary they learn that Post von Ghadowitz had loved and married a gypsy. She had died in childbirth and he had put her in that casket in the sealed room. Unable to bear the sight of the child, he had put it on the door-step of his forester, Ferber, without name, hoping the forester would bring it up with his own children. The will and documents concerning the child were to be kept in the town hall. He himself went back to the war.

Though the townhall had burnt, this document proves that actually the Ferber family had noble blood. The exposed child had subsequently married his foster-sister and moved to Silesia from where their descendants had now returned to Thuringia.

This development and the solution of the old mystery create a great deal of excitement, but the Ferbers, proud of their middle-class name refuse to take up the old noble name "which has a wheel in its shield" (one ancestor having been broken on the wheel as a robber baron).

9. "Die Mutter jetzt auf ihrem Lehnenstuhl in der einen Fenstermischte in der Wohnungseessen zwischen den schützenden Vorhänge und der grünen Buschwand vor dem Fenster ... dann wäre heute die treue Ehe zum Selbstdtühle geworden; Elisabeth hätte, kniend auf dem Puschen, den Kopf auf die Knie der Mutter gelegt, ihr übervolles Herz dem mütterlichen Auge erschlossen. Nun sogleich das süße Geheimnis wieder in den innersten Schreien ihrer Seele zurück; wer weiß, ob sie je wieder den Mut fand das auszusprechen, was unter dem obwaltenden Verhältnissen die Mutter: voraussichtlich erschrecken und mit grosser Sorge in die Tochter erfüllen musste."
Elizabeth finds out that this discovery changes Hollfeld's attitude towards her — he now is willing to marry her — but von Walde does not care whether she will use the new name or not, she discovers that he loves her and in the end Hollfeld and the Baronesse, completely exposed, leave the Lindenhof. Elisabeth marries von Walde, Gnadeok is restored and we have Elisabeth a year later standing in the living room of Gnadeok looking out on her own domain, with her baby son in her arms.

The ideal picture as it emerges here, is very clear: solid middle-class virtues, liberal ideas, the pride in one's middle-class position as against the degenerate hypocrisy of the aristocrat. The only aristocrat who emerges with a good character is von Walde himself an admirer of the middle-class virtues.

The family circle is a tight-knit group against the outside, a completely self-sufficient unit. The father is both the gardener tending the young plant and the helmsman steering the ship safely through that dangerous ocean of "life." Mother is the friend who makes friends of one's own age unnecessary and that confidante from whom one has no secrets — no bad secrets anyway.

For the good secret, the setting is a necessity and since the setting fails the good secret is kept until the situation is solved by itself.

Elisabeth emerges as the perfect daughter, the perfect sister, never too grown up to play soldiers with the little brother, and the perfect niece, for the uncle belongs within the family circle, and this family circle is never broken. Von Walde enters into it, Hollfeld and his mother are sent away and Helene, who loved Hollfeld, dies. The catharsis of the story occurs when the mystery of the Gnadeowits is solved and in a sense the whole book of Goldelsle leads to the solution of this mystery, which happened generations ago, but in a period where so many threads of German history seem to start, namely the Thirty Years' War.
The old Mansell, an unmarried aunt, or rather great-aunt, lives high up in the attic in a charming little apartment which she has filled with birds and flowers. Doing good to all and playing the piano to while away her hours, she is the one who is really bringing up the heroine Felicitas, forming her character and instructing her. No one in the house knows of this relationship, no one must know of it for Felicitas is the intruder, the unwanted foster child. She had been brought into the family by Fritz Hellwig, when her mother was killed during the performance of her act while playing in the town. Hellwig promises to care for the actress' child (das Spielerakind) until the father comes to claim her — but he never comes, and a few years later Hellwig dies leaving Felicitas in the care of his wife, a cold hypocrite, and his oldest son who is studying medicine in Bonn and who believes his mother to be the best possible woman. Only Heinrich, the servant, and the old Mansell give Felicitas the love that she yearns for. She works as a servant in the house, but her mind and soul are cared for by the recluse and she grows up with all the womanly virtues.

Johannes (the son), now a doctor, returns home for a vacation and falls in love with Felicitas who professes to hate him. Upon the death of the old Mansell it is discovered that the wealth of the Hellwig family was based on ill-gotten gains, on a find of gold made by the old Mansell when she was young. This was actually the property of the von Hirschsprung family, and had been buried there during the Thirty Years' War. Meta von Hirschsprung had been Felicitas' mother's maiden name; the family had disowned her when she married a juggler. The money is restored to the family; Felicitas marries Johannes and in the end one guesses that Frau Hellwig herself will become a member of the new family. For Felicitas and Johannes have had a son and she wants to know the joys of being a grandmother.

Die Zweite Frau, another very popular story by Marlitt is one of the very rare ones which deals exclusively with the aristocracy:

The second wife, married by Mainau purely for reasons of convenience and private revenge against the duchess, will recreate for him a real family life, triumph over all obstacles, solve the secret surrounding the death of one of his uncles and make him fall in love with her. Mainau loved the ruling duchess when she was young and poor. She loved him too, but accepted the duke. Now, a year after the duke's death, everyone expects that Mainau will ask her to marry him, instead of which he announces his engagement to Countess Juliane. She comes to his castle as his second wife, and step-mother to his little boy. The boy, initially hostile, accepts her as soon as he sees her, calling her "mama" right away. She assumes the responsibility for his upbringing and slowly unravels all the mysterious threads of the Mainau story. In spite of the machinations of the strong-willed duchess and her court priest (the Kulturkampf element) all ends well.
Here again the plot of the story appears as the denouement of something which happened long before. This particular aspect is perhaps one of the most significant traits which can be said to emerge from the "Gartenlaube" novel. The story itself is but the final stage in a long range history, one that reaches back in time to some great historical event—sometimes the French Revolution, but more often the Thirty Years' War. Reading these novels one gets the distinct impression that the present moment is of no importance unless its roots are in the past and only the historical event which presents a common experience for all the Germanies can play a real role. Therefore, the use of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Therefore, even more, the use of the Thirty Years' War with its devastation. But usually something good emerges from the secret kept all these years—the initial evil is responsible for the final good; in order to arrive at something positive, a very negative basis seems to be necessary. Only destruction can lead to resurrection. That is the motto of the German Kultur, and Goethe's "Man must be ruined again" (Der Mensch muss wieder ruiniert werden) — on which Sons (1948, p. 43 ff.) builds his conception of the rhythm of German culture, was translated into the popular language in the mysteries of the "Gartenlaube" novel in the mid 19th century.

This same device of bringing past events into the present reveals another preoccupation, i.e. the German's constant and persistent interest in the history of his country and its regions. The Frenchmen lives with his history, it is part of him; he does not need to contemplate it all the time. For the German, preoccupied with problems of political disunity and regional differences, the question of "what is German" never dies out.
Perhaps that is why the historical novel is relatively rare in France, whereas in Germany not only does it flourish in long, weighty tomes (one need name only Gustav Freytag's *Die Ahnen* and Felix Dahn's *Ein Kampf um Rom*), even non-historical novels are likely to have some historical core in them. One need but read Marlitt's descriptions of Schloss Godesbeck, or of Mainau's castle, or the vivid images she constructs of the old merchant house of the Hellwigs, with the old Hirschsprung shield still over the door (thus proving its great tradition), or the picture of the solid merchant homes in *Die Frau mit den Harfunkelsteinen* and *Das Heideprinzesschen* to understand the architectural reality of history to the German mind. But it is not the reality that lives within, it is the reality contemplated from without, an archaeological crosscut of the terrain, as it were. Perhaps it is no accident that it was a German who first dug for Troy.

If one turns from the plots and the descriptive facts of Marlitt's novels to the heroes and heroines and the villains of her stories one is immediately struck first by the description of the families, and then by the descriptions of individuals. The family, as it emerges from the *Gartenlaube* stories, is a large one, though not because there are many children, for as a matter of fact, there are very rarely more than two children in the Marlitt family, or in families discussed by H. Werner and W. Heimburg. Rather, the family is large because so many peripheral members live together. The grandparents are an integral part of the family circle (Familienkreis) — more often the maternal than the paternal grandparents — and in some cases they stay with the son-in-law even after the wife has died (cf. *Die Zweite Frau*.
In addition, the family seems to be incomplete without at least one, but more often a larger number of unmarried aunts. A solid middle-class family without a bevy of Tanten seems almost inconceivable and we find that this is true not only in the novels of the three authoresses, but of the large majority of "Gartenlaube" novels. They help in rearing the children; they help in the household; and, should the mother die, they take over and keep the family circle going, and give it stability and a sense of continuity if a new wife is brought into the family. They are usually the father's sisters, and since in all the "Gartenlaube" marriages the husband is considerably older than the wife, they too are almost a generation removed from her. Perhaps it is this age difference which makes the father appear to be the Erzieher (educator -- one who brings up), whereas the mother is the friend, and always -- if she is dead and living only in the memory of the child -- the child longs for her as for a friend. If, as in Die Zweite Frau, the father does not perform his proper function, the mother has to perform both tasks until she can show the father that he is neglecting his duty.

The personality types which emerge from the "Gartenlaube" novels are, as one might well expect, surprisingly like one another in their appearance. One could easily create a composite picture of the Marlitt-Werner-Heimburg hero and heroine and the villain, and fit them into any of their stories, as well as into any other of the "Gartenlaube" novels. It is interesting to note here that while the heroine is always what she appears to be and never has anything to conceal, both the hero and the villain (who, in the villain's case may be either a man or a woman) never appear to be what they are, -- the
villain hides something bad, the hero something good. It is almost as if the
hero had to appear to be bad in order in the end to prove his goodness. The
change is instantaneous, for it needs but a catalytic situation to reveal
the hero in his true light. In Goldelse, after having been harsh and bitter,
the hero, von Weide, suddenly becomes sweet and tender when the heroine is
in danger. In Die Zweite Frau the hitherto cynical Mainau shows himself to be
a tender-hearted loving husband when the heroine, his second wife, is about
to leave him. The social climber of Die Frau mit den Karfunkelsteinen stands
suddenly revealed as a humanitarian. The weakling rich boy of Glück Auf
suddenly appears as the only strong man capable of saving his father's mines
from ruin. The rigid, uncompromising Johannes of Das Geheimnis der alten
Mausell suddenly is a human, malleable man. The change comes as a surprise
to all those around him, but never to the reader, for in spite of the hero's
bad and cold behavior there are always traits that reveal his true nature to
the attentive reader. (Very often the hero's true nature is disclosed in a
sudden, ephemeral gleam of his "deep, mysterious eyes."

As Goldelse provides one of the standard plots, so the girl, Goldelse,
equally provides the standard types of the heroine: Goldelse herself, with
her rounded oval face, her white, narrow forehead (the narrow forehead is
as indispensable for feminine beauty as the broad forehead is the prerequisite
for masculine handsome), with her "eyes which laugh in the sunshine of
youth" could very easily be Margarete of Die Frau mit den Karfunkelsteinen
or the heroine of Im Hause des Kommerzienrates or of Heideprinzessinnen. If
one substitutes sweet melancholy for laughing youth in the eyes, we also have
the portraits of Juliane, the second wife, and Felicitas, the juggler's daughter.
The Walde is the typical hero. Elizabeth's father here gives the
second clue to the reader when he warns the audience that all too
soon he:

... "The man is interesting to me because one is led to think whether he
really is what he appears to be, a wholly cold, passionless nature—
and he has an impenetrable gaze; not the slightest movement of his features
reveals the direction of his thoughts.

... I can easily understand that he is considered unbelievably
haughty but I cannot believe that such a foolish delusion should be
hidden behind these strangely intellectual features. His face always
has the expression of cold tranquility of which I spoke, but between
the eyebrows there is an unguarded line. The hasty observer would
probably call him gloomy, I find him melancholy and sad.

A whole gallery of heroes is represented in this portrait.

The female-villain is usually the hypocritical pietist, the Fräulein.

The Baronesse in Goldelse and Frau Bellich of "Mensel's secret" are archetypes:

with their pale round faces, broad chins and cold, cold eyes. They are
good-looking, perhaps even beautiful, but they have no warmth, no charm,
no "melting sweetness which a rich inner life breathes over one's traits"
(Schmelz, den ein reiches Leben über die Züge ...). Their narrow
compressed lips give away their real nature — cold and evil.

10. "Mir ist der Mann dadurch interessant geworden, dass man angeregt
wird, darüber nachzudenken, ob er wirklich das ist was er scheint, nämlich
eine völlig kalte leidenschaftlose Natur ... ein un durchdringlicher Blick;
nicht die leiseste Bewegung in den Zügen verrät die Richtung seiner Gedanken.
... Ich begreffe vollkommen dass man ihn für unbegrenzt hochmütig hält,
und doch kann ich mir andersseits wieder nicht einreden, dass hinter den
merkwürdig geistvollen Gesichtszügen ein so törichter Wahn Grund und Boden
habe. Sein Gesicht hat stets den Ausdruck kalter Ruhe, dessen ich gedachte,
nur zwischen den Augenbrauen liegt ein, ich möchte sagen, unbewachter Zug;
ein flüchtiger Beobachter würde ihm höchstwahrscheinlich finster nennen, ich
aber finde ihm melancholisch schwermäßig."

11. Das Geheimnis der Alten Mensel.
As for the male villain he more often is a silly dandy who is very attractive but whose eyes have no depths and never show the sudden flash which reveals the mentally rich person before he has spoken a single word.

Such are the heroes and villains who live in the pages of the Gartenlaube and people the fantasy of their authors. Such are the situations which serve the wishful thinking of the 19th century middle-class writers, the physical stereotypes which they recognize, their extraordinary nostalgia for the past, their unshaking belief in the permanence and solidity of the family and their melancholy belief that only suffering and evil lead to good. Their heroes and heroines embody all that is German custom (Deutsche Sitte) and German tradition (Deutsche Puecht) while their villains -- hypocrites that they are -- right easily go over to an enemy. Hidden depths, hidden strength and great humanitarianism, these are the qualities of the German man; softness, tenderness, greatness of soul, these are the qualities of the German woman.

The family is shown to be a closed circle, tightly knit and loving, united against the outside world in which both the upbringing (Erziehung) and instruction and education (Bildung) take place. The family is the garden in which the young plant, the child grows, tended by faithful gardeners. The loving, perfect family produces children who know good from evil, and who take their appointed, useful place in a healthy, happy society. Thus Gartenlaube was holding a magic mirror to the German society of the mid 19th century -- a magic mirror which pictured the readers as they wished to be, but behind these fantasy images stands the shadow of what they were.
Two Related Themes

-Zelley Schargo Hoyt-

The Gartenlaube had quite consciously set itself an ideal and claimed to have the circle of the family in its best form -- the closed, inner circle, which always in the end emerges triumphant against the outside world.

Examining the world of these novels, we find, in effect, a concentric series of circles, at the center of which is the family with all its immediate and peripheral members. The circle beyond the family would be the neighborhood, the very immediate neighborhood -- houses perhaps with gardens adjoining, or houses across from each other, where the neighbors' children (Nachbarkinder) play with one another -- a source of common memories through life. (In novels the sudden memory of neighborhood games may bring adults together again.) The next outer circle would be that of village or town in which one grew up, beyond this there is the region in which a town is situated and to which one feels real loyalty. All of Marlitt's novels deal with some undefined region of Thuringia. Hermann Schmid and Ludwig Ganghofer wrote only about Bavaria. Most of Werner's novels dealt with North Germany. Theodor Storm wrote about Schleswig-Holstein, Rudolf Hersog never left the Rhine. All these regions are in turn united within the larger circle of the German fatherland. Beyond that circle there is still another, that circle of Germans who live outside the fatherland, the Germans-abroad (Auslandsdeutsche), who physically have separated themselves from their home (Heimat) and who nevertheless still and always belong to it. One of the great appeals of the Gartenlaube, as well as one of the reasons for its enormous success, was that this magazine, focusing on the family, reached all these
other circles, including that of the Auslandesdeutsche. Friedrich Schraeder, who collaborated with the magazine until his death in 1872, was one of the very important figures in translating the ideas of Deutschtum and Auslandesdeutschum, for the readers of the Gartenlaube. The term Heimat refers mainly to the most immediate circle, but at the same time includes all the concentric circles. Because of this complex picture, the problem of the outsider becomes a very complex one too.

In the popular novels there are two types of outsiders who are always considered to be outsiders. They belong to none of the concentric circles, and they have no way of entering them. They are the Gypsy and the Jew.

In the Volksliteratur the Jew is very often the wandering merchant, who carries his wares from one place to another, brings gossip from the neighboring villages or from far distant lands, never stays long anywhere and seems to have no home. He is tolerated, but has no attraction. The Gypsy has an entirely different role. His freedom and mobility are admired nostalgically.

Jolly is the gypsy life
Needs to pay no tax to the king
Jolly is it in the greenwood
Where the gypsy lives.

These are the words of a very old folksong. In the novels, the lure of

1. Auslandesdeutsche includes all those living outside the frontiers of Germany on the European continent as well as the so-called Ubersuedesdeutsche (overseas Germans), who lived beyond the sea -- in German colonies or in America.

2. Lustig ist das Zigeunerleben
Farisha
Brauchen dem Kaiser kein Zins zu geben
Farisha
Lustig ist es im grünen Wald
Wo der Zigeuner aufenthalt.
gypsy life and the gypsy's inability to enter into any of the safe circles
are usually symbolized by the love of a young man for the gypsy girl
(2: same kind) whose restless spirit even marriage and a family will not
hold. The love of Post von Gadowitz for the gypsy in Marlitt's Godela is
a classic example of this kind of tale.

Leaving aside those outsiders who never can be reintegrated into any
of the circles, one must now consider what happens within the circles.
Who is an outsider? What makes an outsider? Where is one an outsider?
It is quite striking that, contrary to the gypsy and the Jew, the
outsider in popular German literature of the 19th century is not one who
finds himself completely outside the circles. He is much more a peripheral
figure, sometimes on the periphery of the last circle, sometimes on the
periphery of the central circle. He never seems to be completely cut off
either from his family or his country, or his Deutschtum. The outsider
who, like Karl May, finds it impossible to adjust to the social reality,
escapes into a dream, escapes by becoming a lonely figure who does not even
fit into the circle of the überseedeutscher. But there is one thread that
always holds him, almost like an invisible umbilical cord, and that is his
heimweh, -- his nostalgia for his circle, his Heimat.

If one were to look for some common denominator for all the various types
of outsider (excluding Gypsy and Jew of course) one might say that they are
individuals who are maladjusted in their immediate circles, who seem to be
different from others, yet in the end they almost always in some way or
other re-enter the circles, either one of the larger circles or the inner
one of the family. It is significant that in the literature of the 19th
In the historical pattern of the early 19th century, when the Napoleonic Wars were wreaking havoc in central Europe and Napoleon himself was erasing the shadow that had been the Holy Roman Empire from the European map, the youth of the Germanies was, as it seemed, suddenly inspired by fiery patriotism and desires of internal reform, the outsider is the individual who seeks for things beyond the defined horizons, the one who departs on a quest for truth and beauty, as Heinrich von Ofterdingen searches for the blue flower (Novellis, 1802) -- the romantic desire for the poetic reality. In the search for the blue flower we have, right from the beginning, one of the accepted ways in which the outsider becomes reintegrated, -- i.e. by loving and understanding the nature, nature around him. Such an outsider achieves his own peace and the world accepts him as apart, but within the circle. Even Peter Schlemihl (Chamisso, 1814), who loses his shadow, and thus his true place in society, achieves peace, contentment and happiness, and a place in society by following his vocation of "scientist of nature."

A generation later, when ideas of reform were becoming ideas of revolution and active intervention, when the youth came together in Burschenschaften, when, in order to live at peace in any one of the circles, one had to take a stand, the outsider was the individual who refused to take a stand -- the man who was torn between inner and outer conflict. He was the gerriessener (torn) hero of the young German movement. Society seemed to push him out,
he belonged nowhere, he doubted everything and himself, and yet in the end he returned into the circle of his immediate surroundings, the circle of the family and particularly that of friendship. The young count of Outskow's Die Ritter vom Geiste, is one of these "torn" outsiders who tries to integrate back into his sphere by becoming active in politics, achieving status by persecuting his liberal friends, and yet feels himself outside everything until he gives up his position, leaves his country but enters once more the circle of the knights of the spirit, the"Ritter vom Geiste."

After 1848, when the geographic and social problems of Germany emerged more clearly and definitely from the fiasco of the Frankfurt parliament, when the German middle class achieved a solid position and the German family was consciously thought of as the fountainhead of all German existence, the outsider became a more clearly recognized figure -- he was then, as one novelist put it "unheilbar unbürgerlich" (incurably bourgeoise). In a society which now definitely seemed to accept the group as the unit, he was the "Einzelgänger" -- the man who walked alone; the "Eigenbrötler" -- the man who baked his own bread; sometimes the "Sonderling" -- the"queer one"; more rarely the "Aussenseiter" -- the outsider in literal statement. In a society actively engaged in seeking the benefits of the industrial revolution, which hit Germany with full force after 1870, the outsiders were the dreamers, the shy ones, who looked for peace rather than truth; schüch (shy), sinnierend (thoughtful), verträumt (dreamy) are the adjectives which most often describe them. Their life goes on within. They are verinnerlichte Menschen -- deep, intense human beings.

The Gartenlaube regarded the portrayal of the family group as its special
Outsider

spheres. Hence, whatever outsiders there are in the "Gartenlaube" novels, are 
outsiders to the family group -- and there are but few. The fictional 
output of the 19th century outside the Gartenlaube shows a number of these 
who are intensely searching for peace, for a reintegration into the social 
structure. If they are women, they very often find integration by finding 
a soulmate who understands them, and together they now create their own 
family group. Heinrich's Mammell Unmutz (1891) or her heroines in Unverstanden 
(1880) or Die Andere (1888) are such female outsiders, as is Helene Schlam's 
Leslie (1911).

The type of the feminine outsider is rather rare in 19th century German 
literature; the male figure is much more common. Their type is perhaps 
symbolized in Hermann Conrad's Adam Mensch (1889): "He has no fate, he is 
fate" (Er hat kein Schicksal sondern ist nur das Schicksal). He is the 
outsider, who really stands on the rim of each concentric circle and not 
outside it, acts as the deus ex machina, as the teacher, as the guide. He 
becomes the wise man who brings one circle in contact with the other. 
Stifter's novels, including Nachsommer are full of such types, who find peace 
by studying nature and pass their wisdom on to the younger generation, 
molding them so as to take their place in the social pattern. Wilhelm 
Raabe's Leonhard Heigebucher (Raabe, 1867), who has been in Africa and who 
seems to have grown strange in "Europa, in Deutschland, in Nippenburg, und 
Braunau" that is, in each of the narrower concentric circles, finds his 
place again by watching over the troubles of others, as a "Wächter vor einem 
Unglück in einer großen See von Plagen," -- as the guardian against misfortune 
in a sea of troubles.
Georg Ehrensperger, (Schiefer, 1907) the son of a rich baker, dreamy
and shy, finds his place by teaching music to the blind. Erhard der Lächter
(Naupmann, 1907) becomes a wise man who finds his peace and place in his
solitude but stands as example for others.

Very few of these outsiders find themselves completely outside any other
circles. One exception is Friedemann Bach, the youngest of Bach's children.
Injustice has made him insane and he escapes society by following those
eternal outsiders, the gypsies. Another is the tailor of Ulm (Pyth, 1906)
who was born too early, who wanted to fly and who tried to re-enter a circle
by becoming a soldier, but dies insane. These voluntary outsiders, "outsiders
of the soul" almost always, then find a way to re-enter their circles.

But what happens to those who are made outsiders by circumstance, by
a crime they or their parents have committed, or by a profession such as
being executioner, for instance? Here it seems that society pushes them out
and closes itself completely against them. And yet we find that they too
have avenues of reintegration. There seem to be two ways open to them:
One is by becoming better than that group which seems to have pushed them out:
they save someone, they prove their greater strength and intelligence, they
suffer and their suffering is for the good of the community. In the end,
not only are they accepted once more, but they are accepted as leaders. In
Ernst Zahn's Albin Indergang (1901), the father was a poacher (Wilderer),
and the village despises the son for it. But he proves himself; he participates
in salvaging efforts when an earth-avalanche buries half the village; he
participates in the defense of the community in time of war. His strength,
intelligence and goodness win everyone over and in the end Albin becomes the
mayor of the village. This type of story is particularly frequent in the
Volksroman, the regional novels of north and south, represented in the
Gartenlaube by Hermann Schmid and Ludwig Ganghofer.

There is yet another way in which an outsider of this type can find his
place once more within the safe circles of the society and that is by
atoning for his guilt, whatever he may have done, through voluntary death.
"He has atoned for his guilt" (Er hat seine Schuld gesehmnt) is an ever-
recurring sentence in these 19th century novels. The "Gartenlaube" stories,
intent on bringing only the "beautiful" — though there are many stories of
atonement through suffering and death while saving someone — only infrequently
resort to suicide as a solution. But more than ten percent of the novels
5 contained in the Romanführer have a suicide in them.

In the novels the problem of suicide is not only tied closely to that
of the outsider, it is also closely interwoven with the whole problem of
atonement for guilt, the whole attitude towards guilt. When one brings up
the frequency of suicides in German literature — an observation which holds
true even in contemporary literature — one is often confronted with statements
by critics and by informants that these suicides derive from Goethe's Werther
— as glib an assertion as the 19th century French ditty which sang "C'est à
cause de Voltaire, c'est à cause de Rousseau" about the French Revolution.
Such a belief in no way expresses why Werther committed suicide, nor does it
analyze the reasons why the majority of heroes leave life voluntarily
(freiwillig aus dem Leben geschieden) — as the formula states.

5. The Romanführer is a dictionary of writers and novels selected
in terms of their contemporary significance and popularity.
By committing suicide, Werther is punishing himself for loving Lotte
and expiating that guilt. Significantly enough, his guilt and atonement
made him immortal, and he entered not only into the circle of Lotte's family,
but into the circle of Deutschtum. In the later novels suicide is rarely
if ever, an attempt to escape from life; it is rather the means par excellence,
of returning, of achieving life through death, innocence through guilt.
The memory of the suicide who has atoned in such a way is salubrär — cleansed
of all guilt; his atonement is fully accepted and his sacrifice is never
made in vain.

Among the earliest stories of this kind are Achim von Arnim's Armut,
Schuldtum, Schuldt und Busse der Gräfin Dolores (1810) and Clemens Brentano's
Geschichte vom braven Kasperl und dem schönen Amorli (1817). But the
literature of the latter part of the 19th century also includes a considerable
number of atonement suicides, connected very often with financial speculations
which endangered the safety of the family — a common enough occurrence in the
"Gründerjahre." Atonement for guilt, self-inflicted punishment through
suicide seem to put a very different light on guilt. It is not necessarily
a stigma which makes one an outsider, but a temporary trial from which one
emerges, even if no longer alive, as a better and truer self and a fully
accepted member of one's circle. Goethe's "Die und Become" (Stirb und werde)
seems to gain a new perspective, when seen against this background, but as a
motto of this whole trend in literature one might rather take the sentence
written by Thomas Mann, one of the prophets of "Young Germany": "... The
people which has never been burdened by guilt, is the unhappiest. It has no
history. Guilt is the first step into world-history ..." Death is a
reintegration into one's Heimat where one's memory lives on, untainted.
This study is an analysis of a group of German children's attitudes towards the handling of wrong-doing and "making good again" (wieder gut machen) expressed in a series of story completions where the plots of six situations, each concerned with an act of voluntary or involuntary wrong-doing by a child, were presented to the subjects--children in school--who were then asked to write out the denouement. The intention of the study was to see what factors in a series of given situations were regarded as significant by the children who wrote the answers and how their attitudes, reflected in the story solutions, were related to attitudes expressed by German adults. The problem was one of working out common underlying patterns of thought which would give insight into children's expectations of behavior expressed in fantasy.

The Story Completion Form which was the basis for the study was worked out by two American social psychologists, Dr. Gladys L. Anderson and Dr. Harold H. Anderson, and the test was administered under their direction to children in a number of schools in a German city in the summer of 1952. Thus the six plot situations proposed to the children for solution were not specifically German, but only the solutions to the problems given.

This study is based on a sample of the total material obtained by Dr. and Mrs. Anderson and consists of the answers given by 150 children (56 boys, 94 girls).

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. and Mrs. Anderson, both of Michigan State College, for permission to make an independent analysis of this sample of their material. As the present analysis was made entirely without reference to their own analysis and the conclusions reached by them, they have no responsibility for the conclusions reached here.
The method of analysis, an adaptation of pattern analysis popularly
used for studies of public opinion, was open-ended and qualitative. The
procedure followed was to synthesize the several plot solutions given for
each of the six stories and to work out the plot details selected for
emphasis and elaborated in the answers for each story version. As it was
found in making the analysis that (with one or two exceptions that will be
mentioned later) there were no consistent differences in the handling of
solutions by boys and by girls, or by children of Protestant and Catholic
background, or by the children in the different schools, the total sample
was handled as a single unit in the final analysis.

When the detailed analysis of the plot solutions of the six stories had
been made, a series of questions related to the material as a whole was
raised, i.e. what are the common factors in the alternative solutions proposed
in the several stories as far as the handling of plot is concerned? What
seem to be the necessary steps in arriving at a conclusion? What are the
children's expressed expectations about relationships between adult and child
in the type of situation given (four and possibly five of the stories present
situations involving adult and child -- mother and son, mother and daughter,

2. In this connection, cf. Metraux, 1943.

3. The entire sample was used in making the analysis, but in the case
of certain stories, the detailed analysis is based on a portion of the
sample. Cf. Section II below for summaries of the plot situations and of
the answers given.

4. On this point only those stories which had been completed by the
subjects could be included; hence the total included in the analysis is
smaller than the total on which work was done on other points.
teacher (male) and children, teacher (woman) and girl pupil, boy and a possible adult, man or woman (not specified)? What are the children's expressed expectations about relationships between children (two of the stories explicitly include two boys; two other stories suggest the possibility of relationships between children being included in the plot solution)? And, finally, how do the children reflect attitudes towards upbringing and personal relations that are found in current German adult literature on child care and pedagogy and in popular German juvenile fiction? In considering the material it should be emphasized that these story solutions, written by ten and eleven year old children, reflect a child's view of the world in fantasy, but one that is meant to be presented to adults. In the instructions given the children they were told: "We do not want to know who wrote the stories" and also "Professor and Mrs. Anderson will take your stories back to America with them."

This presentation is divided into three parts. The first consists of a brief summary of the six plot situations and a discussion of the principal conclusions. The second gives the analysis of each of the plot solutions to the several plot situations together with some discussion of particular points that came out in the detailed analyses. The third summarizes the administration of the test in the German schools.

5. Cf. Section III below.
I. Basic Attitudes Expressed in the Story Solutions

Five of the six stories have in common the fact that a child is faced with a situation where something has gone amiss through its own fault or by accident; in one an adult may or may not involve children in something which has gone amiss. Four (and possibly five) of the stories deal with problems of loss: a cap is lost, some food is lost, some money is lost, a school composition book is lost, a football kicked against a window may be lost; the other story involves accidental damage to another's property (which is also a possible interpretation in other of the story situations). Thus, the plot situations concern variations on two themes. In four (and possibly six) of the stories the child is or may be faced by conflict with an adult; in two (and possibly three other) stories there is possible conflict between two or more children. Thus, the plot situations present, at least in a limited way, possibilities for the comparison of child-adult and child-child relationships.

a. Story Plots and Plot Solutions

1. The Lost Cap: Two boys are going to school. Franz throws Peter's cap into a tree where neither can reach it.

Three alternative plot solutions are proposed by the writers: (a) Franz (who threw the cap) gets it down again, sometimes only after Peter has exerted pressure by crying or by bringing in or threatening to bring in an adult (own mother, Franz's mother, own father, teacher). The boys then go

6. The story titles have been given by myself for convenience in identification. Each of the plots is outlined in detail in Section II below.
off to school, friends again. (2) Peter (whose cap was thrown) retaliates by starting a fight, throwing up Franz's cap, etc. When he gets even, and the cap is recovered, the boys go off to school. (c) Peter has to get his own cap. If Franz helps and/or apologizes all is well; if not, the friendship breaks up -- Franz (or Peter) has to get a new friend. Similar motivations are suggested for all three plots: it was done out of high spirits, to see what Peter would do, to make Peter late to school, etc.; this does not necessarily affect the outcome.

Although this is a story that concerns two boys, adults (or older persons) are brought in three different ways, suggesting how the adult world impinges on the child world: (a) the wrong-doer asks an older person to help him set things right (Franz gets assistance in getting down Peter's cap); (b) one boy (or both of them) becomes afraid when the cap is caught in the tree -- one (or both) fears the scolding that will follow on the loss of the cap and this then supplies motivation for their further acts -- Peter cries, Franz decides to help Peter, etc; (c) the victim calls on an adult to force the wrong-doer to set things right. This is an alternative to personal retaliation. Thus, the stronger person who is feared (mother who will scold because the cap is lost and who may then forbid the friendship to continue) is brought into the situation as a defender of the victim.

For purposes of comparison, a small number of interviews were made with American and French informants (children and young adults). These will be referred to occasionally throughout this study. It is significant both Americans and French repudiated the idea of calling in an adult to settle the problem in this story. A French girl (young adult) describes a comparable experience and says that the teacher whom she asked for help (French adults are expected to interfere in actual fights) punished her for doing so and sent her back to get her hair ribbon as best she could by herself.
2. The Lost Sausages. Michael plays with his friends on his way home from an errand and a dog steals part of a package of sausages which he has put down on the curb.

From the point of view of the writers, this story seems to involve two acts of wrong-doing: playing while on an errand and losing part of the sausages. Three plot solutions are proposed: (a) Michael comes home and tells the truth; (b) Michael modifies the truth to omit the circumstances of playing; (c) Michael tries to get out of the situation, usually by telling a lie -- and usually by telling a lie that is easily uncovered and less probable than the truth.

Irrespective of the solution proposed, Michael is punished in other ways; in some cases, he has to go and buy more sausages with his own money. Thus the children accept the fact that wrong-doing must be made good both by suffering and by actual restitution. The one Michael who completely gets away with the loss is one who secretly gets his own money and buys more sausages; the writer then says that Michael's mother

The theme of restitution runs through American and French answers as well. However, in American answers the parent is likely to help the child make restitution (advancing needed allowance, etc.), whereas in the German version, the child has to use its own private resources, so that restitution in this case seems to involve invasion of privacy -- the wrong-doer ceases to have rights to privacy. (On this see below, The Lost Money.) In a French answer, the emphasis shifted away from the child's act to concern about the food: were the remaining sausages (bitten by the dog) still fit to eat? This did not come up in the German versions, where Father might be given the remaining sausages and Michael (and perhaps Mother) forced to do without.
was "content." (This solution is a major one in a later story, The Broken Window, see below.)

Irrespective of the solution proposed, Michael signals to parent, apparently involuntarily, that something is wrong; he blushes, stammers, he tells a silly lie which the mother sees through. Occasionally, in spite of the signal "nothing happens." This blushing, stammering, improbable lying response -- signalling wrong-doing -- is a recurrent theme in these stories and is likewise recurrent in stories written about children for children. It seems to tie into two important themes in German education:

(a) the omniscience of the parent or educator (nowadays, in child care and pedagogical literature, this is phrased as a need for the parent to learn to know what is right and to make himself -- or herself -- omniscient. The counterpoint -- that the parent does not know, that children keep secrets -- is a recurrent theme in informants' statements); and (b) that the usual way of making good again is by immediate, voluntary confession (see below, The Broken Window). Thus, the children not only suggest that the adult can know what is going on but also that they themselves give the adult involuntary clues to the situation; the child does not have sufficient control to protect itself in the face of superior knowledge and insight.

3. The Lost Money. A teacher misses some money that was lying on his desk.

In the three solutions proposed for this story, it is assumed that the teacher believes there is a thief in the class and in most versions the

9. The problem of German interpretations of "spontaneity" is dealt with elsewhere in this report.
Teacher, usually after asking for a confession (public), searches the class -
the desks, the books and school bags, and the children's clothes; (a) the teacher
searches and a thief is discovered (or confesses, or gives himself away,
or -- under pressure -- is given away); (b) the teacher searches and nothing
is found (the outcome is inconclusive); sometimes the teacher punishes the
whole class or pays himself back from the class funds; (c) the teacher
searches but later finds that he himself is responsible for the "disappearance"
of the money.

In this story the children take it for granted that the teacher will
believe there is a thief, but not that the teacher is omniscient or that he
is able to discover the thief. The teacher searches the whole class in
order to find the one possible culprit, that is, when something wrong has
been done, the writers assume everyone's privacy will be invaded. (This
is not made explicit in any way.)

In a few cases, the thief is permitted to make a private confession and
extenuating circumstances are invoked (mother was sick, etc.) and the
thief (except in one story where the thief did not confess the same day)
is completely forgiven. (In contrast those who were caught had a "bad"
purpose, e.g. the culprit wanted to buy a ball, or candy, etc.) Thus it is
suggested that the person who confesses a wrongdoing has a "good" reason
and will be completely protected by the fact of confession. It is indicated,

10. This point is made explicitly in American answers: the teacher
thinks there must be a thief but hesitates to ask too much or to institute
a search because of the children who are innocent. A French answer lays
the blame on the adult ("What was the teacher doing with money in school?
Money and school don't go together...") thus shifting the focus of the story.
Furthermore, that these confusing-thieves henceforth reform. And the story goes no further.

In contrast, the thief who is caught publicly is punished in various ways and the circle of punishers spreads beyond the school room to principal and parents. In contrast to the children, the teacher -- when he finds that he himself had mislaid the money -- is unlikely to make a public statement. The adult is able to protect himself, where the child cannot.

4. The Inkspot on Mother's New Coat. Elisabeth, who is doing her lessons, tries on Mother's new coat and gets an inkspot on it. Mother comes into the room as she is trying to remove the inkspot.

There are two acts of wrong-doing (a) interrupting lessons, and (b) trying on Mother's new coat. In this story there is a difference between the girls' answers and the boys' answers, in that the girls (the story is about a girl) lay more stress on the emotional aspects of the situation and also write more about what happens to the coat, whereas the boys are more matter of fact and are more likely to emphasise the interrupted lessons.

There is little clear-cut plot development of this story. Elisabeth is scolded and punished; sometimes (more often boys) the spot is taken out, sometimes not. Sometimes the child has to pay for having the coat fixed. In a few cases Mother threatens to tell Father. The emphasis is on punishment.

5. The Broken Window. Two boys are playing football on a street.

Manfred kicks the ball into a window which is cracked. Karl thinks someone came to the window. No one saw them.

In this story, two acts of wrong-doing are involved: (a) playing
Football on the street instead of in the sport place; (b) breaking the window.

In all versions of the story solution the boys first run away and hide.

There are then three main alternatives: (a) They get away with it and decide henceforth to play ball on the sport place; (b) they are caught (in some versions) and voluntarily confess and make restitution (using own savings or working for money) and nothing further happens; or (c) they are caught -- sometimes it is a neighbor, sometimes the house owner (man or woman), sometimes own mother who finds out -- and fall to punishment.

Thus the children who learn the lesson are those who get away with it (see above The Lost Sausages and The Lost Money) and those who confess and make good of their own volition (here using own money to make reparations) is the choice of the wrong-doer, not of the punisher as in the case of some versions of The Lost Sausages and The Lost Money -- where the teacher takes class money to make up the loss) are absolved from punishment. The children who are caught are punished -- some of them by having to pay for the window with their own money and some of them having to pay a police fine in addition, etc. There is no question of the two boys quarreling with each other except when they are caught -- then they break down and accuse each other. (The friendship is also broken when adults intervene -- though at the request of one of the boys -- in the story of The Lost Cap.)

6. The Lost Composition Book. Else, who often hands in compositions late, writes one on time but loses her composition book on the way to school.
Two main solutions are proposed for this story: Else goes to school and

tells the truth; then, in about half the cases, the teacher does not believe

her, but whether she believes her or not, Else is punished in various ways.

In a much smaller number of cases Else tells a lie (often an improbable lie

that worsens her situation); in about half the cases the lie is believed;

in most cases again, Else is punished in various ways. As in the case of

The Lost Sausages, the improbable lie serves to give Else away. As in other

stories, the punishment spreads to involve others who also punish Else. In

this story the underlying assumption seems to be that a child who has done

wrong in the past will be punished in the present, even when he is not now

actually at fault. One writer sums up the situation by saying: "That is

what happens to disorderly children." And another: "Who once has lied will

not be believed even when he tells the truth."

There are three minor contrasting plots: Another pupil brings back

Else's lost book and Else is vindicated (again an accusation of the teacher

as in The Lost Money); the teacher forgives Else and henceforth she is a

model pupil (a repetition of the theme of getting away with it -- where (?)

truth is a confession); the whole story of the loss was a lie and Else goes

on without interference to even more reprehensible actions.

11. These moralistic points, not very often made explicitly in these

story completions, echo the cautionary tales given young German children,

e.g. Der Struwwelpeter (written by a father for his four-year old son in

1845 and still one of the very popular small children's books).
Attitudes Expressed in the Story Solutions

Extraverted plot. The outstanding point about the 2

consequences of misdeeds. Except in The Lost Cap (where the main characters are two boys), the climax scene, which is likely also to be the choosing scene of the story, is most often that in which punishment is meted out to the culprit.

The moral atmosphere of these stories is entirely secular; moral values are enforced by adults (parent and teacher, the principal of a school, the police) or by the child itself; there is no reference in these stories to supernatural agents of punishment or of protection against punishment.

In this respect, the stories are very like juvenile literature of the late 1920s and early 1930s (which is still very popular), including stories by such different writers as Kästner, Speyer, Ury, and the authors of the Trotzkopf series.

Although the meting out of punishment is a central theme in the stories of adult and child, there is a difference between those in which a specific child is confronted by a specific adult (The Lost Sausage, The Inkspot on Mother's Coat, The Lost Composition book) and the two (The Lost Money and The Broken Window) where this is not the given situation. Faced by the


adult the child may "look for a way out," but the resolution of the plot is
likely to involve the setting out of punishment. Where the adult faces a
whole group of children (The Lost Money) any one of whom may be a culprit,
or where the children are given a chance to escape (The Broken Window)
alternative solutions (but including confession) are also likely to occur.
In The Lost Money (the one story in which the adult is the protagonist)
a thief is sought for but in a large number of versions is neither identified
nor punished and the accusation may also be turned back against the accuser.
In The Broken Window both confession and escape are important solutions.
Thus punishment appears to be inescapable if you are found out -- if
you are immediately confronted with an adult who can or who does know what
has happened. In this connection it is worth recalling a statement often
made by informants -- that for children there is an eleventh commandment:
"unless you can get away with it."

In stories involving adult and child, there is little discrimination in
the kind of punishment meted out in different situations -- scolding, slapping,
boxing ears, beating, house or school "arrest," using child's own money to
make good a loss, telling another person who then also punishes, etc., are
standard punishments for the various misdeeds described in the stories.
It appears that there is an expectation that parents (and other adults) will
respond in standard ways to any kind of wrong-doing, accidental or intentional.
However, in many versions of The Lost Sausages (where this is one of the given
possibilities) Michael attempts to improve his situation by telling his
mother only about the episode of the dog that snatched the sausages, omitting
the fact that he had loitered to play (which some mothers then fill in of
in so doing Michael tries to present himself as a victim rather than as a culprit. The dog episode plays into a very common threat made by German mothers to small children: "Watch out! Don't do such-and-such or the dog will bite you." It is a threat which child care specialists specifically warn against or use as an example in telling mothers not to attempt to educate their children through the use of threats. Thus in manipulating this story situation the writers have Michael try to make himself into a victim using a device that covertly also suggests punishment has already taken place.

In German child care literature, parents are told (1) that every misdeed must be followed by punishment, and (2) that the punishment should be appropriate to the misdeed. What the children appear to have learned is that wrong-doing is followed by punishment.

The expectation of punishment is reflected in indicators that give adults definite clues that all is not well: the culprit blushes, has a red face, stammers, cannot look at Mother. Michael, the thief, the boys who break the window, Elisabeth and Else all exhibit these symptoms of anxiety and guilt. Thus the writers assume that the child involuntarily informs against himself. In contrast, no such statement is made about the one adult (the teacher in The Lost Money) who discovers he himself is at fault.

14. Being bitten by a dog is a recurrent event in German "comic" and cautionary literature, e.g. Der Struwwelpeter, O diese Kinder, etc.

15. In this connection, however, it is important to realize that physical appearance is continually used as an indicator of character in German novels and films. The audience is given unmistakable clues to "good" and "bad" persons through descriptions of their appearance and one way of building audience tension is to raise the question of when or whether the persons in the story will recognize what audience already knows.
For each of the stories, however, alternative solutions are proposed:

1. the culprit confesses and makes good, and/or is rewarded, or the culprit gets away with it.

2. The idea of confession as a solution is most clearly worked out in The Broken Window, where the boys run away and hide and then decide to confess and replace the cracked or broken window. In the face of possible exposure and punishment, voluntary confession is chosen as the cheapest and safest course of action. (One writer has the boys make a condition in their confession: the house owner is not to tell the parents; another writer has the boys decide that it is cheaper to pay for the window than to be caught and have to pay a police fine besides.) Voluntary confession also occurs in a few versions of The Lost Money: the thief who confesses (in contrast to the one who is caught) invariably has a "good" reason -- he is a poor boy who needed money for medicine or food, etc. Thus confession seems to be intended to indicate that the individual is really "good" and should not be blamed for the incident.

3. It is significant that mere truth-telling is not equivalent to confession. In many versions of the several stories the culprit (Michael, Elisabeth, Else) tells the truth and is nevertheless punished. Telling the truth combined with a promise "never to do it again" may (or may not) have the effect of modifying the intention of the punishing parent (e.g. Michael),

4. The theme of the "good" person who gets into a bad situation occurs in other story versions as well: the thief who stole the teacher's money was a "fine boy" and so no one held it against him; Else who lost her composition book was the best student in the class (a contradiction of the plot situation) and so she was not blamed. And so on.
but does not carry with it the rewards of confession. For the child who
confesses may, in fact, be rewarded (e.g. the teacher gives the thief the
already stolen money; the houseowner tells the boys that he has a spare
window and they need not pay); confession of a second fault (a lie) may
carry with it absolution from the first fault (e.g. Michael admits he has
lied about the sausages and his mother says that she will not punish him
because "now you are telling the truth"). Confession seems to be most
effective when the culprit might have got away with it: the teacher has
not found out who took the money; the boys (who confess because they may be
cought) have not been caught. Voluntary confession seems to be valued to
the extent that (from the viewpoint of the child) discovery is forestalled
and that (from the viewpoint of the adult) discovery might not have been
affected. Confession seems to be one way of handling the problem of the
omniscient parent who (as it is continually recognized in child care
literature, in fiction, and in the reminiscences of informants speaking
as parents or in terms of their own childhood) is, after all, by no
means omniscient in fact.

In these stories, the third alternative -- getting away with the wrong
act -- is, in an objective sense, the most effective one in that, in the

17. The rewards of confession -- combined with getting away with it --
are the focal point of a recent popular German novel (cf. Kades, 1951) in
which the hero, a medical student of great gifts pretends to be a doctor,
destroyed a letter exposing his position, confesses and then (having meanwhile
become a doctor by passing his examinations) is tried, absolved of his crime,
and rewarded with a prized position. The assumption in this case, just as
in the stories told by the children, is that the doctor is fundamentally a
"good" (and exceptionally gifted) person who is put in a difficult situation
and should not be punished for a technical deception.
versions told by the children, the culprit *himself* resolves to do the right thing henceforth.

In one respect, voluntary confession which is followed by forgiveness and getting away with it are equivalent to each other: the child who is forgiven and perhaps rewarded by the adult (the teacher gives the thief the money; the teacher gives Else a new notebook) resolves to reform; likewise the child who gets away with it decides to reform -- the two boys have learned that the place to play ball is the sport place and henceforth play there.

The difference between the two situations, as presented in the stories, is that confession presupposes an acquiescent adult and has the effect of re-establishing warm relations between child and adult, whereas getting away with it presupposes a punishing adult and leaves the child apprehensive and apart (e.g. in one version the two boys go home "sad and lonely").

In the one plot that involves co-equals (the two boys in *The Lost Cap*) the handling of the situation is somewhat different, but the themes appear to be related. If Franz, who threw up the cap, gets it down again, helps to get down and/or apologizes to Peter, all is well and they continue to be friends. (Here making good again in a literal sense parallels confession and freely making good in relationship to an adult.) If he refuses to get it

18. There are, however, a few versions of children who get away with it and who do not reform but thoroughly enjoy the fruits of their misdeeds, e.g. a version of *The Lost Money* in which the whole class (or a group in the class) are involved in the theft and later indulge in forbidden activities such as buying and smoking a package of cigarettes. There is also a version of *The Broken Window* where, instead of confessing, the two boys tell the woman of the house that they are going to find the culprits who are bad boys. The final step in such a story is given by only one child: the two boys gloat publicly at having gotten away with breaking the window and at that moment are unmasked and punished.
down, he may be punished through adult interference (the victim calls on someone stronger than the bully), i.e. the victim invokes the child-adult punishment pattern; or, alternatively, if Peter has to get the cap down himself, he may be left without a friend, i.e. he gets away with it but the human relationship breaks down. Here (in the loss of the friend) what is left implicit in the adult-child getting away with it theme is made explicit and the rewards of getting away with it are omitted. The third alternative solution -- Peter revenges himself on Franz and when they are even they are again friends -- suggests that retaliation is at least implicit in the stories where the teacher is proved to be wrong and (in _The Lost Money_) himself the culprit. The retaliation is indirect -- the child (writing the story) knows the truth of the matter. Where Peter asserts his equality with Franz by actual retaliation, the child asserts his strength (?) in relation to the adult by indicating that he (not the adult) knows. But whereas getting even restores the friendship of the two boys, the teacher (in most cases) does not admit his error (the child writer, not the child in the story, knows), or this step in the story is omitted entirely.

Both the stories involving adult and child and that involving the two boys indicate that in punishment there is a danger of starting a process that has no end. In some (though not all) stories it is not sufficient for one person to punish the child; instead Mother threatens to tell Father or does tell Father; Teacher tells Principal and also tells Mother, etc. Each of these persons then joins in and also punishes the culprit. Thus an ever-widening circle of strong, punishing persons presses in upon the individual who is envisioned as a culprit. The process can be triggered either by
discovery or by a victim who calls on a stranger person for help. It can be stopped by confession or by making good again -- before discovery.

In contrast, when the weak person is defined as a victim rather than a culprit (Michael tries to turn himself into a victim and in one version of the story Grandmother enters and stops Mother from boxing Michael's ears; Else is sometimes pictured as a victim -- vindicated in her position when a "bigger girl" brings the lost composition book to class or when her mother affirms her explanation) then, after suffering, he may be saved by someone with superior strength to the bully.

From the point of view of the child, however, the strong person can get away with things with impunity: in none of the stories where the teacher has misplaced the money is he discovered or called to account; in none of the stories where the teacher has disbelieved Else and so wronged her is she called to account when Else is vindicated (except, as noted above, by implication -- the child writer knows).

Characterization of personal relationships. The main points in these story completions concerning the handling of personal relationships have already been referred to and need little further elaboration.

The story situations as presented include only two of the three generations that are part of the German family system. Given the two (parent or parent

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19. On the roles of persons in the three generation family, cf. Louis Ferdinand's lengthy descriptions of his relationships to his grandfather (the Kaiser) and to his father (the former Crown Prince) and his tutors. His point of view towards his family is echoed in his political discussion of the relationship between the royal family, their advisers, and the common people of Berlin who are in a similar three step hierarchical relationship. (Louis Ferdinand, 1952.)
surrogate and child) and a situation in which the child is involved in a
misdeed the parent is pictured as someone who acts impulsively in punishment
and who majorly acts to stop something that has already happened and who
becomes kind only when the child exhibits obedience and a knowledge of what
would have been right.

It is perhaps significant that *The Broken Window* (which is open to interpre-
tation as a conflict situation between two boys) is treated as a two
generation problem as, in some versions, is *The Lost Cap*. The problems are
conceived not as between co-equals (the children tend to hang together until
faced with direct accusations) but between persons in complementary positions.
The actual parent involved in these story situations is the mother
(*The Lost Sausages, The Inkspot*), and the parent to whom difficulties are
referred in the plot solutions is more likely to be the mother than the
father; however, little differentiation is made by the children in the
expected behavior of the male and the female teacher, in the behavior of
mother and father when one or the other is drawn into the picture. The one
contrast figure (who occurs only in one version of one story) is a grandmother
who protects her grandson from excessive punishment. The range of adult
behavior and response by the child described by the children differs rather
in the amount of emotional intensity injected into the stories by different
children -- so that the stories vary all the way from straight unemotional
statements ("Elizabeth's mother took out the spot and then she went on with

20. A common complaint of subordinates in speaking of professional
superordinates is that "They do not listen," i.e., they do not hear the other's
for lessons") to tearful, emotionally fraught dialogues ("Dear, dear Nancy, please, please don't be angry, I will never do it again, oh please please; don't tell Father or else I'll be beaten, oh please.") but there is a tendency for a mood to hold consistently throughout the stories told by a particular child. Thus in those story solutions to a series of rather similar plot situations one is given little sense of sex differentiation of parental roles as these are portrayed by the children, but rather of differences in intensity and in expectations of harshness or indulgence in the fantasy picture of an adult.

In describing the relations between children (two boys in both stories where two children are mentioned in the plot situation), the boys seem to keep a straighter story line in their solutions than do the girls. The slight tendency of the girls to mix different plot elements is, however, probably only to be attributed to the fact of easier identification with the proposed situation by the boys and, perhaps, to a real lack of knowledge.

22. This statement is based on a rather rough estimate of mood changes or of mood consistency within the series of completions made by each individual respondent, not upon detailed analysis of this point. A more careful estimate was made difficult for several reasons, e.g. copying from neighbors (there was considerable evidence that children copied the idea for one or another usually not all -- story solution, but this could not be checked without a seating plan of the classes especially as practically identical stories also came from children writing in different classrooms); the story arrangements which made it easier for boys to identify with the child characters -- so that throughout there seems to be some tendency for the girls to be more punishing, more emotional, etc.

23. This is consistent with portrayals of adults in juvenile fiction, where -- in a particular family -- Father and Mother are contrasted in their character and behavior but Father or Mother may be the one who is practical or a dreamer, hasty or deliberate, etc.
on the part of girls of how two boys who are friends act to one another.

Where a group of children is opposed to adults, it appears to be assumed that the children will hang together until direct pressure is brought to bear by the adult, i.e. the two boys in The Broken Window act as a unit (in some versions they are portrayed as brothers) until and unless they are directly accused by an adult -- then they fall to quarrelling and to actual association. And even when one child brings in an adult to punish another child (e.g., Peter, who has lost his hat, calls on Mother or Teacher to force Franz to get it back) the friendship is not necessarily broken, i.e. after the teacher has punished Franz "the two boys went off joyfully together." In some versions the onus for the break in the friendship is put on the adult, i.e. "and then Peter's mother forbade him to play with Franz." Similarly, fear of adult reaction enters into the children's behavior to each other. Thus we are given a picture of solidarity of children opposed to adults and of adults (all joining together to punish a culprit) opposed to children, and of the child group breaking down under adult pressure or because adult pressure is available to a child to be used against another child.

This may be partly an age factor of the children writing the stories; for in Germany the play groups of both sexes tend to break up into groups or pairs of boys or girls somewhere between ten and twelve.

It should be remembered that both boys are equally involved in the original misdeed that precipitated the breaking of the window -- both were playing ball on the street, a forbidden activity.

It should be remembered that there are no story situations given in which an adult is pictured as agitating a child's action; the opposition is part of the story situations (not adult facilitation of various kinds) does enter in American children's story solutions.)
Summary of Main Points in Children's Stories

1. The Lost Cap

High Situation: Peter and Franz were going to school. Suddenly Peter grabs Peter's hat and throws it high in the nearest tree so that Peter cannot get it down with his hand. Franz had never done anything like that before. Franz and Peter did not have a quarrel the day before.

Why did Franz do this? What does Peter do? What does Franz think? What does Peter think?

In the story completions written by the school children, there are three principal plot solutions:

1. Franz gets the cap down again and the boys go on to school.

This is the plot that is most fully elaborated and extended in various ways, e.g.

- Peter insists that Franz get the cap and Franz does, or
- Franz refuses when Peter insists that he get his cap and Peter cries and Franz is sorry for him and gets the cap, or
- Franz refuses to get the cap when Peter insists and Peter threatens him and Franz gets the cap

And then the boys are reconciled and go on to school.

The motivations given by the writers of this group of answers vary considerably: Franz did it for a joke; out of high spirits; to tease Peter; to make Peter late for school; to make Peter angry; to see what Peter would do, etc.

In a few cases Franz has to get the help of another person (a passing man, a bigger boy, Peter himself) to get the cap down.

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1. Based on an analysis of the whole sample. Answers from boys and girls varied too much from one set of answers to another to make any significant points about sex differences. Both used the same types of plot; at most one could say that the girls tended to emphasize the punishing aspects and the breakdown of the friendship more frequently and perhaps more vehemently than the boys did.
1. Peter gets angry and goes off and they quarrel or the friendship is ended. This ending crosses over into Plot No. 2.

2. Peter has to get his own cap down himself.

In this version of the plot Peter is likely to get angry, and there are usually unpleasant consequences for Franz: Peter tells his own mother, who forbids him to play with Franz; Peter tells the teacher, who punishes Franz — or Franz is afraid that she will do so; Peter tells Franz's mother, who punishes him, etc. Alternatively, Peter decides not to tell the teacher, not to take the episode seriously, etc. — not to jeopardize the friendship.

There are, however, various mitigating circumstances that alter the conclusion of this version of the plot: Franz helps Peter get his cap down; Franz apologizes to Peter for having thrown the cap; and so on.

These are also ways of making good again — Peter may not get angry or may get over his anger and the friendship is resumed. These stories then slip over into Plot No. 1: the boys are reconciled and go to school.

3. Peter retaliates and the friendship is resumed.

In these versions of the story, the main point is not getting the cap back but getting back at Franz: Peter boxes Franz's ears; throws Franz's cap in the tree; hits him (and perhaps Franz hits back). When they have got even with each other, they are friends again. Alternatively, this also slips over into Plot No. 2 and the friendship is ended.

The motivations for this plot version are also various: Franz wants to make Peter angry; wants to know how Peter will react; thinks Peter will

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take anything; does it as a joke, etc.

The plot also slips over into Plot No. 2 in that Peter may take his revenge by telling someone else, e.g. the teacher, who punishes Franz.

In one case the teacher then gets the cap, Franz and Peter thank him and go off happily.


There are also a few other variations: e.g. a teacher was passing by and Peter did not take his cap off and therefore Franz threw it up in the tree; Franz was envious of Peter's new hat (in one solution they both get new caps); Franz was not angry at Peter but at Peter's brother; and so on.

Thus the two plots (1 and 3) with positive solutions to the problem posed turn on the questions of (a) making good again or (b) getting even.

When these alternatives are not chosen, the friendship is likely to break down -- unless the victim values the friendship too much to let one incident spoil it (or, in another case, unless the friendship itself is a secret and forbidden one).

The two boys may get angry at each other, or one gets stubborn and the other gets angry; this may result either in a temporary rift (until the stubborn one relents, the angry one gets even, etc.) or else in a permanent break.

2. On this point, cf. Hesse's novel Damion (1923), in which the hero - a young boy - is persecuted by a bully who gets secret power over him. He is rescued from the situation only when another boy, having penetrated the secret, threatens the bully and in turn becomes the main influence in the hero's life. Danger and secrecy are closely related in German juvenile and popular adult literature.
There is, however, another emotional thread running through the stories: one or the other of the boys (or both) becomes afraid; Peter is afraid that he will be punished for losing his cap, or that he will spoil his clothes if he climbs the tree; Franz gets a bad conscience when Peter cries, or gets frightened when Peter threatens him, etc. Thus possibility of fear is used by Peter as a threat, or as a retaliation, or as a punishment -- Peter threatens to go to, or does go to Mother, Father, Teacher. (In a few cases Franz gets the help of larger persons to get the cap down.)

The story suggests that friendship includes only two people and that a boy only has one friend at a time, for, as the writers say: "Now Franz has to look for a new friend"; or "Now Peter has no friend."

Even a minor incident -- where the motivation is to tease, or to annoy, or to see what will happen, or merely an explosion of wild spirits -- can be a test of friendship. The friendship can be endangered from within: Franz refuses to make good again; Peter regards the incident as a provocative one. Or it can be endangered from without: Peter will be blamed (by his parents) for losing his cap, etc. The significant point is that Peter calls in Teacher, Mother, Father, etc. as a means of retaliation or as a threat. (In one story, Peter goes to tell his father and then Franz gets the cap back and then the writer is ambiguous as to whether Peter merely threatened to tell Father or actually did tell him, for he has Peter say it was lucky Franz got the cap "or you would have had my father to deal with." The weaker person calls on someone stronger than the bully to set things right; sometimes this is a person by whom
1. The Lost Sausages

Plot Situation: The mother sends Michael to the butcher. He is to buy two pair of fresh sausages. On the way home he lays the package of sausages on the curb and plays with his friends for a little while. Suddenly a wolfhound runs up and pulls a pair of sausages out of the package and runs away with them. Michael wraps up the rest of the sausages and brings them home. What does Michael say to his mother? What does the mother do? What does Michael think then?

2. Of the 148 children who answered this question, 69 said that Michael told the approximate truth, and 69 said that he lied or prevaricated (told a modified version of the truth); another 6 had him try to get out of answering at all, with varying success (usually he was forced into telling the truth); in the other 6 stories the plot was not clear or the writer merely made moral reflections. Thus slightly more than half of the children (74) tried to ease Michael's situation by having him lie or modify the truth, and slightly less than half (69) had him tell the truth.

The following analysis is based on a sample of 82 answers.

1. The consequences of telling the truth:

Half the sample (41) have Michael tell the truth. In two cases he gets off scot free. In two cases, he suffers in advance--is afraid, etc. -- but "nothing happened." In the other stories (36), he is penalized.
in some way (sometimes in several ways): by scolding and anger (25); by threats (2); by having to pay for the sausages out of his own money (5); by punishments -- slaps, earboxing, whipping, house-arrest (14).

In one case the mother did not believe the truth.

2. The consequences of telling a lie or of prevaricating:

Slightly less than half the children (37) have Michael lie or prevaricate. In three cases the mother accepts the lie; in eight she doubts or disbelieves it (as a main consequence). Again there are descriptions of the mother scolding (9), punishing (6), and of Michael having to pay out of his money (5), and of the mother threatening to tell father (1). In one case, the mother accepts the truth when Michael admits it. No further results are stated in 9 cases.

This summary does not include the number of statements about discomfort and feelings of guilt that Michael suffered -- irrespective of the outcome. Otherwise, comparing the consequences of telling the truth and telling a lie, it is obvious that the lie pays off (even when the lie is not wholly effective, i.e. when the mother knew or suspected the truth), for on the whole, the results are less painful than when Michael tells the truth. Apparently, in telling this story the writers openly accept the idea of punishment for acknowledged misdeed and tend to suppress the consequences of following a misdeed with a lie.

There are two images that appear in these stories, irrespective of whether Michael solves the problem with a lie or with the truth or with some modification of the truth:
1. Michael is red in the face. This is a sign to the mother that all is not well when he appears at home.

2. Michael is or becomes afraid at some point -- before he arrives home, when his mother looks at him, when she looks at the sausages, when she scolds him, when she has seemed to accept the lie, etc. However, in these stories the fear is not necessarily realized: "he came home afraid... nothing happened." And the true cause of the blushing may not be divulged. The emotional tone is clear in such statements as the following:

... Dear, dear Mommy please please don't be angry about it. The mother scolded a little .... Michael now thought that his mother did not trust him anymore and this was very painful.

Michael goes to his mother with a beating heart, lays the rest of the sausages on the table and disappears upstairs ... He lies about the dog. He was hit and ran away crying.

When he came home he was red in the face and said to his mother in a stammering voice...

The mother doubts Michael's lie but says nothing. Michael got a bad conscience and cannot look up to his mother anymore.

The play between truth and falsehood in these stories is illustrated in the following:

Michael perhaps told his mother the truth and then his mother began to scold. Then Michael thinks perhaps it would have been better if I had said nothing ...

Michael says there were no more sausages, or perhaps he tells the truth. If his mother finds out she will hit him, but if she does not find out she will get some more sausages. Michael will think, if only I hadn't done it.

Some of the stories illustrate both in minor detail as well as in the major point made the idea of "alles wieder gut machen" -- making good a wrong. Thus, in the 82 stories, 10 have Michael pay for the sausages
4. Having to spend own money is serious for a German child who
usually does not get an allowance and whose savings consist of small
presents given him on special occasions -- birthday, Christmas, etc.

5. This echoes the Franz-Peter story, especially as it is told by
boys. There, if Franz gets the cap back or if he helps Peter get it
back or if he apologizes for what he has done, all goes well -- they
remain friends and there is no retaliation.
Just as in the story about Franz and Peter, this story involves mainly Michael and his mother. Other characters are brought in only in a very few of the stories (of the 82 analyzed in detail). In two cases the mother threatens to denounce or does denounce Michael to his father. In one story a neighbor tells the mother that her dog has brought home some sausages (thus confirming Michael's story). In one story the grandmother comes in and takes Michael into her protection when the mother boxes his ears. In one story Michael fears that his friend may betray him (but he does not).

3. The Teacher and the Lost Money

Plot Situation: The teacher (man) suddenly discovers that two Marks have disappeared from his desk. He looks up and sees that the whole class are quietly working on their arithmetic lesson. He considers what has happened to the money and what he should do. What does the teacher do? End this story with some sentences. Tell what happened to the money, and also exactly what teacher thinks and what he does.

The plot in this story turns on the children's assumption that the teacher will believe there is a thief. Of the whole group (150 answers) 93% start with this assumption; in six other answers, the point is not made clearly or is not stated; three children did not answer the question.

There are however several variations in what happens:

1. There is, in fact, a thief in the class (66 answers)
   a. The teacher searches and catches the thief (56 answers)
   b. The teacher searches but does not catch the thief (7 answers)
   c. The thief is allowed to make an anonymous return (3 answers)

6. Based on an analysis of the total sample of 147 answers.
2. The outcome is inconclusive: the teacher searches for a thief but does not find one (and it is not stated whether there is a thief) (43 answers).

3. The teacher searches and does not find a thief. Later he finds the money himself -- the accusation is turned back against the accuser (32 answers).

In most cases where the writers state that there is in fact a thief, he is apprehended and dealt with (usually punished in some way); the thief is rarely allowed to make anonymous return. Among the 7 cases where the thief is not caught, the whole class may be involved in the theft, and so accept punishment and later enjoy themselves.

As it is told the main point of the story is the teacher's belief that someone in the class has stolen the money and his increasingly angry search for the supposed thief. This is described in some detail whether or not the writer says that there is a thief.

The descriptions of the teacher's behavior -- irrespective of the plot solution -- follow a definite pattern, although not all the steps are given by all the writers:

The teacher looks around, gets suspicious, asks the class about the money (sometimes at once, sometimes waiting until the end of the lesson).

The class says nothing or no one says anything (no one announces himself).

The teacher threatens to search the class or to punish the whole class.

No one says anything. He searches the class -- opens books and bags and rummages through desks and pockets; he is very angry. (He finds the money in various places.) (Or later the money drops out of a pupil's pocket.) He goes to the principal.
1. If there is a thief, there may be a confession at any time:

The teacher looks around the room -- a boy blushes.

The teacher asks the class -- a boy blushes; a boy confesses then or later.

The teacher asks the class and threatens them -- a boy blushes; a frightened pupil tells.

The teacher searches the children individually -- a boy blushes, etc.

The teacher goes to the principal -- a boy is caught trying to return the money in the teacher's absence.

2. If the outcome is inconclusive (we -- the readers -- do not know if there is a thief) the same pattern is followed:

The teacher asks, no one answers.

The teacher is angry.

The teacher makes an accusation.

The teacher doesn't know what to think.

The teacher (punishes the whole class, (searches the whole class, (goes to the principal.

The teacher makes the class pay him back.

3. If the accusation is false:

The teacher asks, the children say no or nothing.

The teacher asks again and is suspicious, angry.

Everyone searches and the money is found near or on the teacher. Or:

The teacher searches the whole class and gets angry; he punishes the whole class or threatens punishment; later he finds the money on the desk, in a book, etc.
What does the teacher do when he finds he himself has misplaced the money? Only 12 (out of 32) children attempt to deal with this problem:

- He thanks the children (2);
- He apologizes (3);
- He wonders how it was possible (1);
- He is satisfied or relieved and glad no one stole the money (4);
- He doesn't know what to do (1);
- He never mentions it again (1).

Other comments on this situation are also worth noting:

- (The money was in his pocket) - he had carelessly put it there.
- (The money was in the class bank) - if he had looked right away he would not have had to search for it.
- (The money was in the wastebasket) - he had thrown it away.
- (The money was on the floor) - he got excited too easily.

The children also indicate that the teacher gets enraged at their own helpful suggestions and comments, i.e. when a child gets up and says no one in the class is a thief; when a child suggests the money has blown out of a window (it has blown into a closet); when the children suggest that they search.

Thus, while the majority of the children assume that there is a thief (whether or not he is caught) or at least that the teacher will believe there is a thief (whether or not there is positive evidence), others defend themselves by turning the accusation against the accuser and by describing the wrong-doer as someone who will not accept help.

In most cases (20 out of 32) they do not attempt to describe his later actions; in only 5 cases (out of 32) does he admit his wrong. Thus, where
The child as wrong-doer is punished when found out, the adult who
discovers he has done wrong and in addition may have accused others of
his own fault, keeps his discovery to himself (?).

The fate of the thief:
The fate of the thief is not always discussed, but there are
alternative solutions (a) the thief is caught or confesses under duress
and is suitably punished (kept in after school, taken to principal,
pARENTS are informed, the thief is removed from class, etc.) or (b) the
thief is forgiven and does not steal anymore.

Although this is not invariably the case, confession and forgiveness
are likely to be paired: the thief is a poor boy, the teacher understands
and even gives him the money; the teacher likes the boy because he is now
honest and the boy does not steal again. In one case it is stated that
no one held it against the boy because he was a fine boy. In one case
it is said that poverty is not a reason for stealing and the boy is mildly
punished (the teacher would have given him the money had he asked). In
another case the confession does not have the usual beneficial effect
because the boy waited until the next day before admitting he was at
fault.

In general, the children hang together (although it is seldom clear
whether or not they know who the thief is) until the teacher brings great
pressure to bear -- threats, searching, etc. -- then one may accuse
another child. But in a number of cases, they mutely accept joint punishment
when the thief is not discovered; the teacher's threat does not (cannot ?)
In this story, as in the story of Michael and the sausage, the guilty child is likely to give himself away by blushing -- i.e. talking. He can see who is at fault and the child cannot protect himself from discovery. In one or two cases, however, the wrong child blushes -- blushes at the general accusation rather than at individual guilt. Therefore, this is not a sure sign -- it may be misinterpreted.

4. The Inkspot on Mother's New Coat

Plot Situation: Elisabeth is sitting in the living room doing her lessons. She thinks about her mother's new coat. She would like to see whether it is becoming to her. When she takes it off again she notices that she has got inkspots on her mother's new coat. Just as she is rubbing the spots out, her mother comes into the door. What does her mother say? What does each think? What does Elisabeth say? What does each do?

In this story there are two possible misdeeds: (1) interrupting lessons to play, and (2) trying on Mother's new coat; an accident follows -- the child gets inkspots on the coat.

The girls' and the boys' stories differ somewhat in their emphasis: The girls emphasize the emotional situation: the scoldings that follow on discovery and the punishments threatened and given. The boys' answers are less emotional and there is a greater scattering in the plot resolutions devised: they have Else try to get out of her predicament, or speak of the scoldings, or about getting the spot out of the coat.

The girls are more concerned about the coat; 12 of the 26 girls describe what happened to the coat (mother took out the spot; the spot doesn't come out; both try to get the spot out, etc.). Only 7 of the 20 boys mention the coat (but they are more optimistic -- the spot comes out).

7. Based on a detailed analysis of 46 answers (26 girls, 20 boys).
everything is arranged). The boys pay more attention to the lessons --

3 boys (as against 4 girls) mention the lessons that were interrupted and

4 in a few cases (girls as well as boys) either imply that the accident

5 occurred because the lessons were interrupted or say that Mother is angry

6 because the lessons were interrupted:

Elisabeth wanted to get the inkspot out while Mother was still

away. Because of her (mis)behavior in trying on Mother's coat,

she couldn't get the spots out &...

The mother scolded very much and said: "When one is doing one's

7 lessons, one doesn't leave them and sees to it that one gets

8 finished."

In these stories one wrong substitute for the other or plays into the

other.

The girls' answers are more openly emotional: Mother threatens and

10 scolds and punishes, is enraged and will not listen, is too upset to do

11 anything. Else cries and begs for forgiveness, and Mother also

12 weeps:

Elisabeth what do you mean by making an inkspot on my new coat.

13 I shall tell that to your father and this evening you will get

14 your beating just wait and you will get house-arrest also, I will

15 look out for that. Elisabeth feels terribly frightened and the

16 mother feels a terrible fury. Dear, dear Mummy, please please

17 don't be angry at me I will never do it again, oh don't tell father

18 or I will be beaten oh please. Elisabeth asks her mother to excuse

19 her and the mother hits Elisabeth besides.

20 There is no story among this set that deals with reconciliation.

21 At best, Mother gets the spot out and life goes on, or they both try to

22 forget the incident.

23 There are a few reversals. Occasionally Else is said to become

24 afraid, but in one case it is Mother who "gets a fright." In one story,

25

26 8. This reminds one of the German fairytale of the orphan taken to

27 Heaven by the Virgin who getsgold on her little finger when she opens

28 a forbidden door. The evidence of misdeeds that cannot be removed is a

29 recurrent fairytale theme.
Mother betrays a lie, thanks Else and helps her get out the spot. In another story involving a lie, it is Mother who "sobs." In one story the whole problem is neatly avoided through matter-of-factness: Mother gets some benzine and takes out the spot.

In more than half the stories, Mother first asks Else what she is doing and then proceeds to scold or punish. Especially in the girls' stories, however, Mother sees what is going on and begins by scolding.

There is in these stories some repetition of the blushing reaction; here it typically accompanies the plot in which Else is trying to get out of her predicament:

The mother wonders what Else is doing with her new coat. Else gets red in the face and looks for a way out (Auserde - an excuse)... Else pretends that she has not been trying on the coat, but just trying to get a spot out. "... and I wanted to please you." (But the spot wasn't in it, I think you have tried it on." "Mother I certainly didn't have it on." "Wait until Father comes then you will experience something." Elisabeth got red and went into the room and went on doing her lessons.

As in the previous stories (The Lost Sausages, The Lost Money) blushing is a signal to the adult of wrong-doing by the child, and, as previously, it signals that the child may be trying to get away with something.

9. Both of these versions are of course triggered by the questions that the children are to answer in finishing the story. The children do not really have the choice of having Else saying something first or of having an action precede a statement by someone. (See story outline.)
5. The Broken Window

Plot Situation: Manfred and Karl are playing football. They knew that they should not kick on the little street in front of the house. Manfred kicks the ball and it flies into a windowpane, which gets a big crack.

Karl thinks that someone came to the window. No one could have seen who kicked the ball into the window. End this story with some sentences and describe what you think both boys thought and did.

There are two possible problems of wrong-doing here: (1) the boys were playing in a forbidden place; (2) they broke (cracked) a window with the ball. The main question that shapes the writers' plots is: Have the boys been seen? This underlies the practical question which is implied: If the boys run off, can they get away with it? In most cases it is assumed by the writers that the boys recover their ball; but if they do not, the ball may become central (3) -- how explain the loss of the ball?

One writer gives no plot -- only moral reflections. The plots run as follows:

1. The boys run away and are not found out (12 answers)
   a. They are not discovered - the woman thinks it is another boy.
   b. They go somewhere else to play.

   Thereafter (they play in the sport field, or (they do not play in front of the house.

   The window was only cracked.

   c. They run and hide in (M'S) (K's) house

   They are safe.

   They are afraid, red.

   They are not discovered.

   Thereafter they do not play in front of the house.

10. Based on a detailed analysis of stories by two classes (36 boys,
    28 girls) of whom 36 (22 boys, 13 girls) answered this question and completed the story sufficiently for analysis. The analysis therefore is based on 35 answers.
2. The boys are seen, are found out and punished (10 answers)

They run away but

They are seen (by a man, woman, neighbor who tells houseowner)
(by mother or mother hears about)

(Seen and caught) they accuse each other and both are threatened with punishment, or

(Seen) they apologize but it doesn't help.

They are taken to the police and have to pay a fine.

They have to pay for the window.

They are punished at home (whipped, etc.).

3. The boys decide to admit they have broken the window and to pay for it (8 answers)

They run away and hide

They are afraid, trembling (when father asks what they have done), have a bad conscience - they may have been seen.

If they have been seen, they will have to pay fine in addition to paying for window.

If they have been seen, perhaps father will be told.

(Therefore) they take their own money (rob their own banks); they save to pay the debt

They tell the (woman (man

They buy a window and take it to the house

The man will not accept it (he has another).

The woman is satisfied.

They will not tell the parents.
4. The ball is lost (2 answers)
   The true story comes out and both are punished.
   They plan to buy a new ball and lie about the old one.

5. The boys boldly go to the woman and lie and say they are going to find
   the culprits (1 answer)

6. Father tells the story of the window -- the boys (brothers) laugh
   and say they are the ones who did it (1 answer)

In this story the culprit (Manfred, who kicks the ball into the window)

is known to the reader in advance, but, as in the case of The Lost Money,

there is not always a definite solution given by the writers. Then the

boys run away and play elsewhere and hide, etc. it is not always said whether

they do in fact get away with it (explicit only in three cases). As in the

other stories, there are the two alternatives: (1) to try to get away with

it and hope for the best -- but here the boys suffer the symptoms of anxiety

(fear and blushing); or (2) to confess at once and be forgiven.

In this story the outcome is quite clear: those who confess and

arrive with money in hand ready to make good the loss have no further troubles

(in one case they are even rewarded -- the man has another window and does

not take their money). Those who are apprehended before they have a chance

either to run away or to confess are punished in various ways: by having to

pay, by being fined, by being whipped by their parents. It is interesting

that in several cases it is Mother who has seen or heard about the episode

(though sometimes she is told by another person; but Mother knows ). The

boys may or may not get away with a lie: in one case they do (they tell the

woman they are looking for the culprits); in another case they do not (they

tell a lie to the man whose window was broken but a storekeeper gives them
away -- they were too bold). Confession and atonement, if they are to be effective, must be voluntary, personal (own money) and immediate. Delay spoils the whole effect.

Significantly, however, it is the boys who get off scotfree who learn the objective lesson: they decide never to play ball in the street again, to play ball on the sport place. This is made explicit in the stories. The implicit lessons learned from the other two versions are (1) if you confess you will be forgiven, and (2) if you are caught you will be punished in addition to having to make good the damage.

As in the other stories, the two boys hang together until they are individually pressed to confess -- then they blame each other. They are occasionally differentiated in other ways, e.g., Manfred is glad the window was only cracked but Karl is glad it was spoiled because he was always having fights with the people in that house; Manfred wants to run away but Karl thinks it is better to confess, etc. When they do confess and pay, they share in the cost of doing so -- the writers do not differentiate between the boy who kicked the ball and the one who was playing with him.

6. The Lost Composition Book

Plot Situation: Else often turned her compositions in late to the teacher (woman). This time it was a particularly important composition and she had written it on time. On the way to school, she lost the composition book and could not find it anywhere. What did Else say to the teacher? What did the teacher say?

In considering the implications of this story, it is necessary to remember that in German schools the composition book is a permanent document.

Analysis based on the total number of answers given (85).
each mark is entered into it, corrections are entered into it, and the final mark is based on the neatness and organization of the book as a whole at every stage. Parents may threaten to refuse to buy a new composition book in the middle of a term.

The plot as it is outlined by the writers turns on two questions:

(1) does Else tell the truth about her loss (and in one or two cases, is the story as outlined true?), and (2) does the teacher believe what she says (irrespective of whether Else tells the truth or invents a lie).

Of the 85 children who wrote out this story, 63 have Else tell the truth, and 15 have her tell a lie. (The other 7 deal with other aspects of the problem.) Thus, for the most part, the children expect Else to be truthful (in contrast to Michael and the sausages) -- and they do not go into the question of how she happened to lose the book on her way to school. (Here the story as given is one of simple, accidental loss; in Michael and the sausages the story is turned into one of simple accidental loss.)

The teacher believes the truth about half the time (slightly more often when Else is telling the truth than when she is telling a lie) and believes a lie about half the time; she disbelieves the truth and the lie about half the time.

12. A major incident in Kätner's novel Das fliegende Klassenzimmer turns on the theft of a set of composition books and their destruction by a rival gang from another school -- the gang set upon the boy taking the books to the teacher.

13. A 14 year old informant (boy) describes how the children in his class bedevilled a disliked teacher by telling him that their parents would not buy new notebooks -- when the teacher had tried to punish them by taking their notebooks away -- so that he was put in the position either of giving back the confiscated ones or of buying new ones with his own money.
The answers divide up more-or-less as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elsa tells truth</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Elsa tells a lie</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher believes</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Teacher believes</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher believes</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Teacher believes</td>
<td>7.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher believes</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Teacher believes</td>
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<td>(?)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By implication, there is no certainty that the truth told by a child will be more acceptable to an adult than a lie. Disbelief by the teacher is regularly attributed to the fact that Else has sinned in the past. Thus one child quotes the proverb: "Who once has lied is not believed / Even when he tells the truth" (Wer einmal lügt, dem glaubt man nicht / Wenn er auch die Wahrheit spricht). One moral of this tale, as it is told by the children, is that past sins are remembered in present times of trouble and -- justly or unjustly are likely to increase suspicion in the present situation. Thus, even when one has made everything good again in the past (or is it implied that Else did not do so?), trouble can crop up again. Where Else lies, disbelief seems (as in the case of Michael and the

14 Compare to the story of The Teacher and the Lost Money where, in several versions, the teacher (and in one case the pupils) suspect already dubious characters in the class.
Ch. St. II, 6

1 reasons why the composition book is not handed in are much less credible
2 than the truth (as if the child were trying to call attention to wrong-doing).
3 The lies are so patently absurd (e.g. her father forgot to put the composition
4 in her school bag; her mother burned it) that discovery is automatic. Where
5 a lie is disbelieved, the punishment tends to be one that starts a chain of
6 serious consequences involving home as well as the school. Among the
7 reprehensible Elses, there is one whose story is a lie from beginning to
8 end: she lied when she said the composition book was lost -- she had been
9 cheating in the composition book -- and when the teacher discovered this and
10 wrote home, Else read and then burned the letter.

12 With certain exceptions, the truth-telling Else gets no sympathy and,
13 in addition to having to write the composition again, she is punished in
14 various ways: the teacher scolds and "has no pity," calls her names
15 (leichtsinnig, unachtsam, Schlemihl, nichtaufpassend, Schlampe), shames
16 her before whole class, gives her a bad mark, makes her write it again after
17 school, writes to parents and Else is beaten at home, tells her mother,
18 slaps her.

19 There is one small but interesting group of answers (5) among those
20 where the teacher doubts (disbelieves) the truth (i.e. that the book is lost).

21 15. One is reminded here of the absurdity of some of the reasons (lies)
22 given by Michael and of the "blushing" and "red face" signal of guilt in the
23 Michael, lost money, and broken window stories. It is as if, in certain
24 cases, the lie was intended to have the opposite effect of that rationally
25 planned.

26 16. This tale of horror reminds one of cases cited or referred to in
27 pedagogical literature of incorrigible children -- where the implication is,
28 this is their nature, they were born like this.
Here -- and almost only here in these stories -- outsiders come in to
protect the culprit. The teacher sends her home and Else's mother confirms
Else's story that she had written the composition; at some stage in the story
another girl comes to the class and returns the lost composition book --
and the teacher is faced with the fact that she disbelieved the truth.
But -- so, Else may be punished -- the teacher persuaded of the truth
tells Else's mother what has happened.

Indeed, irrespective of the particular plot, Else's situation is an
unpleasant one -- summed up in the comment of one child who wrote: "Thus
it goes with disorderly children" (So geht es mit unordentliche Kinder).
There are, however, two interesting alternatives. In one story, the writer
denies Else's previous delinquencies -- all was well because Else was the
best pupil in the class. In another, the teacher gives Else a new notebook
and henceforth Else is a model pupil. There is also a story in which the
teacher, after doubting the truth is persuaded of it and finds that Else
really wrote a good composition and then there is a real reversal; she says:
"Always be as industrious as this and you will be a good (tihühtig) pupil."
The implication is that Else does reform. Thus, where the teacher shows her
own virtue through praise (where she is the one who should apologize for her
earlier disbelief) there is a total reversal of effect.

17. These few cases echo The Lost Money story, where the teacher is shown
to be a false accuser. The story makes the point: not I but you are guilty.
18. This echoes the situation in The Lost Money story where the thief
is said to be a good boy and so no one holds the theft against him.
19. This echoes The Lost Money story where the thief is a poor boy and
the teacher gives him the stolen money (to buy food, to buy medicine for a
sick mother) -- and the thief reforms because good is returned for evil.
III. Background Information on German Children’s Stories

a. Description of the Sample

The sample on which the foregoing analysis is based is made up of

- 150 answers to the Anderson Story Completion Form, collected in five classes
- in three schools in a German city in the summer of 1952. A total of
- 56 boys in two classes (20 and 36) and 94 girls in three classes (26, 28, and
- 36) are included in the sample.

The sample was studied in its original form — handwritten in pencil by

- the children on mimeographed forms. Translations of the story plots and of
- quotations from the children’s statements, given in the analysis, were made
- by myself.

b. Description of the Administrative Procedure

The administrative procedure is described by Dr. Anderson as follows:

...The procedure was for the two Andersons, Dr. G. (a German), and
- sometimes the principal to enter the schoolroom at 8, 9, 10, and 11
- in the morning. The teacher had been informed and was expecting us.
- The children leaped to attention, they were seated by the teacher, or
- sometimes by Mr. G.; the teacher read the paragraph introduction,
- Mr. G. turned to Mr. Anderson and asked if he had a few words to say,
- and I spoke somewhat as follows: "We are happy to have the opportunity
- to spend a few weeks in Germany. We are delightfully surprised to
- discover that the boys and girls of Germany are very much like the
- boys and girls of America. Now we do not want to take any more of
- Mr. G's time, we bring you our greetings from America, and hope you
- enjoy the stories. Thank you." Then Mr. G. read the instructions.
- The teacher did not participate in the administration of the test.

The following is a translation of the instructions given to the class

by the teacher:

Today we are going to do something different. As you see, we have
- visitors. They are two professors from an American university;
- Michigan State College. Dr. and Mrs. Anderson are particularly
- interested in American boys and girls. Now they are in Germany for
- a few weeks. Mr. G is working with the two professors. Mr. G will
- explain to you what you are to do.
The following is a translation of the instructions given to the class by the test administrator, Mr. G:

Read what has happened in the stories and then write what you think will happen next. There are no right answers and no wrong answers. So write just whatever you think.

There is no time limit, but work as rapidly as you can. There are six stories and you may use the whole period.

Do not write your name. We do not want to know who wrote the stories. Do not be afraid to write anything you think will happen in the stories. Professor and Mrs. Anderson will take your stories back to America with them. Please write honestly, even if it is something you would not say to your friend or to your teacher. Be honest boys and girls. Your stories will not be read by the teacher, by the principal, or by the superintendent.

Do not write too beautifully. Write clearly, but if you make a mistake, strike it out; that will not matter at all.

Will you now fill in the blanks at the top of the page and write whether you are Catholic or Evangelical. Do not write your name.
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This bibliography includes the German books and books on Germany that were used for the purpose of this study; all references cited in the text are given in it. For practical purposes the bibliography has been divided into four parts in order to give a general indication of the types of books that have been included. The geneal paper on German character structure draws on all four parts; the working papers each draw on one of the special bibliographies (2nd, 3rd, and 4th) in that order.
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