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Reading, Travel, and the Pedagogy of Growing Up in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany

by

Magdalen Stanley Majors

A dissertation presented to the  
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences  
of Washington University in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2013

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Tyler and Will Scott-Simpson and James Daniel and Tyler Allen  
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and my godson Auggie Knott  
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and  
my grandparents

Mary Reiley Rice (1924-2012) and Richard Robert Rice (1923-2013)  
*for looking approvingly askance at my late night reading—even the banned books*

## **ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

Reading, Travel, and the Pedagogy of Growing Up in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany

by

Magdalen Stanley Majors

Doctor of Philosophy in Germanic Languages and Literatures

Washington University in St. Louis, 2013

Professor Lynne Tatlock, Chair

This project brings together the domestic world of young adult reading with the foreign world of international travel that informed German experience at the end of the nineteenth century. By uniting these two ostensibly disparate realms under one interpretive frame, I offer a new perspective on the theory and practice of young-adult reading at the turn of the last century and the role this reading about travel played in the development of sense of self and sense of place within a national body. My analysis reads specific youth literature about travel (Brigitte Augusti, Friedrich Pajeken) against depictions of youth reading about the wider world in the now-canonical texts of Realism (Wilhelm Raabe). I find two simultaneously existing, yet, contradictory strands of discourse that resonate even today: On the one hand, an exuberance for newfound mobility in a now-global world and its endless possibilities; on the other, a skepticism about the potential of mobility to solve the world's problems. I examine how these tensions interact through diverse models of pedagogy portrayed in and as texts and map reading and travel within discourses about young people's integration into an adult world. Through historical study and literary interpretation of cultural production of the 1880s and 1890s, this project ultimately seeks broad insights into the pedagogical and psychological value of the intersections of travel and reading, and, in doing so, attempts to answer some of the enduring questions central to our mission as scholars and teachers of foreign language and culture within the humanities.

## INTRODUCTION

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### **Reading Youth in the Young Nation**

By the arrival of the late 1880s and early 1890s the first generation of Germans born in a unified Germany was coming of age. It is hardly surprising that this first German generation should feel the pressure of its accidental birth. These young people and those to follow throughout the decade were—like all children—a product of their time: they were simultaneously inculcated with the inseparable constructs of the global and the national and subject to the influence of a flood of print materials that mirrored their own experience and mediated the experience of others who did not share their gender, race, class, culture, or national identity. Coming of age on the verge of a new century and as the first generation fully engulfed in a German national identity backed by political force gave a particular weight to the burgeoning maturity that they shared with imagined ideas of nationhood.

This dissertation explores the real and imagined territory where domestic reading and international travel meet and come of age. By uniting these two ostensibly disparate realms under one interpretive frame, this project offers a new perspective on the theory and practice of young adult reading at the turn of the last century and the role this reading about travel played in the development of sense of self and sense of place within a national body. Travel and reading were central at the end of the century, when Germans were preoccupied with their role in colonial expansion, participating in continued emigration and mass tourism, and increasingly using the publishing industry as a means to explore, promote, and critique images of Germany in the wider world.



That this special moment is reflected in the literary market and the aesthetics of literary production of the time is hardly surprising. An expanded book market began to reflect a new cultural perception of the gray area between childhood and adulthood. Youth literature (*Jugendliteratur*) exploded as its own distinct market segment with its own authors, presses, conventions, and—most importantly—readers. Perhaps because this label was based on phase of life and not on classification by genre—that is, it was not text-oriented but reader-oriented—this new market easily encompassed both fictional and factual texts. Blurring the lines between these categories became an oft-employed feature of texts for young readers, with many publications written specifically for young readers attempting to cash in on the interplay of imaginative and real. This aspect of youth literature is shared by another sector of German publishing that continued to expand at the end of the nineteenth-century: travel literature (*Reiseliteratur*).

### **Creating a National Youth Literature in an International Context**

This dissertation will focus on youth literature and depictions of youthful reading that deal specifically with Germany in an international context. Considering the subtext of travel broadly conceived in books for and about youth offers particular insight into the debate about whether books should entertain and instruct precisely because depictions of the foreign blurred the line between entertainment and instruction. Historians of this period have documented the way Germans of all ages precariously combined entertainment and voyeurism with science and higher learning, at circuses, zoos, and colonial and wild west shows.<sup>1</sup> Books that attempted to

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2007); H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bünzel, *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 2003); Alexander Honold and Klaus R. Scherpe, eds., *Mit Deutschland um die Welt*, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004); Volker Langbehn, ed., *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2010); and David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2011).

recreate this experience or provide some commentary about it reflected this problematic relationship. To look at books written for youth that depicted the world outside Germany is to examine this dynamic under the magnifying glass.

Furthermore, youth in the 1880s and 1890s was burdened by Germany's maturation as a nation. Individual coming-of-age stories about becoming a mature citizen were used to imagine and express national narratives about becoming a mature nation. Here, too, education and entertainment became entangled. Fiction and non-fiction books depicted lives impacted by intertwined stories of colonialism, immigration, and tourism. These texts literally instructed young Germans how to—or how not to—follow a path that linked a vocation with global identity. Becoming a colonist in Africa, a settler in America, or a merchant who dealt in foreign goods were real options for young Germans coming-of-age in the 1880s and 1890s.

### **Connecting Popular Youth Literature to Canonical Realism**

Examining the production of the Leipzig publisher Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn will offer insight into the relationship between youth literature and travel literature as well as the dynamics of literature written particularly for youth generally. By reading the *An fremdem Herd* series for girls (1889-93) by Brigitte Augusti alongside the Bob series of American adventure books for boys (1889-92) by Friedrich Pajeken, this analysis will highlight the ways in which the intersecting fields were tailored to fit a reading market that was otherwise strictly divided by the gender of its projected readership. In these books, young protagonists explore realms outside of Germany and in the process learn to become better—that is, more patriotic and mature—Germans, a status they retain even if they never return to their homeland.

After considering how the intersection of travel, reading, and youth are manifest in cultural production made exclusively for young people, the focus of this dissertation will shift to

consider how books from this period, unmarked by the restrictive label of youth literature, come to terms with the same constellation of factors. Critics have never attempted to read the late works of Wilhelm Raabe as possible youthful reading.<sup>2</sup> But while the narrative complexity of his works places them far away from literature for youth, they thematically cover some of the same territory, offering stories of German youth and their relationship to reading, and through it, travel and the wider world. In Raabe's works narratives of implied or armchair travel—that is, real travel that takes place outside the narration of the novel or imagined travel that occurs within it—replace the direct accounts of exploration that dominate the novels for youth by Augusti and Pajeken. Instead, the reader is left with the implicit impact of real or imagined travel. This distant yet ever-present insistence on the world outside of Germany comes closer to replicating the experience of many Germans who—unlike the fictional protagonists of youth literature set in foreign lands—would never leave their own provincial homes, but whose lives were nonetheless changed by the search for Germany's position in a global world. Reading Wilhelm Raabe's works in dialogue with the publications of Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn will offer insights into the disparate ways so-called popular literature and literature of pretention dealt with the development of individual German citizens and the development of Germany's place as a nation in the world.

### **Reading Beyond The Text**

Together with individual and comparative analysis of fiction from a broad and dissimilar cross-section of texts from the 1880s and 1890s, this dissertation will pay careful attention to the publishing context, cultural context, and settings of reading; that is, it will be concerned with books as they were read by contemporary readers. In an effort to pay attention to the how and

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<sup>2</sup> The same cannot be said for some of the works published earlier in his career: isolated works, most notably the story *Die Schwarze Galeere* (1861), were even used in schoolbooks in the twentieth century.

why of reading, this study will situate close readings of literature alongside historical awareness found in the paratext. Looking to introductions, pamphlets, and other forms of paratextual material often addressed to parents and teachers reveals the conditions under which books were purchased and read—or at least how publishers, editors, and authors imagined they might best be put to use. Beyond the books themselves, historical events such as the two school reform congresses (*Schulkonferenzen*) held in 1890 and 1900 and non-fictional publications such as Heinrich Wolgast’s treatise *The Wretchedness of Our Young People’s Literature* (*Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur: Ein Beitrag zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend*) and the entire aesthetic education movement (*Kunsterziehungs- und Jugendschriftenbewegung*) provide additional details as to how youthful reading was constructed in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>3</sup>

### **Literary Imagination and Lived Experience:**

#### **Leo Frobenius as Historical Case Study**

Considered alongside the literary texts this dissertation considers, the story of the German lay anthropologist Leo Frobenius stands as a historical case study in the afterlife of the adolescent frenzy for reading that John Neubauer has described in *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*. Neubauer describes how

Turn-of-the-century psychologists and pedagogues noted, with delight or concern, that the onset of puberty occasioned a veritable ‘reading craze’ (*Lesewut*). Voracious reading satisfied curiosity, allowed the imagination to roam over exotic lands and possible worlds, and gave insight into the minds of others.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Schulkonferenzen*, cf., James Albisetti, *School Reform in Imperial Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983). Heinrich Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur*, (Hamburg: Selbstverlag in Kommission von L. Fernau, 1896). Title translation borrowed from Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in fin-de-siècle Hamburg*, (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2003), 157.

<sup>4</sup> John Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), 86.

Frobenius's life and works and especially his engagement with reading as a means to access the wider world introduce many of the themes that shape this dissertation. Frobenius imagined a theory of Africa based on his own youthful reading and even published a book based solely on his imaginings before ever travelling to the continent. In this way, the real story of Leo Frobenius resonates with both the fictional travel biographies in the novels of Augusti and Pajeken and the imagined and implied travels that haunt the works of Wilhelm Raabe. In the introduction to his popular scientific work *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit: Bilder des Lebens, Treibens und Denkens der Wilden* (1901), Frobenius offers an autobiographical account of his own reading journey as a coming-of-age story and traces his curious career path back to his youthful reading. Frobenius fits the profile of the imagined contemporary readers this dissertation examines: it was 1886 when the thirteen-year-old Frobenius began his quest to find “ein endlich mal vernünftiges Buch über die Wilden.”<sup>5</sup>

*Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit* was intended to be that rational book the young Frobenius sought: a non-fiction ethnographic account of the customs and practices of so-called primitive peoples the world over. In what would become one of his most popular books of popular science, Frobenius describes to teachers—the autobiographical foreword is addressed specifically to “den Herren Direktoren und Lehrern der höheren Lehranstalten”—how popular fictional literature shaped his professional calling and how “proper” books on primitive peoples

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<sup>5</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit: Bilder des Lebens, Treibens und Denkens der Wilden*, (Hannover: Verlag von Gebrüder Jänecke, 1901), vi; and Leo Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man: A popular account of the lives, customs, and thoughts of the primitive races*, trans. A.H. Keane, (London: Seeley, 1909 and Philadelphia: Lippencott, 1909). *Flegeljahre* implies the awkwardness of puberty, an important nuance the English rendering childhood misses.

for a young audience did not exist.<sup>6</sup> The high-school dropout explained to the teachers how his book would fill the void. But first he tells the story of a special kind of literary friendship. He writes,

Als ich 13 Jahre alt war, hatte ich die sämtliche Lederstrümpfe, Wildsteller, Pfadfinder, Kriegsadler, Grauen und Braunen Bären, mehrere Robinsons und alles ähnliche Bücherwerk verschlungen. . . . Allwinterlich schloß ich mit Eskimos und Lappländern, allsommerlich mit Indianern, Beduinen und Schwarzen Freundschaft. So kam es, daß ich schon frühzeitig eine gewisse Kenntnis von den Wilden errang. Gewiß ist es, daß ich in meiner Kindheit mehr Freunde unter den Völkern anderer Erdteile hatte als unter den Europäern, ebenso sicher, daß ich meine Wilden sehr 'lieb' hatte. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Before long the young Frobenius would abandon the literary companionship of so-called primitive peoples to seek out scientific knowledge. He describes the day he packs up his “sämtlichen Indianerbücher” and heads to the nearest used book shop to swap the lot for “ein endlich mal vernünftiges Buch über die Wilden.”<sup>8</sup> His attempt is a failure, resulting in a profit of only two marks, 50 pfennigs, no such sensible book, and an admonishment on the part of the most certainly bemused bookseller to boot. To the astonishment and disappointment of the young Frobenius, the flummoxed bookseller exclaims, “Erstens sind das alles sehr gute Bücher, zweitens verstehst Du wissenschaftliche Bücher über die Wilden noch nicht und passen dieselben auch noch gar nicht für deinesgleichen, und drittens kann ich Dir ein wissenschaftliches Buch für den Preis nicht geben.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Frobenius, *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*, v.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

At fifteen, Frobenius decides to satiate his “Heißhunger nach der ‘Wildenwissenschaft’” with the next best thing, travel narratives (*Reisebeschreibungen*). Finally, without any formal education or experience abroad, using the semi-fictional, semi-autobiographical narratives of others, he “begann . . . dann mit einem meine Schulfreudigkeit weit übertreffenden Eifer, mir selbst ein Buch über die Wilden zusammenzuschreiben.”<sup>10</sup> The result is *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*, “dieses halb *kindischen*, halb wissenschaftlichen, recht umfangreichen Manuskriptes.”<sup>11</sup> A self-proclaimed self-trained scholar (“als Autodidakt entstehende Gelehrte”) Frobenius wrote with youth in mind, motivated by his personal conviction that, “Jugendliteratur ist Volksliteratur, da die Bildung der reiferen Jugend die Volksbildung ist oder wenigstens sein soll.”<sup>12</sup> He was inspired by “die Begeisterungsfähigkeit der Jugend” as “eines der größten geistigen Kapitalien, die es überhaupt gibt.”<sup>13</sup> The excitement of youth should not be wasted but guided: “Man sollte sie erziehen.”<sup>14</sup>

For Frobenius the imaginative energy stirred by “der Lektüre eines solchen ‘nichtsutzigen Schmökers’” is a raw material to be molded to the advantage of each individual youth and humankind on the whole and, moreover, to the advantage of science.<sup>15</sup> Frobenius acknowledges and even embraces the deception (“Schwindel”) of “Schund und Schmöker.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Frobenius, *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*, vi.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. My emphasis.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, viii.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

What these books lack in authenticity, science will gain in the new energy of youthful converts to the scientific community of Wilhelmine Germany. Teachers and parents cannot be expected to guide their boys through “den Lederstrumpf,” explaining what is bad and good.<sup>17</sup> Instead they should allow students to read adventure and travel stories undisturbed and then channel the energy that they generate into books like Frobenius’s *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*. Such books will initiate and educate them in ethnology (*Völkerkunde*), a science that has learned “die Feinde unserer Kolonisationspläne und Auswandererscharen mit einem anderen Maßstabe zu messen.”<sup>18</sup> According to Frobenius, “es ist ein Recht und auch eine Pflicht, an dieser Erkenntnis die Jugend teilnehmen zu lassen.”<sup>19</sup> Through this project of joint reading the fictional and factual become part and parcel of an educational agenda that helps young people understand their place within the larger world. Without one the other is powerless.

As a popular figure outside of the scientific mainstream and concerned with self-promotion, Frobenius was aware of the ways fiction and fact fed each other on the book market. He saw the boon that a good story could bring to the sale of his books and he chose to capitalize specifically on young adults at a time when the book market aimed specifically at them was booming. Youth literature (*Jugendliteratur*), furthermore, was a medium particularly amenable to the use of stories to convey didactic material, and with its eye forward always imaging the day when its young readers would reach maturity, it was the perfect venue to secure the future practice of his unique manifestation of ethnology and cultural history.

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<sup>17</sup> Here, bad and good seem to refer to the authenticity of representation of culture in Cooper’s novels, or German republishing and adaptations of them, rather than moral or ethical absolutes.

<sup>18</sup> Frobenius, *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*, ix.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.



Born two years after German unification in Berlin, Leo Frobenius (1873-1938) would become an exceedingly well-known ethnologist and Africanist with a following in Europe, America, and Africa. Perhaps unlike any other figure of his era, Frobenius encapsulates the widespread contemporary proclivity to use metaphors of individual age and development to describe the cultural history of mankind en masse. His take on ethnology considered “das Aufwachsen des Menschen und seines Wesens auf der Erde.”<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to deny the drive to create narrative in his work, a drive that may well have been influenced by his voracious youthful reading. For each race of people, Frobenius seeks to tell a story of development.<sup>21</sup> Unlike many of his contemporaries, Frobenius did not see primitive peoples fixed as the ahistorical young of the earth, but rather asserted that “alle Menschen wahre Menschen sind.” Cultural differences are, for Frobenius, exclusively “Unterschiede der Erziehung.”<sup>22</sup>

The comparative study of the peoples of the world is not a matter of the creation of hierarchy, for Frobenius, but of narrative development. In another book published for young people and their teachers “zur Belegung des geographischen Unterrichts,” Frobenius assures his readers that the book’s more than one-thousand pages of cultural depiction will help students “aus dem Nebeneinander ein Nacheinander zu entziffern.”<sup>23</sup> Frobenius implies a collapsing of time and space as a means to see what humanity has in common, not what divides it: “Es ist der

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<sup>20</sup> Frobenius, *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*, x.

<sup>21</sup> Here I use the term race to reflect the practices of the time. The Greek root *ethnos* can be translated as people, race, or nation.

<sup>22</sup> Frobenius, *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*, ix.

<sup>23</sup> Leo Frobenius, “Der Geist dieses Buches,” in *Geographische Kulturkunde: eine Darstellung der Beziehungen zwischen der Erde und der Kultur nach älteren und neueren Reiseberichten zur Belegung des geographischen Unterrichts*, (Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1904), x.

bunte Wechsel der Kulturen, die heute nebeneinander weiterlebend uns verraten, wie sie einst nacheinander wurden.”<sup>24</sup> Every piece of the narrative is important; each detail carries weight. His cultural history is not “die von den Griechen, vor Langweile, gähnend bis zu den Ägyptern und Babyloniern zurück- und hochnäsiger, hochmütig grinsend über die Römer hinweg bis zu uns.”<sup>25</sup> Instead of a curatorial selection of dates and battles, Frobenius sees *Kulturgeschichte* as an inclusive story where a diversity of magnitude *and* minutiae make up “Form und Inhalt, Raum und Zeit.” He finds it “bei der Köchin, die in meiner Küche steht und die just eben ein wertvolles ostpreußisches Bauernlied singt, oder bei dem Negerjungen, der bei Bruno Antelmann emsig die Fibel studiert . . . meine Kulturgeschichte betrachtet [alles] mit gleichem Interesse, denn jedes einzelne Stücklein, jeder Nagel, jeder Papierfetzen, jeder Ziegelstein sind . . . Kultursymptome, die einen langen, langen Weg entwicklungsgeschichtlich durchgemacht haben.”<sup>26</sup> Frobenius reads culture as a coming-of-age story, paying close attention to its artifacts and material manifestations and the ways in which both form and content create time and space. Whatever his scientific beliefs, Frobenius knew how to translate his ideas into stories with which his young audience could identify. His readers explored the foreign and distant through the

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<sup>24</sup> Frobenius, “Der Geist dieses Buches,” ix.

<sup>25</sup> Leo Frobenius, “Vorwort,” in *Völkerkunde in Charakterbildern des Lebens, Treibens und Denkens der Wilden und der reiferen Menschheit*, (Hannover: Verlag von Gebrüder Jänecke, 1902), vii. Frobenius’ note on classical cultural history as emphasized in German schools would have been recognized by teachers as a low blow at a curriculum that had been subject to reformative spirit, reforms which would have been just beginning to be implemented at the time of this publication.

<sup>26</sup> Frobenius, *Völkerkunde*, vii. Bruno Antelmann was the leading colonial merchant in Berlin at the turn of the century. The employees of his multiple colonial warehouses in Germany were often “die Söhne angesehener, eingeborener Familien, die zumeist durch die Herrns Gouverneure der einzelnen Schutzgebiete an den Chef des Deutschen Kolonialhauses Antelmann zur Erziehung und beruflichen Ausbildung empfohlen wurden.” See Joachim Zeller, “Das Deutsche Kolonialhaus in der Lützowstraße,” in *Kolonialmetropole Berlin – Eine Spurensuche*, eds. Ullrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, (Berlin Edition: Berlin, 2002), 84-93.

domestic and familiar, aided by a sense of the importance of narrative as a means to unite these disparate realms.

The literary mind of Frobenius is further evidenced in his publishing savvy. His book titles echo the coming-of-age story as a familiar attribute of German literary convention in the nineteenth century. They exploit a type of cultural capital that possessed the ability to cross imagined borders between high and low culture, between popular stories for the young and novels of pretension for adult consumption. The *Flegeljahre* evokes Jean Paul's work of the same name.<sup>27</sup> *Die reifere Menschheit*, on the other hand, resonates with "die reifere Jugend" as the common means to distinguish a book's intended audience and its status as a part of the youth literature market. Just as Frobenius's notion of cultural history obscures the dividing line between objects and subjects of science, his attention to narrative creation blurs the lines of culturally constructed literary authority, creating a space in which fact and fiction, high and low can exist together. His works suggest, perhaps inadvertently, that these polarities are not as far apart as some cultural authorities insist.

Scholars have adopted the rubric of age to interpret Frobenius's own biography. Janheinz Jahn's essay written in commemoration of his one-hundredth birthday is entitled "Leo Frobenius: The Demonic Child."<sup>28</sup> Frobenius's theory of culture was determined by what he termed the *paideuma*, the essence of culture that could be "supplemented or interrupted by stages between youth and age." The demonic stage is a positively connoted childhood of heart, emotion, spontaneity and the creativity of genius; the youth-stage is idealistic and oriented towards the

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<sup>27</sup> Jean Paul, *Flegeljahre: eine Biographie*, (Tübingen: Cotta, 1804).

<sup>28</sup> Janheinz Jahn, *Leo Frobenius: The Demonic Child*, trans. Reinhard Sander, (Austin, TX: African and Afro-American Studies and Research Center, 1974).

mind. Jahn suggests, “If we apply this theory in an attempt to understand the personality of its creator, we come to the conclusion that Frobenius never wanted to become a grown-up. He remained between childhood and youth, a permanent twelfth-grader, who adores the ideal and the demonic and hates facts.”<sup>29</sup> For Frobenius adulthood was expressed as a decline of extreme rationality and goal-oriented pedantry.

Frobenius lacked formal education and was rejected by the academic mainstream, yet was published widely in contexts that aimed at the formation of middle-class adulthood. The publisher’s advertisements in *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit* aim to guide young readers toward appropriate career choices. Multiple pages are devoted to the promotion of *Das Buch der Berufe: Ein Führer und Berater bei der Berufswahl*. The seven volume series suggests the possibilities of becoming a marine officer, electrical engineer, chemist, medical doctor, or—especially enticing for adventure-seeking youth—a schoolmaster. The series targets those “unglücklichen Obertertianer und Sekundaner, welche noch immer nicht wissen, was sie werden sollen.”<sup>30</sup> In a true contradiction of terms, Leo Frobenius—who neither completed his formal schooling nor assumed a traditional career path—published in a context that sought to direct young people to become adults in a manner deemed appropriate for middle-class Germans at the end of the nineteenth century.

The tensions inherent in Leo Frobenius’s own biography and reading habits echo some of the larger debates about youthful reading, the coming-of-age process, and the relationship of Germanness to varied manifestations of otherness at the end of the century. What was

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<sup>29</sup> Jahn, *Leo Frobenius*, 16.

<sup>30</sup> Otto N. Witt in *Prometheus: Illustrierte Wochenschrift über die Fortschritte der angewandten Naturwissenschaften*, (Berlin: Verlag von Rudolph Mückenberger, n.d.) quoted in Frobenius, *Aus den Flegeljahren der Menschheit*, n.p.

appropriate for young people to read and to what ends? To what extent did instruction and entertainment intersect in the same works? How could literature teach youth what it meant to be an adult while also teaching them what it meant for Germany to be a mature nation at home and away?

Answers to these questions were not without variation and disagreement. Adults juggled competing interests in their efforts to curate young adult reading. The bookseller who passed judgment on the young Frobenius's book collection in 1886 deemed his adventure books perfectly acceptable youthful reading—surely in no small measure because he did not wish to dismiss books he sold for his own profit as inappropriate for youth. He would have stocked “die sämtliche Lederstrümpfe, Wildsteller, Pfadfinder, Kriegsadler, Grauen und Braunen Bären, mehrere Robinsons und alles ähnliche Bücherwerk,” and his economic concern for the success of their sales would prevent him from questioning their quality. But already in 1901, Frobenius—who loved reading them as a child—called them “Schund” and “Schmöker.” What accounted for this disparity in judgments of the same literature at the end of the century? Why did the bookseller—a figure of some adult authority—implicitly approve while Frobenius himself invoked the vocabulary of critics like Wolgast to refer to the books he once so adamantly loved?

In Frobenius's collection were books—or adaptations of books—whose perceived literary value varied greatly, books by still-beloved writers like James Fennimore Cooper and Daniel Defoe beside others long forgotten and already disparaged in their time. Both the forever books and the forgotten books constituted the most popular reading material for young German (male—and likely surreptitious female) readers in the century between 1850 and 1950, yet adult voices touting their value and those dismissing their worth could never come to consensus. What was certain was the amount of energy the public consciousness devoted to the consideration of

youth's relationship with media, a discussion that was just gaining its footing in the second half of the nineteenth century.

### **Anxieties of Reading and Pedagogical Prerogatives**

In late nineteenth-century Germany there was newfound concern for working-class youth out of school, yet unemployed and otherwise unoccupied. At the same time, there were calls for action to address a rash of suicides among middle-class youth overburdened by school work. With heightened anxiety about youth that cut across class boundaries came an increased preoccupation with the media that young people consumed. Specifically, a great deal of attention was paid to the books to which young people had access. This concern escalated and coalesced to become the youth literature reform movement (*Jugendschriftenbewegung*) led by Heinrich Wolgast. The Hamburg teacher came to see himself as an educator of the *Volk*, drawing energy from the aesthetic education movement (*Kunsterziehungsbewegung*) which was started by Alfred Lichtwark in Hamburg a decade earlier to bring a heightened sense of art to youth and the masses as a means to overcome the alienation of industrialization and to encourage creativity in the model of Romantic and Classical genius. Jennifer Jenkins has noted the strong ties that Wolgast's reforms bore to the more broad-sweeping renewal of interest in aesthetic education at the end of the century. "Wolgast . . . became so involved with Lichtwark that critics complained that they saw him more often at the Art Museum than at the school." Wolgast, like Lichtwark, was a "passionate convert[s] to the liberal cause of aesthetic education."<sup>31</sup> Wolgast's concern for young people as readers extended across classes—from the literate working classes to staunchly middle-class readers with disposable income for luxury editions.

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<sup>31</sup> Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity*, 158.

In 1896 Wolgast published his masterwork, *The Wretchedness of Our Young People's Literature* (*Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur: Ein Beitrag zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend*).<sup>32</sup> The book, initially an obscure self-published polemic, eventually experienced many editions and reprintings aimed at teachers and parents. Wolgast's treatise did more to rail against the state of the publishing market aimed at young people and the masses than it did to assert an affirmative mission for youth literature. Books written for and marketed exclusively to young people constituted Wolgast's target and he aimed to expose their evils. He explains his purpose:

Diese Schrift hat ihren Zweck erfüllt, wenn es ihr gelingt, die Schulmänner auf eine bedauerliche Lücke im System der heutigen Pädagogik aufmerksam zu machen, den Litteraturfreunden eine Quelle des litterarischen Banausentums aufzudecken, und die kleine Zahl von Eltern, denen die Erziehung eine Sache der Überlegung und bewußter Absicht ist, von der großen Gefahr zu überzeugen, welche die Lektüre der *specifischen* Jugendschrift für die Bildung ihrer Kinder mit sich bringt.<sup>33</sup>

Texts written specifically for youth were the problem and any problem of youth was a problem for adults, a problem for them to solve and a problem they would eventually share.

Wolgast chose as the motto for his treatise a quotation unforgettable to scholars of children's and young adult literature in the German context: "Wenn du für die Jugend schreibst, so darfst du nicht für die Jugend schreiben." When Theodor Storm wrote those words, he had already written *Pole Poppenspäler*, his popular novella for young readers. The novella was

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<sup>32</sup> The Harvard University Library copy of Wolgast's book bears the personal stamp of G. Stanley Hall. Hall's belief that youthful reading should be modeled after the biographies of famous men and the books they read as youth may well be derived from Wolgast. Cf. Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur*, 211.

<sup>33</sup> Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur*, n.p.

commissioned by and written for the periodical *Deutsche Jugend* (1872-1893), founded by Julius Lohmeyer to bring high quality literary texts to a youthful audience.<sup>34</sup>

Wolgast's use of Storm's words reveals that his view of literature written specifically for youth was more nuanced than it appeared at first blush. A writer who had already established himself as a producer of literature for adults, such as Storm, was not subject to the same scrutiny as one who wrote exclusively for a young audience. Indeed, many of the authors who published in the *Deutsche Jugend*, such as Julius Stinde (famous for satirical novels about the fictional Berlin family Buchholz) and Felix Dahn (who wrote wildly popular historical novels), were already widely known and accepted by adults. Nevertheless, Wolgast chose to refer extensively to Storm—who enjoyed less economic success than other authors who moved back and forth between youthful and adult audiences.

To a great extent—like his counterparts in the aesthetic education movement (*Kunsterziehungsbewegung*), Alfred Lichtwark and Julius Langbehn—Wolgast was determined to discourage the reading of popular books precisely because their popularity and ease of distribution had been enabled by increasing industrialization in Germany, an industrialization that they believed to undermine true art. Paradoxically, though, self-proclaimed guardians of art and literary aesthetics such as Wolgast were only too happy to use programs of mass public education and mass publication to share their message and promote the work of authors and artists they deemed a healthy influence on the tastes of young Germans.

For Wolgast, entertainment was not enough. He criticizes parents who buy books simply to occupy their children's free time in terms that sound strikingly familiar to cultural debates about children and media a century later; he is full of disdain for authors and publishers who

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<sup>34</sup> *Die Deutsche Jugend*, (Leipzig: Verlag Alphon Dürer, 1872-1893).



work to fulfill the demands of the leisure-time market. He insists, “Das lesende Kind ist ein Produkt der Kultur, und das zu seiner Unterhaltung lesende Kind ein Produkt der Überkultur oder der Barbarei in der Kultur.”<sup>35</sup> Wolgast outlines the state of the youth book market in the 1890s, documenting the grounds for his belief that “[d]er größte Teil der spezifischen Jugendlitteratur besteht aus Tendenzschriften.”<sup>36</sup> Among the genres Wolgast targets as particularly egregious and harmful to young readers are adaptations, orthodox theologies, patriotic novels, and two types of books that this study will address, what he calls “Indianergeschichten in vornehmem Gewande” and the tales of “Jugendschriftstellerinnen.”<sup>37</sup> Aside from their overt aim to make a profit, these texts for youth were problematic because they existed, according to Wolgast, purely to support specific patriotic or political agendas that rendered them tendentious literature (*Tendenz*), which for Wolgast was inherently lacking in artistic merit.

Because youth literature is in his view often highly politicized, Wolgast believed that leisure-time reading should be carefully guarded and restricted to prevent inappropriate influence: “Das Lesen soll erst beginnen, wo das Kind imstande ist, uneigentliche Ausdrücke zu

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<sup>35</sup> Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur*, 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>37</sup> Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur*, 87-88: On adaptations: “Solche das ursprüngliche Kunstwerk zerstörende Umarbeitungen gibt es in Menge vom Defoe-schen Robinson, von Don Quichote u.a.” *Jugendschriftstellerinnen* (female writers of young adult books) are certainly not a genre, but a label applied to authors according to their gender and the gender of their implied audience. Indeed, female authors could, and did, write books that fit into the other genres he names. Sophie Wörishöffer, for example, was a wildly popular female author of books typically considered boys books, that is, adventure stories. The books Wolgast describes in the category *Jugendschriftstellerinnen* were commonly called *Backfischbücher*. He spends a great deal of energy picking apart Emmy von Rhoden’s wildly popular novel *Der Trotzkopf: Eine Pensionsgeschichte für erwachsene Mädchen*, (Stuttgart: G. Weisse, 1885).

würdigen und abstrakte Begriffe zu erfassen. Das wird etwa um das 12. Lebensjahr herum der Fall sein.”<sup>38</sup> Essentially, reading should be restricted until young people had reached adolescence; the “adult” abilities to reason and imagine the abstract that came in the teen years (*Flegeljahre*) would, according to Wolgast, render young people ready for reading.

Young people—with their newfound ability to imagine themselves in the world—could also read advice books, and this period saw an explosion in their publication, strictly divided along gender lines.<sup>39</sup> Not unlike the pedagogical treatises targeting their parents and teachers, advice books (*Ratgeber*) for both girls and boys devoted time to recommended reading, endorsing appropriate genres and authors. The author of *Für’s Leben: Jungen Mädchen ein treuer Ratgeber und Führer in allen Lebenslagen* echoes Wolgast’s view that reading should not just be a means to pass time: “Lies vor allem nur gute Bücher, meine liebe junge Freundin, und lies dieselben nicht nur zum Zeitvertreib, sondern um dich wirklich daran zu bilden!”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur*, 211-12.

<sup>39</sup> Advice books reflect the ambiguity of the adolescent life phase during this period. Cf. Ellen Richards, *Für’s Leben: Jungen Mädchen ein treuer Rateber und Führer in allen Lebenslagen*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Stuttgart: Verlag von Greiner & Pfeiffer, [1891]), “Die Verfasserin an die Leserin: Mit Freude und Stolz wird dich das Bewußtsein erfüllen, daß du nicht mehr zu den Kindern gezählt wirst, ja, ich weiß es wohl, du konntest kaum den Zeitpunkt deiner Konfirmation erwarten, denn von diesem Tage an wird dir das Recht, zu den Erwachsenen zu zählen.” To be counted as an adult is here simply to no longer be a child, but does not imply that the young reader is actually an adult, but rather something in between. In *Domesticating the Public Sphere*, Daniela Richter examines how advice books were one of the avenues for female interventions into and commentary on public discourse, particularly discourse about pedagogy. Discussion around education of female adolescents generated both advice books for young female readers and pamphlets aimed at their parents and teachers. Cf. Daniela Richter, *Domesticating the Public Sphere: Women’s Discourse on Gender Roles in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, (New York: Peter Lang, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> Ellen Richards, *Für’s Leben*, 49. Reading advice, along with a selection of good books (*Eine Auswahl guter Bücher*) fall under the section which describes girls’ free time activities (*Erholungsstunden*) as restorative and restful.

Appropriate reading that educated and entertained was presented as a natural part of growing up. Advice books presented life—and specifically the adolescent life phase—as a journey: Alfred Altherr’s *Vaterworte auf deine Lebensreise*, Tina Walther’s *Reisekost auf dem Lebensweg* and Gotthilf Treumann’s *Wegleitung für die Lebensreise* are only a few examples of this trend.<sup>41</sup>

### **Positioning Literature for Young People: Theory and Criticism**

Despite the fact that parents, teachers, and other advice givers hope to provide young people the most “appropriate” books to guide them on their journey, it is a commonplace that young people will be drawn to precisely the wrong books. As George Orwell famously stated,

. . . the worst books are often the most important because they are usually the ones that are read earliest in life. It is probable that many people who would consider themselves extremely sophisticated and ‘advanced’ are actually carrying through life an imaginative backdrop which they acquired in childhood. . . .<sup>42</sup>

When Orwell wrote of his memory of the worst books of his childhood, he referred to a specific moment in the publishing history of an empire. He acknowledged that “most people are influenced far more than they would care to admit by novels, serial stories . . . and so forth,” bringing to mind the diversifying publishing culture that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century and defined the beginning of the next.

Orwell’s “worst books” may really have been bad, but his terminology reflects the critical disdain that still persists in attitudes to the supposedly new genre of books specifically for young

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<sup>41</sup> My emphasis. Alfred Altherr, *Vaterworte auf deine Lebensreise*, (Zürich: Beer, 1900); Tina Walther, *Reisekost auf dem Lebensweg. Ihren jugendlichen Schwestern dargereicht*, (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1895); and Gotthilf Treumann, *Vaters Vermächtnis. Wegleitung für die Lebensreise der Söhne*, (Leipzig: Schröter, 1897).

<sup>42</sup> George Orwell, “Boys Weeklies and Frank Richards’s Reply,” in *George Orwell: An age like this, 1920-1940, Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, vol. 1* (London: David R. Godine, 2000), 482. Orwell was born 1903 in India but spent his childhood in England.

people. One of the most successful Young Adult writers of the young twenty-first century, Markus Zusak, speaks of the obstinate “view that being a Young Adult writer is some sort of ticket to the underclass.”<sup>43</sup> He refers not necessarily to a financial class—one need not name the authors who have successfully monetized their craft in the new century—but to the hierarchy of the literary establishment.

“Youth literature” is a nonentity in the English language. Youth in English is not *Jugend* in German. The accepted English-language label for such fiction is Young Adult or YA literature; on some level, the term “Young Adult” is, however, useful to a discussion of *Jugendliteratur* for the questions it presents. Though applying the label Young Adult to *Jugendliteratur* at the end of the nineteenth century in Germany would be anachronistic, many of its characteristics certainly apply to *Jugendliteratur* from that period. In “Young Adult Literature: Growing Up, In Theory” Karen Coats lays out some of the problems of young adult literature (YA):

YA literature thus constructs as well as reflects an idea of adolescence, just as children’s literature does for childhood. Unlike childhood, however, adolescence is not usually remembered with fond nostalgia, nor is it imbued with mythic status as a place of idyllic stasis. Rather, adolescence is a threshold condition, a liminal state that is fraught with angst, drama, and change anxiety. The burden of adolescent literature has always been to achieve synchronicity with the concerns of an audience that is defined by its state of flux and impermanence. Adolescence is a phase someone goes through. It’s a problem if you get stuck there, or at least, it used to be. And this is an added dimension of adolescence’s provisionality—its status in culture undergoes change as well.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Markus Zusak, “Point of Departure,” in *Handbook of Research on Children’s and Young Adult Literature*, ed. Shelby A. Wolf, et. al., (New York: Routledge, 2011), 330.

<sup>44</sup> Karen Coats, “Young Adult Literature: Growing Up, In Theory,” in *Handbook of Research on Children’s and Young Adult Literature*, 324-25.

Liminality and provisionality apply equally well to concepts of adulthood and concepts of nationhood, but in the late nineteenth century literature for youth often attempted to reify the lines between child and adult and make clear the border between the domestic self and the foreign other.

Egon Schwarz has commented on the liminal state of crossing national borders, the arbitrary nature of the constructed demarcation between one nation and another. His observations could apply to life phases equally well: “Wenn ich an eine Grenze komme, befällt mich ein Unbehagen, ein widriges Empfinden. Ich blicke mich um. Merkt denn keiner, was hier mit ihm geschieht?”<sup>45</sup> The divide between childhood and adulthood— be it marked by religious confirmation, school-leaving, or marriage—is often as arbitrarily conceived as the line between two nations, laid out on a map. And yet, both are naturalized culturally. In the modern world, the two are often linked. Becoming an adult means forever accepting and acknowledging the national context within which one lives, the conditions, “die sich Staatsorgane ausgedacht haben und die dann ihre Handlanger ausnutzen.”<sup>46</sup> Just as much as the texts in the first three chapters of my dissertation seek to highlight the national border as a naturalized element of modern adult life, those in the final chapter of my dissertation find that disorientation persists despite the aggressive assertion of borders and boundaries. They question the analogy of the nation as natural and interrogate the ability to delineate adulthood with clear, fixed lines.

## Synopsis

Chapter One maps the German geographies of youth as charted by the publishing industry at the end of the nineteenth century. It focuses on the publisher Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn

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<sup>45</sup> Egon Schwarz, “Grenzüberschreitungen,” in *Die Japanische Mauer: Ungewöhnliche Reise geschichten*, (Siegen: Carl Bösch Verlag, 2002), 9.

<sup>46</sup> Schwarz, “Grenzüberschreitungen,” 9.

as a case study in the way the publishing industry and the state-sanctioned school system collaborated with writers, parents, and young readers to create a specifically German, but nonetheless newly global, reader. Analysis of Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn reveals an explicit relationship between curricular reading and leisure reading. For Hirt & Sohn, travel literature became a bridge between geographical knowledge and learned citizenship; this literature successfully related the knowledge of Germany's historical journey to its current position in the geopolitical world. Reading works of Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken alongside other items from Hirt & Sohn's catalogue reveals the surprising fact that both girls and boys were expected to internalize a story of German expansionism that was grounded in a specifically German history. Young people acquired from the wide array of media produced by Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn a rootedness in German history and culture that anchored them within a global world. Furthermore, reading non-fiction and fiction about the wider world affirmed the idea that young people could grow up German regardless of their geography.

Chapter Two, entitled "Reading Adolescence as Journey: Foreign Settings and Domestic Narratives in the Young Adult Novel," focuses on the fictional novels of Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken. Textual analysis of their two series reveals the way in which adolescence was imagined as a journey. These novels account for the space between departure from childhood and arrival in adulthood by making it a literal trip. Both authors portray the trip as a time for their young protagonists to explore their personal and national identity. Augusti and Pajeken's works—and by extension their publisher Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn—reflect and reinterpret a new concept of adolescence emerging at the end of the century—adolescence as a period of

insecurity, tumult, and transition as theorized by, among others,<sup>47</sup> American psychologist, pedagogue and Germanophile G. Stanley Hall, a new life phase lamented by hundreds of teachers in the pedagogical journals and teacher training manuals of the time, and depicted in such avant-garde literature of the period as Wedekind's *Spring Awakening* (*Frühlings Erwachen*).<sup>48</sup> Unlike contemporary fiction and non-fictional accounts of young adulthood written for adults, literature of this period written for young readers uses the trip to account for the instability of this life phase rather than portraying it outright. In the end personal struggles are subsumed under the struggle for national identity.

While both Augusti and Pajeken implicitly acknowledge adolescence as a phase of life constructed separately from childhood and adulthood, distinct in its own right, their protagonists choose instead to focus on the negotiation of cultural identity and maturity in the context of nationality as the means to express their arrival at adulthood. In order to do so, both authors use elements of domestic fiction popular with German readers of all ages in the second half of the

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<sup>47</sup> Hall was the loudest and most prominent of a group of theorists who set about formulating childhood and adolescence with an unprecedented concern. His work crossed international borders and was symptomatic of a concern for the psychology of youth in the modernizing western world. Joseph Stimpfl was the prime propagator of thought on youth in Germany, translating works by Hall as well as the British psychologists William Preyer and James Sully and the Canadian Frederick Tracy (*Psychologie der Kindheit*, 1899). William Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes: Beobachtungen über die geistige Entwicklung des Lebens in den ersten Lebensjahren*, trans. Joseph Stimpfl, (Leipzig: T. Grieben, 1882); James Sully, *Untersuchungen über die Kindheit : psychologische Abhandlungen für Lehrer und gebildete Eltern*, trans. Joseph Stimpfl, (Leipzig: E. Wunderlich, 1897); and Frederick Tracy, *Psychologie der Kindheit : eine Gesamtdarstellung der Kinderpsychologie für Seminaristen, Studierende und Lehrer*, trans. Joseph Stimpfl, (Leipzig: E. Wunderlich, 1899).

<sup>48</sup> Frank Wedekind, *Frühlings Erwachen. Eine Kindertragödie*, (Zürich: Verlag von Jean Gross, 1891). See also, Max Halbe, *Jugend: Eine Liebesdrama in drei Aufzügen*, (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1893); and Gerhart Hauptmann, *Michael Kramer: Drama in vier Akten*, (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1900). Cf. Ortrud Gutjahr, "Jugend als Epochenthema um 1900," in *Adoleszenz*, (Würzburg: Köingshausen und Neumann, 1997), 117-48.

nineteenth century. They merge elements of gendered literary domesticity with the exoticism and adventure of their foreign settings. High culture becomes a means for popular authors like Augusti and Pajeken to recount a specifically German coming-of-age story. As these characters arrive at adulthood they discover their own Germanness and that of those around them as a slowly emerging but decidedly pronounced belated Germanness, a concept that echoes Germany's national self-perception as a culture belatedly affirmed as a nation.<sup>49</sup>

Chapter Three, "Between Childhood and Colonial Subjectivity: The Anthropology of Coming-of-Age in Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken," examines the overlap and interaction between discourses of maturity and discourses of race in late nineteenth-century youth literature about young Germans outside of Germany by considering the interactions of these characters with the non-Germans and non-Europeans they encounter. It attempts to make sense of the ways in which both Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken used conventions and constructions of colonialism to describe spaces that were not real colonies of the German empire. Their protagonists act out colonialism in the safe space of adolescence: they—and by extension the readers who identified with them—are shielded from realities about the relationships between colonizers and the colonized because they are not full-fledged adults and thus not yet fully responsible for their actions. Furthermore, because the geographies described are not actual German colonies—Augusti and Pajeken set their books in India and America instead of Africa and the Pacific—young Germans compare themselves to real colonists such as the British and imagine themselves as humanitarians and good colonists by comparison.

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<sup>49</sup> Helmuth Plessner popularized the coinage belated nation, cf. Helmuth Plessner, *Die verspätete Nation. Über die Verführbarkeit bürgerlichen Geistes*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1959). This work was originally published in 1935.



This chapter furthermore looks at the ways in which authors of youth literature drew on myths of colonialism that in the interim have been described by literary scholars and historians alike. Augusti and Pajeken both ground their depictions of colonial sensibilities in visions of the good colonist as described in Susanne Zantop's *Colonial Fantasies* and ideas of the culture of respectability that Woodruff D. Smith uses to explain German colonial impulses.<sup>50</sup> The novels construct models of family and maturity that map out the dividing lines between white Germans and the non-whites with whom they interact. Augusti and Pajeken also integrate notions from the popular science of race and gender that solidified in the late nineteenth century. Young German protagonists learn about civilization as they civilize others. Although fiction for young adults at the end of the nineteenth century implicitly expresses tensions between cultural tolerance and cultural imperialism, this chapter shows how it ultimately and explicitly chooses to affirm a hierarchical model of culture, placing its youthful protagonists, newly arrived at maturity, at its pinnacle.

Undermining the cultural certainty of youth literature at the end of the century demanded textual models and narrative structures much more complex than those that typified this literature. The final chapter of this dissertation, "Lost Between Campe and Cooper: Youth, Travel, and (Im)mobile Readers in the Late Works of Wilhelm Raabe," considers what depictions of youthful reading about the wider world and the coming-of-age process look like when freed from the formal and cultural constraints placed upon literature for young adults. This chapter will show how Wilhelm Raabe makes use of textual material read by his characters in their youth and remembered by these characters as adults as a means to integrate an imagined

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<sup>50</sup> Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial German, 1770-1870*, (Durham NC: Duke UP, 1997); and Woodruff D. Smith, "Colonialism and the Culture of Respectability," in *German Colonial Past*, ed. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 3-20.

international sphere into their otherwise provincially based textual world. Books and reading become a way to imagine the exotic, yet, as Raabe makes explicit, they remain a product of the German publishing industry. Like Augusti and Pajeken, Raabe, too, draws on canonical intertexts, but he deploys these texts differently. By placing Goethe alongside popular versions of *Robinson Crusoe* or the *Leatherstocking Tales*, Raabe not only reflects the real reading habits of nineteenth-century Germans of all ages, but creates a fictional world in which the literary giant and the anonymous adapter of adventure stories take part in the same conversation about growing up in the wider world.

While travel is alluded to but ultimately is not the focus of Raabe's texts, reading about travel and the world at large is prominent. While Raabe evinces skepticism toward travel—with its contemporary connotations of progress and imperialism—literary mediations of the world were important to him precisely because these were a product and reflection of the multiple perspectives that existed in a newly global world.

As I will argue in this dissertation, despite their distinct differences, young adult literature and now-canonical literature shared a belief that narratives—here the stories of how young people grow up—could shape readers' views of the world and their place within it. But stories are just that: projections of one's own perspective onto others. Whether or not its individual authors had traveled to the locales they described and in spite of its incorporation of popular science, geographic knowledge, and political and cultural conventions, German literature about the wider world was a collection of fantasies that defined the self as much as the other. This aptitude for encouraging and supporting self-definition makes these domestic myths and foreign imaginings particularly potent in stories of coming-of-age. As we will see, literature that told a story of German national maturity could be used for good or for ill, to promote cultural

imperialism or cultural tolerance, or—in a nuanced case such as Raabe—to show how the two shared the same discursive space.

## CHAPTER ONE

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### German Geographies of Youth:

#### Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn and the Growth of National Readers in Global Context

Wem Gott die rechte Gunst erweisen  
Den schickt Er in die weite Welt.<sup>51</sup>

Joseph von Eichendorff

The first two lines of Eichendorff's poem adorn each and every frontispiece of two series of works published for adolescents by Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn in the 1890s. As a motto for both Brigitte Augusti's *An fremdem Herd* series about young girls venturing into the world and Friedrich Pajeken's *Bob* series about generations of boys in the American wilderness, these two short lines become a literal blessing (*Reisesege*n) on multiple levels. With these words the characters' travels outside of German space were sanctioned and approved, as were the readers' virtual journeys. In its original context, the lyric marks the joy the young protagonist of Eichendorff's novella *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* experiences as he ventures out into the world. It is the reader's first introduction to the character. But unlike the protagonists of Augusti and Pajeken's works, the *Taugenichts* does not leave home as part of a carefully planned trip, complete with goals for personal development that seem (at least at first glance) to fit neatly into a German imperial project. Rather, he is expelled by a father who is fed up with his son's lazy ways. Although Eichendorff's novella was most likely read by young people at the end of the nineteenth century, its careless wandering after expulsion from the familial home would have been deemed anything but an appropriate model for young girls and boys of the Imperial German

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<sup>51</sup> Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, *Bibliothek der Erstaussagen*, (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997), 8. This printing follows the 1826 first edition.

*Bürgertum*. Together with Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* it ranks among a handful of works from otherwise canonical authors regarded "mit Verboten oder zumindest mit dem impliziten Ausschluss alternativer Jugendlektüre einherging."<sup>52</sup> For one thing, these sensitive wanderers with their outbursts of emotion did not meet the strict gender expectations for masculine travelers that had solidified by the end of the nineteenth century, thus making them odd bedfellows for texts touting the imperial project.

Yet "Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen," also known under the titles of "Der frohe Wandersmann" and "Reisesege,"<sup>53</sup> was specifically noted as part of the curriculum in Prussian classrooms prior to the First World War as one of nine "als Pflichtlieder bezeichneten Lieder in unseren Volksschulen" for the sixth grade.<sup>54</sup> Given this state sanctioning, many—if not most—of the young people reading titles by Augusti and Pajeken would have been intimately familiar with this motto before ever seeing Hirt's books. The *Zentralblatt* emphasizes the necessity of memorization of text and melody, "damit die eingeübten Lieder, insbesondere diejenigen, die auch der Erwachsene noch gern singt, als unverlierbares Eigentum mit ins Leben gehen."<sup>55</sup> The

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<sup>52</sup> Otto Brunken, et al., *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1850 bis 1900* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), 34.

<sup>53</sup> See *Allgemeines Deutsches Kommersbuch*, 165th ed., eds. Michael Foschag and Thorsten Stepath, (Kehl am Rhein: Morstadt-Verlag, 2008). The *ADK*, a collection of songs for German student fraternities, has been published in 165 editions since 1858. For an analysis of the role of the memorization of Eichendorff's poem and its performance as part of a state educational program in the school choir and the way these impact the power of poetry and language, see Theodor W Adorno, "In Memory of Eichendorff," in *Notes to Literature*, ed. Rudolph Tiedemann (New York: Columbia UP, 1991), 57; and Ulrich Plass, *Language and History in Theodor W. Adorno's Notes to Literature*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), xxxvi-xxxviii.

<sup>54</sup> *Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preußen*, 54:11 (1912): 623-626, <http://bbf.dipf.de/kataloge/bibliothekskatalog/digibert.pl?id=BBF0848928> (16 September 2011).

<sup>55</sup> *Zentralblatt*, 623-626.

poem's first lines had by the 1890s become a catchphrase for German colonial actions, the cultural equivalent of Foreign Minister Bernhard von Bülow's "place in the sun" for young people.<sup>56</sup> For Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn the words represent a rallying cry relevant for both young boys *and* young girls, uniting readers of both genders across the rapidly developing book market for young people. In a way the words have it all, the blessings of the Almighty, an ostensibly gender-neutral wanderer, and a clear endorsement of the possibilities inherent in movement away from home. The ambiguity of their original context is lost and replaced by a resolute desire to portray young Germans venturing into the wider world under the Imperial flag. The saying acknowledges the relationship of the young hiker in the German forest, alongside the young explorer in the American West and certainly the young missionary in India or Africa. Through one simple phrase, the publisher links the domestic sphere—with its fledgling *Wandervogel* movement<sup>57</sup>—with the foreign spaces of tourism, colonialism and emigration.

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<sup>56</sup> Bernhard von Bülow, "Deutschlands Platz an der Sonne," in *Fürst Bülow's Reden nebst urkundlichen Beiträgen zu seiner Politik*, ed. Johannes Penzler, (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1907), 1: 6–8. The words from this 1897 speech in promotion of *Weltpolitik* in East Asia and the West Indies became a popular colonialist dictum and were adopted by Kaiser Wilhelm II, cf. C. Gauss, *The German Kaiser as Shown in His Public Utterances*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 181-183.

<sup>57</sup> The *Wandervogel* movement began in Berlin-Steglitz in 1896. Ludwig Gurlitt framed it this way: "Wir wollen die schulfreie Zeit der deutschen Jugend, ihre Festtage und ihre Ferien durch Wanderungen und größere Wanderfahrten erziehlich nutzbar machen," quoted. in Werner Kindt, *Dokumentation der Jugendbewegung*. Band II: *Die Wandervogelzeit. Quellenschriften zur deutschen Jugendbewegung 1896 bis 1919*, (Düsseldorf: Diederichs, 1968). Cf. Sigrid Bias-Engels, *Zwischen Wandervogel und Wissenschaft: Zur Geschichte von Jugendbewegung und Studentenschaft 1896-1920*, (Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1988).

## Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn: Growing Up with Geographic Awareness

By 1900 the Hirt name was well-established as a market leader among publishers selling their wares to young adults, their teachers, and parents.<sup>58</sup> In 1854, Ferdinand Hirt (1810-79) situated the focus of his firm within the “Feld der Literatur der Familie, der Kindheit und Jugend.”<sup>59</sup> In doing so, he created a business model that aimed to follow children from the nursery through their primary school years and well into young adulthood. His titles not only dominated the market for school books, but provided some of the most popular pleasure reading for teenagers at the end of the nineteenth century. In positioning its products both in the domestic space of the home with its private moments of familial and solitary pleasure reading, as well as in the public, institutional space of the German school system, the Hirt publishing house was unique in its ubiquity.

The range of subject matter that Hirt’s titles covered make them of particular interest for this project, given the publisher’s investment in reinforcing a cultural nationalism and in contributing to the criteria for determining the identity of other nations and terrains. From the earliest stages, Hirt was associated with an interest in defining the domestic and the foreign. Originally founded in 1832 as a Breslau bookshop, “die auch ein großes Sortiment an ‘Fremd-Literatur’ führte,”<sup>60</sup> Hirt continued to focus on travel literature covering both foreign and

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<sup>58</sup> For the most comprehensive recent histories of the publishing house see Gisela Wilkending, “Verlagsprofil: Hirt,” in Otto Bruckner et al., *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1850 bis 1900*, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), 611-616; and Georg Jäger, “Der Schulbuchverlag,” in *Das Kaiserreich 1871-1918. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Georg Jäger, (Frankfurt am Main: MVB, 2003), 1/2: 62-102.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Wilkending, “Verlagsprofil: Hirt,” 612.

<sup>60</sup> Wilkending, “Verlagsprofil: Hirt,” 612.

domestic territory as the nineteenth century progressed and after 1870 pursued a tandem concern for the patriotic.

An extensive array of advertisements was integral to the design of most of Hirt's books, allowing the publisher to create a network of cross-referenced works. Through careful and extensive placement of ads within the books, Hirt matched curricular materials such as the Seydlitz geography textbook to extensive picture atlases, connecting the atlases in turn to novels for extracurricular reading.<sup>61</sup> In addition to advertisements for non-fiction works at the back of each book, novels even contained internal informational footnotes referring readers to other thematically and geographically related fiction published by Hirt. The books' similar physical appearance and extra-textual details such as the shared motto described above not only served to reinforce the idea of one unique brand, but also conveyed to readers that the works in their various genres combined to create a universe of knowledge. Indeed, Hirt's publishing system itself reinforced the late nineteenth-century notion of "die Welt im Winkel"—the idea that a wider world could be accessed from anywhere with the right media and that such knowledge was necessary to the formation of the middle-class citizen in the new Germany. The comprehensive nature of Hirt's approach allowed for assimilation of information through official channels and

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<sup>61</sup> For additional information on Hirt's system of advertising, see Wilkending, "Verlagsprofil: Hirt," 614. Both Jennifer Askey and Jana Mikota have noted the interconnected nature of Hirt's inventory. Askey articulates the way in which "mutually reinforcing narratives" of Hirt's textbooks and popular fiction contribute to the creation of a "national reading community." Jennifer Askey, "A Library for Girls: Publisher Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn and the Novels of Brigitte Augusti," in *Publishing Culture and the Reading Nation: German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lynne Tatlock, (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2010), 161, 172. In Mikota's analysis of school-based reading socialization (*Lesersozialisation*), Hirt's "carefully structured marketing strategy that targeted schools" is noted. Jana Mikota, "For the Love of Words and Works: Tailoring the Reader for the Higher Girls' Schools in Late Nineteenth-Century German," trans. Lynne Tatlock, in *Publishing Culture*, 187.



offered the opportunity to learn through reader identification with the travelers portrayed in its domestic fiction.

As the original bookshop expanded into a publishing enterprise mid-century, Hirt's inventory included scientific literature, travel literature, school books, and curricular materials as well as educational and entertaining books for young children, older youth, and their teachers and parents—specifically mothers. In 1873, Arnold Hirt (1843-1928) joined his father in leading the firm and moved its headquarters to the publishing center of Leipzig. With this savvy business decision came additional changes. Keeping school books as the firm's mainstay, the junior Hirt dropped books for young children and parenting manuals in order to focus exclusively on school books and fiction for youth of both genders. Additionally, he expanded the offerings in travel literature. With the founding of the German nation and new leadership at the press, the fiction published adopted an ever-more chauvinistic patriotism.

Hirt and later Hirt & Sohn produced many popular school books, including Schilling's *Naturgeschichte*, Kambly's *Mathematik*, and Eduard Bock's *Deutsche Lesebuch*.<sup>62</sup> The so-called Seydlitz *Geographie* was the most widely distributed book of the publishing house and its most notable legacy, given its presence (at least in name) in German schools to this day.<sup>63</sup> By 1895 over one million copies had been distributed.

Although originally Hirt's position as a leader on the school book market was probably not wholly unrelated to the senior Hirt's childhood friendship with long-time Prussian culture

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<sup>62</sup> Samuel Schilling, *Grundriß der Naturgeschichte*, (Breslau: Hirt, 1889); Ludwig Kambly, *Die Elementar-Mathematik für den Schulunterricht bearbeitet*, (Breslau: Hirt, 1888); and Eduard Bock, *Deutsches Lesebuch für die Mittel- und Oberstufe*, (Breslau: Hirt, 1898).

<sup>63</sup> Ernst von Seydlitz, *Kleine Schul-geographie*, (Breslau: Hirt, 1886).

minister Heinrich von Mühler,<sup>64</sup> quality and attention to detail also played a role in the publishing house's enduring success. The printing and bindings were held to high standards, with particular concern for illustrations. The control both Ferdinand and Arnold Hirt exercised over the visual material in their books was particularly well-suited to their consolidated market approach, which aimed to make the leap from school to home and link books of factual material with pleasure reading. The power of original wood cut images to invigorate lessons on geography and culture and render travel narratives—factual or imagined—more real was palpable. Ferdinand Hirt himself envisioned the visual material “zum Zweck der Anschauungsunterricht” with an ability to enliven the ethnographic and geopolitical subject matter.

Though reference works and fiction with a didactic mission for youth were certainly nothing new, taken on their own, the way in which the books were created, “behufs Belebung des Unterrichts,”<sup>65</sup> integrated into a specific national curriculum, and mutually supported with materials for leisure reading was a notable new development in the publishing culture at the time that indicates a new centrality of the Imperial project with its concern for foregrounding new geopolitical realities even to the nation's youngest adults. According to the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*,

Bei den Unterrichtswerken für die Schule steht von Anbeginn die Geographie im Mittelpunkt des verlegerischen und persönlichen Interesses Hirts: *Die Seydlitzsche Geographie*, die noch heute zu den bekannten deutschen

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<sup>64</sup> Heinrich von Mühler (1813-1874) served as Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medicinalangelegenheiten from 1862 to 1872. See Karl Wippermann, “Mühler, Heinrich von,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1885), 22: 469–475.

<sup>65</sup> Opper, Alwin, Arnold Ludwig, and F. Ludwig, ed., “Vorwort,” in *F. Hirts Bilderschatz zur Länder- und Völkerkunde. Eine Auswahl aus F. Hirts geographischen Bildertafeln für die Belehrung in Haus und Schule*, (Hirt & Sohn, Leipzig. 1894), n.p.

Schulbüchern zählt, war eines seiner ersten Verlagswerke. . . . Für alle Werke des Verlags, bei denen es auf Veranschaulichung des Textes durch Illustrationen ankam, wie zum Beispiel dem “Seydlitz”, ließ er die Abbildungen speziell für seinen Verlag nach seinen Angaben herstellen.<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, by virtue of Hirt’s state-approved presence in the schoolbook market, the entire inventory of the publishing house received an implicit stamp of approval from the higher powers. The Ministry of Culture made decisions about schoolbooks according to their “Staatskonformität” (Müller). Books used by schools—regardless of subject matter—should serve the “Förderung patriotischer und nationaler Gesinnung.”<sup>67</sup> The extent to which the ministry and publishing houses collaborated on the strategic dissemination of patriotic and imperialistic prose from publishers of popular schoolbooks is well-documented.<sup>68</sup> Georg Jäger formulates it bluntly in his overview of curricular publishing in the Imperial Germany: “Durch Empfehlungen von Wandbildern und Schriften unterstützte das Ministerium die Flotten- und Kolonialpolitik des Deutschen Reiches.”<sup>69</sup>

In addition to classroom wall maps like the popular *Hirts Hauptformen der Erdoberfläche*,<sup>70</sup> Hirt published many multi-volume series of pictorial atlases. These contained

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<sup>66</sup> Hella Ostermeyer, “Hirt, Ferdinand,” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1972), 9: 234.

<sup>67</sup> Walter Müller, “Schulbuchzulassung,” (Kastellaun: Henn, 1977), 145 quoted in Jäger “Der Schulbuchverlag,” 64.

<sup>68</sup> For extensive examples, including the distribution of Oskar Höcker, *Jederzeit Kampfbereit!*, (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1893) at reduced prices, see Georg Jäger, “Der Schulbuchverlag,” 69-70.

<sup>69</sup> Jäger, “Der Schulbuchverlag,” 69.

<sup>70</sup> Hirt’s products not only described the worldwide landscape, but enjoyed distribution in areas of German immigration and colonial occupation. This particular *Wandbild* enjoyed “weltweite Verbreitung . . . , besonders an den deutschen Schulen im Ausland.” See Ostermeyer, “Hirt, Arnold,” 233.

not maps but large and extensively detailed wood-cut images of foreign landscapes and their inhabitants. Under the pseudonym Arnold Ludwig, Arnold Hirt personally participated in the editing of the five-volume *Geographische Bildertafeln*. Editions like this and its more condensed version, the *Geographische Bilderschatz* (1894), were lavish, oversized books, each page dedicated to detailed depictions of “Länder- und Völkerkunde . . . angelegt nach den Grundsätzen der vergleichenden Erdkunde.”<sup>71</sup> The five volumes of *Bildertafeln* aim to be comprehensive, covering “allgemeine Erdkunde, die typischen Landschaften, die Völkerkunde von Europa, Asien und Australien, und Afrika und Amerika.”<sup>72</sup> Though—or perhaps because—Hirt grounds their validity in the most up-to-date science, their illustrations are reminiscent of the *Völkerschauen* and colonial fairs popular in European metropolitan centers by the final decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>73</sup> Hirt created a mediated version of this mode of spectatorship and, as a pedagogical authority, deemed it appropriate for “Haus und Schule.” The book’s foreword notes its particular use for teachers “in Dörfern oder auf dem Land,”<sup>74</sup> presumably because their access to such events of the colonial metropolis as firsthand spectators was limited. Hirt clarified its

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<sup>71</sup> Oppel, “Vorwort,” n.p.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, n.p.

<sup>73</sup> A prime example is the German Colonial Exhibition (*Deutsche Colonialausstellung*), a part of the trade fair (*Gewerbeausstellung*) that took place in 1896 in Treptow, Berlin. This fair include aimed to exhibit the latest developments in all aspects of modern life, including teaching and education (*Unterricht und Erziehung*), suggesting educators would have attended. A special space was set aside for the colonial exhibition, in which natives of German East Africa, Togo, Cameroon and New Guinea were depicted acting out scenes of everyday life. See Nana Badenberg, “Zwischen Kairo und Alt-Berlin. Sommer 1896: Die deutsche Kolonien als Ware und Werbung auf der Gewerbe-Ausstellung in Treptow” in *Mit Deutschland um die Welt: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Fremden in der Kolonialzeit*, ed. Alexander Honold and Klaus Rüdiger Scherpe, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004), 190-199.

<sup>74</sup> Oppel, “Vorwort,” n.p.

role as publisher as an editorial one, providing appropriate access to possibly questionable material and thus playing a protective and paternal role in deeming what was suitable for consumption by young people (and teachers) of both genders. With a “pädagogischen Hauptzweck” and a dedication to accuracy, Hirt imagines his works as “klärend gegenüber der Unmasse leichtfertig zusammengebrachter Abbildungen, mit denen heutigen Tages Bücher, besonders aber manche Zeitschriften und Lieferungswerke das Publikum überschütten.”<sup>75</sup>

Significantly, one 1895 edition of the *Bilderschatz* bears a handwritten dedication to Antonie Hanna in recognition of *her* excellent accomplishments in school.<sup>76</sup> This small piece of evidence reinforces the assertion that Hirt made geography accessible to members of both genders and viewed it as an essential part of the curriculum for both boys and girls. The book’s extensive advertisements reiterate this goal: pages that precede the text advertise coordinating school books such as the *Seydlitz Geographie*, while multiple pages at the end of the *Bilderschatz* advertise works of fiction aimed at both male and female audiences as “reich ausgestattete geographische und geschichtliche Bücher für die reifere Jugend.”<sup>77</sup> Included here are works by both Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken. In this way Hirt & Sohn defy the typically gender-restrictive connotations of *Jugend* as the specifically male coming-of-age process and strengthen the idea that both boys and girls—as future fathers and, especially, future mothers of the nation—benefit from factual and fictional accounts of what it means to be German. Indeed, they are required reading for the maturing citizenry of the young nation.

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<sup>75</sup> Oppel, “Vorwort,” n.p.

<sup>76</sup> Copy held by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>77</sup> Oppel, “Vorwort,” n.p.

As the German project of imperial expansion grew, so too did the publishing house. Hirt publishing house maintained its strong market position until the fall of the *Kaiserreich*. During the Weimar Republic an increasingly “deutsch-völkische[n] Orientierung” became discernible.<sup>78</sup> This perspective and market demands culminated in the publication of Hirt’s final “geopolitischen Großprojekt”<sup>79</sup> the *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschum* (1933-1938).<sup>80</sup> At the same time, however, the publisher was involved in providing publications to the Esperanto movement until its abolishment under National Socialism.<sup>81</sup>

After the Second World War attempts were made to carry on the Hirt name in Kiel, Vienna, and Zug, Switzerland. Surprisingly, these attempts continued well into the twenty-first century. Not until March of 2011 was the liquidation of the publishing house’s ultimate iteration complete. Finally, Ferdinand Hirt AG was removed from the *Handelsregister*.<sup>82</sup> Still the legacy of Hirt publishing persists, not only in the ongoing use of the *Seydlitz Geographie*, but also in the form of the Arnold-Hirt-Stiftung for the “Förderung von Studienreisen und Unterstützung

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<sup>78</sup> Brunken, *Handbuch*, 613.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 613.

<sup>80</sup> This project was part of the so-called *Leipziger Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung* movement that developed in the 1920s and continued under National Socialism. This particular work involved hundreds of researchers. See Michael Fahlbusch, *Wissenschaft im Dienst der nationalsozialistischen Politik? Die Volksdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaften 1931-1945*, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1999).

<sup>81</sup> I point out this fact to emphasize that a teleological development from the patriotic chauvinism, militarism, and colonialism of publications from the 1890s to the publications sympathetic to National Socialism in the 1930s is not a foregone conclusion. The firm published ideologically conflicted works simultaneously and side-by-side. For recent contributions to the debate on the so-called “continuity thesis” between German Empire and National Socialism, see Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama, ed., *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, (New York: Columbia UP, 2011).

<sup>82</sup> Handelsregister-Nummer: CH-170.3.007.747-9, [www.moneyhouse.ch](http://www.moneyhouse.ch), (12 September 2011).

geographischer Publikationen” for and by students at the Geographisches Institut, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, an organization Hirt endowed at his alma mater in the 1890s.<sup>83</sup>

The focus of this project is the production of this publishing house at its height under the leadership of Arnold Hirt, from German unification to the turn of the twentieth century. As the above paragraphs demonstrate, during these crucial decades, the production of Hirt & Sohn became ever-more entangled with the social and political climate of the emerging nation. Its unique trifecta of school books, youth fiction, and books on travel and geography reveals the interconnected nature of formal, state-sanctioned pedagogical models, leisure time reading, and information practices within a wider world that is both brand new and already commonplace. It is against this tangled web of references that the reader imagines his or her place in the world. Whether he or she actually ventured outside of the provincial town or the fledgling imperial metropolis of Berlin was of little significance.

The network of imagination that connected Germany to a wider world was very much required reading for those growing up in late nineteenth-century Germany. Through their mediation of the fictional and the factual and with their presence in public and private spaces, Hirt & Sohn publications presented an idealized incarnation of adolescent development and emerging adulthood in the new geopolitical landscape. The implied roadmap to adulthood could not be complete without a consideration of what it meant to travel in the world. To become an

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<sup>83</sup> The foundation was founded in 1897 according to Georg Meyer, “Chronik der Universität,” in *Ueber die Entstehung und Ausbildung des allgemeinen Stimmrechts: Akademische Rede zur Feier des Geburtsfestes des höchstseligen Grossherzogs Karl Friedrich am 22 November 1897 bei dem Vortrage des Jahresberichtes und der Verkündigung der akademischen Preise gehalten*, (Heidelberg: Universitäts-buchdr. von J. Hörning, 1897), 29. The university currently lists the foundation as one of “38 Einzelstiftungen, mit . . . Zweckbestimmung,” <http://www.zuv.uni-heidelberg.de/imperia/md/content/einrichtungen/zuv/stiftenfoerdern/einzelstiftungen.pdf> (12 September 2011).

adult is to study where one stands in a grand geography, and to do so correctly, young readers needed models. Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken were two of the authors ready to provide them.

### **Hirt's Pedagogical Progeny**

#### **Brigitte's Augusti: Mapping German History for Girls**

Youth literature (*Jugendschriften*) published by Hirt & Sohn clearly reflects, reinforces, and (re)produces the preoccupations with history and geography that marked the second half of the nineteenth century and the ways in which these were manifest in the literature of the day. The publishing house's *raison d'être* (in addition to turning a profit—or, perhaps—as the best means of doing so) was packaging these literary forms for youth consumption. A large number of titles published in the decades on either side of the turn of the century comprised fictional or fictionalized accounts of the wider world. Geographies depicted in Hirt's catalog were wide-ranging, from North and South America to Africa and India. The popular travel narratives of Annie Brassey, for example, were adapted for a German audience by Hirt & Sohn (*Eine Segelfahrt um die Welt*, 1880; *Eine Familienreise in die Tropen*, 1887; *Letzte Fahrt an Bord des Sunbeam*, 1889). Also in the inventory were popular adventure novels from the pen of another female writer, S. Wörishöffer, such as *Das Buch vom braven Mann. Bilder aus dem Seeleben*, 1882; and *Gerettet aus Sibirien. Erlebnisse und Abenteuer einer verbannten deutschen Familie*, 1884.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> The vast majority of Wörishöffer's works appeared with Velhagen & Klasing (Bielefeld), one of Hirt's main competitors in the textbook sector.



Many such texts as the two mentioned above by Wöriehöffer attempt to bridge the gap between fact and fiction, story and history. Hirt & Sohn's books produced a natural relationship between Germany's historical narrative and its current position in the world. Taken together, the semi-autobiographical texts of Karl Tanera exemplify the ways in which Hirt & Sohn's worldview aimed to connect the historical and the geopolitical. In *Heinz der Brasilianer* (1904) Tanera shares "stets nur das, was ich auf eigenen Reisen in andere Länder und Erdteile sehe, erlebe oder erfahre."<sup>85</sup> With Tanera's series *Durch ein Jahrhundert* Hirt posthumously adapted the popular historical fiction "des tapferen Kämpfers in den glorreichen Jahren 1870/71 und nimmer müden Weltreisenden"<sup>86</sup> for young people. Although it is not made explicit how, it is clear that the publisher, with his ever-imperious redaction, sees involvement in military conflicts and civilian travel to foreign lands as integral parts of a whole. In this way, the publishing house pursues its implied mission of figuring an idealized citizenry; in this vision knowing one's nation and serving it and knowing about the wider world are intimately linked.

The most prolific writer of historical fiction in the Hirt & Sohn catalog was Oskar Höcker.<sup>87</sup> His multiple series (*Das Ahnenschloss*, *Preußens Heer—Preußens Ehr!*, *Der Sieg des Kreuzes*, *Merksteine deutschen Bürgertums*, and *Unsere Deutsche Flotte*) provided central texts for the creation of German national identity for youthful readers at the end of the century.

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<sup>85</sup> Karl Tanera, "Vorwort," *Heinz der Brasilianer*, (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1904), n.p.

<sup>86</sup> Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn, "Vorwort," *Wolf der Dragoner des Prinzen Eugen. Kriegsgeschichtliche Erzählung von Karl Tanera*, adapted by A. Helms, (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1907), n.p. Note that the foreword here is signed by the publisher, whereas in the previous work it was signed by the author.

<sup>87</sup> Höcker's extensive printing record with Hirt & Sohn may be partially explained by Arnold Hirt's unscrupulously aggressive business dealings, in which he demanded Höcker give up royalties on future printings and editions of his works, thus rendering their continued printing particularly profitable. See Wilkending, "Verlagsprofil: Hirt," 612-613.

Initially published between 1879 and 1896, many of Höcker's works enjoyed popularity well into the twentieth century, with *Das Ahnenschloss* reaching its fifteenth edition by 1911.<sup>88</sup>

Although Höcker's implied audience was male and many of his original works as well as his adaptations of classic works such as *Lederstrumpf-Erzählungen* (Stuttgart: Wilhelm Effenberger, 1885) or *Robinson Crusoes Fahrten und Erlebnisse zu Wasser und zu Land* (Berlin: Meidinger, 1886) were marketed exclusively to adolescent boys, selected historical works in Hirt & Sohn's catalog sought to expand Höcker's audience to young women. According to the *Handbuch der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, Hirt & Sohn situated the audiences of his books in a manner uncharacteristic for the period, even addressing Höcker's novels to "Knaben und Mädchen reiferen Alters."<sup>89</sup> This fact, such anecdotal information as the aforementioned dedication in Hirt's non-fiction works to a female student, and the publication of works that explicitly thematized female travel, such as Annie Brassey's *Segenfahrt* and *Sunbeam* and *Elisabeths Winter und Frühling in Rom* (1881), an epistolary travel novel by Olga Eschenbach, suggest the firm's desire to expand consumption of travel and historical narratives to an audience that included both genders.

In the writing of Brigitte Augusti, Hirt & Sohn created an historical reading experience analogous to that of Oskar Höcker for its female readership. Hirt & Sohn saw an opportunity to capitalize on the lucrative potential of a best seller. Like Höcker's *Das Ahnenschloss*, Augusti's *An deutschem Herd* (1885-1889) drew its inspiration from Gustav Freytag's works of historical fiction, primarily the immensely popular *Die Ahnen* (1872-80). Auguste Plehn (1839-1930) is remembered under the pseudonym Brigitte Augusti. She wrote under this name for a short

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<sup>88</sup> Brunken, *Handbuch*, 582.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 616. My emphasis.

period at the end of the century, producing at least sixteen story collections, novels, and advice books between 1882 and 1895, all published exclusively by Hirt & Sohn of Leipzig.<sup>90</sup> Little is known of Augusti's personal and professional circumstances.<sup>91</sup> As the daughter of a clergyman, she enjoyed an upbringing typical for a mid-century daughter of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Educated at home, she married at twenty-one. By forty-two she was a widow. Although Augusti possessed means from the sale of her husband's estate and was free of the financial and emotional obligations of motherhood, her career as a writer of books for the "weibliche Jugend" began within a year of her husband's death, a fact that suggests that her new profession may have been enabled by, rather than necessitated by, her new status as an independent woman. In addition to beginning to write, Augusti also began to travel. In her work on the authorship of atypical girls' books, Petra Volkmann-Valkysers speculates that the travel that Augusti undertook after she became a widow greatly influenced the relative agency she granted her female characters in both her historically and geographically themed works.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> *Altpreußische Bibliographie für 1895, Beilage der Altpreußischen Monatsschrift* 33 (1895): 38.

<sup>91</sup> Biographical information is taken from Petra Volkmann-Valkysers, "Die Autorin atypischer Mädchenliteratur—Versuch einer Profilierung" and "Kurzbiographien der Autorinnen atypischer Mädchenliteratur" in *Mädchenliteratur der Kaiserzeit. Zwischen weiblicher Identifizierung und Grenzüberschreitung*, ed. Gisela Wilkending, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2003), 89-90, 305.

<sup>92</sup> Volkmann-Valkysers, "Die Autorin atypischer Mädchenliteratur," 89. She writes more generally: "Da die Reisetätigkeit der Autorinnen offenbar relativ unabhängig von deren guter bzw. begrenzter ökonomischer Situierung realisiert wurde, läßt sich eine eigene Motivation und ein spezifisches Interesse an der Erweiterung des räumlichen und auch kulturellen Horizonts vermuten." Volkmann-Valkysers clearly states that Augusti is one of the traveling widows, but does not specify the original source for this essential piece of information.

Hermann L. Köster writes in his *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendliteratur* (1915) that Augusti came “durch die Firma Ferdinand Hirt u. Sohn in Leipzig zur Jugendschriftstellerei.”<sup>93</sup> This formulation implies a relationship based on works by commission, a view that Jennifer Drake Askey and Gabriele von Glasenapp corroborate in their work on Augusti.<sup>94</sup> Certainly, this view is supported by the practices of the publishing industry at the time, and Augusti’s work is indeed marked by her publisher, for example, as evidenced by the “Vorbemerkung der Verlagsbuchhandlung,” signed Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn—and likely written by Arnold Hirt himself, which appears in each edition.<sup>95</sup> Augusti’s writing is able simultaneously to satisfy the ideological and profit-driven motives of the publisher and its ties to the State via the school book industry and yet occupies a space that can truly be called innovative and—in Gisela Wilkending’s words—atypical amidst an expanding book market for a readership comprised exclusively of girls and unmarried young women of “das reifere Mädchenalter.”

After Augusti published a few more-traditional novels for younger girls and translations of popular French children’s literature in the early 1880s, her *An deutschem Herd* series

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<sup>93</sup> Herm. L. Koester, *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendliteratur: in Monographien - II. Teil*, (Hamburg: Alfred Janssen, 1908), 91.

<sup>94</sup> See Garbriele von Glasenapp, “Ihre Geschichte. Historische Erzählungen für junge Leserinnen während der Kaiserzeit,” in *Mädchenliteratur der Kaiserzeit*, 191; and Jennifer Askey, “A Library for Girls,” in *Mädchenliteratur der Kaiserzeit*, 157. Cf., Jennifer Drake Askey, “Reading as Women, Reading as Patriots: Nationalism, Popular Literature, and Girls’ Education in Wilhelmenian Germany” (PhD diss., Washington University in St Louis, 2003).

<sup>95</sup> By contrast, books by male authors published by Hirt & Sohn often contained forewords written in the first person and signed by the author. These first-person forewords make a case for the accuracy of the historical or geographical aspects of the work and the author’s relationship to material at hand. The forewords to Augusti’s works assert the same desire for veracity and attest to the author’s ability to relate to the subject matter, but only in the third person, mediated through the publisher’s male voice. The implication is “die Verfasserin” cannot make this assertion on her own, but must be expressly validated by a male authority. In the foreword of the first volume of *An deutschem Herd*, the publisher explicitly presents the idea for the series as *his* own. See Glasenapp, “Ihre Geschichte,” 191.

appeared, followed in the next decade by *An fremdem Herd*. These series reflect the twofold mission of Hirt & Sohn's catalog and effectively reproduce its cultural message. The chronology of their internal narratives as well as the chronology of their publication history contribute to the building of a dialectical understanding of the domestic and the foreign and what it means to become a German woman within this context in the 1890s. The first series, with its overt nod to Gustav Freytag and marketing as a parallel series to Höcker's *Das Ahnenschloß*, is subtitled *Kulturgeschichtliche Erzählungen aus alter und neuer Zeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Lebens der deutschen Frauen* and consists of five volumes published between 1885 and 1888: *Edelfalk und Waldvöglein. Kulturgeschichtliche Erzählungen aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*. (1885); *Im Banne der Freien Reichsstadt. Kulturgeschichtliche Erzählungen aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*. (1886); *Das Pfarrhaus zu Tannenrode. Bilder aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. (1887); *Die letzten Maltheims. Erzählung aus der Zeit Friedrichs des Großen*. (1888); and *Die Erben von Scharfeneck. Bilder aus der Zeit der Königin Luise*. (1888). The series follows cultural and national history through the history of families, with a focus on female protagonists—girls and young women—in positions similar to those of its imagined readership: middle class, protestant, German.

Drawing upon the success of *An deutschem Herd*, Hirt & Sohn published a new series under Augusti's authorship, *An fremdem Herd: Bunte Bilder aus der Nähe und der Ferne mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des häuslichen Lebens in verschiedenen Ländern*. At first glance, the two series seem united only by their audience, but a closer look reveals a more cohesive relationship between the historical and the geographical novels. The final volume of *An deutschem Herd* concludes in the early nineteenth century and *An fremdem Herd* commences where the historical series left off, in the century's second half. *Gertruds Wanderjahre* is set in

the generation of its readers' mothers. By moving the story back twenty years in time, Augusti achieves a dual purpose: first, she is able to retain some of the genre-specific elements of historical fiction that her readers (and their parents and teachers) would find familiar from reading *An deutschem Herd*, while adding new genre-specific elements of travel literature to the mix. Perhaps more importantly, she is able to incorporate the founding myth of German nationhood as the point of origin enabling truly *German* girls to venture forth, cross borders, and carry their German identity with its characteristically German *Wanderlust* with them. By transitioning from the historical to the present day in this manner, the two series taken together suggest that German interests on the European continent and overseas are part and parcel of a natural national trajectory. The travel narratives of the present day are imbedded in the grand narrative of Germany, and the girls' trips represent not a departure from German identity but a reinforcement and expansion of it.

### ***Gertruds Wanderjahre (1889)***

*Gertrud's Wanderjahre: Erlebnisse eines deutschen Mädchen im Elsaß, in Spanien, Italien und Frankreich* (1889),<sup>96</sup> the first novel in Augusti's series, takes place between 1869 and 1871. Gertrud Stein, who has recently completed her teacher training, must accept a position outside of Germany. The oldest daughter of a widowed pastor, Gertrud must help to support her many younger siblings and the family's eldest son, who is sickly and thus living in Italy. She travels from her provincial hometown near Danzig in Prussia to the Alsace region, where her father's brother (also a pastor) lives with his South German wife and Gertrud's cousin Lisa, an orphan in her uncle's care who has been brought up as a French girl. Gertrud continues on to her

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<sup>96</sup> Brigitte Augusti, *Gertrud's Wanderjahre: Erlebnisse eines deutschen Mädchen im Elsaß, in Spanien, Italien und Frankreich*, 2nd ed., (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1890). All quotations refer to the second edition.

destination in Spain, where she struggles with coming to terms with the Catholic faith and the Spanish grandmother of the half-German family she serves. She travels briefly to Italy before investing in some professional development in the form of French language instruction in Paris. Here she also works in various school and domestic settings. As she plans a return home to her Prussian village, the Franco-Prussian war breaks out and she is stranded in the contested Alsace region. Here she survives a battle, aids the war effort by tending to the wounded, and even meets the *Kronprinz*. With German victory, and thus unity, established, Gertrud is able to return to her immediate family in Prussia and accept a teaching position at a nearby higher girls' school in Danzig. After patient waiting and sacrifice, she eventually receives an appropriate marriage proposal. Together with her husband, a professor, she settles in the newly German city of Strasbourg, where he is instrumental in Germanizing the university, and she lives out her days as a dutiful professor's wife.

The plot builds on a series of mistaken identities and coincidental meetings. In this way it bears resemblance to many expansive nineteenth-century novels in the German context. Augusti narrator exclaims, "wie wunderbar verschlangen sich doch die Fäden, die über Länder und Meere hinweg, die Menschen verknüpften. . . ." <sup>97</sup> Specifically, it is German people who are connected, and a German son who has denied his identity. Gertrud's future husband spends years denying his German identity and alternately passing as Italian, Spanish, or French. The figure of the son lost to the wider world resonates with the basic premise of plots of realist literature such as Wilhelm Raabe's *Abu Telfan*, a novel in which a son eventually returns to

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<sup>97</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 98.

Germany after extensive travel in Africa.<sup>98</sup> National identity or mistaken national identity plays a role in propelling the plot.

Because the novel's outcomes are tailored to an audience of girls aged fourteen to seventeen and have a clearly didactic message, it is important that in the end Gertrud marries the prodigal German son returned home. But despite this ending as a married woman, marriage is not the crux of the plot; it is merely a sign of Gertrud's newfound maturity. The novel follows her transformation from an unsophisticated, unattractive, and naïve school girl into "eine Dame" who is both well-educated and well-traveled and knows how to present herself.<sup>99</sup> This alteration, importantly, is not the result of her marriage, but is already in place upon returning home. Marriage is part of her status as a proper German woman, but it is not the determinant of this status. Travel—not marriage—is the crucial experience in this female

*Entwicklungsgeschichte.*

### ***Zwillingschwester (1891)***

One year following the publication of *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, Hirt & Sohn undertook to publish a second Augusti novel that thematized travel. In *Zwillings-Schwester: Erlebnisse zweier deutschen Mädchen in Skandinavien und England* (1891) Augusti continues the trajectory of the Stein family.<sup>100</sup> With Gertrud safely married and established in a home of her own, the

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<sup>98</sup> Much of the critical attention to this novel is concerned with deciphering to what extent the protagonist's travels in Africa are real or imagined. Unlike the lost German in Augusti's narrative, Raabe's protagonist is at pains to fully re-integrate into German society. For further discussion of Wilhelm Raabe's fiction, see Chapter 4.

<sup>99</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 231.

<sup>100</sup> Brigitte Augusti, *Zwillings-Schwester: Erlebnisse zweier deutschen Mädchen in Skandinavien und England*, 4th ed., (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1910). All quotations refer to the fourth edition.



attention of the narrative turns to two of her younger sisters, the twins, Ilse and Frida. The reader has already learned that Gertrud's final place of employment, a higher daughters' school in Danzig, allowed them to attend a good school. Now they have finished their formal education. At sixteen, however, they are in need of continued personal growth. Their weaknesses serve as foils to each other. Ilse is too headstrong and boisterous, while Frida is too shy and withdrawn. Thus, with the intent of tempering these distinguishing characteristics, Pastor Stein finds employment for them outside of Germany, where they have the opportunity to gain experience and see the world. The novel opens appropriately in the port city of Hamburg, where Ilse sets off for England and Frida for Norway. Their duties abroad are less demanding than those that Gertrud faced in Spain and France. Rather than caring for young charges, they serve as companions for girls in much the same age and station as themselves.<sup>101</sup> While Ilse and Frida do provide instruction, usually in German language and literature, it is a matter of educational enhancement rather than educational necessity for their charges.

While Gertrud left home with the need to generate income for her family, this exigency seems dampened in *Zwillingschwester*. Augusti's portrays Ilse and Frida as giving little thought to money—at least in any personal sense. The ugly duckling characterization that preoccupied Gertrud and defined most of her interactions does not plague her sisters. Freed of concerns about money and appearance as an impediment to personal success, the young protagonists of *Zwillingschwester* are much more carefree than their sister and subject the novel on the whole to much less pedantic pedagogical pressure. While Gertrud constantly worried about sending

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<sup>101</sup> Although the families Ilse and Frida live with in England and Norway seem to enjoy a higher economic status than the Stein family, education serves as the primary determinant for establishing class in these cases. Their status as children of a clergyman as well as their attendance of a higher girls school secure their station. For further discussion of the role of educational themes in the cultural positioning of these texts, see Chapter 3.

money home to her family and her continued subsistence abroad, Frida and Ilse seem to work in a different capacity altogether. While Augusti never clarifies the situation, it seems likely that their companion positions are compensated with room, board, and inclusion in the activities (and travels) of the young girls they serve. Finally, there is no textual indication that Frida and Ilse have attained any sort of professional training. While Gertrud has completed the program of a so-called *Lehrerseminar*, her sisters are educated by the standards of the time, but have not moved past the completion of the higher girls' school, which usually occurred around fifteen or sixteen.

*Zwillingschwester* early on offers an explanation of Frida and Ilse's travels. On the novel's second page the narrator explains Pastor Stein's motivation for encouraging his daughters' travel:

Pfarrer Stein, der, mit Ausnahme seiner Studienjahre, immer an die heimische Scholle gefesselt gewesen, auf der er einst seinem Vater im Amte gefolgt war, wünschte um so dringender, daß seine Kinder etwas von der Welt sehen und im Verkehr mit fremden Menschen und Verhältnissen Erfahrung und Selbständigkeit erwerben möchten.<sup>102</sup>

This explicit inclusion of a statement of parental intent also increases the reader's ease with the girls' travel. Knowing not only that the girl's father approves, but has an educational agenda further lightens the tenor of the story and serves as an inadvertent internal advertisement for Hirt & Sohn's non-fiction geography books and atlases. Furthermore, by contrasting the experience Pastor Stein creates for his daughters to his own and his father's relatively limited mobility, Augusti implies a generational difference in the perception of the wider world. The text thus

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<sup>102</sup> Augusti, *Zwillingschwester*, 8.

produces an acceptance of travel as a natural aspect of modern life and the coming-of-age process for girls as well as boys.

Because both of the Stein sisters are displaced, the contrast of home and away is not as obvious in *Zwillingschwester* as it was in the first work of the series. They serve as foils of each other, not in that one represents the *Heimat* and the other the foreign, but in that they react to their new environments in starkly different ways. The normally shy and meek Frida blossoms in Norway, while the normally boisterous, outgoing, and proud Ilse is initially stifled and eventually calmed in the English environment. In the end, they both are able to come to terms with their new settings, but are also tempered in personality for a successful reintegration at home.

Through a series of nearly unbelievable plot twists the Norwegian family Frida serves and the English family Ilse serves are linked by a colonial experience. The British Mr. Howard, the master of Ilse's Ivy-Lodge, travels often to the colonies on business. There he meets and witnesses the death of the scientist Olaf Holmböe, the brother of Frida's Norwegian companion, Sigrid Holmböe. In a further coincidence, a close family friend of the Howard family turns out to be the long lost daughter of Nils Holmböe, Sigrid and Olaf's grandfather and Frida's guardian *in loco parentis* in Norway. In the end Mr. Howard and Sigrid marry, in a double wedding, with Frida Stein and her Norwegian fiancé, Arved Lundholm. The abundance of characters from other countries in mobile, and even colonial, roles calls attention to the absence of German men in similar situations. Significantly, German women, through commonplace and conservative domestic events such as marriage, can participate in this newly global world. The message is that German women have a role to play in remedying Germany's belated imperial growth.

At first glance, it seems that *Zwillingschwester* carries little of the overt political urgency that the incorporation of the German founding myth bestowed upon *Gertruds Wanderjahre*. Certainly, there are patriotic moments as well as moments dedicated to a clear definition of what is German. But these do not constitute the crux of the novel in the way that they do in Augusti's previous travel narrative. Rather, the text focuses on the adaptability of the girls and their varied perspectives on their attempts at integration. The novel on the whole implicitly underscores the imperial imperative for German citizens.

As in *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, the conclusion of *Zwillingschwester* is marked by new formulations of community. Frida adopts a new homeland. Augusti uses the word *Heimat* to refer to her new place of residence in Norway. The Norwegian Sigrid moves to England. The idea that middle-class people could lead such mobile lives as it informs youth literature seems both decidedly new and, yet, already commonplace. Augusti creates this sense of travel as simultaneously novel and ordinary by gradually exploring ever-more distant territory introducing at each step a new instantiation of community life that remains German despite its diverse geography. *Gertruds Wanderjahre* is the first step in a trajectory of imperially minded travel; Gertrud settles on historically contested territory, but officially remains on German land. Frida and Ilse's narrative starts as they step off German soil. Frida departs completely from her original German homeland. Ilse returns to Germany, but only for a brief stay in preparation for a career outside the home, indeed, outside the homeland in India. Despite its double-marriage ending, *Zwillingschwester* does not assume that marriage is the only appropriate ending. Instead, Augusti foregrounds the commonplace nature of new-found mobility, a mobility that will carry her protagonists even further abroad in her next installment and at the same time allow them to stay soundly German.

### *Unter Palmen* (1893)

Augusti's third contribution to the series marks its departure from the European continent. In *Unter Palmen: Schilderungen aus dem Leben und der Missionsarbeit der Europäer in Ostindien* (1893) a new character, Henny Roland, travels to India to reunite with her absent father, a German investor in the tea industry.<sup>103</sup> As a young German woman, Henny travels to a land long-colonized by the British. Along the way, she meets Ilse Stein, who—under the ameliorating influence of her British friends—has become a missionary in India. In *Unter Palmen*, the potential for cultural exchange is multilayered: Germans travel on British colonial land and interact with British colonialists and other Europeans as well as with the native populations of the Indian continent. Finally, the missionary milieu allows Augusti to devote additional attention to religious difference, a topic that was initially addressed through travel to Catholic countries in *Gertrud's Wanderjahre*. In *Unter Palmen*, Augusti for the first time confronts the cultural imperialism shared by colonial empire and the work of the Christian mission. Although on the surface, the text supports both ideologies, Augusti's narrative allows for alternative views. In *Unter Palmen*, for example, when one man remarks that the natives “verstehen keine andere Sprache als die Peitsche,” Henny Roland wonders aloud to her fellow travelers, how conversion can possibly work, “wenn die . . . Europäer in solcher rauber Wiese den Eingeborenen fremder Länder gegenübertraten.”<sup>104</sup> By asking seemingly “innocent” questions about the efficacy and ethics of colonialism and conversion in the naive voice of

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<sup>103</sup> Brigitte Augusti, *Unter Palmen: Schilderungen aus dem Leben und der Missionsarbeit der Europäer in Ostindien*, 1st ed., (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1893). All quotations refer to the first edition. Note that this title places Germans within a network of European colonizers and missionaries in India, providing further support for aforementioned thesis that Augusti's narrative in *Zwillingschwester* promotes the idea that Germans should join in an imperial movement already long-underway in other European nations.

<sup>104</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 25.

Henny Roland—the character with whom her young readers will certainly identify—Augusti ascribes a visible virtue to the act of questioning. The answers to the questions come in the voices of authority figures, older Western men—often German.

Henny Roland is the first figure of the series who travels with a total lack of adult supervision and against the explicit wishes of her guardian. The narrative begins not on German soil, but in Genoa, Italy, where she boards the steamer “India” and travels through the Suez Canal. The steamer makes stops for those traveling to the German protectorate in East Africa before reaching its destination in Bombay. Henny’s guardian, an aunt who has cared for her after the death of her mother and during her father’s long stay in India, forbids Henny from commencing the trip before her missing father answers Henny’s letters. But Henny disregards her wishes and sets forth into the unknown, only to discover that her father is not waiting for her in Bombay as she had imagined. Ilse Stein takes initial responsibility for Henny, as well as Henny’s cabin mate at sea, a five-year-old girl who has lost her mother. As if she did not have enough to worry about, Henny has made a pledge to deliver the young Käthchen Helling and, with her, the news of Frau Helling’s death, to Käthchen’s father deep in the Indian wilderness. Upon arrival, they take refuge in a German household in Bombay. Here Henny meets Nuncomar, an Indian half-caste servant, who agrees to help her with her travels to find both her own and Käthchen’s father. After many turns of plot and even some true adventures, Nuncomar is revealed as Käthchen’s father, Klaus Helling himself, “trotz der tief gebräunten Gesichtsfarbe in jedem Zuge ein echter, deutscher Mann,”<sup>105</sup> and Henny becomes “die neue Mama”<sup>106</sup> to

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<sup>105</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 219. For Germans with dark or tan skin, cf., Todd Kontje, “Marlitt’s World: Domestic Fiction in an Age of Empire,” *German Quarterly*, 77:4 (2004), 415, as well as my discussion in Chapter 3.

<sup>106</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 252.

Käthchen. Henny and Klaus marry and establish themselves “daheim” on their own plantation, where Augusti implies they will stay for the rest of their days. On the plantation that Henny and her husband will run, Henny forms an exceptional friendship with a native girl, and they both come of age simultaneously. The two share a commitment to education and a middle-class status that unites them beyond the national allegiances and racial categories of their late nineteenth-century context.

### ***Jenseits des Weltmeers (1894)***

In the final work of the *An fremdem Herd* series, *Jenseits des Weltmeers: Schilderungen aus dem nordamerikanischen Leben* (1894), Augusti introduces two main characters independent of the previous set of connections: Letty Mickelsen and Monika Harden.<sup>107</sup> Both are traveling alone to North America, the orphaned Letty to live comfortably with a well-to-do aunt in New York and Monika to pursue studies in medicine and search for her brother and father who have both been lost to the American unknown. Though the girls have never before met, they are united by their shared status as unaccompanied female travelers and become fast friends—despite personalities that contrast to the extreme. Throughout the novel, Letty is associated with love and Monika with work. Augusti reconciles the girls’ extremes over the course of the novel, asserting that an appropriate balance of love and work is the goal of a young woman’s coming of age process. The relative narrative autonomy of this final addition to the series may be attributable, as Klaus-Ulrich Pech suggests, to its status as “eine sehr spezielle

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<sup>107</sup> Brigitte Augusti, *Jenseits des Weltmeers: Schilderungen aus dem nordamerikanischen Leben*, 1st ed., (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1894). All quotations refer to the first edition.

Auftragsproduktion . . . anlässlich der Weltausstellung in Chicago,” an event referenced both in the publisher’s preface and in the text itself.<sup>108</sup>

Letty is notably lazy but likable. She is relieved at the chance to leave Germany, take up residence with her German-American aunt, and escape the fate of the surplus woman in Germany where she would have been forced to earn her own bread, most likely through teaching.<sup>109</sup> The more ambitious Monika views America as the land of opportunity, specifically for women seeking higher education. Even before her departure, she is determined to become a doctor, like her father before her. She hopes to find her family, but education and meaningful work are her main priorities. Both girls experience the society life of New York upon arrival. Simultaneously, Monika is exposed to the women’s movement in America—which Augusti’s narrator characterizes as much more progressive than its German counterpart. Over the course of the novel Monika begins to study medicine and then halts her studies to get on-the-job training at the Center for Tropical Medicine in New Orleans. There she finds her long-lost father. While Monika is busy with her education and practical training, Letty explores a range of American lifestyles, from the extravagant society life of an unmarried New York City woman to a stint in a Shaker community, where she ultimately begins to learn humility. Eventually she travels to Chicago, where she unknowingly meets Monika’s estranged brother. Monika and Letty are reunited when Letty becomes engaged to Monika’s brother. They all settle on a simple farm in the Midwest, finding a literal middle ground to their excesses of work and love. Augusti portrays Letty and Monika’s imbalance of love and work as typical American extremes of

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<sup>108</sup> Klaus-Ulrich Pech, “Reiseromane und –erzählungen,” in Brucken, *Handbuch*, 674.

<sup>109</sup> For a recent historical study of the surplus woman, see Catherine L. Dollard, *The surplus woman: unmarried in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918*, (New York: Berghahn, 2009).



character. Only when are realigned can both Letty and Monika become proper German women, albeit on American soil. The solution to their American imbalance is a German one.

Despite the developments in the progressing volumes of the series, a number of common characteristics unite *An fremdem Herd*. Each of Augusti's novels offers a readable and entertaining story set against backdrops of varying geographies. The novels possess one or two lead female characters who serve as figures of identification for Augusti's young female readers and model mobile behaviors in a global framework marked by a presence of Germans on non-German soil. Germans serve as informants abroad. Most often the female protagonists learn about the foreign spaces they travel through from Germans they meet abroad—rather than from the native inhabitants of the place. Each narrative provides a case of mistaken national identity or misjudged character. Finally, each narrative ends in a foreign space that is figuratively colonized by the small group of Germans that surround the protagonist, but is not a real German colony. By modeling colonial mentalities and behaviors in a non-colonial space, Augusti's narratives create an imaginary space for living out colonial fantasies without the pressures of the real colonial protectorates of the adult world.<sup>110</sup>

### **Friedrich Pajeken: Transposing Colonialism for German Boys**

While Höcker and Augusti, with their clear mission to portray Germans in historical context, embody the most ostensibly serious and academically rigorous authors of Hirt's fiction-publishing landscape, Friedrich Pajeken seems to occupy the other end of the spectrum. Upon first glance, his stories of the American wilderness resemble the immensely popular Wild West

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<sup>110</sup> Cf., Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial German, 1770-1870*, (Durham NC: Duke UP, 1997). In the following chapter I will further develop the argument that displaced colonial impulses are a particular feature of youth literature as an imaginative space.

stories mass produced in cheap editions at the end of the nineteenth century. But the fact that Hirt chose to publish and package them as relatively expensive luxury editions indicates that the firm saw more than quick, throw-away profit in Pajeken's narratives. Given Arnold Hirt's clear eye for profit, taking the appeal of popular sensation literature consumed by the working classes<sup>111</sup> and re-conceptualizing it in a form palatable to the middle-class parents and educators who purchased his books was hardly a surprising move. But because Hirt's name also aspired to assure some standard of quality and pedagogical promise, the books had to offer more than a repackaged version of popular dime novels.

Like Augusti's *An fremdem Herd*, Pajeken's narratives offer geographical and cultural knowledge in the form of "möglichst abgerundete Kulturbilder,"<sup>112</sup> but even more foregrounded are his accessible models of a German coming-of-age story, albeit set on foreign soil. His didacticism is devoted to explaining how an idealized German youth moves through adolescence and becomes a full-fledged—that is, civic-minded—adult "durch treue Pflichterfüllung, Fleiß, Ausdauer und Gottvertrauen."<sup>113</sup>

Friedrich Joachim Pajeken (1855-1920) spent much of his life in Bremen and Hamburg, with the remainder of his time between Berlin and remote locations in North and South America. As the son of a sea captain growing up in a port city, Pajeken was exposed early to the possibility of travel as a means to make a living. He trained as a merchant and departed at the age of

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<sup>111</sup> Such editions addressed *Jugend und Volk*.

<sup>112</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, "Vorwort," in *Der Mestize und drei andere Erzählungen aus Nord- und Südamerika*, (Stuttgart: Effenberger, [1896]), n.p.

<sup>113</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, "Vorwort," in *Das Vermächtnis des Invaliden. Eine Erzählung aus den Nordstaaten Amerikas für die Jugend*, (Stuttgart: Effenberger, 1893), n.p.

twenty-one for his first overseas business undertaking to Ciudad Bolívar in a resource-rich region of Venezuela along the Orinoco River—here it is impossible not to think of Alexander Humboldt’s *Fahrt auf dem Orinoko* (and perhaps wonder about the influence of Humboldt on Pajeken’s later self-fashioning as an expert on the nature and natives of both Americas). His sojourns certainly extended beyond business pursuits to include extensive excursions in the region.

After developing an acute interest in the native populations of Bolivia, Pajeken was motivated to visit North America and gain firsthand knowledge of Indians in the expanding territories of the United States. While living in the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming, Pajeken came to be known under the moniker “Yellow Eagle” “wegen seiner gelblichen Hautfarbe und einem Meisterschuß auf einen Adler.”<sup>114</sup> Who actually gave him the name—Native Americans, white settlers, or Pajeken himself—will remain a detail lost to history, but Pajeken offers his own naming myth in the story of the same name. Pajeken’s penchant for self-styling in the manner of other nineteenth-century writers who thematized the American West is evident. Like Karl May and Balduin Möllhausen, Pajeken affected American dress upon return to Germany. A photo from the 1880s, taken in Bremen, depicts a still-youthful Pajeken in the contemporary western wear of a trapper or rancher, long gun at the ready and spurs on his boots, standing before a painted studio background.<sup>115</sup>

After working in shipping and colonial goods, Pajeken began a writing career that spanned three decades, following the rise of imperial sentiments to their escalation in the First

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<sup>114</sup> K.H. Remy, “Friedrich Pajeken,” *ABLIT: Jugendbücher und Abenteuerromane des 19. Jahrhunderts*, <http://www.abenteuerroman.info/autor/pajeken/pajeken.htm> (18 September 2011).

<sup>115</sup> K.H. Remy, “Friedrich Pajeken,” photograph.

World War. His books are based loosely on his experiences in North and South America. Like Oskar Höcker and so many other popular writers for the youth market, Pajeken, too, contributed his own reworkings of various classics, including an adaptation of *Robinson Crusoe* following Campe's version<sup>116</sup> and *Der Waldläufer*, a German adaptation of Gabriel Ferry's French novel,<sup>117</sup> albeit with presses other than Hirt. Although Pajeken began his writing career as a young adult writer and the vast majority of his work explicitly addresses youth readership, there is evidence that some of his books were enjoyed by adults as well. The 1899 Christmas edition of the popular family magazine the *Gartenlaube* describes Pajeken in the company of Karl May and emphasizes the crossover appeal they share: "Zwei altbekannte Namen auf dem Gebiet des exotischen Jugendromanes sind Karl May und Friedrich J. Pajeken mit ihren spannenden Werken, die auch von den Erwachsenen gern gelesen werden."<sup>118</sup> Finally, it should be mentioned that Pajeken also published works conceived as non-fiction travel narratives for adult audiences and even had multiple volumes published in *Reclams Universal-Bibliothek*.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, *J. H. Campe's Robinson Krusoe. Für die Jugend neu bearbeitet von Friedrich J. Pajeken*, (Stuttgart: Süddeutsches Verlags-Institut, [1896]).

<sup>117</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, *Der Waldläufer. Eine Erzählung aus dem fernen Westen. Nach Gabriel Ferry für die Jugend frei bearbeitet von Friedrich J. Pajeken* (Stuttgart: K. Thienemanns Verlag, [1896]). This work was originally written and published in French as *Le Coureur du Bois* (1850), but Pajeken's adaptation probably relies on another unnamed German translation for its source. It is likely that Pajeken's source is Karl May's version *für die Jugend*, published in 1879 and relying on Gustav Füllner's translation from the French. Most critics point to Ferry's tale of a boy's adventures in Mexico and amidst the Apache Indians as one of Karl May's most important sources for his own work.

<sup>118</sup> "Vom Weihnachtsbüchertisch," *Die neue Gartenlaube*, (1899), 26:831.

<sup>119</sup> Friedrich J. Pajeken, *Aus dem wilden Westen Nordamerikas. Erlebnisse und Skizzen*, (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, [1890]). *Reclams Universal-Bibliothek*. Nr. 2752, with a second volume following in 1895 as *Reclams Universal-Bibliothek*. Nr. 3284. Also Friedrich J. Pajeken, *Jagdabenteuer in den Tropen*, (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, [1911]). *Reclams Universal-Bibliothek*. Nr. 5266.

The Bob trilogy was one of Friedrich Pajeken's first attempts to write for a youth audience and remained one of his most popular into the new century. The three books of the series cover geographies from Omaha, Nebraska, to Bismarck, North Dakota, and Chicago, Illinois, to the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming. They concern themselves with the adolescence of two *Jünglinge*—Bob, Sr. and later, Bob, Jr.<sup>120</sup> The novels show how two ostensibly American boys called Bob become German men called Robert Reinfels and how their achievements in the American West are claimed for the German national project.

The books are addressed to “die reifere Jugend” and aim to distance themselves from the broader youth market and its alleged tendency toward so-called *Schundliteratur*. Typical for publications of Hirt & Sohn, the forewords to Pajeken's books alert their readers—and their parents and teachers—to this difference. Given the risk involved with the bad reputation of stories of the Wild West, cast as encouraging asocial behavior, this imperative for quality to establish quality according to middle-class moral and social standards demanded special attention in Pajeken's case. He writes in the introduction to his first volume: “Meine lieben, jungen Freunde! . . . Jede Übertreibung, wie sie so oft in Jugendschriften ähnlichen Inhalts zu den innigsten Vorstellungen gibt, ist streng vermieden.”<sup>121</sup>

All three volumes of the trilogy bear the subtitle *Eine Erzählung aus dem Westen Nordamerikas* with its intentional omission of the word “wild” as a mark of sobriety, a self-conscious avoidance of the iconography associated with the Wild West. Pajeken's Bob stories

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<sup>120</sup> I use the term *Jüngling* here to replicate Pajeken's own vocabulary, which will be discussed specifically in Chapter 2.

<sup>121</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, “Vorwort,” in *Bob der Fallensteller. Eine Erzählung aus dem Westen Nordamerikas.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1890), n.p. All quotations refer to the second edition.

walk a fine line between cashing in on reader expectations and debunking them during the reading process. In his study of adventure books of the nineteenth century, Bernd Steinbrink calls Pajeken's careful balancing act the "Umkehrung der überlieferten Motive und Topoi."<sup>122</sup> The cast of characters, imagery, and plot in a Pajeken story seem quite similar to any other Wild West adventure story, but the course of the narrative reveals different goals: the "Entromantisierung"<sup>123</sup> of life away from civilization and the affirmation of the desire to return from wilderness and build their own civilized community. In the world of late nineteenth-century youth literature, Pajeken was the master of the classic bait-and-switch.

### ***Bob der Fallensteller (1890)***

In *Bob der Fallensteller*, Bob Gabert has run away from home. He leaves the relative civilization of Omaha, Nebraska, and ventures out into the wilderness. His hope is to escape the command of his *Beamten-Vater*: "Du wirst Schreiber!"<sup>124</sup> Various adventures ensue, resulting in Bob being falsely accused of stealing horses. A trapper of somewhat questionable background rescues him from impending vigilante justice and delivers him to Jim and Charley, two trappers who will remain important figures throughout the series. Initially, Bob is happy to be accepted by Jim and Charley and "wieder ein Heim gefunden zu haben."<sup>125</sup> For some time, he enjoys and

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<sup>122</sup> Bernd Steinbrink, *Abenteuerliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland: Studien zu einer vernachlässigten Gattung*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983), 194.

<sup>123</sup> Steinbrink, *Abenteuerliteratur*, 194.

<sup>124</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 18.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

embraces the remoteness of their abode, where Bob is always referred to as the trappers' "Schützling."<sup>126</sup>

When the trappers send Bob on a trading mission, he meets the Arapaho Indians, a much anticipated moment in which he is "ungemein glücklich . . . vor freudiger Erregung zitternd."<sup>127</sup> Pajeken's narrator points out that his excitement derives from the fact that Bob has only read about Indians in books. Bob is open to the possibility of learning from the Indians. After other settlers witness the uninformed way Bob observes and interacts with Native Americans, his fellow whites proceed to teach him about race, a concept to which he has had little direct exposure before now, and about the way he should communicate with Indians.<sup>128</sup> Spurred by his dealings with Andrew Brown, a man of Native American and European parentage, Bob takes advantage of the perceived illiteracy and superstition of the Arapaho, manipulatively leading them into battle against the Sioux. He thereby prevents the Sioux's impending attack on a U.S. fort. Bob basks in his new-found power over the Indians and the respect it earns him among the settlers and military: "Kleinlaut fühlten aber auch alle zugleich die Macht, welche er über sie ausübte; denn er hatte ihnen bewiesen, daß er es verstand, sie anzuführen."<sup>129</sup> This battle eventually leads to the Sioux being removed to a distant reservation in the Dakotas.

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<sup>126</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 81.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-7.

<sup>128</sup> For a thorough investigation of Pajeken on race, and Native Americans in particular, see Nicole Grewling, "Fighting the two-souled warrior: German Colonial Fantasies of North America," (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2007), 175-244.

<sup>129</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 115.

With his new heroic status, Bob meets Captain Reinfels and expresses his desire for a more civilized life. In return for his deeds, Reinfels offers him a position as a patent officer and with it the opportunity to live on the East Coast. But while Bob desires order, he does not wish to find it in an already established city. He refuses, but remains pre-occupied with the question of how to create a meaningful life for himself and yet stay loyal to the friends he has made in the wilderness. Another acquaintance, Old Tex—aka Franz von Traunstein—influences Bob’s decisions and engenders in him an indeterminate homesickness, “nicht nach seinem väterlichen Hause . . . nur nach einem friedlichen, sicheren Dasein voll segenspendender Arbeit.”<sup>130</sup> Old Tex, a “Taugenichts”<sup>131</sup> inspired by adventure books, left a wealthy family in his homeland of Austria and is tortured by his inability to return to homeland and family and repay the money he initially stole to make his transatlantic journey.

The story reaches its conclusion on Old Tex’s deathbed. Bob has read in the newspaper that Old Tex’s sister is seeking him to grant him his inheritance. With no heirs to speak of, Old Tex decides to bequeath Bob his fortune, on the condition that he not waste away in the wilderness as Old Tex has. Captain Reinfels is called in to serve as witness to Old Tex’s new will and upon reading Bob’s full name realizes that he is the long lost son, whom he entrusted to a foster family in Nebraska, when, as a newly arrived immigrant from German, he lost his wife to a fatal illness. This happy ending—Bob becomes Robert Reinfels, with a fortune and a proper German father—is followed by an epilogue: seven years later, the twenty-four-year-old Robert is living on a farm, acquiring additional land, making it available to new settlers (most of them German), and planning for a future that involves the arrival of the railroad. In the book’s final

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<sup>130</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 102.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.



scene, Captain Reinfels praises his newly found son Bob and his commitment to “die Arbeit des öffentlichen Lebens.”<sup>132</sup>

### ***Bob der Städtegründer (1891)***

Pajeken introduces his readers to the second volume of the Bob trilogy, *Bob der Städtegründer* by challenging his readers to fulfill Bob’s mission: “als dienendes Glied der Gesamtheit zum Wohle seiner Mitmenschen zu schaffen und zu wirken.”<sup>133</sup> Pajeken’s narrator now consistently refers to Bob as Robert Reinfels in order to emphasize his German identity. Though he is twenty-seven years old, Pajeken’s narrator consistently refers to Robert Reinfels as a “Jüngling,” thus promoting the identification of his youthful readers with his protagonist.

Robert Reinfels now leads a growing settlement of thirty cabins from a large house on a hill “im Schweizer Stil.”<sup>134</sup> The settlement’s beginnings have been challenging, but the community has progressed steadily through the cooperation and hard work of its primarily German residents. Newcomers are causing problems of an intercultural nature. Irish settlers are not integrating according to the model of Reinfels and Ernst Förster, the German town engineer who speaks exclusively in Schillerian quotations. Reinfels wants to build a true city, to which his residents should feel strong loyalty and a desire to contribute, not a loose conglomeration of

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<sup>132</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 172.

<sup>133</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer. Eine Erzählung aus dem Westen Nordamerikas*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, 1911), n.p. All quotations refer to the sixth edition.

<sup>134</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 6.

less-than-law-abiding citizens who easily split into factions, most often along the national lines of the “alte Heimat.”<sup>135</sup>

The conflicts emerging from the counterproductive actions of the new settlers and their unfortunate alliances with the local Indians provide the crux of action in *Bob der Städtegründer*, but Pajeken focuses more on the discord these conflicts create than the battles themselves. The prevention of extrajudicial violence (Pajeken uses the word lynching to refer to it) as punishment for perceived crimes on both the Irish and the German sides and the energy Reinfels expends “[um] die Ordnung aufrecht zu erhalten,”<sup>136</sup> rather than the action of vigilante justice itself dominate the narrative. A subplot is dedicated to the open question of when and if the railroad will arrive and thus transform Reinfels’s settlement into a modern city. Finally, intertwined with these narratives are a number of concerns of a more domestic nature, including a love interest for Reinfels who is discovered to be the long lost sister of one of a number of characters who reveal their true German identities.<sup>137</sup>

The internal conflicts and love interests as well as business interests all find their resolution when the Irish outlaws and Arikara<sup>138</sup> Indians unite to attack Reinfels’ settlement. Through German cooperation and order and reliance on the State (in the last second, a U.S.

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<sup>135</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 17.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>137</sup> Mistaken or manipulated identities, particularly along national lines, are one aspect fiction for youth has in common with popular adult literature of the same era. For a more on this gradually or suddenly revealed German identity and its role in fictional travel narratives for youth, see my discussion of belated Germanness in Chapter 2.

<sup>138</sup> All of the Indian nations Pajeken mentions are based loosely on and share real names with actual tribes from the regions he describes. The Arikara people lived in North Dakota during this period and now hold federal recognition as part of the so-called three affiliated tribes.

military brigade arrives), Reinfels and his loyal residents defeat the Indians and white traitors. A year and a half later all is resolved: a city—with a railroad station, a factory, a brick yard, and most importantly a school and a church—has grown from the rubble. Reinfels has married Anna Leonard, a German girl of noble parentage, and the union has produced a son. Detractors have departed, died, or been converted to Reinfels's ways. Finally, Reinfels returns from Washington, D.C., with the news that the Arikara Indians have been removed to a distant reservation. The novel ends with chants of "Hoch lebe Bob der Städtegründer!"<sup>139</sup> echoing from the German beer hall and the German and American flags flying high from Reinfels's chalet.

### ***Bob der Millionär (1894)***

As the title suggests, in *Bob der Millionär* Pajeken continues the Reinfels family's tale of (German) success against (American) adversity, now in the third generation.<sup>140</sup> The infant son of the previous volume has grown into a youth and has received the pejorative nickname "der Millionenbob" from his peers.<sup>141</sup> He lives in the shadow of his father's wealth and is not showing himself capable of living up to paternal expectations. He is not yet ready to become mayor upon his father's untimely death, and the settlers fear that the greedy Reinfels, Jr., will not afford them the financial leniency and generosity of resources that his father has. All doubt the future of the settlement his father has worked so hard to establish.

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<sup>139</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 172.

<sup>140</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, *Bob der Millionär. Eine Erzählung aus dem Westen Nordamerikas*, 4th ed., (Leipzig: Hirt & Sohn, [1903]). All quotations refer to the fourth edition.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

As readers of the series might expect, the young Reinfels learns the ways of his father through a series of trials and tribulations. He expands the work in the mines that increased his father's wealth and supports the ranchers and farmers in the outlying regions. In the end, the U.S. government names him governor of a newly founded Western state: not only is he a millionaire, but he is the "Gründer eines Staates."<sup>142</sup> The novel ends with the proclamation of his governorship and the statement "gerade wie in Deutschland muß es werden."<sup>143</sup> Once again the German flag flies and all sing "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!"<sup>144</sup> Finally, Reinfels proposes to a German girl and proclaims, "Viel habe ich erreicht; das Beste aber von allem allein bleibt die Gewähr eines künftigen, eigenen, glücklichen Heims!"<sup>145</sup> By shifting the focus back to German domestic space, Pajeken makes one final departure from the typical adventure story and also creates a work capable of speaking to the widest range of young German readers, across boundaries of class and geography, from "die königlichen Prinzen-Söhne" to "[die] deutsche[n] Jugend in Europa wie jenseits des Ozeans."<sup>146</sup> The prominence of the marriage plot in the series' conclusion might even suggest the possibility of a female readership. At the very least, Pajeken acknowledges that part of the German project on foreign soil is indeed domestic.

### **Conclusion: Expanding readership, expanding the nation**

Reading the works of Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken through the lens of their primary publisher reveals more than reading them in isolation. These fictional narratives of

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<sup>142</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Millionär*, n.p.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p.

travel were surrounded by a wealth of non-fictional texts from which young readers could gain knowledge of the physical and human components of geopolitics at the end of the nineteenth century. While these factual map-texts taught German adolescents how to see their place in the wider geographic world, Hirt & Sohn's fictional text-maps taught the same readers how to find their place in the wider adult world. Lessons on geography, history, and culture augmented stories of development, bringing Hirt & Sohn's quest to create a global reader full circle.

Extending the critical apparatus to include the publisher not only brings the reward of a view of fiction and non-fiction together, but also allows the shifting gender geographies of these reading materials to become visible. Certainly, Hirt & Sohn produced and sold books in an environment dominated by a strict gender dichotomy. Nonetheless, a broader view reveals fissures and tensions, sometimes making room for female readers of so-called boys' books and male readers of so-called girls' books. While it cannot be denied that Augusti's *An fremdem Herd* series was intended primarily for adolescent girls and Pajeken's *Bob* books in turn for adolescent boys, focusing on the entire catalog of travel literature and geographically oriented curricular materials does shift the attention from the formation of gendered reading subjects to the formation of German reading subjects in geopolitical space. In Augusti this broader view might manifest itself in the way travel—not marriage—is the source of female maturation and German womanhood, while in Pajeken it might be the fact that the foreign space is made domestic, and thus German, by a proper marriage. Narratives of development are altered by the possibilities of new geographic settings and new cultural challenges create different landscapes of development.

The extent to which these texts ascribe to a German Imperial project cannot be underplayed. Although they refer only in passing to the real German colonial protectorates in

Africa and Asia, texts by Augusti and Pajeken contain many explicit reminders of the colonialist mentality and overt patriotism of the 1890s. As this chapter has demonstrated, Hirt & Sohn was intimately aware of the imperial and colonial aspirations and actions of the *Kaiserreich* and was complicit in the education of a new citizenry that subscribed to state-sanctioned goals. Pajeken's direct address of "German" youth outside of Germany in the paratextual material of *Bob der Millionär* reminds the twenty-first century reader of the need to consider these texts against their real geopolitical backdrop. Its transcontinental appeal "jenseits des Ozeans"<sup>147</sup> is paradigmatic for the kind of coming-of-age story that Hirt & Sohn propagated at the end of the nineteenth century.

The publishing house's non-fiction books enjoyed wide dissemination in colonial territories as well as on German soil in Europe. They reflected and produced a narrative of coming-of-age for German colonial youth abroad as well as for those at home. It is not surprising that German language originals of the fiction works of Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken can readily be found in American library catalogs from the turn of the last century, indicating a readership of young German immigrants and first-generation Germans in the U.S. That youth both inside and outside of Germany could identify with these narratives and incorporate them into the imaginative space of their own transition from childhood to adulthood attests to a new conception of *German* youth that emerged during this period. An appropriate, and even ideal, image of what it meant to grow up German could integrate these varying geographies and stories of development.

Now that the German nation had coalesced, German youth could easily be transposed to other national contexts and spaces outside of the regional territories that combined to make up

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<sup>147</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Millionär*, n.p.

cultural conceptions of Germany pre-1871. A mobile sense of what it meant to be German followed as part of the German historical narrative. Producing an idealized—indeed, a blessed (“Wem Gott die rechte Gunst erweisen”)—image of what it meant to grow up German at the end of the nineteenth century meant the inclusion of an expanded geographical concept of what comprised Germany, regardless of whether or not it corresponded to geopolitical reality.

## CHAPTER TWO

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### Reading Adolescence as Journey:

#### Foreign Spaces and Domestic Narratives in the Young Adult Novel

In the late nineteenth century “youth become an asset in political discourse.”<sup>148</sup> In the 1880s and 1890s in Germany, print culture created specifically for youth was a means of enhancing the myth of colonialism as part and parcel of Germany’s political maturity as a nation state. Travel novels written for young adults contributed to the conversation on Germany as a nation with colonial ambitions and asserted that its recent colonial history made the new nation developmentally equal to its European peers. By translating these myths of national dominance on the global political stage into personal narratives about German youths in the world, these novels also had much to say about the German perceptions of the emerging space between childhood and adulthood called adolescence.

Travel of young protagonists determines the narrative arcs of both Brigitte Augusti’s *An fremdem Herd* series and Friedrich Pajeken’s *Bob* trilogy. Each book in these series begins with departure and ends with arrival at a destination. The youthful travelers are connoted as children when they leave home and become women and men by the end of each book. In the geographic and temporal space between departure and arrival a period of introspection and exploration in the world unfolds. The time of travel, after the protagonists leave home but before they establish homes of their own, provides a moment in which their identity is neither fixed from above as that of a child nor determined as decidedly adult. Between the rules that apply to constructions of immaturity and maturity, the protagonists—together with the novels’ readers—are left to their

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<sup>148</sup> Colin Heywood, ed., *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Age of Empire*, (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 16.



own devices and given freedom to explore the wider world. By providing such a period between what families, state institutions, and society-at-large defined as childhood and adulthood, the novels create an implied adolescence without referring to it as such; adolescence as a period of intense experience and identity formation between childhood and adulthood is conceived as a fictional journey. The journey becomes a socially acceptable means of imagining adolescence.

Over the course of this adolescent journey the young protagonists gradually subscribe to a social location that identifies them as German. Over time, they discover the Germanness that they themselves and their compatriots possess. As national identity is revealed as a series of cultural markers—particularly literary and linguistic markers—the protagonists come to self-identify as German. Their belated Germanness connected the idea of adulthood and nationhood for contemporary readers. The protagonists arrived at maturity belatedly, an idea that resonated with German self-perceptions that nationhood and empire-building were German traits long in development, but expressed belatedly. The distance in the protagonists real physical location as away from German soil allowed for a pronounced awareness of the belated nature of their imagined social location as German.

This chapter will show that the motif of the trip and the great popularity of the fictionalized travel narrative of *Jugendliteratur* at the end of the century signal an emergent discourse of adolescence and illustrate the ways affirmative processes of national identity formation displace the turmoil of individual identity formation. In short, the internal, personal development is externalized. In these books, language that accompanies the arrival of adulthood is a language of newfound national awareness. In the narratives of Augusti and Pajeken becoming an adult means becoming an adult defined by national identity, becoming a German woman or a German man. The quest for a solidified national identity surpasses the individual

struggle for subjectivity as conceived in emergent portrayals of a tumultuous period between childhood and adulthood coming to be known as adolescence. The authors chose to foreground the discovery of national identity in order to mask the otherwise difficult process of becoming an adult in a modern, global world.

In countless books for young adults the colonial and anthropological impulses of this period coalesce with the need to explain, model, and give purpose to an increasingly amorphous period between childhood and adulthood prompted by extended schooling and belated entrance into the public sphere for men and prolonged girlhood before the establishment of one's own home for women. The result is an overwhelming number of novels for young people with settings outside of Germany.<sup>149</sup> The explosion of the adventure story with a youthful male protagonist, in addition to being fueled by the demands of a market with increasing numbers of readers, is a product of the need to externalize the process of identity formation by shifting the conflicts of youth to a sphere outside the self.

The works of Friedrich Pajeken and Brigitte Augusti show how an interest in the exotic and the foreign became a means to proclaim both national identity and adulthood for readers of *both* genders. To some degree, this phenomenon was common to all stories for young readers that featured protagonists exploring new territory—deserted island stories, adventures on the high seas, and Wild West tales alike. But compared to travel narratives written by their contemporaries or adaptations of older works for young audiences, these series by Augusti and Pajeken dedicate a new level of attention to the development of the *youthful* protagonist and the unique way this development is imagined as a process of personal maturation resulting in (a)

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<sup>149</sup> For example, the novels of S. Worrishöffer, of Karl May and of C. Falkenhorst among others, as well as the genres of the *Robinsonade* and the *Lederstrumpf* adaptations, broadly conceived.

national(ized) maturity. Among travel novels, colonial novels, and adventure novels broadly conceived, these series existed as part of a special subset of books concerned with using the travel plot as a means for a personal trajectory of development, a genre Susanne Pellatz-Graf has termed “[e]ntwicklungspsychologisch orientierte Reiseromane.”<sup>150</sup>

Pajeken and Augusti’s characters negotiate their impending adulthood in close contact with other cultures and the characters that people them. What differentiates Pajeken’s *Bob* series and especially Augusti’s *An fremdem Herd* from other works for young people with similar themes is the particular narrative devotion to the in-between—the time and space in which identity is not yet fixed. The narrative given over to the time between leaving childhood and announcing German adulthood creates a period dedicated fully and specifically to the negotiation of the personality. Although Pajeken and Augusti’s coming-of-age narratives seem familiar when compared to their contemporaries, the careful detail with which Pajeken and Augusti portray life in foreign geographies places greater weight on the anthropological while still acknowledging the colonial and imperial impulses of their stories. This time in the contact zone of the imagined colonial space becomes an alternate means to envision adolescence as a life phase of transition and experimentation.<sup>151</sup> The result is the portrayal of an adolescence that is less volatile and more certain in its outcome. Despite exploration of more flexible cultural identities through interaction with a variety of cultural practices, the young protagonists arrive at

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<sup>150</sup> Susanne Pellatz-Graf, “Abenteuer- und Reiseromane und –erzählungen für die Jugend,” in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1850 bis 1900*, ed. Otto Brunken, et. al., (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), 671.

<sup>151</sup> For the term contact zone, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London: Routledge, 1992).

adulthood more assured than ever of their sound status as German adults. The implied end to the figurative journey is an adult identity asserted as fixed in its gendered and national status.

The exploding genre of the young adult novel (*Jugendroman*)—particularly the developmental travel novels published by Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn—shares features with the domestic fiction that enjoyed great popularity in the German family magazines of the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>152</sup> The new specialized book market for young people between twelve and twenty drew on the success of domestic fiction as young adult reading (*Jugendlektüre*). Series by Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken present elements of the domestic novel reconstituted for a young audience. Each novel contains the developmental arc that concludes in a settled adult protagonist, a status usually conferred through marriage upon male and female protagonists alike.

The foreign settings lent greater importance to the domesticating aspects of travel narratives. While the limited sphere and marriage plot that constitute the novels of domestic fiction seemed increasingly removed from adult reality in the German context, these plot elements lent themselves well to retooling for an adolescent audience, where representations of German coming-of-age in the foreign sphere and a nationalized sense of adulthood went hand-in-hand with finding an appropriate match for marriage. Like the domestic novels of family magazines, these new novels for the young presented an unproblematic adolescence followed by appropriate adulthood. At a time when building a life in a real German colonial protectorate had become a real possibility, this melding of genres—with its portrayal of German domestic life in a foreign setting—modeled a respectable adult vocation for young Germans of both genders.

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<sup>152</sup> Cf., Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube (1853-1900)*, (Lincoln: Nebraska UP, 1998).

## Literary Studies and Children's and Young Adult Literature

Before considering how late nineteenth-century adolescent literature incorporates elements of domestic fiction and elements of the travel narrative to tell coming-of-age stories in a global context, a brief consideration of the critical history of adolescent literature in German Studies specifically and Literary Studies more generally is necessary. Although the distinctions between children's literature and mainstream literature are determined primarily by the age of the intended reading audience, mainstream literary studies on the whole does little to differentiate between age divides within the genre it commonly calls children's literature. Rather than resulting in an increased sensitivity to the situation of adolescent reading, the field's preoccupation with the constructed divide between child and adult creates a shortsighted collapse in which all critical attention to literature not for adults is considered critical attention to literature for children.

In short, children's literature criticism on the whole is so deeply dedicated to deconstructing the notions of 'childhood' and 'literature' that further differentiations of this field of study—even those relevant to its central questions—are collapsed under the attempt to reach consensus about the approach of study. Peter Hunt writes, "The study of children's literature involves three elements—the literature, the children, and the adult critics."<sup>153</sup> The basic vocabulary of children's literature criticism seems to omit the murky space between childhood and adulthood, precisely because it is so busy defining childhood and adulthood against each other. Even as contemporary literary markets and individual critics draw attention to questions

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<sup>153</sup> Peter Hunt, *Understanding Children's Literature: Key Essays from the International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 15.

relevant to adolescent studies, the meta-commentary of the discipline continues—perhaps unintentionally—to omit this important area of study from its overarching critical narrative.

While literary historians who concern themselves with the reading materials and habits of the young are generally less preoccupied with delineating children’s literature criticism from YA criticism and more concerned with analysis of specific texts, Anglo-American critics are apt to neglect earlier manifestations of literature for youth. Historical study of literary works for children typically extends its focus at least back to the Enlightenment. By contrast, the critical study of young adult literature has a much shorter purview. In the Anglo-American context scholars often place the emergence of young adult literature during the postwar period of the twentieth century with a boom beginning in the 1960s and 1970s and continuing, with ever-increasing affirmation from the marketplace and in schools, to this day.<sup>154</sup> Popular perception and even some German critics have adopted this understanding for the German national context, a view falsely reinforced by current transnational practices in the publishing sector. Such histories reflect the “strong presentist streak” in children’s literature criticism.<sup>155</sup> While it is true that new trends in content (such as the treatment of adolescent sexuality) did indeed emerge in young adult literature in the postwar period on both sides of the Atlantic, the idea that texts written specifically for those aged twelve to twenty did not exist as a differentiated genre in earlier periods misrepresents the book market as such.

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<sup>154</sup> Cf., Janet Alsup, *Young Adult Literature and Adolescent Identity Across Cultures and Classrooms: Contexts for the Literary Lives of Teens*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1.

<sup>155</sup> M.O. Grenby and Andrea Immel, “Preface,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Children’s Literature*, ed. M.O. Grenby and Andrea Immel, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2009), xv.

## Emerging Adolescence and Adolescent Literature in the Late Nineteenth Century

Fortunately for scholars of the German context, the last twenty years have seen extensive literary historical work to document the literary production from the emergence of book production through the twentieth century with comprehensive attention to detail. This considerable undertaking is best exemplified by the scholars who have contributed to the Metzler's *Handbücher zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* originally founded under the leadership of the Theodor Brüggemann. Here the goal is to catalog, present, and make accessible the extensive German-language collections of literature for young people as they were published and read and in doing so to conserve works that might go forgotten beside those that remain well-known to this day. The empirical spirit of this enterprise offers a database of texts from which to draw their critical assertions.

Examination of a large body of diverse texts allows Bettina Hurrelmann to assert that the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a strong "Ausdifferenzierung der Adressantenkonzepte" not only between child and adult, but also between child and adolescent within the so-called children's book market.<sup>156</sup> Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken practiced their literary trade with an awareness of the growing division between texts for a general children's or broad familial readership and the specificity of a market designed unambiguously for youth. During the height of their popularity, "es festigte sich nun die Grenze zwischen einer Kindern und einer Jugendlichen zgedachten Literatur."<sup>157</sup> As young adult literature, Augusti and Pajeken's texts were marked primarily by the depiction of a protagonist between the ages of

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<sup>156</sup> Bettina Hurrelmann, "Einleitung," in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1850 bis 1900*, ed. Otto Brunken, et. al., (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), 1.

<sup>157</sup> Hurrelmann, "Einleitung," 7.

twelve and twenty, and most especially by those narratives in which the young protagonists have ended their formal education but have not yet established a home of their own. These fictional youth serve as literary representations of new social space in a historical moment in which “das Jugendparadigma . . . eine zentrale Bedeutung [gewann].”<sup>158</sup> Augusti’s protagonists have completed their education at a higher girls’ school or as part of a teacher training course (*Lehrerinnenseminar*) but are not yet married. Similarly, Pajeken’s protagonists have been recently apprenticed but are not fully fledged adults. They are situated in a distinct moment of development, one that was accepted for the first time as a life phase unto itself at the end of the nineteenth century.

In *Childhood in World History* Peter Stearns explains, “the West introduced a final basic innovation into its approach to childhood in the nineteenth century: the idea of adolescence.”<sup>159</sup> Adolescence, as a period different from childhood and adulthood alike, demanded the vigilance of middle-class society. Both families and institutions paid new attention to the needs of young people who relied on their parents, guardians, and families of origin for financial support longer than ever before. This dependence was precipitated by the needs of an increasingly industrialized society that demanded years of more extensive education and vocational training. This lengthened reliance on the family of origin meant that young men and women reached sexual maturity well before entering the sanctioned bonds of bourgeois marriage, bringing about a host of problems and situations at odds with previous conceptions of childhood—seen as the period before young people left home—as innocent, asexual, and fully subject to parental authority.

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<sup>158</sup> Hurrelmann, “Einleitung,” 32.

<sup>159</sup> Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 61.



Young people's transition to adulthood became a problem case for parents, educators, scientists, and scholars. Society at large sought to conceive of the tensions that emerged from this new social positioning of young people into behaviors and pathologies that could be explicated and catalogued scientifically. The fledgling field of psychology took up these new problems of human development in the modern context with great interest. By 1904, the American psychologist G. Stanley Hall called "the adolescent stage of life . . . the most fascinating of all themes, more worthy, perhaps, than anything else in the world of reverence, most inviting study, and in most crying need of a service we do not yet understand how to render aright."<sup>160</sup> Hall borrowed the nomenclature of the German literary movement Storm and Stress (*Sturm und Drang*) to provide the associative field for his theory of adolescence. His notion of the teenage years was defined literally as storm and stress—for example, of generational conflict and the externalizing and emotive outward expression of internal turmoil.

Hall was well-acquainted with German literature and culture of the nineteenth century, as evidenced by his citing of Goethe, Schiller, Wagner, and Hegel as well as popular authors such as Georg Ebers and Gottfried Keller in his two-volume tome, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. In his chapter "Adolescence in Literature and Biography," he conflates aesthetic production with the life stories of cultural figures. Hall saw Goethe's work—clearly he has *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* and the *Lehr- und Wanderjahre* in mind—as the pinnacle of the adolescent art form. Hall writes, "perhaps no one ever studied the nascent stages of his own life and elaborated their every incident with such careful observation and analysis" and a "peculiar diathesis [that]

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<sup>160</sup> G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, (New York: D. Appleton, 1904), xviii.

enabled him to conserve their freshness on to full maturity, when he gave them literary form.”<sup>161</sup> Hall also believed that at the turn of the century it was “high time that ephebic literature should be recognized as a class by itself, and have a place of its own in the history of letters and in criticism,” and that this specific class of literature “might almost be called a school of its own” to be “prescribed for the reading of the young, for whom it has a singular zest and is a true stimulus and corrective.”<sup>162</sup> Hall’s library contained Heinrich Wolgast’s *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur*—the Harvard University copy still bears Hall’s stamp—and these views suggest Hall read his German contemporary’s work carefully.<sup>163</sup>

Hall had lived extensively in Germany and studied under the auspices of experimental psychologist Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig. Even before the American publication of *Adolescence* by Appleton (New York) in 1904, Hall enjoyed a reception that heralded the beginnings of the child and youth study movement in Germany, as evidenced by Joseph Stimpfl’s translation of Hall’s work at Clark University under the title of *Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Kinderpsychologie und Pädagogik*.<sup>164</sup> Hall conceived of individual human development as based on the

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<sup>161</sup> Hall, *Adolescence*, 581.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 589.

<sup>163</sup> It is difficult to separate Hall’s personal and professional affinity for German men of letters, psychologists and pedagogues and his more diffuse but specifically articulated fascination with the concept of *Volk*.

<sup>164</sup> G. Stanley Hall, *Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Kinderpsychologie und Pädagogik*, trans. Joseph Stimpfl, (Altenburg: Oskar Bonde, 1902). The *Pennsylvania School Journal* notes, “It should be a matter of regret to Americans that President Hall’s first considerable book on child study should first appear in Germany.” *Pennsylvania School Journal*, (Pennsylvania State Education Association, 1903), 52: 132. This work contains content from the lectures which would come to comprise Hall’s works on adolescence (1904) and youth (1906). The periodical literature of the time also references Stimpfl’s planned translation of Hall’s *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, but as far as I can ascertain the formal translation of this work never existed in published form.

contemporary anthropological evolutionary model emerging out of Germany that asserted that different cultures possessed different levels of development and established the divide between *Naturvölker* and *Kulturvölker* instrumentalized by missionaries and colonialists, as well as their promoters in business and government across Europe and America. The final chapter of Hall's work on adolescence, which is by default white, consists of a lengthy treatise entitled "Ethnic Psychology and Pedagogy, or Adolescent Races and their Treatment."<sup>165</sup> Hall elides individual development with the so-called development of civilization, thus necessitating a special plan of action for the education and upbringing of youth who make up "nearly one-third of the human race, occupying two-fifths of the land surface of the globe, now included in the one hundred and thirty-six colonies and dependencies of the world, that are in a relation of greater or less subjection to a few civilized nations."<sup>166</sup> Like his German contemporary Leo Frobenius, the American Hall saw a relationship between the developmental status of the individual and the developmental status of society in general; their theories linked the idea of adolescence and anthropology, the growth of the individual and the development of civilization.

The young adult fiction by Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken reflects the intertwined but often contradictory contemporary theories of adolescence and anthropology. In these novels the development of the individual and the development of society—based on the assumption of progress—experience a similar conflation. Augusti and Pajeken's protagonists visit and interact with "immature" cultures to do the business of growing up. Through the sharp contrast between cultures, the qualities requisite for the adulthood of the protagonist come into focus and are

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<sup>165</sup> In Chapter Three I will further explore how the developmental model of civilization and interactions between colonial subjects and adolescents impact the discourse on personal maturity in the 1890s.

<sup>166</sup> G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, 648.

placed on a hierarchical continuum that elides personal maturity with cultural ascendancy. The internal individual conflicts of personal development are expressed externally within the national geopolitical context of the late nineteenth century. Travel becomes the means by which Pajeken and Augusti express this individual transition of adolescence spatially and temporally, but also encourage their readers to internalize the constructed contrast between foreign cultures and their own national or cultural origins as civilized and thus adult.

### **Conflating Individual and National Maturity**

This gesture of conflation is typical for the cultural moment of 1890s Germany, a decade bookended by events dedicated to the analysis and reform of education for adolescents while bearing in mind their role as the future citizens of the German nation, and indeed, the world. Two nationally and internationally publicized events highlight the connection between the development of German youth and German national development: the *Schulkonferenz* of 1890 and the *Schulkonferenz* of 1900. Both meetings demanded the attention not only of educators but of a wide segment of the population. Although education might be considered a perennial hot-button political issue, it is, from a twenty-first century view, nonetheless hard to imagine an international leader dedicating one of his longest recorded speeches to the curricular specifics of secondary education with a level of detail that extended to what types of reading material were most appropriate for the literature classroom. But as James Albisetti has outlined in *Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany*, this is exactly what Kaiser Wilhelm II did on December 4, 1890.

Born in 1859, the young emperor was twelve at the time of German unification and a member of the first generation to receive its secondary education in the newly united nation. His

very youth—he had become emperor at age twenty-nine, two years before his speech—highlighted the concern for the young as the key focus of a cultural moment fraught with tensions and anxieties about the future of the new empire. “In an atmosphere so conscious of transition,” writes Albisetti, “debate over the reform of secondary education often became a discussion over the future of German culture and society as a whole.”<sup>167</sup> At the *Schulkonferenzen* and in the publicity surrounding them, young minds and bodies came to figure the nation yet to be, just as in Augusti and Pajeken’s books the individual coming-of-age story becomes a nationalized coming-of-age story for Germany in an imperial context.

Before the Kaiser spoke, the conservative cultural minister Gustav von Goßler opened the 1890 gathering of teachers and administrators, touting “die veränderte Weltstellung Preußens und Deutschlands” as reason to consider the question, “ob unsere Erziehung noch genau in denselben Bahnen sich bewegen könne wie früher, wo Deutschland mehr ein in sich gekehrtes, ein einsames Denkerleben führendes Volk war.”<sup>168</sup> He continues,

Jetzt, wo unsere Augen erweitert sind, wo unsere Blicke sich richten auf alle Nationen, wo wir Kolonien vor unseren Augen haben: überall haben wir den Eindruck, daß wir vielleicht den Zaun, der bisher unser Unterrichtswesen umschlossen hielt, in dieser oder jener Weise durchbrechen müssen.<sup>169</sup>

This shift in vision from inward to outward was to create a pupil more aware of his own empire’s place in the international context.

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<sup>167</sup> James Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983), 5.

<sup>168</sup> *Verhandlungen über Fragen des höheren Unterrichts, Berlin 4. Bis 17. Dezember 1890*, (Berlin: Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, Hermann Guido Stemmler Verlag, 1891), 70.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

The Kaiser wanted soldiers, and this desire demanded a school system that taught pupils “wie es in der Welt aussieht.”<sup>170</sup> The resulting recommendations sought to make schoolboys more physically vital and better prepared for life in the world. The focus shifted from classical education in Latin and Greek languages and ancient history to recent history and current geography, especially “eine eingehende Behandlung der neueren vaterländischen Geschichte,”<sup>171</sup> as well as more time for vigorous, yet regimented, activities like *Turnen*. The Kaiser declared “wir müssen als Grundlage für das Gymnasium das Deutsche nehmen; wir sollen nationale junge Deutsche erziehen.”<sup>172</sup> Additionally, the conference suggested a shortening of the hours spent in school, a development that ostensibly would have relieved male pupils of the weakening burden of excessively sedentary school work, allowing them free time for the active exploration of their surroundings (for example, on hikes), but that inadvertently may have encouraged an increase in imaginative pleasure reading of new travel literature for youth.

As Albisetti also makes clear, the necessity to reform was not precipitated by the geopolitical situation alone, but was the result of a number of other cultural shifts and questions that expressed both anxiety and excitement about a perceived encroaching modernity. Discussions that prompted the *Schulfrage* arose from the problems of “defining and adapting to the ‘modern,’ the fears of degeneration implicit in the calls for vigor, and the increasingly strident assertion of national values.”<sup>173</sup> The idea of the 1890s as the end of an era provoked an

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<sup>170</sup> *Verhandlungen über Fragen des höheren Unterrichts*, 70.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 796.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>173</sup> James Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform*, 5.

increased focus on the future; the wider culture reflected on how today's youth would constitute tomorrow's future in the new century.

The *Schulkonferenzen* were just one indicator of a larger cultural impetus to address the twin concerns of new adolescent and national needs. In their recent volume *Vom Pauker zum Pädagogen: Ein literarischer Streifzug durch die Schule im Jahrhundert des Kindes*, Helga and Manfred Neumann outline five additional historical phenomena with roots in the 1890s that attempted to accommodate changed perceptions of adolescence, including the *Landerziehungsheimbewegung*, *Jugendbewegung* and *Wandervogelbewegung*, *Kunsterziehungsbewegung*, *Pädagogik ›vom Kinde aus‹*, and *Arbeitsschulbewegung*.<sup>174</sup> Their book's main objective is to outline and contextualize literature (such as the works of Frank Wedekind) that addresses "die Schule als Sozialisationsinstanz," but the socialization on which they focus is the socialization of adolescents, not that of children. They trace how cultural production attempted to come to terms with nineteenth-century schools' treatment of adolescent pupils. The scope of their project, however, is limited to representations in the highbrow literature of the national canon. They are uninterested in the role reading outside of school served to socialize adolescents and accord no attention to the portrayals of adolescence in popular texts that young people themselves actually read.

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<sup>174</sup> Helga and Manfred Neumann, *Vom Pauker zum Pädagogen: Ein literarischer Streifzug durch die Schule im Jahrhundert des Kindes*, (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 2011), 15. The subtitle phrase century of childhood references Swedish reformer Ellen Key's work. Ellen Key, *Das Jahrhundert des Kindes. Studien*, trans. Francis Maro, (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1902). Her book enjoyed wide reception in Germany and the U.S. and like the work of G. Stanley Hall, Alfred Lichtwark, and Heinrich Wolgast emphasized the importance of aesthetic education across class boundaries.

## Contrasting Narratives: Adolescence for Adults versus Adolescence for Youth

While highbrow literature exposed the problems of adolescence in terms of generational and class conflict, popular literature written specifically for youth attempted instead to skirt such issues by providing safe alternatives and sought to portray consensus instead of conflict.

Whereas youth literature of the period addressed the new national and international background of growing up, it ignored much of the anxiety about modernity and growing up. Here, it is important to distinguish between literature written *for* adolescents and that written *about* adolescents. While the literary avant garde used this fledgling understanding of adolescence to fuel aesthetic production, the newly cemented *Jugendliteratur*, of which Augusti and Pajeken were a part, was more concerned with “the hope to preserve or restore childhood innocence,”<sup>175</sup> particularly in its female protagonists, until the moment of maturity. As Gisela Wilkending has documented, “Auch vom Aufbruch der Jugend und dem modernen Generationenkonflikt, wie sie in Halbes *Jugend* (Erstaufführung 1893) oder in der Textfassung von Frank Wedekinds »Kindertragödie« *Frühlings Erwachen* (1891; Erstaufführung 1906) in Szene gesetzt werden, schweigt sie [*Jugendliteratur*].”<sup>176</sup>

Just as Wilkending notes the discrepancy between literature for youth and avant-garde theater of the period, Bettina Hurrelmann sees a disjuncture in the prose of the fin de siècle: “Eine jugendkulturelle Opposition gegen das bürgerliche Kulturmuster, wie sie sich um die

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<sup>175</sup> Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History*, 62.

<sup>176</sup> Gisela Wilkending, “Die Kinder- und Jugendliteratur im kulturellen und literarischen Prozess,” in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1850 bis 1900*, ed. Otto Brunken, et. al., (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), 42. Although Wedekind’s play did not become known until well after the turn of the century, Halbes’ work was an overnight sensation after its Berlin premiere in 1893 and has been called the second-most popular of the era after Gerhard Hauptmann’s *Die Weber*.



Jahrhundertwende in der Adoleszenzprosa von Strauß, Rilke, Hesse oder Musil ausdrückt, findet man im Umkreis der Jugendliteratur des Untersuchungszeitraums nicht.”<sup>177</sup> Instead of pushing the boundaries between child and adult or breaking down their clear distinctions through a questioning of the rituals of bourgeois adulthood, youth literature sought to construct the period between childhood and adulthood so as to allow for psychological development only within the bounds of acceptable middle-class behavior.

### **German Hearth: Domestic Narratives in Faraway Settings**

Though it is much unlike the new literature of the *fin de siècle*, youth literature was not unlike all literary production by and for adults in the second half of the nineteenth century. With their portrayals of middle-class morality and firm affirmation of the dominant national culture, novels written for young people, such as those by Augusti and Pajeken, bear a strong resemblance to domestic fiction of the nineteenth century. Carolyn Vellenga Berman characterizes domestic fiction as narratives in which “household management, moral influence, and conscience—or the absence thereof—take on national stature,”<sup>178</sup> a symbolic system of relationships that, according to Berman, takes on an even greater imperative when the domestic setting is transposed onto foreign space. The transfer of influence from the private to the public sphere and equation of the home with the metaphorical nation support a linkage between domestic fiction and young adult novels. Authors of young adult novels that dealt specifically with foreign travel and authors of domestic fiction set in the German province used similar techniques and imagery to manipulated their readership and convince them of imperial imperatives.

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<sup>177</sup> Bettina Hurrelmann, “Entwicklungsdimensionen und –prozesse,” 72.

<sup>178</sup> Carolyn Vellenga Berman, *Creole Crossings: Domestic Fiction and the Reform of Colonial Slavery*, (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2006), 22.

Recent work on domestic fiction—a body of work itself still largely neglected by literary scholars—can offer insights into the ways young adult literature, which shares its marginal status, also strengthened the formation of national ideas as personal development. As I will explain, novels for youth that foreground travel outside the Kaiserreich’s European borders fruitfully deploy the pedagogical qualities of domestic fiction. Berman advocates examining texts that “lie on the border, rather than in the center, of this genre”<sup>179</sup> to see the ways in which they “revealed colonial space as itself a domesticated home.”<sup>180</sup> Her focus on the Creole hones in on pedagogy and the ways in which Creole characters in domestic fiction become “object lesson[s] demonstrating . . . education.”<sup>181</sup> Her insights can be compellingly transferred to the study of fiction in which young protagonists experience the coming-of-age process under the potential influence of multiple cultural contexts. The portrayal of “practices that preserved European origins in diaspora” alongside “practices that defiled or obliterated those origins”<sup>182</sup> present—for the contemporary critic—an inherent tension between notions of culture as learned and culture as innate. This tension—part and parcel of the discourse of imperial zealotry at the end of the nineteenth century—will provide the focus for reading young adult travel narratives as a kind of domestic fiction.

If learning nation and nationality is one of the primary aims of domestic fiction, then precisely this educational outcome enables novels to “solicit political opinions and participation

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<sup>179</sup> Berman, *Creole Crossing*, 21.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 (note 3). Berman has already stated she will use “domestic as it was used in eighteenth and nineteenth-century discourse, to refer not only to the household but also to the nation, in opposition not only to the ‘public’ but also to the ‘foreign.’”

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

from a readership unusually wide,” that is, from readers “beyond the actual political franchise—including *young people*, those without substantial property, and women.”<sup>183</sup> Berman draws on Benedict Anderson’s study of nationalism, with its emphasis on print culture and reliance on that “complex gloss of ‘the meanwhile.’”<sup>184</sup> As Anderson explains, “The novel provided the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the kind of imagined community that is the nation.”<sup>185</sup> Herein lies the particular value of studying domestic fiction for scholars and historians of German-language literature: popular novels written for juvenile and female audiences granted the disenfranchised a role in national identity formation in the imagined community that was Germany even before the unification of 1871 and continued to do so thereafter. Because Anderson’s work “reversed the conventional wisdom . . . which views literary texts as imaginary works produced by real nations,”<sup>186</sup> replacing it with an idea of nation imagined in real works of literature, it points to the immense power of novels in the German context.

In *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* Nancy Armstrong argues that literary scholars should consider the nineteenth-century household as a space of female authority and thus view narrative fiction about this space and its inhabitants in a new light. According to Armstrong, the household “as a specifically feminine space established the preconditions for a modern institutional culture.”<sup>187</sup> The male-gendered forces that dominate

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<sup>183</sup> Berman, *Creole Crossing*, 19. My emphasis.

<sup>184</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. rev., (New York: Verso, 2006), 25.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>186</sup> Berman, *Creole Crossings*, 18.

<sup>187</sup> Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1987), 251.

modern institutional cultures—from the literary and pedagogical to the state and colonial—were indeed all dependent on female authority over the private sphere for their very existence and cultural preeminence.

If Armstrong argues that English language domestic fiction depicts and creates the household as a powerful space of female authority through which formalized male supremacy gains its legitimacy, Todd Kontje has shown how that same type of fiction in the German language context can construct the idea of the nation culture before institutional culture on the level of the nation-state, indeed, the nation itself, exists. Kontje uses the term domestic fiction fruitfully, both to consider the relationship of individuals and groups without political franchise to the public sphere and politics, as well as to formulate the connection between Germany's still latent imperial impulses and German-language novels preoccupied with the home and homeland. In *Women, the Novel, and the German Nation 1771-1871: Domestic Fiction in the Fatherland*, he charts a new framework through which to view women's writing and reading practices in the century before German unity and finds that German domestic fiction, too, that "is often at its most political when portraying the dynamics of family life."<sup>188</sup> While he cites the great influence of popular pedagogues in forming middle-class morality and the dominant patriarchy of nineteenth-century Germany, he also argues that "novels have greater subtlety, and a greater capacity for irony, than the didactic treatises of a Rousseau or a Campe" and that "pleasure along with edification" was the model that granted novels generally, and domestic fiction specifically, their prominent place in forming notions of nation, class, and gender.

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<sup>188</sup> Todd Kontje, *Women, The Novel, and the German Nation 1771-1871*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 11.

In his article “Marlitt’s World: Domestic Fiction in an Age of Empire,” Kontje is also interested in dismantling the notion that domestic fiction was concerned narrowly with domestic matters, be they in the home or within regional and national borders, and revealing how the political permeates even the most domestic of literary spaces. He argues that works of domestic fiction also “add nuance to the history of European imperialism [and] reveal the gradual intrusion of global concerns into the provincial realm of German domestic fiction.”<sup>189</sup> He highlights the importance of “explor[ing] unexpected links between domestic fiction and European imperialism in nineteenth-century German literature.”<sup>190</sup> Indeed, the two are bound up in the same system, making the separation of the domestic and the political, the foreign and the global impossible.

By comparing and contrasting the engagement of Gustav Freytag’s bestselling novel *Soll und Haben* with the politics and economics of imperialism to Eugenie Marlitt’s treatment of similar topics in her many popular novels, Kontje opens up what scholarship has termed domestic fiction—that is, women’s fiction as fiction written for and by women—to include comparable fiction written by male authors for a readership that crossed borders of gender and age. Although he rightly contends, “to adopt a gender-neutral approach to texts of this period . . . would be misguided,” Kontje also advocates focusing on how the home and the homeland

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<sup>189</sup> Todd Kontje, “Marlitt’s World: Domestic Fiction in an Age of Empire,” *German Quarterly* 77.4 (Fall 2004), 422. In the Anglo-American context, see Gayatri Spivak, “Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985), 243-261; Nancy Armstrong, “The Occidental Alice,” *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 2.2 (1990), 5-39; and Roderick McGillic, *A Little Princess: Gender and Empire*, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996) to name only a few critical approaches that consider women’s and children’s texts in imperial and colonial contexts. They are useful, but only to an extent: one must be vigilant of the differences in national, colonial and imperial geopolitical realities that separate nineteenth-century literature in English and its scholarship from German studies that seem to be thematically and methodologically similar.

<sup>190</sup> Kontje, “Marlitt’s World,” 410.

metaphorically coincide in texts written by and for readers of both genders.<sup>191</sup> In short, domestic fiction is not simply a term for women's writing (*Frauenliteratur*) of the nineteenth century. Elements of the genre—in the case of youth literature, the lack of political agency by its protagonists and projected readers—existed in literature written by authors of both genders.

Calling the youth literature aimed at a male readership written by male author Friedrich Pajeken a form of domestic fiction does not mean wholly uncoupling domestic fiction from nineteenth-century notions of femininity. As domesticators in proto-colonial space, Pajeken's protagonists become the keepers of the newly domesticated home on foreign soil, house husbands of the figurative colonies.<sup>192</sup> The imperial context, with its pedagogical impulses to reform and educate the native culture shifts the typical gender formations of mid and late nineteenth-century domestic fiction while still subscribing to them. The end goal for Pajeken's male protagonists is marrying a good (German) wife who will restore order and domestic equilibrium, freeing up the male protagonist to re-enter the public sphere in the limited way that the proto-colony allows. When she allows maturity to be based on travel experience and adventure rather than marriage, the female writer Augusti and her female protagonists also possess this internal tension of—at least temporarily—transgressing the standards of femininity and domesticity that her novels ostensibly espouse.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Kontje, *Women*, xiv.

<sup>192</sup> Pajeken's novels take place in the American West during the second half of the nineteenth century. Their travel narratives are essentially immigration narratives, however they are not about assimilating to American culture but, rather, establishing and fostering German cultural institutions and customs abroad. For this reason, I call them their American geographies proto-colonial, figurative colonies, or imagined colonies.

<sup>193</sup> I will return to the ways in which travel narratives for young people written by Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken can be read as domestic novels at the conclusion of this chapter.

A passage in Brigitte Augusti's *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, the first novel of the *An fremdem Herd* series, demonstrates the ways in which travel narrative, domestic narrative, and different registers of literary production interact to produce a conception of German adulthood, specifically German femininity. The scene describes the way Gertrud goes about teaching literature to her Spanish-German charges and explains her curricular choices as a German governess working in Spain. Augusti writes, "Heute war deutsche Litteratur der Gegenstand der Beschäftigung; Gertrud hatte Herders Cid zum Vorlesen gewählt."<sup>194</sup> Augusti's choice of Herder, his loosely translated epic poem about the adventures of the Spanish national hero, and the particular passage highlighted are all culturally laden. As Gerhard Sauder has noted, "throughout the nineteenth century, [Herder's Cid] was second in popularity among his poetic works, behind only the folk songs, and it was used in German schools."<sup>195</sup> Augusti's choice of work would have been familiar to young readers as both specifically German and yet connected to the foreign, both in its status as a translated work and in its thematic association with travel. The specific passage she chose illustrates how selective reading can bring out the domesticity in a text not typically connoted as domestic in nature:

Jeden Augenblick des Tages  
 Wendet wohl an, nähend, stickend:  
 Singt am Abend mit den Töchtern  
 Und, um euer Haus zu ordnen,  
 Wachtet mit Auroren auf.

Zu Vergnügungen verlass' ich  
 Euch die Sorgen für die Herden,

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<sup>194</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 83.

<sup>195</sup> Gerhard Sauder, "Herder's Poetic Works, Translations, and Views on Poetry," in *A Companion to the Works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, ed. Hans Adler and Wulf Köpke, (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 325.

Für die Wolle, fürs Gefieder.  
Nie Ximene, nie seid müßig!  
Arbeit ist des Blutes Balsam,  
Arbeit ist der Tugend Quell.

Eure reiche Kleidung schließet  
Ein, bis auf mein Wiederkommen,  
Nicht, darin mir zu gefallen,  
Sondern mir zur Ehre dann.  
In Abwesenheit des Mannes  
Kleidet einfach sich die Frau.<sup>196</sup>

Augusti here quotes a departure speech in which Don Rodrigo instructs his wife and daughter as to how they should comport themselves and keep his house while he travels to conquer Valencia. In Gertrud's pupils' reactions to it Augusti highlights the realities of young adult gendered reading practices: "Schwärmte Dolores zumeist für die sanfte, liebevolle Ximene, so stand Manuela ganz auf Seiten des ritterlichen Cid, dessen Heldenthaten sie mit Begeisterung folgte."<sup>197</sup> The more feminine of Gertrud's pupils, Dolores, admires the heroine Ximene, while her wild, less feminine sister Manuela identifies with the warrior himself. The gendered identification of the sisters becomes visible in the contrast between the verb to swoon of the passive female protagonist with the verbs to stand and to follow with the active male hero.

Dolores is portrayed as the more Germanic of the two daughters, while Manuela has qualities that are described as gypsy-like. Dolores is associated with acceptable forms of German femininity, while Manuela's wildness makes her almost mannish and a decided cultural other. Yet, one text appeals to them both. The actual passage chosen is one that outlines a life of

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<sup>196</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 84.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.



women's work, such as sewing, knitting, weaving, and cooking, and a program of modest dress, as the way for wife and daughters to spend their days in the absence of the man of the house.

Finally, the duality of the text is realized when the canonical reading about a trip becomes a reality. The girls dream of travelling to Valencia like the hero Cid and his wife and daughters.

Manuela complains,

Alles angenehme: Aufregung, Kampf, Siegesfreude und Beutelust nimmt er für sich in Anspruch und die Señoras sollen unterdessen in Sack und Asche sitzen und immer nur arbeiten. . . . Ich habe dieses enge Nest hier so satt; ich möchte gern die schöne Welt sehen und ihre Freuden kosten.<sup>198</sup>

Their wish is granted with a trip to the Italian city of Villamar to visit relatives, suggesting that the travel that girls read about in print culture can become a reality and yet remain safely within the familial context.

Augusti's choice of passage indicates that a single text can provide access to adventure as well as domesticity. In this way, this specific excerpt from Herder's translation becomes a model for the kind of narrative Augusti herself creates, a narrative that presents travel as adventure but creates room within that narrative for shaping and modeling appropriate domestic femininity. In Augusti, travel is an adventure along the way to adulthood, but it is an adventure that ultimately must subscribe to middle-class femininity as *the* model of appropriate adulthood at its destination. By presenting a canonical text that melds two disparate realms of late nineteenth-century popular publishing—adventure stories on the one hand with domestic fiction and conduct manuals on the other—Augusti hints that girls' assumptions about gender as well as nationality are crucially shaped by their reading material. In asserting the viability of this

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<sup>198</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 85.

duality, Augusti demarcates her unique place within the discussion about appropriate reading for girls at the end of the century.

*An fremdem Herd* offers additional allegorical lessons about international relations veiled in stories about domestic duty. Elsewhere in *Gertruds Wanderjahre* the foreign hearth becomes a metaphor for a more extended set of ideas about the relationship between Germany and France, as well as inter-European imperial competition. After attempting to improve her French language skills at a boarding school on the outskirts of Paris and losing a plum job as a tutor to the beloved daughter of a nouveau riche French family, Gertrud is forced to search for a new source of income and ends up working as a household manager for a middle-class Parisian family. In the home of Professor Lauret, who teaches a general humanities curriculum to a number of young British pupils, Gertrud must tend to the young son, Paul, and compensate for the lack of management by Madame Lauret, a self-styled “Volksbeglückerin.”<sup>199</sup> Augusti is critical of Madame Lauret’s neglect of her own home in favor of the general “Hebung des Volkes.”<sup>200</sup> Gertrud reflects scathingly on the fact that Madame Lauret’s dedication to the education and advancement of the lower classes outside the home leaves her own space in a state of “Unordnung und Unsauberkeit, welche ein deutsches Auge beleidigen mußten.”<sup>201</sup>

Augusti strongly suggests a correlation between Madame Lauret’s activities outside of the home and French imperial activities to the neglect of the citizens at home by pairing dialogue about the chaotic French home to which Gertrud brings “eine so vernünftige Ordnung und

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<sup>199</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 160, 158.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

Regelmäßigkeit”<sup>202</sup> with descriptions of French cultural ascendancy as espoused by Professor Lauret: “Frankreich könne ungestört seine große Aufgabe verfolgen, an der Spitze der Civilisation zu marschieren und ein leuchtendes Vorbild für die ganze gebildete Welt zu sein.”<sup>203</sup> Gertrud wonders how France can impose its ways on others, given the vast inequalities and lack of education within its class structure. The parallel to Madame Lauret is clear. Gertrud asks, “Wäre es nicht gut, Frankreich besserte erst tüchtig an sich selbst, ehe es die andern Nationen zu belehren trachtete?”<sup>204</sup> The comparative view of the domestic space promoted in the series subtitle—“Bunte Bilder aus der Nähe und Ferne *mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des häuslichen Lebens* in verschiedenen Ländern”<sup>205</sup>—in fact serves as a means to criticize the imperialistic notions of other nations, while preserving the sanctity of German domestic conditions and touting the ease with which German qualities can reform other cultures.

### **Reading Practices as Cultural Markers**

Furthermore, literacy and reading practices in the home and in society at large are made to stand in for one another and then placed in cultural comparison, with Germany often at the top of the hierarchy. While Gertrud generally prizes reading as a worthy pursuit—and cultures of reading are held in high esteem in Augusti’s writing generally—the comparison between the German and the French is used to form a typology of acceptable reading. Madame Lauret is a reader, but her reading is selfish and inward-looking. She wiles away her days reading novels to

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<sup>202</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 181.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>205</sup> Series subtitle. My emphasis.

the neglect of her own household and family. She claims to seek improvement for the masses, but her own reading practices prevent her from being of use. Her reading, which keeps her “auf ihrer Chaiselongue” where she considers “die sociale Frage in der Form des neusten Romans,” renders her psychologically unstable, with “Nerven . . . so reizbar, daß sie bei der leichtesten Berührung zittern und zucken.”<sup>206</sup> Yet, she remains committed to her dream of work outside the home. When Gertrud wishes to leave the Lauret household to fulfill her familial obligation to a sick relative, Madame Lauret argues, “meine Pflichten erlauben es mir nicht, mich so eingehend um mein Haus zu kümmern.”<sup>207</sup> Gertrud bemoans the discrepancy:

. . . wie erklärt es sich, daß diese Leuchte noch so viel Dunkelheit in sich selbst birgt? Madame klagt fortwährend über die unüberwindliche Unwissenheit der unteren Stände . . . von den geistigen Zuständen der Bauern und kleinen Leute in der Provinz . . . es klang wahrlich nicht nach großer Aufklärung da selbst Lesen und Schreiben in weiten Schichten seltene Errungenschaften sind . . . von der mangelhaften Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts, sogar in höheren Ständen.<sup>208</sup>

It is clear that reading in and of itself is not culturally redemptive; rather, the type of reading, when and how much, and to what ends determine its value. For Augusti, reading is a matter of building a sense of national identity and developing an appropriate moral outlook—conventions shared within the community of readers. It is an educated woman’s duty to share her literacy with others, her children and the metaphorical children of the nation, the uneducated masses. The linkage between women’s education and national status is not a matter of whether women are literate and engage in reading for pleasure and self-improvement or not, but whether their reading makes them their husband’s equal and allows them to contribute to the betterment of

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<sup>206</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 191.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 181-82.

*Jugend und Volk* alike. The “Indianer-Gewohnheiten” of Madame Lauret’s young son suggest that he, too, reads the wrong books, and underscore her thorough neglect of the duties of motherhood; at the same time they subtly suggest that, unlike her own novels, popular adventure books by Karl May or the French writer Gabriel Ferry (whose work May, and later Friedrich Pajeken, adapted for a German audience) were perceived as a bad influence on youth. The text implies that a society with ill-educated women or women who use their knowledge to no good ends is incapable of cultural ascendancy.

In *Augusti*, a woman’s ability to ascertain a man’s social standing and education as well as his national identity is highly valued, though not always perfectly applied. Mistaken identities and liaisons with foreign characters are extremely common across the *An fremdem Herd* series. The woman’s ability to establish correctly a male character as German becomes a clear marker of her entry into adulthood. The confusions that ensue in the interim contribute to the maturation process and offer important lessons about German adulthood.

Associative fields of literary culture and practices of reading continue to be a part of this process of identification. *Augusti*’s protagonist Gertrud meets the man she will eventually marry in a scene imbued with imagery that suggests the German proto-romanticism of Sturm und Drang. While wandering in a deserted ruin of a cloister in Spain, Gertrud discovers a young man asleep with book in hand. *Augusti* casts Gertrud’s immediate impression of this man as one of incongruity: “Seine ganze Erscheinung paßte wenig zu seiner Umgebung, die den Stempel der größten Einfachheit trug.”<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> *Augusti, Gertruds Wanderjahre, 52.*

Gertrud watches from afar as he awakes and is tended to by a simple impoverished family that has made its home in the gatehouse of the ruins. Gertrud's future husband, Heinrich whom she comes to know as Don Enrico and later Dr. Lecomte, interacts graciously with the children. "Gertrud konnte ihre Blicke nicht davon abwenden."<sup>210</sup> She observes the scene with fascination until she is discovered. She learns from the family that they found him injured after he fell on a hike near the cloister. The ruin, the peasant idyll, the idle young man outside of his normal class context, and even Gertrud's voyeurism all suggest a romantic aesthetic that would have marked the scene as specifically German for German readers. Both the characterization of Heinrich and Gertrud's fascination with the scene can be read as a naïve reminiscence of Goethe's *Werther*.<sup>211</sup>

At a further meeting Gertrud finds more evidence for the inconsistencies in Heinrich's persona. A book slips out of his lap, and as she reaches to pick it up, she exclaims, "Sie lesen Goethe! . . . Sie sind ein Deutscher!"<sup>212</sup> Gertrud is sure that she can interpret the copy of Goethe's *Faust* as a marker of national identity. However, she accepts his claim that he is the French Dr. Lecomte and has acquired his language skills and cultural predilections as a student at a southern German university, this despite her protests: "In all seinem Fühlen und Denken kam

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<sup>210</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 52.

<sup>211</sup> Whether the girls reading Augusti's works would have read Goethe's *Werther* is inconsequential. The pop culture manifestations would have been enough to establish identity in this way. In addition, as Jana Mikota as established in "For the Love of Words and Works," by the 1890s readers for girls were in common use and focused greatly on the canon, which Goethe and Schiller led unquestionably during this period. "*Werther* does appear . . . drastically excerpted in readers" for girls. Cf., Jennifer Drake Askey, "Reading as women, reading as patriots," 76.

<sup>212</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 66.

er ihr so vollkommen Deutsch vor.”<sup>213</sup> Much later, Professor Heinrich von Berneck is fully affirmed as a German and thus can now be considered the ideal husband for Gertrud.

*Gertruds Wanderjahre* ends with the ultimate affirmation of her husband’s Germanness and an anachronism: the text clearly states that the year at the novel’s conclusion is 1876, yet the novel’s final page quotes a poem written in 1889 by the real poet Prinz Emil von Schoenaich-Carolath. Gertrud and her husband attend the dedication of a church destroyed in the Franco-Prussian war by the German Kaiser and Kronprinz. Afterwards Gertrud’s dinner guests toast Germany and the life of the Kaiser in the sanctuary of her home, called a literal “Friedenshafen” for the Germans of Strasburg.<sup>214</sup> One professor recites three stanzas of the poem “Am Kaisergrabe”—which is attributed to von Schoenaich-Carolath but necessarily untitled and undated, so as not to reveal its anachronistic use in this fictional celebration of the monarch’s life at the time of his death.

Though this poem was never published independently, it first appeared in the appendix to Detlev von Liliencron’s *Der Mäcen*, which, like Augusti’s *Wanderjahre*, appeared in 1889.<sup>215</sup> In Liliencron’s story, too, the poem serves a reference point for the German diaspora (*Auslandsdeutsche*). The German protagonist in *Der Mäcen* has been forced by his neighbor back in Schleswig-Holstein to bring “eine kleine Bücherei seiner Lieblingsdichter,” which contains a few poems by von Schoenaich-Carolath along with books by authors like Theodor

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<sup>213</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, 71.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>215</sup> Carsten Dürkob, *Der Nichterfüllung schattenvoller Kranz: Leben, Werk und literaturgeschichtlicher Ort des Prinzen Emil von Schoenaich-Carolath (1852-1908)*, (Hamburg: Igel Verlag, 1998), 147.

Storm and Theodor Fontane, on his trip to Tangiers.<sup>216</sup> Here again, German literature is used to mark identity that might otherwise be unstable or slow to reveal itself against the backdrop of foreign geography or as a result of the mobile lifestyle of the global nineteenth century.

The key instance of identity in question in Augusti's *Unter Palmen: Schilderungen aus dem Leben und der Missionsarbeit der Europäer in Ostindien* is embodied by the figure of Nuncomar. As in *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, the protagonist Henny Roland meets Nuncomar, the man she will eventually marry, early on in the narrative. He is initially introduced as a "Eurasier . . . ein Sohn eines europäischen Vaters und einer indischen Mutter, oder umgekehrt," a half-caste marked by his "traurige Stellung," who works as a servant in the home of a British colonial family.<sup>217</sup> Nuncomar is assigned to accompany Henny on a trip "quer durch Indien" to find her father and the father of the young orphan Käthchen, who is in her charge.<sup>218</sup> Not only does he speak German fluently but he quotes Heine from memory. When Henny characterizes her first encounter with the Ganges River as "weder schön noch romantisch," Nuncomar remarks, "Ihnen schwebten vielleicht die Verse Ihres heimischen Dichters vor."<sup>219</sup> He recites a stanza of "Wir saßen am Fischerhause" from Heine's *Buch der Lieder*:

Am Ganges duftets und leuchtets  
Und Riesenbäume blühen,  
Und schöne, stille Menschen  
Vor Lotosblumen knien.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Detlev von Liliencron, *Der Mäcen*, <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/2055/1> (19 March 2012)

<sup>217</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 75.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.



Heine's poem describes a group of youth who sit on the coast eyeing ships as they come into port and imagine the lives of the sailors aboard and the distant cultures and destinations they have seen. The poetic voice that speaks of the Ganges is indeed all imagination. Augusti's choice of this poem, which Nuncomar attributes only to "de[m] poetische[n] Traum eines Mannes, der nie selbst in Indien war," implies the widespread familiarity of Heine's work to late nineteenth-century readers. Though Augusti does not include it, readers would likely have known the final stanza of the poem, which includes a reference to the poem's internal audience, the young girls who partake of tales of travel and adventure:

Die Mädchen horchten ernsthaft,  
Und endlich sprach niemand mehr;  
Das Schiff ward nicht mehr sichtbar,  
Es dunkelte gar zu sehr.<sup>221</sup>

Like Augusti's citation of Herder's *Cid*, her inclusion of Heine is not simply a nod to high culture; it, too, affirms the link between reading, literary authority, and cultural identity. Furthermore, the inclusion of both texts offers an atypical approach to girls' reading, one that successfully connects mobility and femininity. Heine's poem is similar to Herder's *Cid* in the way it links adventurous tales—"wir sprachen von Sturm und Schiffbruch"—to gendered listening—"die Mädchen horchten ernsthaft." The girls sit on the homeland's coast—"am Fischerhause" and listen to imagined adventures inspired by the sight of a ship. Here again, Augusti uses literary culture to link the female-gendered domestic narrative to the male-gendered foreign adventure in a subtle, yet meaningful, way.

Through his dual knowledge of the domestic as the German and the foreign, the "Indian" Nuncomar is characterized by Henny as having the comportment of "eines gebildeten Mannes

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<sup>221</sup> Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder*, (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1885), 98.

und zuverlässigen Freundes . . . er wusste so viel über Land und Leute zu sagen.”<sup>222</sup> When she finally works up the courage to ask him the origins of his knowledge of German language and literature, he reveals his German origins: “meine Mutter war—eine Deutsche.”<sup>223</sup> His utterance is certainly not untrue, as the development of his relationship with Henny and revelation of his true identity will prove.

### **Mistaken Identities and Belated Germans**

In his study of the traces of “Germany’s belated literature of empire” in the romances of domestic literature, Kontje has noted the “use of racial features or characteristics to give an air of mystery and passion” to particular characters, especially those who have ties to other geographies.<sup>224</sup> Augusti, too, uses the allure of ambiguous national and ethnic identity in depicting a developing romance. Over one-hundred pages elapse (in a two-hundred and fifty page novel) between Henny’s first encounter with Nuncomar and the full confirmation of his true identity as the German man Klaus Helling, during which Henny’s marked interest and latent attraction to him become clearly discernible for the readers: “da stand er vor ihr, der Heiße sehnte, mit dem festen, klaren Blick und trotz der tief gebräunten Gesichtsfarbe in jedem Zuge ein echter, deutscher Mann.”<sup>225</sup> This cultural and racial shape shifting is the most extreme example in Augusti’s works, but as Kontje’s work proves, it is hardly unique in the German context. In each case of mistaken identity and belated Germanness in the *An fremdem Herd* series, the end result is a consistent renunciation of the masquerade identity of the cultural other,

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<sup>222</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 115.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>224</sup> Kontje, “Marlitt’s World,” 415.

<sup>225</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 219.

but the time in between in which Augusti continually inserts attempts at disguise and repeated associations with a non-German cultural and racial identity “seems calculated,” in Kontje’s formulation, “to blur the distinction between nature and culture, foreign costumes and foreign blood, racial difference and a good suntan.”<sup>226</sup>

Such slippages of identity “exploit the appeal of an eroticized exoticism in works that eventually reaffirm faith in the fatherland . . . and flirt with a titillating hint of miscegenation, only to domesticate desire into a lasting love between ethnic Germans who respect traditional gender roles and profess loyalty to the German nation.”<sup>227</sup> This is as true for Marlitt’s domestic fiction as described by Kontje as it is for novels by Brigitte Augusti, with two distinct addenda. First, Augusti’s novels have an *explicit* pedagogical agenda beyond the seemingly romance-driven elements of their nationalist coming-of-age plots: the aim to teach young people about foreign lands and cultures. Second, the return to the homeland is only figurative. While Marlitt’s stories take place on German soil in Europe, Augusti’s protagonist establish their fidelity to nation far away, with no return in sight and no hope or plan for the territory coming under German political jurisdiction.

These two caveats add new dimensions to the simple use of exoticist border blurring that Kontje sees in Marlitt’s work. On the one hand, the geographic remove increases the urgency of finding an appropriate German partner to reaffirm one’s true identity. On the other hand, the pedagogical imperative suggests the possibility of a greater engagement with cultural difference and highlights the works as a form of cultural transfer. These competing objectives comprise the

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<sup>226</sup> Kontje, “Marlitt’s World,” 415.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 417.

paradox of the contact zone. As Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin have formulated it in their work on the practice of cultural transfer, “the tension between essentializing and destabilizing national identity”<sup>228</sup> is great. Cultural productions that serve as an agent of cultural transfer “assert the stability of national categories even as they seek to redefine them”<sup>229</sup> by comparison with and knowledge of other cultures. The mistaken and hidden identities that result from newfound mobility figure prominently in nineteenth-century German literature more broadly conceived, but in the fictional narratives of cultural pedagogy they are the personified crossroads of cultural difference.

The list of characters who experience mistaken and hidden identities in Augusti’s series expands exponentially over the series to include both major and minor characters. They are crucial to connecting characters over time and space and sealing the identities of Augusti’s female protagonists as wholly and unquestionably German. Taken as a whole, they can be read as belated Germans, characters whose presence creates a narrative about gradually growing into German identity in a way that parallels the protagonists’ own coming-of-age process and propels the plot forward. In Pajeken’s series, too, a latent, yet undeniable, belated Germanness reveals itself alongside the characters’ personal development to adult maturity and becomes an indispensable element of the series’ narrative structure. The figure of the belated German is introduced repeatedly in both series either to cement further a protagonist’s own identity or create an appropriate partner. In Augusti’s works, the German femininity of female protagonists brings out and makes recognizable the latent Germanness in men who become their marriageable partners. In Pajeken’s series the belated Germans are often the protagonists themselves—though

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<sup>228</sup> Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, ed., “Introduction,” in *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation*, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005), xiii.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii.

as in Augusti's work minor characters also share the fate—their national revelation coincides with their emergence from adolescence into adulthood.

In Friedrich Pajeken's Bob series, mistaken identities are part of the liability of travel and immigration, a product of a more mobile society in which identity loses its tight link to the German home town. His young characters are subject to a dangerous realm of possibilities in which nothing is what it seems to be and identity is flexible within a changing cast of characters, where one can always reinvent oneself or hide identity in a new location or communal context. These depictions are of particular importance for characters already engaged in the coming-of-age process, as they complicate the business of internalizing a social location for themselves and establishing maturity within groups of individuals whose identities may or may not be stable.

The first case of hidden identity in *Bob der Fallensteller* comes in the figure of Old Tex, who abandoned and disguised his upbringing “in Österreich als der Sohn reicher Eltern” to assume a new American identity as an Indian trader. Pajeken offers Old Tex's story of hidden origins as an object lesson and warning for his young protagonist, Bob, and by extension his young readers. Old Tex suffers from failed socialization both within—“Eins fehlte mir in der Jugend, Prügel”—and outside—“die Schule besuchte ich wenig”—the home.<sup>230</sup> Instead, he takes his cues from nature and stories of distant foreign lands: “Lieber lief ich in den Wald oder auf das Feld hinaus. Am liebsten aber saß ich dort und las Geschichten, Abenteuer zu Wasser und zu Lande. Die verdrehten meinen von dummen Streichen hinreichend aufgefüllten Kopf gänzlich.”<sup>231</sup> He describes himself as a good-for-nothing (*Taugenichts*) whose tendency to

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<sup>230</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 100.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

wander was inspired by popular literature, but he deeply regrets his decisions and is now full of another painful feeling: “die Sehnsucht nach meinem Elternhause, nach meiner schönen fernen Heimat.”<sup>232</sup>

Old Tex, who, as we have seen, is eventually revealed as Franz von Traunstein on his deathbed, where he bequeaths Bob his inheritance, is the first to introduce the tensions between nature and culture, adventure and domesticity into the Bob series. His pedagogical role is clear, when he makes Bob promise to use his newfound wealth wisely. Old Tex commands Bob: “Gelobt es mir mit Eurem Ehrenwort, daß Ihr Euer bisheriges Leben aufgeben und nach Kräften bemüht sein wollt, ein nützliches Mitglied der menschlichen Gesellschaft zu werden.” Bob gives his promise and avers that it is his “höchster Wunsch . . . unter die Menschen zurück [zu gehen].”<sup>233</sup> Thus the hidden origins of Old Tex serve to bring Bob much closer to the full revelation of his own appropriate German adulthood.

As in Augusti, here too, both inappropriate and appropriate modes of reading can function as cultural markers; both warnings and models are guideposts to maturity. Pajeken also uses literary and linguistic elements to seal his characters’—and in turn, his readers’—sense of self. Bob learns the German language and reads German literature as a means of fully expressing his newfound German origins and also as a necessity of his desired role as a city leader: “Reinfels lernte mit Hilfe seines Vaters schon seit längerer Zeit Deutsch. Da die meisten Einwohner des Ortes Deutsche waren und zum Teil das Englische nur schlecht beherrschten, war

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<sup>232</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 101.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

es erwünscht, daß er sich in ihrer Sprache mit ihnen unterhalten konnte.”<sup>234</sup> This passage implies that his identity could not be fully realized without the acquaintance with and acceptance of German culture.

But language alone is not enough to express fully the national spirit that Pajeken’s characters gradually embrace. One secondary character who plays a significant role in Bob’s identity formation, the German engineer, architect, and city planner Ernst Förster speaks in a series of Schillerian quotations. Pajeken’s use of literary quotations is more aphoristic and less integrated as an element of plot than Augusti’s use of literary references, but the purpose these quotations serve as cultural markers that guide both the protagonist and the reader is similar. Ernst Förster speaks in well-worn adages always followed by the tagline “sagt Schiller” (to the point that other characters eventually resort to goodhearted mocking of his manner of speech), for example, “Ein beneidenswertes Los hat Euer Bob nicht; aber—des Lebens ungemischte Freude ward keinem Sterblichen zuteil, sagt Schiller.”<sup>235</sup> Furthermore, because these literary “truths” are expressed by the city planner himself, Pajeken relates literary culture of the highest order to building. In doing so, he suggests that literature itself is a building block of society. Literature builds society and forms the individual; Pajeken thus connects the protagonists’ coming-of-age to the development of society at large.

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<sup>234</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 28.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12. Paraphrased from stanza nine of Schiller’s poem “Der Ring des Polykrates.” Nineteenth-century readers may or may not have also seen a parallel between Reinfels’ attempt to find a water source for his community and build a means for the conveyance of water, with the historical figure Polycrates’ achievement of constructing the Eupalinian aqueduct, which was rediscovered in the 1880s.

## **Building Individual Maturity on Collective National Identity**

In both the works of Augusti and Pajeken the increasing independence in the progress from adolescent to adult not only makes up the contents of the individual novel, but also offers a structural organization for the series as such. Not only does each novel offer a complete progression from child to adult, the larger narrative arcs that unite the discrete books of the series also echo new notions of adolescence as a life phase increasingly marked by attempts to express autonomy. While Augusti's primary mode of expressing this struggle is geographical and spatial, Pajeken uses a generational timeline to denote progress towards maturity. Independence as distance from the home of origin and the finding of one's own place in the social order independent of parental control organize the structure of both series.

In *An fremdem Herd* each novel becomes incrementally further removed from the homeland. At the same time, the conditions under which the protagonists leave Germany are increasingly associated with youthful restlessness and even disobedience. With its distance from the family unit and the national body and its growing association with independent and even rebellious behaviors, the journey that dominates each narrative is increasingly associated with modern conceptions of adolescence as the storm and stress of emerging adulthood.

The geography that marks the trajectory of each protagonist at the beginning and end of each of Augusti's novels shows a progression across the series as a whole. The first book begins in the Prussian home town, moves on to the Swabian province, travels to France and Spain, and ends in the newly re-claimed Alsatian city of Strasbourg. It begins and ends in a German domestic space—progressing from the home of familial origins to the newly founded familial home of marriage—and remains on the European continent in the process. In contrast, the



second book of *An fremdem Herd* does not begin in a landlocked provincial city, but rather starts in the port city of Hamburg—hub of international commerce and departure point for German emigration—where two sisters already removed from their homes begin their travel.

*Zwillingschwester* ends in Norway. In the third volume, *Unter Palmen*, the narrative begins aboard a ship, as it passes through the Suez Canal, thus symbolically beginning with a departure from Europe. It ends with the establishment of a homestead in India. The final book of the series begins again in transit, this time with the destination in sight. The reader meets the girls as they view New York harbor from aboard their vessel. From there, travel continues to a variety of destinations in the United States, before ending on a ranch in the American West. Although we meet each new protagonist as she enters a specific, post-schooling stage of her life, we meet them at a different point in their travel narrative. Augusti suggests a progression in which it becomes more and more acceptable to omit the grounding in home and place of origin and meet the protagonists mid-trip, a gesture that reflects on the metaphorical level an increasing acceptance of adolescence as a distinct stage of life.

Alternately, Pajeken uses a view of adolescence across historical time to focus the reader's attention on this period of life. In the *Bob* series, we follow the path of adolescence and young adulthood across generations. Thus we meet not one, but multiple Bob characters as they come of age. The books choose to omit the implied childhood and adulthood between the generations to zoom in on and compare adolescence across time. With each generation we see, in Pajeken's books as in Augusti's, how adolescence is increasingly characterized by the growing independence of the young protagonists.

First, in *Bob der Fallensteller*, the young Bob breaks away from his authoritarian guardian and his future as a clerk and sets a path "hinaus in die Freiheit, auch nach dem schönen,

fernen Westen.”<sup>236</sup> In the second part of the series, *Bob der Städtegründer*, Bob is still a young man in the sense that he does not marry until the end of the story. In this volume Bob becomes Robert Reinfels, “de[r] Gründer der Familie, de[r] Vorkämpfer der Zivilisation.”<sup>237</sup> Finally, in *Bob der Millionär*, the Bob of a new generation also attempts to assert his independence by behaving in a manner uncharacteristic of the parental precedent. The novel opens with a sense that this youngest Bob is exercising his indiscretions as a rebellion against and a means to separate from his father. Even though Pajeken assigns different motivations to their teenage behavior, by portraying it in multiple generations he is reinforcing a code of youthful tumult as the new social and developmental norm for individuals between childhood and full-fledged adulthood.

Furthermore, in the Bob series, German identity emerges and coalesces over the course of the series. It progresses initially from a diffuse interest in civic duty that becomes evident in the conflict between a life in the wilderness and an ordered life dedicated to one’s fellow citizens in *Bob der Fallensteller*. In *Bob der Städtegründer*, Bob’s German identity is fully affirmed through the establishment of a town primarily inhabited by German immigrants. In the final novel of the *Bob* series, wealth and prosperity shared with others for the common good of the community are marked as German values that eventually grow into an overt German patriotism—even in the American context.

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<sup>236</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 18.

<sup>237</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Millionär*, n.p.

## Marriage and Maturity

Finally, the contrasting ways in which Augusti and Pajeken employ the marriage plot are indicative of the relationship between the developmental story for adolescent readers and domestic fiction aimed at a wider gendered readership. At the outset of this chapter, I asserted the affinity of travel novels for adolescents and domestic fiction. Discourses of marriage in both series make clear the hybridity of the “Entwicklungspsychologisch orientierte Reiseroman” in so far as these novels incorporate elements of both domestic fiction and the adventure story in ways that cross the typical gender barriers of these genres. The marriage plot, with its domesticating elements and its coupling with maturity, invites us to read across gendered genres to find the similarities between texts aimed at young women and young men at the end of the nineteenth century.

In Pajeken’s narratives the male protagonists are not fully adult until they are married and settled in a familial home of their own. The adventures of travel and establishment of personal maturity alone are not enough to complete their trajectory of development. In Augusti’s narratives, by contrast, the marriage plot can serve as a mere afterthought to the maturity that results from the trials and exploits of travel. Pajeken’s male characters’ Germanness is most fully confirmed by the union with a German wife. Until marriage Pajeken’s protagonists remain youths (*Jünglinge*), whatever the extent of their contributions and responsibilities in the public sphere.

While finding an appropriate German husband is an essential narrative element in Augusti’s novels, it does not, however, necessarily determine the adulthood of the female protagonist. Rather, maturity, worldliness, and a sense of national identity gained through travel

grant the protagonists the ability to recognize the belated Germans that become their husbands. The fact that marriage is not necessary for female maturity in Augusti's model of adulthood is also proven by characters such as Ilse Stein, who becomes a missionary in India, and Monika Harden, who becomes a medical doctor and settles in Milwaukee, both of whom choose to remain unmarried and yet are considered adult women making valuable contributions to society outside the confines of the familial home.

### **Conclusion**

This new genre of texts typifies the wide interest in exotic depictions of faraway places at the turn of the last century. But these novels were unique in that they externalized the internal workings of the coming-of-age narrative to transform it into a nationalized narrative necessary for both young German women and young German men at the turn of the new century. They embraced the concern for adolescence as a distinct period of life, while—through their non-German settings—they dismissed the anxieties about modern society that typically pervaded the newly formulated ideas about adolescence.

As popular texts and alternative didactic narratives concerned with adolescence and the wider world, the novels of Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken explicitly subscribed to a developmental model of humankind. This model and the ways it informed the interaction of German adolescents with the so-called adolescent races will be the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

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### **Between Childhood and Colonial Subjectivity:**

#### **The Anthropology of Coming-of-Age in Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken**

...the child and the race are keys to each other...<sup>238</sup>

G. Stanley Hall

While colonialism commonly informed the plots and settings of children's and young adult literature of many European empires, unlike many of their counterparts, texts by Friedrich Pajeken and Brigitte Augusti transposed German colonial impulses to locations where German colonialism did not actually exist. Their protagonists travel to India and the Americas rather than Africa and the South Pacific. When their characters encounter other Europeans, Augusti and Pajeken implicitly invoke a comparative model of colonialism in which the belated German is necessarily a good colonialist. These displaced colonial impulses provide an experimental space within which young people can imagine colonialism without considering how it impacted the colonizers and colonized of the German imperial project.

Popular texts provided a means for young readers to imagine themselves as noble colonists before adulthood allowed them the real possibility of acting with agency in a colonial setting. Recognizing the German as a good colonist in adolescent literature at the end of the nineteenth century draws on Susanne Zantop's work exploring colonial mythology in a pre-colonial Germany earlier in the century. She has written eloquently of the ways "Germans ... create[d] a colonial universe of their own."<sup>239</sup> Zantop outlines the colonial fantasy as the

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<sup>238</sup> G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, viii.

<sup>239</sup> Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870*, (Durham: Duke UP, 1997), 6-7.

creation of an “anticipatory identity” as colonist.<sup>240</sup> Although she refers to colonies yet to be created, her concept of anticipation is also an effective means for describing the type of colonial fictions that were projected onto young people coming-of-age in an imperial era. With German colonialism existing mostly as a far-off abstraction in the minds of German citizens even when Germany held colonial protectorates, colonial spaces and relationships to colonial subjects in them allowed for the “creation of an imaginary national self.”<sup>241</sup> Zantop’s description of the colonial narrative that developed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries remains an accurate description of texts for young people at the turn of the twentieth century:

German protagonists could be pitted against various native others (blacks, Amerindians, ‘mulattoes’) with whom they interacted; German and their ‘Germanic’ national characteristics could be contrasted with those of other Europeans, with whom Germany competed for moral, economic, or political supremacy. The plot ‘resolutions’ in turn would give an indication how Germans imagined ideal colonial relations.<sup>242</sup>

With their young protagonists, both Augusti and Pajeken seek to project a colonial identity for Germany that will extend into the future. They are highly concerned with using the relative understanding of colonial relationships as a measure of comparison for both Europeans and non-Europeans. They are part of the pervasive *Koloniallegende* of “the German as ‘the best colonizer and cultivator,’” a legend that “color[ed] representations of Germany’s colonial past in novels and schoolbooks well into the 1950s and 60s.”<sup>243</sup> The connection between colonial

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<sup>240</sup> Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 7.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

imagination and perceptions of comparative European moral superiority is integral to the coming-of-age process as portrayed by Augusti and Pajeken alike.

Young readers were subject to a set of paradoxical pedagogical goals that these series shared. Readers were supposed to learn something about what colonialism was and how it worked because it was part and parcel of the modern world. At the same time, they were supposed to learn facts about the localities and populations to which their protagonists travelled. In this way, readers of these self-proclaimed German texts could learn about a colonialism that was always somehow other. Travel narratives published by Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn were presented as reliable documents through which to access comparative portrayals of cultural difference. Augusti's narratives offered a "belehrende Hintergrund" of geography and customs presented "im Vergleich zu unseren heimatlichen Verhältnissen."<sup>244</sup> Pajeken's stories aimed to describe and depict "ein einheitliches Kulturbild . . . streng wahrheitsgetreu, nach eigenen Erlebnissen und Erfahrungen das Leben und Treiben dieser Menschen . . . geschildert."<sup>245</sup> The texts claim to tell anthropological truths by portraying the cultural realities of the geographies they examine, while also depicting colonialism and its siblings, international capitalism and missionary work. Yet, without exploring the real geographies of German colonial power, they walk a fine line between educating young adults about the wider world and working to retain a childlike innocence concerning their nation's involvement in colonial systems.

Through a filter of displaced and othered colonialism, young German protagonists are portrayed interacting with cultural and racial others, forming—at least as part of their coming-of-age process—alternative communities of cultural diversity abroad. The young travelers are not

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<sup>244</sup> Augusti, *Gertruds Wanderjahre*, n.p.

<sup>245</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Millionär*, n.p.

distant observers, but participants in colonial communities, interacting directly with agents and subjects of colonial power. These alternative communities allowed young readers to experiment with ideas of cultural contact, while retaining the innocence that their status as adolescents and as Germans allowed them. Yet, these communities offered insights into a hierarchical racial system that dominated European thought at the end of the nineteenth century. Viewing their own nation against a diversity of other nations and other colonialisms, German youth could read a distinct narrative on racial positioning and find their place in it. Imagined spaces defined by hierarchical structures provided access to popular theories of racial superiority and gave uniquely positioned adolescent protagonists the opportunity to ‘learn’ racial theory through direct contact, rather than book learning. In this way, the process of racial education became part of the larger coming-of-age narrative. Furthermore, the youth of the German nation and its recent entrance into the colonial race for foreign space forged a parallel between the innocence of the children becoming nationalized adults and the innocence of the German nation as colonial agent for which they became fictional proxies. Belated Germanness defined both the individual and the nation in a way that provided unique access to innocence in interaction with the peoples and structures of colonialism.

This chapter aims to examine how the pedagogical objectives of travel narratives for young people influenced the elements of plot that positioned European coming-of-age stories against a colonial backdrop. How was cultural comparison executed within the narrative frame and to what ends? How did the contact of cultures and meeting points of diverse groups translate into contact between characters? How did the discourse on age and maturity coexist—in concord or contradiction—with discourses of race and cultural difference? My textual analysis will consider when, if, and how notions of cultural hierarchy emerge in the texts and where the



line between cultural tolerance and cultural pedagogy and ideologies of ascendancy and racial superiority are to be found. Finally, this chapter will ask whether it is possible to separate information about cultural difference from indoctrination in a system of German cultural superiority.

### **Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Literature for Young Readers**

Before I propose some answers to these questions, it is necessary to consider the influence of Postcolonial Studies on the study of children's and young adult literature. In the 1980s and 1990s critics of children's literature discovered postcolonialism and considered what it meant for their field of study. A number of scholars began to suggest that the creation and distribution of children's literature as well as the study of it were inherently colonialist acts. Both were products of systems where children have little voice or agency. In her seminal monograph, *The Case of Peter Pan or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (1984), Jacqueline Rose traces the colonialist mentality of the children's literary complex back to its logical origins: Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau's ideas about childhood, as epitomized by his recommendation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* as childhood reading, rely on a concept of that stage of life "as the place where an older form of culture is preserved" and "this same form of culture is infantilized."<sup>246</sup> As Rose writes, "the connection between colonialism and the concept of childhood... has had a decisive influence on the development of children's fiction"<sup>247</sup> because both are founded on a tight dialectical opposition between innocence and degeneration that continues well through the turn of the twentieth century.

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<sup>246</sup> Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania UP, 1993), 50.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

By tracing this genealogy of children's literature Rose also debunks a common assertion that the segmentation of the book market in the late nineteenth-century was a departure from the colonial implications of Rousseauian didacticism in children's book publications. Instead, she writes, "stories of excitement and romance ... exploration, discovery and adventure ... do not signal the beginning of a new liberal conception of children's writing. They are inheritors of a fully colonialist concept of development."<sup>248</sup>

In 1997 Roderick McGillis declared, "Children are the subaltern," and characterized them as "the most colonized persons on the globe," across time and space.<sup>249</sup> Perry Nodelman co-opted Edward Said's words to make a similar point, simply removing Orientalism and replacing it with children's literature and orient with childhood. His premise reads,

children's literature can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with childhood—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it; in short, ... children's literature as an adult style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over childhood.<sup>250</sup>

Literature for children is part of a colonialist system of literary communication, a system of control in which literary production becomes a device through which adults control children. Adult writers, librarians, publishers, and critics are all part of a system that is created to reinforce a dividing line between adulthood and childhood, self and other.

McGillis' argument—though immensely valuable for any scholar considering the overlap of colonialist mythologies and constructions of childhood in literature—still reinforces the strict

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<sup>248</sup> Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan*, 57.

<sup>249</sup> Roderick McGillis, "Postcolonialism, Children, and their Literature," *ARIEL* 28, 7.

<sup>250</sup> Perry Nodelmal, "The Other: Orientalism, Colonialism, and Children's Literature," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 17.1(1992): 29.

fissure between child and adult. His thought reflects the unwillingness to acknowledge the space between so commonplace in criticism of literature read by young people, as discussed in Chapter Two. If adults are the well-intentioned colonizers and children their colonized, where are adolescent protagonists and readers? To consider the space they occupy is to acknowledge the ways in which the gray zone of adolescent agency obscured the clear colonial supremacy of adult authorities both within and outside of texts. The adolescent status of both protagonists and readers makes the line between colonizers and colonized more precarious. As Perry Nodelman writes, “The ‘child’ typically constructed by children’s literature is in the process of ceasing to be a child . . . outside adulthood but on the way in.”<sup>251</sup> Drawing on Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s *Empire*, he sees childhood and thus children’s literature based in the same “model of subjectivity” that informed imperialism and supported modern capitalism, “an understanding of how one differs from what one views as outside and other to oneself.”<sup>252</sup> Texts that address childhood and colonialism have multilayered and intertwined constructions of difference, all of which are ultimately based on the supremacy of the adult.

Late nineteenth-century German literature for youth “sets out to draw its readers into the world as adults see it and construct it.”<sup>253</sup> The texts of “geographische und sittengeschichtliche Boden” of *An fremdem Herd* and the “Kulturbilder” in the *Bob* books present constructs of

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<sup>251</sup> Perry Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult: Defining Children’s Literature*, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins UP, 2008), 251. In the British context, Nodelman hones in on the Golden Age and Victorian period at the height of European empire-building as “a particularly important turning point for children’s literature.”<sup>251</sup> He catalogs the work of many scholars who have considered the discursive overlap of colonialism and children’s literary practice in the 1880s and 1890s.

<sup>252</sup> Perry Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult*, 251.

<sup>253</sup> Peter Hunt and Karen Sands, “British Empire and Post-Empire Children’s Literature,” in *Voices of the Other: Children’s Literature and the Postcolonial Context*, ed. Roderick McGillis, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 42.

culture as definitive truths. The texts are underlined by a sense that the move into adulthood is signified by ascribing to normative values. What this means, is that the time before, the space of childhood and adolescent, inherently immature and thus other, is freed from strict control because it must be defined by difference. Deviating from the norm or experimenting with other ideologies becomes a way to establish the norm and its fixed nature. Books for children and young adults are imbued with the premise of the good colonialist: the adult in the position of power—as the authorial voice or as adult characters within the diegesis—engages in a mutually beneficial process of education and upbringing, dictating from above how that process should look.

In their article “A View from the Center: British Empire and Post-Empire Children’s Literature,” Peter Hunt and Karen Sands suggest that “children’s books may subvert elements of the codes within colonialism, but not subvert the thing itself.”<sup>254</sup> Literature is not monolithic; one text can depict a variety of voices and perspectives. Texts can and do reify the system that they ostensibly question. At the same time, they can question the system that they ostensibly reify. Clare Bradford writes in “Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism,”

A commonly expressed fallacy in children’s literature criticism is that older texts, many of which accept that the value of human beings is determined by their racial origins, are merely works of their time, as though the authors of these texts were no more than conduits of prevailing cultural norms.<sup>255</sup>

The self-evidence of her point is a reminder always to consider texts as the fictional creations that they are, subject to rendering internal and external tensions in myriad combinations. Fiction

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<sup>254</sup> Hunt, “British Empire and Post-Empire Children’s Literature,” 42.

<sup>255</sup> Clare Bradford, “Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism,” in *The Routledge Companion to Children’s Literature*, ed. David Rudd, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 39.

is uniquely capable of expressing “anxieties which disturb the appearance of imperial certainty.”<sup>256</sup>

The informational character that makes books from the Ferdinand Hirt Verlag about more than enjoyment creates a particularly rich field in which the tensions of the German desire to know and experience the wider world were manifest. Fictional narratives meet scientific and social discourse head on in an effort to educate youth into a culturally appropriate and globally contextualized adulthood. As the case of the belated German revealed in the previous chapter, “exceptional characters . . . accentuate the normalcy of racist practices and attitudes and the fixity of cultural formations.”<sup>257</sup> They bombastically cement race and nation for their young readers. In this way, the texts of Augusti and Pajeken were fully integrated into a fictional system in which “colonial and racist ideologies are commonly encoded in structural, semantic and narrative features.”<sup>258</sup> As Bradford points out, the ability of a text to express imperialist sentiments is not only a matter of literal pronouncements, but also a matter of weaving the dominant hierarchical views of a society about its place in the world into the fabric of the narrative itself. Thus, it is not a matter of having one character or another who represents and espouses a chauvinistic nationalism preoccupied with colonial conquest, but the relationships of characters to one another and the imagery the author employs that replicate the hierarchy even against the backdrop of a geography lesson that seems to promote tolerance for culture difference.

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<sup>256</sup> Bradford, “Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism,” 40.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

The literary analysis of Hunt, Sands, and Bradford is supported by historical study of the interplay between cultural conceptions of young people and discourses of colonialism. Historian David Pomfret has examined the “powerful and enduring (though little studied) connections between the history of childhood and the history of empire.”<sup>259</sup> He explains,

As competition for colonies intensified in the 1880s, empire emerged as a key conduit through which non-Western societies encountered and engaged with Western notions of childhood. Children and childhood, moreover, emerged as a core concern in deliberations over how these colonies should be governed.<sup>260</sup>

He continues to note that “[r]epresentations of children living under colonial rule and characterizations of colonized peoples as children were used to naturalize Western dominance and were, in many respects, fundamentally constitutive of empire. Bourgeois ideas about childhood, transplanted into colonial contexts by itinerant European elites, proved integral to the ways that empires were conceptualized and run.”<sup>261</sup> But the equation of child and colonial subject did not result in simple subordination. “When mapped onto colonized peoples, however, Western models of childhood—associated by some with emancipatory potential and possibilities of a more general social, cultural, and political ‘coming of age’—emerged as a point of ambiguity and tension.”<sup>262</sup>

### **Finding Maturity through Race**

In late nineteenth-century German novels that depict journeys to colonial lands, the coming-of-age process of the young protagonists and their understanding of the world are often

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<sup>259</sup> David M. Pomfret, “World Contexts,” in *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Age of Empire*, vol. 5, ed. Colin Heywood, (New York: Berg, 2010), 190.

<sup>260</sup> Pomfret, “World Contexts,” 190.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, 210-211.

contingent upon their direct and indirect contact with colonial subjects. German protagonists gained a sense of belonging as citizens of a nation by meeting peoples who belonged to a nation but were deprived of citizenship. This chapter will examine the relationship between the German protagonists portrayed in books published by the Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn publishing house and the so-called adolescent races whom they meet along their travels. As Pajeken's multi-generational Bob meets Native Americans in North America and Augusti's protagonists come in contact with Indians in the British colonies, the tensions between developing cultural tolerance and asserting cultural superiority are made visible. The young white, German protagonists exist as conduits through which to consider conflicting ideas about the wider world, including the differentiations of nation, ethnicity, and race that suddenly surround the characters on their journeys into adulthood. The context of travel ensures that Europeans of varying national identities and persuasions come into contact with equally diverse native peoples. Hirt's books do not depict extremes of national, ethnic, and cultural distinction, but rather a range of individuals who serve as a projection screen for gradations of ideology on matters of race and culture and the ways in which they intersect with age and maturity.

One of Augusti's female protagonists wonders how and why her American counterparts relate differently to Native Americans and African Americans: "'Wie kommt es, daß Mr. Lee soviel Mitleid mit den Indianern und so wenig mit den Negern hat?' dachte Letty, aber sie sprach es nicht aus."<sup>263</sup> This simple question addresses a veritable knot of hierarchies that interact with each other in complex ways across the books of the series. A question like this—far from atypical for Augusti—places doubts about standing constructions of and assumptions about race on the lips and in the minds of her young protagonists. The formulation of ideas as questions has

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<sup>263</sup> Augusti, *Jenseits des Weltmeers*, 111.

twofold effects. First, the question—as is the case here—often remains purely rhetorical. While the answer may seem clear to a modern reader filling in the blanks, the narrative does not provide any response. We can therefore make only educated guesses as to the authors', publishers', and imagined readers' intentions and perceptions about social and cultural norms. Second, questions can simultaneously destabilize constructions of racial hierarchy and make them more entrenched than ever. They present the current order and hierarchical structures just as efficiently as declarative statements. The question can effectively embody the contradictions and possibilities of interpretation present in a fictional text that bears the burden of pedagogy without actually parsing them and offering definitive answers. Additionally, the question as a form of commentary allows the innocence of youth to be preserved in both the young protagonist and young reader alike, while creating a flexible space within which the adult writer can consider the complexities of the social or political reality without revealing her own position. Augusti uses questions often to retain the innocence of her young female characters and avoid addressing political questions while nonetheless directly expressing them. Additionally, she often uses questions to imply a good colonialism on the part of Germans and distance her protagonists from the distasteful colonial practices or racial outlooks of other European nations. In doing so, she creates a hierarchical model of colonial practices, with German colonial theories and actions always perceived as morally and practically superior those of their British or American counterparts.

The scene that builds up to the comparative question about skin color and sympathy echoes the multiplicities of reading and writing. In Augusti's *Jenseits des Weltmeers* Letty Mickelsen considers the social positioning of Native Americans on an occasion no less monumental than a visit to the president. The scene conveys a complex web of interrelations of



age, nation, and race. Letty joins a group of Americans and Europeans on a touristic visit to the White House in Washington, DC. The American presidency is compared to the position of the German *Kaiser*. Letty's American companion rejects the paternalistic worship of the Kaiser as "ein höheres Wesen"<sup>264</sup> in favor of the president as *ebenbürtig*. His argument is that the relationship of American citizens and their president is one of equal maturity. He quips, "Wir sind eben mündige, selbstständige Menschen und keine Kinder."<sup>265</sup> This implies that the president should not be regarded as an exaggerated father figure.

But when Letty spots some Native Americans approaching the White House, she asks, "Was machen diese Söhne der Wildnis hier in Washington?"<sup>266</sup> The same voice that has just claimed American citizens should not see themselves as figurative children of the president does not protest when Letty refers to the Native Americans as sons. Indeed, he even adopts the paternalistic language in this context and replies, "Sie sind wohl zu ihrem großen Vater, dem Präsidenten, gekommen, um neue Verträge abzuschließen. . . ."<sup>267</sup> He continues, "sie wollen nicht arbeiten—das streicht sie aus der Reihe der berechtigten Nationen aus."<sup>268</sup> Here again, the lack of willingness to work and maturity measured against Western models of civilization deprives these individuals of their rights and makes them figurative children, but they are children who are also made villains rather than innocents. This is just one example of how ageist language is mapped on to the colonial and imperial dynamics of the discourse on race.

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<sup>264</sup> Augusti, *Jenseits des Weltmeers*, 111.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

In *Bob der Millionär* Friedrich Pajeken creates a cultural continuum of progress and relative civilization to compare Indian nations. Two white bandits attempt to trick the members of various tribes into believing they are bringing messages of spiritual import. The plan, “bei den Sioux den von Himmel gesandten Heiligen zu spielen, mißglückte, weil das Volk, samt seinem Führer, Sitting Bull, zu aufgeklärt ist.”<sup>269</sup> The language of enlightenment is commonly used both in consideration of the educational level of European young people individually and the level of civilization of non-European peoples *en masse*. According to the white bandits, the Native Americans are too culturally mature to be tricked. After this failure, the same unspecified methods of taking advantage of the so-called superstitions of native peoples continue. The villains of the story, Morton and Crackfield—significantly, not the Native Americans themselves—will test their “Heil noch einmal bei den Arrapahoes, Crows und Cheyennes.”<sup>270</sup> This is because, in contrast to the Sioux, “die Stämme sind noch von allen anderen in der Nähe am weitesten zurück in der Kultur.”<sup>271</sup> At this moment in Pajeken’s narrative, innocence and lack of rationality are linked, as the Native Americans’ lack of knowledge of civilization is highlighted even as the text obscures the abuse of cultural knowledge on the part of the deceitful white men.

The comparison between tribes is paradoxical. Placing the tribes on a continuum of cultural progress reinforces the notion of a hierarchical system of race. At the same time, it inherently suggests that tribes learn a particular model of culture through their contact with white settlers. If notions of civilization and a level of enlightenment can be gained within the space of

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<sup>269</sup> Friedrich Pajeken, *Bob der Millionär*, 115.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

a generation, it destabilizes the belief that the cultural positioning of a tribe is fixed. Whether the product of intentional ideological irregularity, inadvertent confusion, or narrative inconsistency, Pajeken presents a double depiction of Native Americans as a people both incapable of culture and undeveloped and, yet, as fully capable of learning a cultural model through experience.

In *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* Andrew Zimmerman outlines the primary dividing line in contemporary debates on the study of non-European society. “‘Cultural peoples’ (*Kulturvölker*)” were “defined by their history and civilization,” whereas “the colonized ‘natural peoples’ (*Naturvölker*)” comprised “societies supposedly lacking history and culture.”<sup>272</sup> Anthropology and the natural sciences broadly conceived were “both required and made possible by the globalization brought about by European imperialism.”<sup>273</sup> The Native Americans who visited the White House in Augusti’s novel and the too-civilized tribes in Pajeken’s novels are exemplary of the ways even fictional characters destabilized notions of non-Europeans as “static, ahistorical, natural entities . . . [by] playing an active part in the processes by which they became exposed to European power and knowledge.”<sup>274</sup> But as Zimmerman has carefully shown, anthropologists, and with them popular science and popular culture, worked hard to efface this joint project of cultural creation. Instead of endorsing co-creation, they created a new conception of German civic education based upon the idea of drawing distinct lines between people without history and those with it.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2001), 3.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>275</sup> Zimmerman also refers to the departure from classical humanism of the aforementioned school reforms. His work provides good institutional and disciplinary background to some of the

## Race Mixing and Emerging Adulthood

Taken in light of these contemporary theories, passages in young adult novels addressing racial mixing and intermarriage offer rich locations for literary historians to examine implied racial ideologies, measure the ways in which discourses of race and age relate, and determine what role their intersection plays in the course of the fictional narrative. Pajeken's novels present a small, yet significant, number of figures defined by mixed-race parentage. Maggy is first introduced in *Bob der Fallensteller* as "ein schlankes, braunes Mulattenmädchen, welches auf dem wolligen Kopfe einen schwer lastenden Korb trug."<sup>276</sup> She works in the fields planting and harvesting potatoes and responds to Robert Reinfels, Jr.'s commands with "Soll alles geschehen, Master!" and a "Blick der größten Verehrung."<sup>277</sup> In *Bob der Städtegründer* she is described again as a "Mulattenmädchen"<sup>278</sup> of unspecified origins who provides domestic help to the men in the absence of female settlers. As Bob abandons life in the wilderness to accept civilization and become a public servant and self-described "Sklave [s]einer Mitmenschen,"<sup>279</sup> Maggy, too, "advances" from the implied status as field hand to a house servant. Although Pajeken never explicitly refers to Maggy as a slave, the language she uses seems suggestive of this somewhat anachronistic status, if only as an attempt to depict aspects of American culture that young German readers in the late nineteenth century might have expected.

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moves behind the shift from teaching of the classics in German schools to increased teaching of geography and ethnography. Cf., Zimmerman, "*Kultur und Kulturkampf: The Studia Humanitas and the People without History*," 59-61.

<sup>276</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 169.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>278</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 13.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

Although she plays a minor role in the action of the first two novels of the series, she is nonetheless part of the elder Robert Reinfel's vision for the future of his settlement. On his deathbed he remarks,

Maggy hat uns true gedient. Jack Higgins sollte sie heiraten. Sie hat den wilden Menschen gern, in welchem unter der rauhen Schale ein guter Kern steckt, und auch er würde sich nicht lange besinnen, das Mädchen zur Frau zu nehmen. . . .<sup>280</sup>

Following Reinfel's pronouncement, the two are married. Although Jack Higgins' description as "der wilde Mensch" refers to his past life as a horse thief, it evokes associations with Maggy's mixed race and assigns both Jack and Maggy to the uncivilized. Here, too, the arranged nature of the marriage, decreed by the dying master, seems to be related to her race. At the same time, her marriage to a white man is socially sanctioned. Through the blessing of the elder Reinfel, their marriage becomes part of his social order and they become his loyal servants. Their union produces two children.

The two children Lissa and Robert Higgins play a greater role in the last novel of the series than their mother has in the previous two. In *Bob der Millionär* the coming-of-age process for Lissa and Robert directly parallels that of the title character, Robert Reinfel, III, and provides obvious points of comparison and contrast. Just like the title character, they offer opportunities for identification for young readers. In fact, together with their father, they are the first characters the reader encounters in the novel. After describing in detail the attire of their father, Pajeken turns his attention to the outward appearance of Lissa and Robert Higgins:

"Beider Gesichtsfarbe war bedeutend dunkler als die des Mannes und wohl nicht nur durch Wind

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<sup>280</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 106.

und Wetter verursacht, und tiefschwarz das bei dem Jüngling leicht gelockte, bei dem Mädchen am Hinterkopf in einen Knoten geschlungene Haar.”<sup>281</sup>

After alluding to the ambiguous racial identity of the Higgins children, Pajeken continues to link Lissa’s dislike for the young Reinfels to his perception of her skin color. She asks the rhetorical question “Weshalb behandelt er mich stets so geringschätzig?” Unlike many of the questions in Augusti’s works, this question gets a quick answer:

O, ich weiß es sehr wohl. Weil unsere gute, verstorbene Mutter—Gott habe sie selig! —nur eine Mulattin war. Das Negerblut in unseren Adern hat keine Achtung in seinen Augen, denn auch Bruder Robert, der nach seinem Vater genannt und mit ihm aufgewachsen ist, wurde, als er jetzt von New York zurückkehrte, jämmerlich von ihm empfangen; der Millionenbob tat, als kenne er ihn nicht mehr.<sup>282</sup>

At the same time, Lissa and especially Robert are placed in direct comparison with Robert Reinfels, III. The implication is that Robert Higgins is better educated than his white contemporary, having completed a degree in lithology (*Steinkunde*) at a New York institute of higher learning, a degree that makes him an expert on the mining so essential to the future of the territory. By contrast, Robert Reinfels, III, has not left the western territories, and the text offers no evidence of his formal education. It is through Lissa Higgins that the novel’s protagonist and title character are introduced: “Der Millionenbob, wie der junge Reinfels von den Leuten allgemein genannt wird . . . ist ein dückelhafter, eingebildeter, nichtsnutziger Laffe!”<sup>283</sup> Pajeken places narrative agency with Lissa Higgins and makes Robert Higgins a point of comparison; the

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<sup>281</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Millionär*, 6.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

two characters play a significant role in shaping the readers' expectations of Robert Reinfels and his transition from useless youth to governor of the newly founded state.

By the time Reinfels, III, becomes governor, Lissa and Robert have experienced substantial transformation of their own. After the initial commentary on their racial identity, for the remainder of the novel Pajeken makes little direct reference to this fact of their biography, instead, turning the reader's attention to the expression of gender in the brother and sister. Lissa is most often associated with her excellent riding skills. She and her father share the oft-repeated wish that she had been born a boy. While she is always ready with word and deed, her brother is shy and lacks confidence, despite his accomplishments. The reversed gender identities of the brother and sister serve as an echo of their racial origins. The racialized woman is made wild and powerful while the racialized man is emasculated and ineffectual.

Suddenly, at the end of the novel, and with little explanation, Robert Reinfels, III, plays a significant role in the restoration of the gendered order and in finding a place for Lissa and Robert Higgins in a new political order. Only with the German male protagonist in a position of power, do these characters grow up through a process of civilization. Lissa marries a German man and Robert Higgins is granted a position in the mines under the direction of the governor. Because statehood in Pajeken's novel is not about the particularities of a territory becoming a part of America, but rather about the importance of a unifying hierarchy through which to organize society and contribute to the greater good, Lissa and Robert Higgins assume adult identities that fit within this structural framework.

### **Mutual Missions of Domestic Development and Respectability**

In her exploration of British colonies and German missionaries in *Unter Palmen*, Brigitte Augusti repeatedly contrasts an economically exploitative colonial model that relies on the fixed

developmental position of colonial subjects with a paternalistic model of cultural imperialism devoted to the missionary spirit of education and conversion. Although the difference between the two models is “only one of degree,” Augusti locates her German protagonists in a position of moral superiority along the continuum. As German women concerned with the betterment of humanity. Ilse Stein and her protégé Henny Roland represent a colonial model in which Germans provide cultural education and improve native peoples, making them “more civilized.” Ilse teaches the younger Henny how to be a good Christian, so Henny can in turn educate the colonial subjects with whom she shares a process of growing up. Although they will reach varying degrees of cultural maturity at varying rates, in this model whites and non-whites supposedly move towards the same goals on one continuum.

Ilse and Henny, along with other missionaries they meet along their trip, are contrasted strongly with European travelers who possess different motivations and perceptions of native aptitude for “improvement.” Even before Henny steps onto colonial territories or is converted by Ilse to a life as a missionary, Augusti shapes her protagonists against those motivated by economic gains. While they are still on board the ship that takes Ilse and Henny to India, Augusti exposes her protagonists to contrasting stories of colonial endeavors: on the one hand, economic gain and violent exploitation, and on the other, educational and religious development. The conversations of the diverse group of travelers intensify as the ship stops in two African ports in route to India. Augusti casts the time spent on the ship as a necessary pedagogical prerequisite for her character’s experience of India, a key moment in shaping Henny’s development and her perceptions of colonial others and their treatment by Europeans with varying agendas and codes of conduct.



Although Henny chooses to remain on board during a day-long stopover in Port Said, Egypt, she experiences her first encounter with cultural others. As a city developed in large part to meet the needs of European travelers and merchants passing through the Suez Canal, Port Said was hardly a distant outpost by European standards.<sup>284</sup> Yet, the young Henny is “selbst nicht behaglich” when groups of Egyptian boys come on board to sell trinkets and provide services to the travelers. But instead of letting Henny openly express her discomfort, Augusti channels Henny’s racial fears through the true child, the five-year-old Käthchen, who clings to Henny’s hand, asking “Was wollen all die häßlichen Menschen hier? . . . Warum schreien sie so entsetzlich? Wollen sie uns etwas zu leide thun?” and finally remarking bluntly, “Ich fürchte mich so vor den braunen Männern!”<sup>285</sup>

When one of the male passengers abruptly enters the scene, Henny is freed of the need to respond to the anxieties of her young charge. Instead, Henny’s contribution to the dialogue is used to express dismay at the man’s treatment of the Egyptian boys. He immediately pulls out a small whip, and using it to threaten the young boys, steals some of their wares. When they complain of the meager payment thrown in their direction, he again brandishes the whip. Suddenly, Henny becomes more concerned for the native boys than for herself and passes judgment on the exploitative and violent behavior of her fellow male passenger: “‘Warum sind Sie so hart gegen die armen Menschen?’ fragte Henny entrüstet. ‘Sie hatten gewiß nichts Böses im Sinn und verdienen weder Schläge noch Beraubung.’”<sup>286</sup> Augusti uses Henny’s ability to transform her initial fears—nonetheless still present—into righteous indignation at her fellow

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<sup>284</sup> Port Said was founded in 1859 to facilitate the building of the Suez Canal, completed in 1869.

<sup>285</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 24.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

European as a means to distinguish her from the child Käthchen. Knowing the Christian way to treat one's fellow man—even poor natives of lesser standing—clearly constitutes part of Augusti's ideal of emerging German maturity and femininity. The scene ends with a rhetorical question for the reader. As reported speech it is positioned ambiguously between the young protagonist's internal monologue, the narrator, and the author: "Wenn die christlichen Europäer in solcher rauhen Weise den Eingebornen fremder Länder gegenübertraten—wie sollten diese dann eine Neigung für das Christentum gewinnen?"<sup>287</sup> Augusti implies that Henny's coming-of-age process will not only include certain notions about Christian, familial, indeed, maternalistic, ways of relating to native peoples, but judgments about the paternalistic and materialistic methods her fellow Europeans employ.

Although Henny's mothering instinct failed Käthchen—she offered no words of explanation or comfort to the young child in the face of newness and the unknown—Henny suddenly sought to protect the young Egyptian boys from harm, at least theoretically if not in practice. Historian Woodruff D. Smith has drawn on the work of Susanne Zantop and fellow historian Lora Wildenthal to outline the role a culture of respectability played in shaping German colonialism and the discourse around it, as expressed in everything from official colonial policies and their political critiques to popular books for children and young adults. A culture of colonial respectability was tied to "colonial enterprises oriented around the familial model."<sup>288</sup> This model was multidirectional: "in a respectable colony, it should be not only the subordinate but

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<sup>287</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 25.

<sup>288</sup> Woodruff D. Smith, "Colonialism and the Culture of Respectability," in *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, ed. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, (Lincoln: Nebraska UP, 2005), 13.

also the superordinate members whose education and civilization are continually reinforced.”<sup>289</sup> This is another reason why the colonial narrative makes for a compelling coming-of-age narrative: it confers power and superiority over native peoples on young (white German) people who typically do not possess it and enables them to be depicted as learning about civilization as they civilize others. The novels of Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken make use of this paradox/duality of power to give their young protagonists agency in a way that engages their young readers, while educating them at the same time to the hierarchical power structures that a respectable, familial model of colonialism legitimized.

*Unter Palmen* is the only novel in Augusti’s series that makes reference to Germany’s real historical colonial presence in Africa. Some of the passengers on the ship eventually depart “nach der neuen deutschen Kolonie in Ost-Afrika,”<sup>290</sup> but the passages that describe life in Africa look back to review the progress of German missionaries, necessarily pre-dating official colonial actions of the German Empire. The most extensive description of Christianity in Africa under German influence is the reminiscence of Herr Braun who worked as a missionary for twelve years in South Africa. He reports on the “hochverehrten Inspektor unserer Mission” who returns to the Transvaal Colony after nearly two decades, “seine schwarzen Kinder zu besuchen.”<sup>291</sup> The German inspector continues to be cast in terms that are pedagogical and familial as well as religious. He is called “den großen Lehrer, den Altvater.”<sup>292</sup> The natives have

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<sup>289</sup> Smith, “Colonialism and the Culture of Respectability,” 12.

<sup>290</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 17.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. Augusti’s description is probably inspired by Hermann Theodor Wangemann, who served as director of the *Berliner Missionsgesellschaft* from 1865 to 1894. Wangemann traveled to Africa only twice, once around 1865 and again around 1884, dates which roughly match up

progressed from “einer teuflischen Wildheit” to “ein[em] freie[n] Anstand, eine[r] kindlich fröhliche[n] Stimmung.”<sup>293</sup> Their progression keeps their position as subordinates and figurative children stable.

By depriving the native peoples of maturity and agency within the familial model, Augusti couches the progress of the missionaries in the vocabulary of respectability. Suddenly, the Transvaal colony could just as easily be a humble village in the German province. The Christian Africans have built “nette saubere Häuschen“ and their clothing is “anständig . . . sie bauen ihre Äcker sorgfältig an, pflanzen Bäume und Gärten und führen mit ihren Familien ein stilles, gottseliges Leben.”<sup>294</sup> The neatness and respectability of pastoral image mirrors the positive characteristics of a German pastoral. As most contemporary readers would have been aware, Augusti describes the work of German missions during periods in which they were held by British and Dutch colonial powers. In doing so, she implicitly establishes German missionaries as the superior civilizers of the native population.

When a dissenter interrupts the idyllic vision with the assertion that such conversion stories are only possible “unter wirklich wilden Völkerschaften,”<sup>295</sup> Augusti turns the discussion to questions of gender. She makes use of a reform spirit driven by the work of middle-class German women who seek to bring religion and rationality to the women of other races to allow them a point of entry into so-called more advanced societies. Because the nineteenth-century

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with the story as told. His experiences were accessible to the general public in his travel narratives *Ein Reise-Jahr in Süd-Afrika* (Berlin: Verlag des Missionshauses zu Berlin, 1868); and *Ein zweites Reise-Jahr in Süd-Afrika* (Berlin: Verlag des Missionshauses zu Berlin, 1886).

<sup>293</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 22.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

culture of respectability relied on the position of the woman within domestic space, as educator and thus caretaker of civilization, it is only logical that German women would turn their attention to the fate of women and girls in colonial contexts. In Augusti's novels, this position of woman as safeguard of respectability and civility provides female characters access to a conversation otherwise regarded as outside their purview. As Wildenthal and Smith have shown, women used their "essential role . . . in maintaining and extending respectability . . . as the central justification for their efforts" to contribute to the discourse on colonialism and discussions in the public sphere more broadly conceived.

Pajeken's male protagonists, too, found their cultural imperialism upon a specifically German culture of respectability. As Smith writes, "German nationalism teemed with blatant male fantasies, but even these were legitimated and made consistent with the idea of an orderly, lawful world by being placed in various contexts of respectability."<sup>296</sup> Despite their beginnings as adventure stories of Indians on the war path or strife between European settlers of differing national origins, Pajeken's stories always end with the establishment of order and maintenance of civility. In Pajeken's novels set prior to German nationhood (but written after it), the "image of overseas or colonial settlement as a means of displaying respectability and gaining full participation as citizens was especially pronounced."<sup>297</sup>

Although the protagonists in Augusti and Pajeken contribute differently to the culture of respectability as a component of colonial fantasy, they share the need for the strong position of the family that it dictates. Like the protagonists of many young adult novels, their protagonists lack a traditional nuclear family. Mothers in both series are wholly unaccounted for and fathers

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<sup>296</sup> Smith, "Colonialism and the Culture of Respectability," 13.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

are often physically removed from their daughters and sons. These protagonists neither rebel against nor rely upon their nuclear families. Instead, the structure and hierarchy that would derive from a family are replaced by a colonial fantasy of family in which they can play the role of both children—of the “civilized”—and parents—to the “uncivilized”—as they transition from childhood to adulthood.

As a near orphan herself, Henny takes in both Käthchen, the young German orphan who turns out to be Nuncomar’s child, and a Hindi girl near her own age, Laro. While traveling across India with Nunconmar and Käthchen, Henny finds Laro, a sick orphan whose father died as they traveled to work on the tea plantations. She rescues her from a form of indentured servitude that is exploitative rather than educational. Henny makes Laro her personal servant and Käthchen’s *ayah*, or nanny, saving her from (even more) menial labor and offering—at least according to Henny’s perception—a path to her betterment and salvation. She is far more invested in the girl than her designation as her “Gebietlerin” might suggest: “Es gehörte zu ihren ersten Schritten in Calcutta . . . Laro zum Taufunterricht . . . anzumelden.”<sup>298</sup> In her depiction of Laro’s baptism and conversion Augusti shows the ambiguity between Henny’s official sense of religious duty “einen Menschen von leiblichem und geistigem Elend zu retten”<sup>299</sup> and her familial joy in taking part in what is portrayed as a coming-of-age moment that would parallel a German girl’s own confirmation. Henny cannot resist the urge to hug and kiss Laro, declaring, “Du bist jetzt meine Schwester.”<sup>300</sup> Her pronouncement and the joy surrounding it seem to extend beyond its overt religious connotations, as the familial colonial model and the close

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<sup>298</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 216.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

relationship between two young girls intersect. The same actions that solidify Henny in a pedagogical role—she teaches Laro the catechism and ensures that Käthchen has proper care by employing a servant—also enmesh her in a familial colonial framework that speaks to her own personal need for and lack of family.

### **Alternative Models of Family**

In Pajeken's stories of the American West *Ersatzfamilien* play a role in the protagonists' search for their rightful family, a family embedded in a German national context. Here, too, outsiders step into the roles of both parents and children for the sake of the young male protagonists, allowing them to experiment with multiple positions within the social framework. The Bob figures shift from subordinate to outsider to superordinate over time. The trappers Jim and Charley have chosen a life far from civilization and are depicted as unconcerned with the conventions of respectability. When the first Bob figure leaves his foster father in search of a different life, he spends a great deal of time with Jim and Charley. Charley and Jim form their own unconventional familial unit; Charley has "zwanzig Jahre . . . gewissermaßen Mutterstelle bei [Jim] vertreten" and fears without him Jim will be "wie ein unmündiges Kind."<sup>301</sup> Ten pages later, when the discovery of Bob's real father, the German Reinfels, threatens to take Bob away from Jim and Charley, Charley pleads with Bob not to leave because "ich habe doch gewissermaßen stets Vaterstelle bei dir vertreten; die muß ich jetzt ebenfalls plötzlich aufgeben. .

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<sup>301</sup> Augusti, *Unter Palmen*, 149.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

Bob is repeatedly described as their “Schützling.”<sup>303</sup> Charley is his “Lehrmeister,” and Bob is depicted as a “gelehrige[r] Schüler.”<sup>304</sup> But while Jim and Charley teach Bob skills for a life as a trapper, Bob teaches them respectability, eventually paving the way for their return to life within the community. Even as “ein Knabe von etwa sechzehn Jahren,”<sup>305</sup> Bob works to reform the antisocial ways of the brothers. After observing their excessive drinking and spending, he sets about altering their habits, urging them, “Gebt mir das Versprechen, überhaupt auf meinen Rat zu hören, wenn es nötig ist, während wir uns in der Stadt befinden. Es wird doch Zeit, daß Ihr für Eure alten Tage etwas zurücklegt.”<sup>306</sup> The young Bob plays the role of the parental financial advisor, ensuring that the wild brothers begin the resolutely middle-class practice of saving for their retirement.

In the second and third books of the series the aging Jim and Charley live in the settlements founded by Bob and led by his son. They contribute knowledge of the so-called uncivilized world from a position within the Bob’s newly civilized community. Pajeken assigns to them the role of converting young men to a life of respectability and social responsibility. They occasionally leave the settlement with a young mentee eager for adventure and return the same young man with increased maturity and a newfound willingness to contribute meaningfully to the betterment of his fellow man. Walter Leonard and Edmund Elliot in *Bob der Städtegründer* and Dick Patrick in *Bob der Millionär* are examples of this repeated theme. Pajeken rehabilitates the former outsiders and reinserts them into the social order by giving them

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<sup>303</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 80.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.



a pedagogical role. Jim and Charley become symbolic representatives of a life that runs contrary to and in its contrarian nature comes to affirm a world that perpetuates the privileged position of the respectability of “Bob der Bürger.”<sup>307</sup>

In the *Bob* books, Pajeken applies a paternalistic model to a wide range of peoples of European descent—not just non-whites, since the model of colonial civilization is based on a national model. Wild West outsiders, generic Americans, and recent Irish immigrants are reformed and subsumed into a community life that resembles the social welfare state instated in Germany on a small scale. Participation in a civil society is portrayed as open to those willing to meet its requirements of obedience and respectability. However, those who will not accept the pedagogical advances of the paternalistic leadership of three generations of Reinfels men must leave the community.

The colonial impulse in Pajeken’s novels incorporates the nineteenth-century American policy of pushing Native Americans ever further west. Their exclusion from the community is founded on their general unsuitability to the European model of community life. As Jim the Trapper observes, “Indianer werden nur manchmal in Büchern als edle Geschöpfe beschrieben; in der Wirklichkeit sind sie es nicht.”<sup>308</sup> Here Jim shapes Bob’s view of Native Americans. At the same time the author and publisher insert their view that popular *Indianergeschichten* get it wrong—the “edle Geschöpfe” almost certainly refers to J. F. Cooper’s Chingachgook, probably the most popular incarnation of the noble savage in Western culture—and cannot be taken as sources of factual material about culture. Although in Pajeken’s work the American context alters the paradigm for relationships to native peoples, his characters do experiment with

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<sup>307</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 175.

<sup>308</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 57.

meaningful contact and work with Indians; this interaction constitutes some of the trials and tribulations of their coming-of-age.

The Indian known as Schwarzfuß defines Bob's attempts to understand and work with native peoples in the first two novels of the series. Bob allows Schwarzfuß to stay in his newly founded settlement because "der Indianer sei von seinem Stamm ausgestoßen und zu bedauern."<sup>309</sup> Furthermore, he rescued Bob's future wife from a riding accident, thus contributing to the greater good. It is portrayed as noble that Bob should seek to find the best in the native peoples whom he meets. In *Bob der Fallensteller* the *Halbindianer* Andrew Brown is the object of Bob's pity. Andrew Brown moves freely between white settlements and Indian tribes. Because of his hybrid status, Pajeken grants him a voice to describe his divided loyalties: "Halb bin ich ein Weißer, halb Indianer—ich gehe dahin, wohin der große Geist mich gehen heißt. Heute diene ich als Knecht dem weißen Herrn; morgen gehöre ich als freier Mann mit meinem Blute meinem Volk."<sup>310</sup> Pajeken's diction further underscores the dualities of age when overlapped with the context of age: among whites Brown is a serving boy, but with Native Americans he is a free adult man.

Bob sees the liminal status of Brown and perhaps even identifies with it, as he too—as a boy growing up—is in the process of deciding where he belongs in the world: "In Bob regte es sich wie Mitleid für den Fremden."<sup>311</sup> His feeling for Brown is motivated by the need for the sense of belonging that he sees Brown as lacking. Brown will always be a *Knecht* to the white man, an underling who has special abilities to cross borders, but will never be fully trusted or

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<sup>309</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Städtegründer*, 13.

<sup>310</sup> Pajeken, *Bob der Fallensteller*, 63.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

viewed as having the status of a mature white man and citizen of the United States. While Bob's willingness to trust in and feel for his fellow man, regardless of his status will come to serve him well as the paternalistic leader of his own settlement, Pajeken sets it up in this case as youthful folly, when Brown turns out to be a traitor, working against the white settlers and trappers alike. In this way Schwarzfuß and Brown, despite their closeness to civilization and the complicated relationships they share with whites, are both used by Pajeken to reinforce the cultural divide that pushes the Indians further west; Pajeken makes them mere objects of paternalistic pity.

Couching the colonial in the familial puts these travel narratives for youth in dialogue with the familial frameworks that dominated the domestic fiction of the nineteenth century. Just as the health of home and family became an analogy for the development of the nation, the treatment of colonial subjects stood in for development of the empire. Coming-of-age was framed as an achievement of maturity through the assumption of a superior position within the hierarchies of nation and empire, be they dictated by race or age or an equation that amalgamated the two.

## **Conclusion**

Fiction for young people was under great pressure to express moral clarity. Authors of young adult novels that addressed questions at the intersection of current social, political, and scientific discussions felt an even greater impetus to offer clear answers to moral questions because their fiction was more than entertainment; it was *belehrend*. At the same time, though, the same authors hoped their texts would not be called *Tendenz*, a label that described works too tightly aligned with one side of a political debate. The colonial question (*Kolonialfrage*) as it specifically referred to the colonial ambitions and activities of the German empire in the 1880s and 1890s and as it more generally considered the relationships of colonizers and colonized was

a defining intellectual and popular preoccupation of Wilhelmine society. Augusti, and to a lesser extent Pajeken, did not seek to sidestep contemporary debates about colonialism and imperialism. At the same time, they did not write colonial texts per se and did not espouse a partisan view on the political and ethical questions of colonialism. But they did write novels that considered the backdrop and cultural connotations of colonialism and offered multiple and indirect reactions to it. For their young protagonists—and implicitly, their young readers—this exposure to others, both European and non-European, cemented acceptable notions of their own Germanness in an international context. Whether or not they explicitly came to support actual German colonialism, young people's colonial fantasies could be simultaneously a hope for the future and a critique of the past. Colonialism and imperialism became part of a belief system that young people could improve upon or leave be. In either case, understanding what it was and how it could work was portrayed as a part of modern maturity for German youth at the end of the century. Part of that understanding was also an acknowledgement of the scope of the wider world: there were people and peoples beyond regional, national and even continental boundaries, and Germanness defined—at least to some extent—how readers imagined their relationships to those beyond their immediate context.

In the texts of Augusti and Pajeken there are countervoices that especially stand out over one-hundred years later, moments that demand careful attention: the mixed race boy who is smarter than his white counterpart, the outrage at cruelty to natives, questions about the effectiveness and value of missionary work. Yet, these moments must be read as critically as those that are clearly racist and chauvinistic for they too belong to the discourse formation of colonialism. Whether they are expressing doubt in the form of a question or declaring their certainty in a proclamation, these novels reflect the system that formed them. Questions and

doubts about and exceptions to hierarchies of race and nationality reinforce the constructs from which they emerge. Careful examination of the narrative placement and voicing of counternarratives reveals that these scenes and statements are eventually suppressed or subverted by the whole. These suppressions and subversions explain why popular books for *Jugend und Volk* have long been viewed as simple fodder for nationalist flames.

The didacticism of books published by Hirt—even with their ambiguities and internal tensions—is emblematic of novels written and disseminated by adults who sought to dictate what it meant to be non-adult and what it meant to be mature. They dictated the necessity of seeing oneself within a system of national and racial boundaries. They operated within a system that viewed young people as the future of the empire, but granted them only the limited agency and status allowed non-white colonial subjects. In the context of the narrative, this shared inferiority signaled by withheld adulthood enabled temporary and sometimes unorthodox contact between whites and non-white, Germans and so-called foreigners. And this contact permitted the cultural transfer inherent in the travel novel. But this contact cut both ways. Ultimately, adolescents in Hirt's series could only proceed on their journey to full adulthood with a knowledge of their supposedly implicit superiority to so-called adolescent races. Both groups were *Schützlinge* in the eyes of the Empire. The same cultural production that was intended to offer young protagonists and readers factual information about cultural others—native peoples, colonial subjects—also explained and affirmed their superior position to them, a position they would assume fully when they reached maturity, a status made possible only through the externally imposed and fixed immaturity of non-whites.

The straightforward, didactic narratives of travel in the novels of Friedrich Pajeken and Brigitte Augusti made these authors agents of cultural transfer on two fronts. They explained the

cultural geography of the world and, at the same time, explained the systems of colonialism and imperialism within it. They set up Germans as experts about the world and critics of a colonialism with which they had little direct experience, but much ambition and imagination. At the same time, they established what it meant to be a mature German within this new world system.

In the case of Brigitte Augusti, it is difficult to say whether she knew much more about the world than did her adolescent readers. Her accounts draw on the same popular depictions of *Völkerkunde* in the popular press and family magazines to which young people would also have had access. She had never been to the distant locales about which she wrote. Although Pajeken had visited America, his novels could be called biographical only in the loosest sense. They rely more on typical trials of growing up and classic tropes of adventure stories, than reveal any meaningful personal relationships that might have shaped his view of native peoples.

Yet, as adult Germans Augusti and Pajeken had the authority to imagine individual narratives of displaced colonialism and to envision Germans as good colonists. In their novels they teach German adolescents how to progress to adulthood. Furthermore, German adolescents, in turn, teach the adolescent races to be like them, with their moralistic pedagogy of family and respectability. The progress of civilization and German identity is embodied in German youth coming of age and their efforts as future empire builders. Though the superior position of these German youth relies upon the inferiority of racial others, adolescent novels tell only one side of the story. Their narratives do not explore the position of the oppressed colonial peoples. In the end, the colonial subjects of young adult novels published at the end of the nineteenth century do not destabilize the authority of those in positions of power; they are happy to know their place and keep it. Anxieties about race and its improvement and are problems for adult literature, not

the stuff of educating and entertaining young people. To express the disappearance of such certainties demanded textual models and narrative structures more complex than the young adult novel at the end of the nineteenth century was willing to offer.

## CHAPTER FOUR

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### Lost Between Campe and Cooper:

#### Youth, Travel, and (Im)mobile Readers in the Late Works of Wilhelm Raabe

While authors of young adult novels such as Brigitte Augusti and Friedrich Pajeken worked closely with their state-sanctioned publishing house to produce works that affirmed imperialistic travel as a path to respectable German maturity and pedagogues such as Heinrich Wolgast railed against those same texts as an impediment to the refinement of the youth's uniquely German aesthetic taste (*Kunstsinn*), late nineteenth-century fiction that we today associate with adult readers explored the relationship between international travel, bourgeois adulthood, and the literary imagination with less conclusive results. When in 1896 Wilhelm Raabe wrote of the futility of curricular didacticism as a means to influence young minds, his words could be applied with equal aptitude to the pedagogical impulses of Ferdinand Hirt's chauvinism and Heinrich Wolgast's program of aesthetic education (*Kunsterziehung*):

Und wenn sich alle Schulmeister der Welt auf den Kopf stellen oder vielmehr fest hinsetzen aufs Katheder: sie erobern die Welt zwischen dem sechzehnten und zwanzigsten Lebensjahre doch nicht durch moralisch, ethisch und politisch gereinigte Anthologien.<sup>312</sup>

As Raabe's figure Karl Krumhardt, the narrator of *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*, looks back on his own *Flegeljahre*, he remembers reading novels, stories, and schoolbooks alike. He recalls how adult authorities feared the effects of his varied reading and its influence and recounts how his father admonished him for his reading habits:

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<sup>312</sup> Wilhelm Raabe, *Sämtliche Werke (Braunschweiger Ausgabe) Im Auftrage der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, vol. 19, ed. Karl Hoppe, (Braunschweig: Klemm, 1965), 241. Henceforth Raabe's collected works will be cited as BA (Braunschweiger Ausgabe) followed by the volume number and pages.



Und übrigens scheinst du mir auch seit längerer Zeit schon dich einer recht überflüssigen, wenn nicht schädlichen Leserei zu ergeben. Bleib bei deinen wirklichen Büchern und meinetwegen auch älteren Poeten; aber laß mir diese dummen Romane und sogenannten neueren Dichter aus dem Hause, mein Sohn. . . hier in meinen vier Pfählen bleibt Verstand Verstand, Sinn Sinn, Unsinn Unsinn und Schund Schund.<sup>313</sup>

For Karl's father, reading too much (*Leserei*) and reading the wrong books—Karl should only read “real” books—are acts as egregious and potentially harmful as keeping the wrong company. The elder Krumhardt believes books have a similar capacity to determine one's social standing and position in the world. Raabe uses Wolgast's popular parlance for youth literature (*Schund*) to refer to a wide swath of literary consumption. Karl and his friend Velten Andres read stories “für die Jugend bearbeitet,”<sup>314</sup> of Robinson Crusoe, and from One thousand and one nights and the Leatherstocking Tales. They read Alexander Dumas' *The Three Musketeers* instead of “Schiller und Goethe (die hingen uns von der Schule her aus dem Halse, wie Velten sich ausdrückte).”<sup>315</sup> They quote Heinrich Heine and love the poems of Friedrich Freiligrath, “der auch nicht von den Herren Lehrern zu den Klassikern gezählt wird, sich selber nicht dazu zählte und doch auf ungezählte Hunderttausende von Schuljungen von größern Einfluß ist als der Dichter des Egmonts.”<sup>316</sup> They love most of all books that take them far and away, regardless of their cultural pedigree in the eyes of their teachers and parents.

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<sup>313</sup> BA 19, 243-44.

<sup>314</sup> BA 19, 228. “Wie viele deutsche Jungen haben diese Cooperschen Lederstrumpferzählungen, ‘für die Jugend bearbeitet,’ hinübergerlockt in das Land der Langen Flinte, der Großen Schlange und des Renard subtil?”

<sup>315</sup> BA 19, 240.

<sup>316</sup> BA 19, 241-42.

Raabe creates a tension between the diverse reading materials he places in the hands of his young readers and the contemporary discourse about youth reading. Krumhardt senior—in the spirit of Wolgast and the schoolbook publisher Hirt alike—encourages reading as part of a program of respectable education and upbringing: “Junge, Junge, ich rate dir, daß du bei den Grundsätzen deiner Eltern wie bei deinen Büchern bleibst und dich exakt hältst.”<sup>317</sup> Yet, when Karl and his friends set fire to the neighbor’s garden, Karl’s father must acknowledge that the very schoolbooks he has endorsed—histories of the antiquities—are the model for the children’s worst behavior.<sup>318</sup> In this crime, however, all the adventure novels, fantastic tales, and popular poetry are innocent. Raabe’s narrator seems to hint that there is no secret formula of reading that will keep young people on the straight and narrow—nor is there any that will definitively lead them astray.

This chapter will examine how young people’s literary imaginations of travelers and distant lands figure in Wilhelm Raabe’s stories *Prinzessin Fisch* and *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*. I will trace the motif of reading—especially young adult reading (as *Jugendliteratur* and *Jugendlektüre*)—as a nexus of Raabe’s narrative engagement with imagination, coming of age, and the global context of German life at the end of the nineteenth century. *Prinzessin Fisch* and *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*, like many works in Raabe’s oeuvre, are stories about *how* stories are told, books about how people read books and to what ends. The relationships of Raabe’s characters to the imaginative world of print culture become as significant as their relationships to other people. Similarly, his characters’ imaginings of foreign worlds via print culture become as significant as their experiences of them in the flesh. For Raabe’s protagonists reading habits

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<sup>317</sup> BA 19, 225.

<sup>318</sup> BA 19, 224. “daß ihnen in der Schule aus den Griechen und Romern saubere Exempel vor die Augen gestellt werden, das ist freilich leider eine Tatsache.”

come to define the ways they relate to the domestic space of the newly formed German empire and the expanding global world. Their youthful reading—and their memories of it later in life—shape their real and imagined journeys through the wider world and influence the paths they take to maturity or even barricade their full entry into an adult world.

Theodor Rodburg of *Prinzessin Fisch* (1882) uses the literary metaphor of the *Robinsonade* and a Goethe poem (“Der neue Amadis”) to make sense of his unconventional childhood, his long-lost brother, and an imagined love interest that he eventually outgrows. The protagonist of *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* (1896), Velten Andres, must be surrounded by the books of his youth on his deathbed. He fixates upon these books and a few lines of an early Goethe ode as a palliative to his failed love affair and a comfort in his final days of his wasted life. Alongside these readers Raabe creates figures that serve as purveyors of print material. Raabe’s readerly world includes the bookbinder that gives print words their material incarnation, the postmaster who carries print culture to readers in the province, and the schoolmaster who assigns reading material to his young pupils.

The literary metaphor pervades the forms and narrative structures of Raabe’s works and serves to underscore the importance of reading as a means to organize his fictional worlds. *Prinzessin Fisch* derives its name from Goethe’s literary production. *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* is structured as a story within a story: Karl Krumhardt compiles a literal folio of cautionary tales with his childhood friends, Velten and Helene, as their protagonists, creating an alternative anti-advice book for his own young readers: his daughters. Raabe uses references to a diverse array of literary and non-literary textual materials as a means to structure the reader’s experience of his texts. By using reading as both an internal element of plot and an external element of narrative

structure, Raabe draws attention to the mediated nature of being in the world—imagination and experience are both subject to selection and influenced by perspective.

Through this constant frame of reading, the world is structured—or, more accurately—Raabe asserts the fallacy of a fixed structure of the world. In turn, he suggests the impossibility of truth in one culture's immovable ideas about the borders between home and away, between childhood and adulthood. Reading does not consolidate ideas into concepts and certainties, it prevents their consolidation. Images of readership in Raabe's *Prinzessin Fisch* and *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* represent the breadth and depth of the literary landscape from which they emerged and reflect the eclectic and inclusive habits of real nineteenth-century readers. In Raabe's literary world, the adventure stories of childhood could assume just as much textual weight as Weimar classicism. Primers of Latin classics from the classroom were read alongside J. F. Cooper adaptations passed surreptitiously under school desks. Fairy and folk tales stood alongside popular scientific publications, non-fiction travel narratives, encyclopedias, and guide books.

By bringing into dialogue the fictional and non-fictional, the state-sanctioned and the stuff of child's play, the German national literary hero and the American Leatherstocking in both *Prinzessin Fisch* and *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*, Raabe destabilizes the fixed notions of culture these texts and their systems of distribution so often implied. Books—one need only think of the German patriotism and chauvinism in the works of Augusti and Pajeken—were used and abused to assert a unified world order. Raabe's portrayal of the complex and contradictory print world, with its uses and abuses, its diversity of ideas, and its multiple possibilities of interpretation, reflects in nuce the global system within which it functioned—a global system that was not a system at all, but rather, a pluralism of ideas.

Raabe's varied use of the intertext is part of what Florian Krobb and Dirk Göttsche have called the authors "deep-seated skepticism about philosophical systems, aesthetic theories, and ideologies in general."<sup>319</sup> Yet, this skepticism does not equate to a dismissal of the value of print culture on the whole; rather, literature's value is making pluralism visible. Krobb and Göttsche have formulated Raabe's goals for his own literary production as striving

to make the polyvalence of the reality depicted in his works apparent to the reader; to ensure that they remain aware that every statement or description belongs to a certain perspective and that narrative voices are notoriously untrustworthy; to demonstrate that narration is always a construct or an artifact and that the true purpose of literature is only achieved when the reading experience is a disturbing one.<sup>320</sup>

This literary *mélange*, with its destabilizing power to disturb, allowed Raabe to extend his fiction beyond the realm of the German idyll and at the same time question its very existence.

Travel and the wider world pervade the ostensibly German provincial settings of both texts *Prinzessin Fisch* and *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*. In *Prinzessin Fisch*, the protagonist's brother disappears for years to return as a rowdy restless American who hopes to profit from the conquest of his former home town just as he has in the New World. The protagonist's love interest is a mysterious Mexican woman who is brought to the village as the wife of the buyer of Theodor's childhood home. Herr Tiefenbacher and Doña Romana arrive together with Theodor's long-lost brother Alexander on a wave of domestic tourism. In *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*, scenes of childhood are infused with internationalism when Helene arrives as a German-American who does not know the German language. Later, Velten Andres and Helene Trotzendorff supposedly travel the world, their paths crossing in exotic ports and foreign

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<sup>319</sup> Dirk Göttsche and Florian Krobb, "Introduction," in *Global Themes—International Perspectives*, (London: Legenda, 2009), 3.

<sup>320</sup> Göttsche, *Global Themes—International Perspectives*, 3-4.

metropolises. Yet, real travel—which is experienced by the reader through direct descriptive narration—is noticeable in its omission only. Despite the array of colonists, speculators, emigrants, and returnees that people Raabe’s fiction, the wandering of Raabe’s wanderers remains remarkably absent.<sup>321</sup> Instead, travel is always mediated. The foreign is delivered in letters with unfamiliar postmarks or imagined by reading adventure books and fairy tales. For Raabe, travel is literary. It is the intertext of print culture that connects the literal spaces of his fiction to the imaginative spaces of the global nineteenth century.

Travel as a literary metaphor is subject to skepticism. Unlike imperial novels that positioned travel as part of a project of *Bildung*, progress, and individual and national maturity, Raabe’s works portray travel as something to put in perspective, a matter of interpretation. Making a journey is never transformative in and of itself. Neither Theodor Rodburg’s brother, the lawless American returnee in *Prinzessin Fisch*, nor the aimless wanderer Velten Andres of *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*, are made better by their journeys. Instead, the narrative is structured in such a way that the reader doubts both the truth and the worth of their time away. Travel is essentially a story that can be told by an untrustworthy narrator, part of Raabe’s “Skepsis gegenüber dem Reisen und dem Reisebericht”<sup>322</sup> and indicative of a larger doubt about the pedagogical value of travel as such. Raabe’s writing resists the commonplace nineteenth-century assumption that persists to this day, according to Florian Krobb, “daß eine ungewohnte

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<sup>321</sup> Raabe is “unique among prose writers of his generation for the prominence of wanderers in his fiction.” Cf. Andrew Cusack, *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-Century German Literature: Intellectual History and Cultural Criticism*, (Rochester: Camden House, 2008), 203.

<sup>322</sup> Florian Krobb, *Erkundungen im Überseeischen: Wilhelm Raabe und die Füllung der Welt*, (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009), 42.

Umgebung notwendigerweise neues Erleben zeitigen müsste.”<sup>323</sup> Instead, continues Krobb, “Raabe fordert . . . eine andere Weltkenntnis als diejenige, die durch Reisen erworben wird oder sich in der Abbildung oder Beschreibung der Welt manifestiert.”<sup>324</sup> Raabe manipulates the modes of his time that glorified travel and used an empirical approach to the world to support imperial projects and abuses (often in the name of science) and, in doing so, casts doubt on the so-called truths of reading, travel, and individual and national maturity.

At the end of the nineteenth century, imagination was associated both with far-off geography and also conceived of temporally as belonging to childhood and youth. Raabe’s work simultaneously reflects this larger trend and questions the ways immaturity and imagination have been connected to practices of cultural marginalization. Raabe makes use of the literary imagination in particular to critique cultural constructions that fix notions of the foreign and the domestic and tie concepts of maturity to age, as well as those that extol foreign travel as transformative. His works provide polyperspectival answers to the questions of what separates childhood and adulthood and what separates Germany from the wider world. Can reading change a person? Can travel change a person? How can texts and experiences construct maturity? How can they construct the foreign and the familiar? Do adults and children experience the world in different ways? Do children, adolescents, and adults read the world and read about the world differently? What does it mean to grow up in the world? What is the difference between mediated and immediate experience and do they impact coming-of-age differently? Do texts influence readers to become different people at all?

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<sup>323</sup> Florian Krobb, *Erkundungen im Überseeischen*, 42.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

In *Prinzessin Fisch* and *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* Raabe offers divergent investigations of this set of questions and yet assures his readers of the validity in the disunity of the answers to these questions. Before exploring these questions in my own close readings of *Prinzessin Fisch* and *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*, I will offer a brief overview of scholarly engagement with reading and the wider world in *Stopfkuchen* and *Gutmanns Reisen* as a foundation and justification for my approach. Scholarship on these texts shows how interpretation of the intertext has become more inclusive, and in turn, the perception of Raabe's realm has expanded beyond the provincial idyll. In the context of this chapter, these novels also offer evidence that youthful reading—be it *Jugendliteratur* or *Jugendlektüre*—is a theme and structural device that demands further attention not just in individual, isolated works, but across Raabe's entire oeuvre.

### **Youthful Reading in *Stopfkuchen* (1890) and *Gutmanns Reisen* (1891)**

Raabe's use of polyperspectivism has fueled the reevaluation of his work that has taken place at least since the 1960s. Jeffrey Sammons' *Wilhelm Raabe: The Fiction of Alternative Community*, published in 1987, aptly summarizes these efforts and makes its own immense contribution to them.<sup>325</sup> Even more recently, Raabe's use of intertextual references and the metaphor of print culture have offered readings of Raabe in new contexts.<sup>326</sup> These developments—together with an expansion in the purview of German Studies broadly conceived—have drawn attention to nuances of Raabe's work ignored by popular reception in his lifetime and the first half of the twentieth century, especially his engagement with the wider

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<sup>325</sup> Jeffrey Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe: The Fiction of Alternative Community*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987). Cf., Di Maio, Irene Stocksieker, *The Multiple Perspective: Wilhelm Raabe's Third Person Narratives of the Braunschweig Period*, (Amersterdam, John Benjamins, 1981); and Helmers, Hermann, ed., *Raabe in neuer Sicht*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1968).

<sup>326</sup> Cf. Brian Tucker, "Raabe, Westermann, and the International Imagination," *Wilhelm Raabe: Global Themes—International Perspectives*, (London: Legenda, 2009), 25-37.



world.<sup>327</sup> The result has been an opening up of the figurative world both in and *beyond* the German province in Raabe's works.

Jeffrey Sammons has shown us that "Raabe was very attentive to world affairs; in his diary one can see that he followed current events closely and there are interesting traces of them in the fictional works." "Mexican politics of the 1860s are woven into Princess Fish . . . and a character in *The Documents of the Birdsong* . . . alludes in passing to James Fisk's manipulation of the Erie Railroad, to Boss Tweed, Tammany Hall, and Sing-Sing prison." He, too, has reminded us that "We will not begin to understand [Raabe] if we do not grasp the point that he was literary in the extreme."<sup>328</sup> In my analysis, these two facets of Raabe's oeuvre go hand in hand.

Scholars have shown how the print world and the wider world interact in two other late works of Raabe: *Stopfkuchen* (1890) and *Gutmanns Reisen* (1891). But they have not fully explored a further element of this intertextual engagement: the intertwining of an individualized literary coming-of-age with the so-called German national adolescence and the explicit intertextual use of texts that appealed to—and even specifically addressed—a youthful readership. Just as young adult authors such as Augusti and Pajeken subsumed the turmoil of individual adolescence into a national narrative of German coming-of-age, Raabe too connects these narratives via reading, but with very different results from those of his contemporaries.

Raabe's subtitle for *Stopfkuchen* already suggest the significance he believes literary modes for *Jugend und Volk* do indeed hold. Contemporary critics jokingly worried that his

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<sup>327</sup> Krobb, *Erkundungen im Überseeischen*; and John Pizer, "Wilhelm Raabe and the German Colonial Experience," in *A Companion to German Realism 1848-1900*, Todd Kontje, ed., (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), among others in the 1980s-2000s.

<sup>328</sup> Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 152.

readers might mistakenly trust “dem schalkhaften Beisatze: ‘eine See- und Mordgeschichte’ . . . und in dem Glauben nach dem Buche greifen, Raabe sei nun in seinen älteren Tagen auch unter die Sensationsschriftsteller . . . gegangen.”<sup>329</sup> The same critic opens his article with the proclamation, “Noch ein neuer Raabe für den Weihnachtstisch!,” a table the work would have likely shared with realist books that actually told adventure stories on the high seas, an irony that would have been lost on Raabe least of all. Philip J. Brewster, the first modern scholar to acknowledge this move, writes, “Tut doch Raabe fast so, als wäre sein Stopfkuchen einer jener zur gleichen Zeit in Deutschland entstehenden und immer populärer werdenden Kolonialromane, die das Leben ‚am anderen Ende der Welt‘ in Afrika schilderten.”<sup>330</sup>

In *Stopfkuchen* Eduard builds his adult existence upon a childhood obsession with the rural postman Störzer’s own preoccupation with François Le Vaillant: *Travels into the interior parts of Africa*, only to discover his mentor’s fascination has more to do with escapism than the exotic wilds of Africa.<sup>331</sup> According to John Pizer, Störzer’s “reading has cathected Africa into the locus of escapist flight, a site where he can imaginatively forget his misery-inducing culpability because it signifies absolute alterity, a space of pure, uncontaminated origin.”<sup>332</sup> The popular book was translated, adapted, and marketed specifically to young people by Joachim Campe in the series *Fortsetzung Campischer Reisebeschreibung* published by, among others, the

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<sup>329</sup> Hans Blum, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1 (1891), 5, quoted in BA 18, 429.

<sup>330</sup> Philip J. Brewster, “Onkel Ketschwato in Neuteutoburg: Zeitgeschichtliche Anspielungen in Raabes ‘Stopfkuchen,’” *Jahrbuch der Raabe-Gesellschaft*, (1983): 96-97.

<sup>331</sup> François Levaillant or Le Vaillant (1753-1824) was a French author, explorer, and naturalist. His most famous works were published at the end of the nineteenth century and immediately translated into multiple languages, including German.

<sup>332</sup> Pizer, “Wilhelm Raabe and the German Colonial Experience,” 174.

Schulbuchhandlung Braunschweig.<sup>333</sup> The probability that Raabe knew Campe's works well is high: Campe died in Holzminden (1818) only thirteen years before Raabe's arrived as an infant in the same town (1831).<sup>334</sup> Raabe capitalizes on the tension between the youthful reading of the book and its adult counterreading. The latter leads to a life that ultimately Eduard "perceives," according to Pizer, "as anything but exotic, adventurous, or morally, spiritually, and educationally beneficial to himself and Africa's indigenous peoples, the putative aspects of life in Europe's outlying empires imaginatively lauded in colonial novels in the late nineteenth century."<sup>335</sup> The adult reading is only a space of escape for Störzer—escape to his life before the murder perhaps when he read the book as a child. His reading is free of expectation or care about a foreign other and his relationship to it; it is only a space of retreat from his secret guilt.

In the end, Eduard—whose name suggests education by its Latin root—is out-educated by Schaumann—whose name in turn recalls a specific teaching method widespread in

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<sup>333</sup> *Vaillants zweite Reise ins Innere von Afrika : aus d. Franz. von neuem frei übers. u. abgekürzt, Fortsetzung der Campischen Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend*, vol. 2, (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1799). The *Fortsetzung* series consisted of at least 5 volumes of travel narratives translated and adapted for the youth and clearly aimed to build on the success of Campe's pedagogical travel narratives. The fact that the publication dates of the book and its place of publication coincide with the childhood of Raabe's grandfather August Heinrich Raabe (Postrat, Braunschweiger Postroute—a resonance with Störzer's vocation) suggest that Raabe may have been familiar with this youth edition, perhaps from his grandfather's own library a fact that Florian Krobb has confirmed. Krobb offers a thorough investigation of Raabe's use of Le Vaillant in Campe's edition, cf. Krobb, *Erkundungen im Überseeischen*, 172-173.

<sup>334</sup> Cf., Johannes Graf, "'Der doppelte Hinsicht verschlagene Reisende.' Joachim Heinrich Campe in Raabe's Werk," *Jahrbuch der Raabe-Gesellschaft*, (1998), 99-114. Graf cites an autobiographical paragraph written by Raabe in 1907, in which he explains how his mother taught him to read using Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere*. Graf finds references to Campe throughout the author's oeuvre, citing no less than fifteen works. He notes that Raabe's use of Campe has been largely ignored, even by those scholars who have specifically investigated his use of literary quotes.

<sup>335</sup> Pizer, "Wilhelm Raabe and the German Colonial Experience," 174.

nineteenth-century Germany, *Anschauungsunterricht*, developed by Pestalozzi and Froebel.<sup>336</sup>

Under this method, students learn “von der Betrachtung wirklicher Gegenstände, von bildlichen Darstellungen, Modellen, konkreten Beispielen oder den Erfahrungen oder Erlebnissen des Kindes,” like those non-fiction works published by Ferdinand Hirt for classroom use.<sup>337</sup>

“Schaumann observes . . . one does not have to leave one’s little nook in the world to attain a panoramic worldview, a perspective to which Eduard sighingly assents from the bottom of his soul and ‘von untern Ende Afrikas her,’ already hinting at the doubt at his choice of a colonial abode that will strike him more profoundly at the novel’s conclusion.”<sup>338</sup> In the end, as scholars

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<sup>336</sup> *Anschauungsunterricht* “is the name Pestalozzi gave to a method of teaching he developed in the context of his efforts to make primary education available to children of the lower social classes. Variouly called, in the context of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century progressive education in the United States, ‘object teaching’ or ‘object lessons,’ *Anschauungsunterricht* is a pedagogical method that stresses the primacy of perception (*Anschauung*) in the development of the human capacity to acquire knowledge of the world, and that accordingly organizes its lessons first with a focus on the concrete sensory experiences of things and then with an emphasis on the perceptual and cognitive apprehension of representations of things in the form of captioned illustrations presented in picture books and primers, as well as on wall charts and various forms of hand-held cards and tablets. Benjamin often refers to *Anschauungsunterricht* in the context of the ‘education of the masses’ (*Volksbildung*), but he makes clear that its perceptual and historical effects extended to bourgeois children and, at least potentially, also to adult readers of various classes. Indeed, when writing about children’s books, he invokes both the experiences of his own late nineteenth-century Berlin childhood and his ongoing collecting.” Pestalozzi based his method on Kant’s notion of *Anschauung*. Cf. Brigid Doherty, “A Glimpse into the World of Children’s Books,” *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, And Other Writings on Media*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2008), 201-202. The class implications are particularly fruitful in this reading of Schaumann’s name. He and his wife Valentine Quakatz are transformed from outsiders (he for his portly appearance and poor school performance and she for her rough, unfeminine traits and her father’s false reputation as a murderer) to bourgeois citizens, while Eduard was always the Spießbürger that he remains, even in Africa. Schaumann’s experience of the world is mediated but nonetheless more direct and authentic than Eduard’s.

<sup>337</sup> “*Anschauungsunterricht*,” *Brockhaus’ Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 1, 14<sup>th</sup> edition (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1894), 670. For examples of materials, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

<sup>338</sup> Pizer, “Wilhelm Raabe and the German Colonial Experience,” 175.

have recognized, Stopfkuchen is more of a colonist in Germany than Eduard is in Africa; the book is “ja immer noch und vor allem die Geschichte von Schaumanns ‘Eroberung’ der Roten Schanze”<sup>339</sup> where he lives with “die Aufforderung zur Kolonisierung der Erde—Gehe aus dem Kasten!—an der Stirn seines Hauses.”<sup>340</sup> Thus, the subtitle of Raabe’s novel describes *his* immobile adventures and *his* detective work. The relationship between the childhood expectations of the eighteenth-century classic by Le Vaillant and the youthful reading of their late nineteenth-century popular manifestation as adventure and detective stories in the imperialist vernacular still begs exploration.

Just as youthful modes of reading shape reader expectations both internally and externally in *Stopfkuchen*, a travel-themed intertext of youthful reading also structures the narrative in *Gutmanns Reisen*. Another popular late eighteenth-century text, this time a fictional travel narrative written specifically for young people gives the novel its name. Christian Konrad Jakob Dassel’s *Merkwürdige Reisen der Gutmannschen Familie* (1797) describes “die Reisen der Familie Gutmann, bestehend aus den Eltern und vier Kindern” and their journeys of “über zehn Jahre . . . durch alle Erdteile, wobei geschichtliche, erdkundliche und naturkundliche Belehrungen mit spannenden und auch schauerlichen Abenteuern abwechseln.”<sup>341</sup> One edition of the book bears the subtitle “ein Weihnachtsgeschenk für die Jugend” and is dedicated “den Töchtern” of a Hannover girls’ school.<sup>342</sup> Raabe’s novel begins—like many of his works—with

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<sup>339</sup> Brewster, “Onkel Ketschwato in Neuteutoburg,” 115.

<sup>340</sup> Axel Dunker, *Kontrapunktische Lektüren: Koloniale Strukturen in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2008), 141.

<sup>341</sup> BA 18, 469. “Der Titel . . . entlehnte Raabe einer Jugendschrift.”

<sup>342</sup> Christian Konrad Jakob Dassel, *Merkwürdige Reisen der Gutmannschen Familie*, 2nd ed., (Hannover: Gebrüder Hahn, 1797), frontispiece.

the voice of an intrusive narrator-writer, expressing his gratitude to Dassel and his book, already long forgotten at the end of the nineteenth century:

Wenn ich heute auf dem Papier gern reise und die merkwürdigsten, halbsbrechendsten, rührendsten und belehrendsten Abenteuer mit Behagen erlebe und bis jetzt glücklich durchgekommen bin, so danke ich das diesem Autor, von dem natürlich keine ‘Liste der besten hundert Bücher aller Zeiten und Literaturen’ etwas weiß.<sup>343</sup>

Only after a full page of meta-commentary on the state of the print world does the narrator reveals why he has begun with Dassel’s text, namely because the marriage in his late nineteenth-century work should mirror the marriage in Dassel’s late eighteenth-century work:

Er läßt seine Emilie den König von Dahomy heiraten und aus dem schwarzen, blutdürstigsten, menschenschlachtenden und menschenfressenden Wüterich in Abomy einem weiß-human aufgeklärten Menschenfreund vom Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts machen: ich lasse meine Klotilde auch heiraten und sie dadurch das deutsche Volk neu gründen und das neue Deutsche Reich stiften.<sup>344</sup>

The narrator uses the analogy to say more about Germany than about the African setting of Dassel’s marriage, Raabe uses the analogy in hopes that it would “manchem kindlich-verwundert in den heutigen Tagestumult gaffenden Lesergemüt einen Gefallen damit tun.”<sup>345</sup> Using the pedagogical travel novel of the last century to make his point, Raabe implies from the first page of his novel that late nineteenth-century readers need a simplified narrative to understand the events of their own recent history, the failed attempts—at conferences that drew travelers from all over what would become Germany—of the *Nationalverein* to seek a liberal, Prussian-led *kleindeutsch* solution in the 1860s. As Florian Krobb has made clear, Raabe’s use

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<sup>343</sup> BA 18, 211.

<sup>344</sup> BA 18, 212.

<sup>345</sup> BA 18, 212. Here the analogy of youthful—rather, childish—reading is a jab at the reading public in Raabe’s time. For Raabe’s relationship with reader, Cf. Jeffrey Sammons, *The Shifting Fortunes of Wilhelm Raabe: A History of Criticism as a Cautionary Tale*, (Columbia: Camden House, 1992).

of the young adult text serves to make fun at the ambitions of the travel genre on the whole. Furthermore, Raabe uses the contrast of cultures in Dassel's book—a commonplace in Enlightenment-era pedagogical tracts—to relativize uncritical perceptions of inter-German regional differences: “Der naiven Überzeugung . . . , daß die pädagogische Wirkung des Reiseberichtes umso größer sein muß, je spektakulärer der Reisetstoff ist, setzt Raabe mithin eine fundamentale Skepsis entgegen, die jeden Reiseertrag als relativ, jedes Reiseerlebnis als subjektiv versteht.”<sup>346</sup> In this way, Raabe makes his readers aware of the mediated nature of viewing the world, and a text about the wider world finds its place in shaping German culture in a novel that never leaves German soil.

### **Worldly Knowledge Comes of Age in the Province: *Prinzessin Fisch* (1883)**

...in der großen Geschichte von der Erziehung des Menschens durch die Phantasie, den Traum und die optische Täuschung des jungen Leibes und der kindischen Seele des Menschen!<sup>347</sup>

While *Gutmanns Reisen* undermines the promises of pedagogical travel narratives while still staying on German soil, *Prinzessin Fisch* engages thoroughly with discourses of travel—as well as tourism and imperialism—all the while staying in the same village, in the space of one garden and one tiny attic room. Here armchair travel is young Theodor Rodburg's primary way of engaging with the world. In *Prinzessin Fisch* Raabe weaves Theodor's interaction with the

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<sup>346</sup> Florian Krobb, *Erkundungen im Überseeischen*, 50. “Nicht nur trifft die Verbindung zwischen der Süddeutschen und dem Norddeutschen auf mehr Widerstände (und baut größere Brücken) als die europäisch-afrikanische Heirat in Dassels Buch, auch wird die extensive Fahrt durch alle Weltteile bei Dassel von Raabe durch einen intensiven Ausflug in geographisch nahe Regionen ersetzt, bei dem nicht das rasende Durchmessen ungeheurer Räume der Bestätigung ursprünglicher Einstellung dient, sondern das Verhältnis von tatsächlicher Entfernung und Einstellungsveränderung umgekehrt erscheint” 49-50.

<sup>347</sup> BA 15, 348.

imaginative sphere of the books he reads into a novel of development: youthful reading is the real activity of the young protagonist.

*Prinzessin Fisch* was published between October of 1882 and February of 1883 in *Westermanns Illustrierte Deutschen Monatsheften*, a periodical whose concern for comparative ethnography and international cultural news lent Raabe some international status by association alone.<sup>348</sup> But contemporary critics saw only the story's provincial setting. The *Grenzboten* called it "eine Erzählung aus der deutschen Kleinwelt" and *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* focused on the ways the comforts of Ilmenthal's "hausbürgerlichen Kleinlebens" were so thoroughly disturbed by Doña Romana, the figurative Prinzessin Fisch of the story's title.<sup>349</sup>

To these reviewers, the main theme of *Prinzessin Fisch* seemed simultaneously familiar and fantastic. The dialectical relationship between a youth's pedestrian provincial school life and his far-flung imaginative world were well-worn territory in the late nineteenth century. Contemporary reviewers all honed in on this aspect, writing of the story: "sie schildert die Abenteuer, welche ein junger Primaner in der Stille seines Heimatstädtchens durch die seltsamste und doch natürlichste Verkettung der Verhältnisse bestehen hat," ... of "bitter enttäuschte[r] Knabenphantasie" and "eine[m] Primaner im Kampfe mit einem verächtliche Phantasiegebilde."<sup>350</sup> Whatever their opinion of Raabe's craft, they all seem relieved that he

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<sup>348</sup> Cf. Tucker, "Raabe, Westermann, and the International Imagination," 25-37. "Of all the works he published in popular periodicals about half first appeared in *Westermanns*. Raabe is an international writer, at least in part, because he published so many of his works in a magazine that strove to provide its audience with an international perspective." I would add a German perspective on the international, but Tucker's assertion that Raabe "evok[ed] the journalistic genre of international, cultural reporting" as a narrative technique to bring attention to the power of rhetoric and perspective to shape images of home and away is well taken.

<sup>349</sup> BA 15, 627-29.

<sup>350</sup> BA 15, 627-31.



rescues the young pupil from his imaginative revelry before he manages to fail his *Abitur* exams. Despite the small-town setting, the fantasies in *Prinzessin Fisch* resonate with the types of reporting on foreign settings to be found on the pages of popular periodicals, such as *Westermanns*, and in typical young adult reading of travel and adventure narratives. The images were clearly cast as foreign but by the 1880s were nonetheless well known to readers young and old.

In *Prinzessin Fisch*, Raabe explores questions of imagination and its limits in a changing German sphere through the personal development of his protagonist Theodor Rodburg. Told through the perspective of a third person narrative-writer, the tale follows Theodor from birth to young adulthood.<sup>351</sup> Raabe describes his late arrival into a family structure that was already

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<sup>351</sup> Raabe wrote a complete draft of the story that became *Prinzessin Fisch* in the first person from the perspective of an older protagonist, looking back on his childhood, giving it the title *Zu Spät im Jahr*. The protagonist becomes a lawyer and marries the teacher's daughter and even moves into his childhood home—an outcome that the published version hints at as a possible future, but does not confirm. I will not concern myself with this draft in this chapter. Though it differs in many ways from the published version, it does contain the same thematic strands of age and armchair travel through reading and makes use of the materiality of the book and context of the changing publishing and bookmaking industry in similar ways. For example, the protagonist says of himself “ich lasse drucken und bin in den Leihbibliotheken zu haben, und werde von den Buchhändler zur Ansicht verschickt” (597), though in the context of the sometimes incomprehensible draft it is unclear exactly what is meant by this, given the narrator is a lawyer by trade. Perhaps, like Karl Krumhardt—a character he bears a distinct resemblance to in this version—he is a lawyer who writes? Also present are intertextual references to young adult reading that extend beyond my primary concern here (and the third-person version's main focus), the *Robinsonade*. The Cooper intertext that will be central to my discussion of *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* is one: “Ich komme mir vor wie der Lederstrumpf aus dem Cooper”, sagte der Oberlehrer Doctor xx . . . ‘Sie rotten alles um mich her aus, und ich habe mich täglich auf weitere Entfernungen von der Stadt vor der Civisation zurückzuziehen” (615). In this version Raabe also uses the word “trivialste” to describe the garden that was the protagonist's childhood world (605). Though one would hardly call Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* or Schnabel's *Insel Felsenburg* “Trivialliteratur,” it is hard to ignore the field of meaning the expression conjures. Youthful reading and the reading of commoners who barely owned books—these books and their adaptations were some of the most commonly owned in the nineteenth century—would have been considered light or cheap literature in the broadest sense, that is, by association.

cemented. Because he is born “zu spät im Jahr,”<sup>352</sup> it is not long before he loses his elderly parents. At the age of five, the orphan is entrusted to a trio of caretakers. He comes to live in the home of his neighbors, the widow Meisterin Schubach and the aged bachelor bookbinder Bruseberger. The village schoolteacher, Dr. Drüding, is designated his *Obervormund* until he reaches his majority. Much of Theodor’s unconventional childhood is spent lost in daydreams and staring out a window that overlooks the garden of his former family home. Ignored by his married adult sisters and brothers, who have left for traditional careers as a book keeper in a Hamburg department store and a life insurance salesman in Frankfurt, he becomes obsessed with his unknown older brother Alexander, who left for America years before his birth and who is considered as good as dead by the rest of the family. “Eine ganze Menge merkwürdiger Geschichten”<sup>353</sup> that the neighbors tell about Alexander Rodburg fuse with popular print material that occupies his brother’s free time to provide a lively imaginative world for Theodor.

Two seemingly unrelated events unsettle Theodor’s isolated world of school and books: the arrival of his brother from America and the purchase of his family home by out-of-towners. Both events are motivated by the burgeoning tourism of the idyllic Ilmenthal setting of Theodor’s youth. “Captain Redburgh from Mobile U.S.”<sup>354</sup> arrives to make good on the newfound potential for prosperity by speculating on possibilities for touristic development in town. Alex fashions himself as a “Pionier im alten abgebrachten Europa”<sup>355</sup> and is admired by his younger brother as “den welt- und menschenkundigen, glorreichen Eroberer von Ilmenthal

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<sup>352</sup> BA 15, 195.

<sup>353</sup> BA 15, 200.

<sup>354</sup> BA 15, 252.

<sup>355</sup> BA 15, 300.

und Umgegend.”<sup>356</sup> Alexander and Ilmenthal itself are portrayed in the language of colonial fantasy and adventure stories. Tourists arrive like explorers on the high seas: “die ersten leisen Wellen der kommenden lukrativen Flut von Sommerfrischlingen fingen eben an, an den stillen Strand zu spülen”<sup>357</sup>; Herr Kriegszahlmeister Tieffenbacher and his Mexican wife who purchase and move into the Rodburg home are among them. The region has plenty of “jungfräuliche Boden” for speculators such as Alex.<sup>358</sup> Dirk Göttsche sees Alex Rodburg as “redefin[ing] the spatial and social terrain of his German upbringing as a colonial space waiting to be conquered and developed.” The reader knows nothing of Alex’s education after his departure from Ilmenthal and the narrator implies that he has learned of nothing from his travels but a cruel, crude capitalism. Thus Alex returns to the idyllic valley to embrace a “*Gründerzeit* capitalism” that symbolically becomes “a kind of advanced colonialism” at home.<sup>359</sup>

The fact that these events coincide with Theodor’s physical and emotional maturation has led literary scholarship to see *Prinzessin Fisch* as a precursor to later German novels of puberty.<sup>360</sup> Theodor’s garden was always a site to play out his childhood fantasies—now he stares from his attic window down into the garden and fantasizes about its new inhabitant, Doña

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<sup>356</sup> BA 15, 313.

<sup>357</sup> BA 15, 221.

<sup>358</sup> BA 15, 301.

<sup>359</sup> Dirk Göttsche, “‘Pionier im alten abgebrauchten Europa:’ Modernization and Colonialism in Raabe’s *Prinzessin Fisch*,” *Wilhelm Raabe: Global Themes—International Perspectives*, (London: Legenda, 2009), 48.

<sup>360</sup> Jeffrey Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 191. “it has been correctly observed that Princess Fish, as an account of puberty, was something new in the German literature of the time.” Sammons cites Karl Hotz, *Bedeutung und Funktion des Raumes im Werk Wilhelm Raabes*, (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1970), p. 133. Elsewhere Sammons refers to the work as a “novel of puberty” (238) about Theodor’s “crisis of puberty” (205).

Romana Tieffenbacher, whom he imagines as the “Prinzessin Fisch” of Goethe’s poem “Der Neue Amadis.” Both his brother, whose return has less-than-noble motivations, and the new neighbor, whom he knows only from a distance, charms Theodor. He begins to plot a teenage rebellion against his schoolboy existence under the supervision of Meisterin Schubach, Buchbinder Bruseberger, and Doktor Drüding and eventually manages to alienate himself successfully from them—at least temporarily. He discovers his foolishness when he comes to learn of his brother’s previous acquaintance with Doña Romana and the manner in which Alexander Rodburg has orchestrated the Tieffenbachers’ move to Ilmenthal as part of his project of speculation. Eventually, Theodor’s disillusionment with his brother and the Tieffenbachers brings him closer to the trio who raised him. He reconciles himself with the Kuhstieg of his youth and acknowledges its changes all the same. The only journey he takes is the traditional trip of the young provincial *Spießbürger*: to the nearest big city university, to make his way in the world.

Under this rather conventional line of plot run currents that complicate its simple story. Intertwined with Theodor’s story of personal change and development is the town’s own story of growth. The once quiet Ilmenthal is disturbed by a new railroad that brings urbanites to the province for fresh air. The entire existence of the small town becomes commodified—just as tourists arrive to breathe its air so too can its evergreen extract be exported. While the books Bruseberger bound were once the entrée of all things foreign into the town, now the world is suddenly at Ilmenthal’s doorstep, buying its houses, building new ones, and disturbing the order of its previously provincial ways. Bruseberger himself becomes outmoded, not just because the outside world has arrived, but because the printing industry has changed. Book production has become mechanized; books are now distributed centrally.

The story of nineteenth-century industrialization is manifest in a domestic imperialism that overtakes the town and changes perceptions about what is familiar and what is foreign, what is old and what is new. Theodor's awkward coming-of-age story is also the story of the town's awkward adolescence. The parallel between the development of the boy and of the town is not wholly unlike the gestures of specific young adult literature that subsumed individual adolescence under a rubric of nationalism, but their results are very different. Without suggesting a longing for romantic backwardness, Raabe resists portraying the new and unfamiliar as positively connoted progress, and despite the conventional resolution of the novel, Raabe questions whether anyone or anything—the boy, the town, the nation—will “grow up” unharmed.

After his mother dies and his father retires and isolates himself socially, Theodor and his home become objects of public opinion and speculation: “‘Ist das ein kurioser Haushalt!’ meinte ganz Ilmenthal, soweit es die Verhältnisse kannte.”<sup>361</sup> The neighbors are thankful for the sake of “die öffentliche Beruhigung”<sup>362</sup> that he is required to go to school. In a time before the town spent all of its energy “über sich weg und hinaus,”<sup>363</sup> concerned only with its touristic reputation and revenue, the neighbors sat on their garden benches and exchanged “kopfschüttelnd ihre Bemerkungen und ihre Ansichten über den jungen Theodor.”<sup>364</sup> He should be taken on by “die zuständige Behörden” since there is no one to care for him “wie es sich gehört.”<sup>365</sup> But Raabe

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<sup>361</sup> BA 15, 200.

<sup>362</sup> BA 15, 201.

<sup>363</sup> BA 15, 201.

<sup>364</sup> BA 15, 205.

<sup>365</sup> BA 15, 204.

undermines what seems a matter of communal consensus with caveats that illuminate the limits of perception and point to the power of perspective such as “soweit es die Verhältnisse kannte.” Other examples are Meisterin Schubach’s refrains, “So sehe nämlich *ich* die Sache an!”<sup>366</sup> and “Das ist meine Idee nämlich!”<sup>367</sup> The emphasis on the first person together with the repeated use of “nämlich” highlight her singular viewpoint. Similarly, Bruseberger’s repetition of the phrase inherently “Zusammenhang der Dinge”<sup>368</sup> draws attention to the fact that the relationships of things, ideas, or people to one another are indeed edited by humans, in this case, writers of popular science.

Meisterin Schubach and Buchbinder Bruseberger speak of Theodor using literary metaphor. Fiction and non-fiction texts are their points of reference when referring to the boy on the other side of their garden fence. Whenever Schubach sees Theodor, she gains “sehr an Inhalt.”<sup>369</sup> She reads him like a reference work with a table of contents. The “alte Jungfer [und] Junggesell” learn from their studies how to provide for the boy. The bookbinder Bruseberger looks for information in his reference works: “Das ganze Konversationslexikon kann man nach ihm nachschlagen, ohne ihn drin richtig beschrieben zu finden. . . , Schönholz’ Zusammenhang aller Wissenschaften habe ich doch ziemlich genau mehrmals studiert, aber die Geschichte der Erziehung gibt für so was kein Exempel. Unten bei den Feuerländern wäre er wohl noch am ersten möglich!”<sup>370</sup> Theodor’s upbringing is so lacking that it could only be possible in some

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<sup>366</sup> BA 15, 204.

<sup>367</sup> BA 15, 227.

<sup>368</sup> BA 15, 213ff.

<sup>369</sup> BA 15, 204.

<sup>370</sup> BA 15, 204.

distant tropical land. Raabe implies that Theodor is more likely to be found in a book of descriptive anthropology than in a history of western pedagogy.

Bruseberger and the Meisterin imagine Theodor as a textual *Schreckbild*—as a culturally constructed other—for failed parenting to be printed and distributed as a public service: “als Honorationenproduktion sollte man dies wirklich zur publiken Warnung auf Papp ziehen und es irgendwo so öffentlich als möglich zum abschreckenden Muster für Eltern besserer Stände an die Wand hängen.”<sup>371</sup> Yet Raabe is careful to note the cultural and class-based differentiations. The way Theodor runs wild in the garden without supervision reminds Bruseberger of his own “verlorene Kindheit hinter den Hecken und Zäunen.”<sup>372</sup> But he does not belong to the same class as Theodor, the son of Dr. juris und Rechtsanwalt F. Rodburg, and thus his upbringing “hatte . . . nicht viel zu bedeuten bei der öffentlichen Meinung und dem allgemeinen Anstand. Auf eine Vogelscheuche mehr oder minder kommt’s da unter den Klassen nicht an.”<sup>373</sup> By contrasting models of upbringing across geography and class, Raabe brings attention to—and concurrently questions—the ways in which child rearing is constructed and distributed by print culture. Ilmenthal and especially Schubach and Bruseberger project onto Theodor their ideas about pedagogy.

Their imaginings mirror the ways in which parents, authors, and teachers who created and distributed didactic literature as well as adult authorities within these texts used characters as positive models and negative influences for young people. Indeed, Theodor Rodburg literally

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<sup>371</sup> BA 15, 205.

<sup>372</sup> BA 15, 205.

<sup>373</sup> BA 15, 205.

becomes “Rodburg des Jüngsten”<sup>374</sup> a formulation that unmistakably echoes with Campe’s famous *Robinson der Jüngere*. Raabe follows the image of an encyclopedia such as the Meyers or the Brockhaus, with the Schönholz—a popular early nineteenth-century publication, that included a chapter dedicated to the history of pedagogy—to an imagined tract on appropriate parenting for the *Bildungsbürgertum* and arrives at perhaps the German-language didactic travel narratives best known in the nineteenth century: Joachim Heinrich Campe’s *Robinson der Jüngere* and *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. These two narratives, published 1779/1780 and 1781 respectively, enjoyed a lengthy reception history and were printed, reprinted, and adapted countless times in nineteenth-century Germany. Like Daniel Defoe’s original *Robinson Crusoe*, Campe’s texts used the context of adventure and shipwreck on high seas as a backdrop to assert a specific value system. The father-narrator in Campe’s text who reads and interprets Robinson’s actions is transformed in Raabe’s to a variety of voices—most prominently, Schubach and Bruseberg—who are not united in their interpretation of young Theodor’s thoughts and actions.

In Raabe’s text, the metaphor of the *Robinsonade* is interwoven on multiple levels. Not only do the characters—young and old alike—engage directly with the tropes of the familiar tale, the obtrusive narrator-writer also uses it to flavor his descriptive narrative. Raabe refers to “die Verwilderung, der Wust und die Verwahrlosung”<sup>375</sup> of the Rodburg garden. It is isolated and untouched by civilization just like Robinson’s island. Theodor is “in *seinem* Garten”<sup>376</sup> just as Robinson is on his island. Additionally, Raabe plays with the materiality and paratextual

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<sup>374</sup> BA 15, 199.

<sup>375</sup> BA 15, 207.

<sup>376</sup> BA 15, 208. Raabe’s emphasis.



elements of the book form. The garden is “die allerdichteste Blätterwildnis”<sup>377</sup>; the leaves on the overgrown trees and bushes of the garden become pages in the adventure stories of Theodor’s fantasies. When Theodor is sent outside to play after his father’s funeral while the adults inside decide his fate, he is given a large piece of cake “zur ‘bessern Unterhaltung,’”<sup>378</sup> a phrase that resonates with the subtitle of Campe’s book (*Zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder*<sup>379</sup>) and a connection underscored by Raabe’s use of (mis)quotation marks.

Like most young readers, Theodor does not fixate on the lessons Robinson’s story teaches, but rather the adventures it depicts. The generic Robinson-hero is a means to imagine his own escape and that of his brother before him:

Durch die Seele des übergegessenen Jungen ging an diesem schönen Nachmittag ein Grundgefühl von Zurücksetzung und von Überflüssigsein in der Welt und selbstverständlich dazu allerlei Geschichten von satt oder hungrig aus ähnlichen Stimmungen heraus durchgegangenen Jungen, unter welchen ein gewisser Bruder Alexander nicht die kleinste Rolle spielte. Dazu alle die Abenteuer—Robinson-Krusoe-Geschichten, Eroberung-von-Mexiko-Historien—, welche die Natur eigens für den Zweck erfunden zu haben scheint, den Menschen so früh als möglich aus dem Neste und ins Weite zu locken!<sup>380</sup>

Theodor devises a plan to set sail on the next Saturday afternoon without school. On his way to America, he will suffer a shipwreck and manage “wie Robinson” to get to dry land.<sup>381</sup>

Bruseberger, who has been observing the boy from his workshop window “seit einem halben

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<sup>377</sup> BA 15, 208.

<sup>378</sup> BA 15, 208.

<sup>379</sup> Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Robinson der Jüngere. Zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder*, (Hamburg: Bohn, 1779), frontispiece.

<sup>380</sup> BA 15, 209.

<sup>381</sup> BA 15, 210.

Menschenalter”<sup>382</sup> bonds with little Theodor when he predicts his plan and pinpoints its literary source. In order to get the scowling boy to smile, the bookbinder says, “Und jetzt blättre um; tu mir den Gefallen!” Raabe’s character literally turns over a new leaf as he begins his new life as the foster son of Schubach and Bruseberger, but the usage also suggests simply turning the pages to get past a sad part of a book. Bruseberger talks to the little Theodor in this way as “ein Mensch der Kultur, der zwischen den Druckbogen gelesen hat.”<sup>383</sup> Ironically, Theodor is barely old enough to have read much of anything—a fact with which Raabe suggests that much of the literary reference is pure mythology for the boy, the product of widespread cultural knowledge of a well-worn story rather than direct reading experience. Indeed, the narrator describes Theodor as the “Beherrscher von Juan Fernandez, Tinian, der Insel Felsenburg und aller möglichen anderen Inseln,”<sup>384</sup> and by mixing the factual sources and fictional offspring of the *Robinsonade* makes evident that he is referencing a cultural phenomenon of large proportions and unclear origins.

When Theodor comes to live under the care of Meisterin Schubach and Bruseberger in the little studio beside the bookbindery, Bruseberger suggests Theodor’s “reelle echte, angeborene wüste Insel . . . und diese [s]eine kuriose Zeit in der Phantasie und Einbildung ist jetzt vielleicht für alle Zeit abgetan.”<sup>385</sup> The garden, however, retains its status as a site of literary fantasy. Raabe transforms the boyhood space of “das Phantasie-Versuchsfeld des

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<sup>382</sup> BA 15, 213.

<sup>383</sup> BA 15, 213.

<sup>384</sup> BA 15, 214.

<sup>385</sup> BA 15, 214.

jüngsten Rodburgs”<sup>386</sup> to one appropriate for an adolescent with the addition of “die wunderschöne junge Frau und Dame . . . zwar aus der allerromantischsten Ferne.”<sup>387</sup> He sits staring out the window, bemoaning his limited powers as “einen albernen Schulbub”<sup>388</sup>—just as he did as a child in the garden. The narrator draws the reader’s attention to the fact that he wishes to return to the very place from which he once wished to escape. He sits at his desk, projecting his desires on to Frau Tieffenbacher, rather than struggling with his Latin and Greek lessons from school. He resents the fact that his brother knows modern languages, while he is forced to learn ancient ones. At this moment he stumbles upon Goethe’s “Der neue Amadis,” “dieses Knabengedicht aus dem weltberühmten Dachstübchen am Hirschgraben zu Frankfurt, von welchem aus man ebenfalls eine sehr angenehme Aussicht in die nachbarlichen Hausgärten hatte.”<sup>389</sup> This poem, written and published by Goethe in the 1770s, assumes the same role as the *Robinsonade* that previously defined Theodor’s youthful desires.<sup>390</sup> Campe’s place is taken by the young Goethe; Campe’s Robinson is replaced by Goethe’s Amadis, a lyric that was inspired by the chivalrous hero (*Ritterheld*) par excellence, Amadis of Gaul. One popular wanderer reinterpreted in the German vernacular is replaced by another hero of the European literary

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<sup>386</sup> BA 15, 242.

<sup>387</sup> BA 15, 243.

<sup>388</sup> BA 15, 284.

<sup>389</sup> BA 15, 284.

<sup>390</sup> The importance of the young Goethe to Raabe’s rich constellation of intertextuality will be further explored in the discussion of *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*.

imagination recast as a German hero.<sup>391</sup> Amadis—like Theodor—was a cast away child and like Robinson went searching for meaning—the story of his origins—in the wider world.

For Raabe, Goethe's "Knabengedicht" assumes a double meaning, as a poem by a boy and for a boy. Theodor recites the poem as his brother Alexander courts the "princess" below his window:

Als ich noch ein Knabe war,  
Sperrte man mich ein;  
Und so saß ich manches Jahr  
Über mir allein,  
Wie im Mutterleib<sup>392</sup>  
[ . . . ]  
Ritterlich befreit ich dann  
Die Prinzessin Fisch;  
Sie war gar zu obligeant,  
Führte mich zu Tisch,  
Und ich war galant.<sup>393</sup>

The poem is accompanied by Theodor's humming of "Es war ein König in Thule,"<sup>394</sup> most likely in the popular setting of Carl Friedrich Zelter. Raabe creates a contrast between the "old" classics of antiquity and the "new" vernacular classics of Goethe. Additionally, he mediates

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<sup>391</sup> Cf. "Amadis" and "Amadis of Gaul," *Researching the Song: A Lexicon*, Shirley Emmons and Wilbur Watkins Lewis, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), 17-18.

<sup>392</sup> BA 15, 284.

<sup>393</sup> BA 15, 285.

<sup>394</sup> BA 15, 285. "Die Ballade "Es war ein König in Thule" gehört zu den bekanntesten Gedichten von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). Durch die Vertonung Carl Friedrich Zelters (1758–1832) wurde sie bald auch als Lied populär. Die Ballade ist eines der prominentesten Beispiele dafür, wie ein Goethe-Gedicht im Stil des von Herder propagierten "Volkslied"-Ideals im 19. Jahrhundert tatsächlich zu einem breit rezipierten "Volkslied" wurde. [ . . . ] Im "Allgemeinen Deutschen Commersbuch" ist das Lied seit der Erstauflage von 1858 vertreten – wieder mit der Melodie von Zelter." Cf. Michael Fischer, "Es war ein König in Thule," *Populäre und traditionelle Lieder. Historisch-kritisches Liederlexikon*, (2007) [http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/es\\_war\\_ein\\_koenig\\_in\\_thule/](http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/es_war_ein_koenig_in_thule/) (7 January 2013).

both: the classics come in the form of schoolbooks and the Goethe is not just Goethe, but Goethe in decidedly popular form, as the ballads of young students. By placing them together Raabe marks the importance of context in seeing either one as a source of *Bildung* and upbringing.

Bruseberger shares Theodor's view from the window and devises his own means of coping with the new developments in the garden next door. Whether it is because he, like Theodor, feels the allure of the exotic woman or disgust at the actions of Alexander in the garden outside his window, he must do something. Instead of searching for literary inspiration, he chooses to edit his view, physically changing his perspective and limiting his perception of the situation: "Der Bruseberger stellte eine Papptafel ins Fenster, das heißt zwischen sich und die Außenwelt; aber der Jüngling ließ es offen—das Fenster nämlich—, und alles von draußen, Licht und Luft und Blätterrauschen, Vogelzwitscher und Menschenstimmen behielt freien Zugang."<sup>395</sup> Bruseberger uses the material of a book cover to remove the garden from the imaginative field of his bookbindery. While Theodor opens the book with a "Blätterrauschen," Bruseberger literally closes the book.

The narrator links Bruseberger's action with a question of relativity: "Der Bruseberger hinter seiner grauen Pappwand flickte . . . mit giftigstem Eifer an seinem zerlesenen Clauren weiter und hatte zu seiner Erquickung in seinem Drangsal nichts weiter als die Frage im Zusammenhang der Dinge: 'War denn die Welt und die Aussicht in die angenehme Nachbarschaft früher etwa netter und moralischer?'"<sup>396</sup> He works to preserve a work newer than Goethe's poem—Clauren wrote between 1816 and 1830—but already old fashioned in its own

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<sup>395</sup> BA 15, 308.

<sup>396</sup> BA 15, 311.

way.<sup>397</sup> This once wildly popular author of love stories thematizing the struggle between virtue and desire was parodied by his fellow writers already in his own time, yet his stories continued to be consumed by multitudes of avid readers. Bruseberger's question is one of change over time: is there actually any change, any progress? Or are such concepts more aptly explained as matters of perspective? With Bruseberger's well-worn copy of Clauren juxtaposed with Theodor's copy of Goethe's poem Raabe suggests the constructed nature of age and fashion. What—or who—is perceived as relevant, new, or important at any given moment in historical time is the product of a constellation of influence: “die Zusammenhang der Dinge.”

Just as Theodor's interest in the young Goethe typifies his socialization as a child of *Gründerzeit* Germany, Bruseberger's fondness for Clauren means that the bookbinder, too, is a child of his time. Raabe draws a parallel between mismatched Amadis and Princess Fish in Goethe's poem, Clauren's Prussian officer Wilhelm and his farm girl Mimili (*Mimili* was one of the biggest bestsellers of the nineteenth century, and most probably, the worn edition that Bruseberger binds), and his own mismatched pair, Theodor and Frau Tieffenbacher, the married older woman next door. Raabe suggests that, despite his chronological age, Bruseberger is not just a child of his time, but remains an immature reader like his ward. The bookbinder is caught in the perpetual reading frenzy (*Lesewut, Leserei*) typical of adolescence. He reads everything he gets his hands on and he reads indiscriminately, because he reads as he binds. It is a simple matter of supply and demand that he binds what is most popular most often of all.

Not only is Bruseberger's manner of reading youthful, but his reading material is often written specifically for young people. His bindery does not allow him the luxury of

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<sup>397</sup> Heinrich Clauren is a nom de plume for Carl Gottlieb Samuel Heun (1771-1854). His best known work was *Mimili. Eine Erzählung von H. Clauren*. (Dresden: Hilscher, 1816), which in turn was a derivative of Rousseau's *Julie, or the New Heloise* (1761), a bestseller of the previous century.

discriminating taste; he is bound to his trade. Theodor is often by his side; the two read in tandem. When Bruseberger and Theodor share the workshop, the bookbinder teaches the boy more about his routines of reading than the techniques of his trade. Together they especially enjoy illustrated works. In one scene he calls the boy for help placing the illustrations in a book for a teacher of natural history: “Komm mal rauf in die Werkstatt. Wir haben einen Naturhistorikus vonnöten für einen Gelehrten *für die gebildete Jugend*, der mir selber nicht recht zu wissen scheint, wo er eigentlich seinen beigegebenen Kupfertafeln hingebunden haben will.”<sup>398</sup> On the one hand, Bruseberger’s oddly doubled prepositional phrase (for a scholar for the educated youth) is meant literally: Bruseberger binds the book for a teacher who uses it for his students. On the other hand, it plays with the extended subtitles that addressed intended readership of both fiction and non-fiction throughout the nineteenth century.

What Bruseberger wants is not the “gelehrte[n] Hülfe des unmündigen Nachbarn,” but rather,

jemand . . . , der ihm bei dem ersten Auseinandernehmen eines Kupferwerkes naturhistorischer, ethnographischer oder allgemein malerischer Gattung für seine intimsten Ansichten, Gefühle und Bemerkungen eine wirkliche, wahrhaftige Hingebung und ein volles naives Verständnis an den Ellenbogen und den Arbeitstisch mitbrachte.<sup>399</sup>

They both become children mutually fascinated by *Anschaunungsunterricht* in book form. They lose themselves in a world opening up before them, traveling through time and space. They give themselves over authentically and with unrestrained fond appreciation to the armchair journey

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<sup>398</sup> BA 15, 223. My emphasis. The title seems to be an amalgamation of something like Constantin Wilhelm Lambert Gloger, *Gemeinnütziges Hand- und Hilfsbuch der Naturgeschichte. Für gebildete Leser aller Stände, besonders für die reifere Jugend und ihre Lehrer*, (Breslau: Schulz, 1841).

<sup>399</sup> BA 15, 223.

that is reading a book. This manner of reading was anything but the masculine rationality that Bruseberger attempts to cultivate through his fascination with popular science. This all-encompassing, emotional reading makes Bruseberger immature, effeminate, and full of the wonder of a simpleton, or a curious child.<sup>400</sup>

Raabe plays with classifications of age in regard to almost all the characters in *Prinzessin Fisch*,<sup>401</sup> but Bruseberger provides the most thoroughly developed case, because his age is

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<sup>400</sup> BA 15, 226. “Unter allen Umständen hatte er viel mehr als das, was er und seinesgleichen mit Vorliebe ‘Bildung’ nennen: nämlich allewege und allezeit sein nachdenkliches blaues Wunder über unzählige Dinge und Angelegenheiten, die den meisten seiner näheren oder entfernteren Bekannten gleichgültig, das heißt meistens zu hoch oder zu tief waren.” His reputation is, for some, that of a “ganz schnurröser Simpliziste.”

<sup>401</sup> Meisterin Schubach is called a mother though she never was one, but she is spritely and young. In contrast Theodor’s mother was elderly. Later, Doña Tieffenbacher appears young from a distance and in Theodor’s imagination but is actually “älterlich.” Her aging husband is called “ein netter . . . Bursch,” (284) while Doktor Drüding is suddenly a “Greis” (270). Theodor feels the youngest he ever has in the presence of Doña Tieffenbacher: “So kindlich, so jugendlich wie um diese Zeit seines Lebens hatte der arme Junge noch nie in die Welt hineingeschaut; und das beste dabei war, daß für alle Zeit etwas von dem rosigen, verschämten, glatten Schein an ihm hängenblieb” (246). Yet, Theodor perceives Alex as “ein Jahrhundert jünger als ich, obgleich sie sagen, daß er zwanzig Jahre älter sei” (283). Alex is “merkwürdig jung ... geliebt” (271). For comments on Raabe’s approach to age across his works, Cf.: Jeffrey Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 52. Peter Arnds has also focused on the significance of age in *Prinzessin Fisch*. Cf. Peter Arnds, “The Boy with the Old Face: The Boy with the Old Face: Thomas Hardy’s *Antibildungsroman Jude the Obscure* and Wilhelm Raabe’s *Bildungsroman Prinzessin Fisch*, *German Studies Review* 21:2 (1998), 221-240. I don’t take issue with the comparison Arnds draws and his insightful close readings are some of the few for *Prinzessin Fisch*, but feel he oversimplifies Raabe by far. While I understand the urge to use the term *Bildungsroman*, despite its Raabe’s nuanced intertextual engagement in the text itself is, for me, one indication of the problems of the term. Raabe questions the idea that narratives lead to development and education. He doesn’t deny that they do, but he questions how and in what combinations. Most of all, I don’t agree with his assessment of the reasons for the young faces of Alexander and Bruseberger. For Arnds, Alexander’s young face is a mask of deception. This is true enough, but isn’t it also a reflection that he comes from a newer—indeed, the new—world? Worse is his assertion that Bruseberger’s face stays young “thanks to his humorous character” which gives him a “critical yet open mind” (233). I don’t think Bruseberger is a clown, not even a critical one. While Arnds is right that “Raabe suggests . . . wisdom and youthfulness need not exclude each other” (235), I am more apt to believe that one can be wise and young or foolish and young, or wise and old or wise and old. The same person can be all of



defined by his profession and his profession is defined by a bygone age. At the end of the century, bookbinding as craftsman's work was quickly becoming a thing of the past, because the cheap production of wood pulp paper transformed the book market, a fact Raabe connects directly to the geography of Ilmenthal. In Theodor's youngest years the forests are protected "durch einen gutmütigen Waldaufseher . . . . die Wasser und vor allem die Ilme waren noch nicht gezwungen, ihr süß, mutwillig, toll Springen und Rauschen für die nichtswürdigste Erfindung der Neuzeit, für die Holzstoffpapier-Fabriken, herzugeben!"<sup>402</sup> Yet, Bruseberger carries on his trade with the single-mindedness of a headstrong child. By inverting the age of the bookbinder Raabe suggests that the possibility of personal or professional development is cut off. He stays young *because* his profession is old.

He is an aged craftsman, but has never become a master (*Meister*).<sup>403</sup> Because he remains a journeyman (*Geselle*) he also remains unmarried: Bruseberger is, paradoxically, an "Altgesell." He is beardless, youthful in the face, and is called "Brusebergerchen" and "der Bruseberger" but never "Herr Bruseberger."<sup>404</sup> Despite his status as Theodor's mentor and co-guardian he is never depicted as a figure of authority. Rather, he is Theodor's "treue Freund,

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these things, and not necessarily in progression. That one can learn definitively one way or the other, and that this leads to *Bildung* is not what Raabe suggests. Finally, when Arnds writes "in *Prinzessin Fisch* the changing times do not eat their children" (237), he seems to have forgotten Bruseberger, who I hope to prove, is a child of sorts. As Jeffrey Sammons has said simply: "Sometimes the young are born old. . . . But Raabe does not always apply the same motif in the same way."

<sup>402</sup> BA 15, 233-34.

<sup>403</sup> Schubach is the widow of Bruseberger's deceased master. Journeymen (*Geselle*) were sometimes forbidden from marrying by the guild. At the same time, marriage into a house of a master was one of the few ways for a journeyman to become a master.

<sup>404</sup> BA 15, 216.

Spiel- und Märchenberater seiner Kindheit.<sup>405</sup> The citizens of Ilmenthal notice the curious relationship of Theodor and Bruseberger:

‘Was für ein merkwürdig altes Gesicht der Junge hat!’ [. . .] ‘Was für ein merkwürdig junges Gesicht der alte Kerl hat für seine Jahre. Ich taxiere ihn weit über die Fünfzig!’ sagten die Leute, und—sie waren wahrlich Vögel aus demselbigen Neste, der Gries mit dem Jungensgesichte und der Junge mit dem alten Gesicht.<sup>406</sup>

The narrator reveals the disparity between Bruseberger’s actual and perceived age by pairing it with Theodor’s characterization as a individual out of his time: because he is born “Zu spät im Jahr!” he is already old. By filtering the remarks about Theodor and Bruseberger’s perceived age through the view of the public at large, Raabe emphasizes that age is—at least in part—a matter of perspective, rather than the product of quantitative objectivity.

Raabe unites Bruseberger and Theodor in a cycle of inverted age through the imagery of their literary imaginings. In the scene of their initial meeting and in the final scene of their parting—and nowhere else in the novel—the *Schubkarre* (push cart or wheelbarrow) plays an important role. Raabe links this everyday item to Theodor’s imagined journeys as an imagined Robinson and to Bruseberger’s real journeys as a bookbinder and seller. For Theodor, the cart becomes his ship and then his castaway’s island. For Bruseberger, the cart carries his imaginative fuel and freight: the books he binds and sells. In both cases, Raabe suggests that the cart is a conveyance for that which is cast off. In the nineteenth century, rolling carts of all types where a means to collect and transport junk, but also the movable homes of the itinerant poor without citizen’s rights (*Bürgerrechte*), they carried the baggage of those cast off by society. Though he is a fixture in Ilmenthal, as a journeyman who never advanced to master status,

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<sup>405</sup> BA 15, 383.

<sup>406</sup> BA 15, 222-24.

Bruseberger would also most likely not have had full citizenship (*Heimatrecht*) in the town in which he has settled and may even be born out of wedlock, a possibility reinforced by the description of his non-traditional upbringing.<sup>407</sup> With the *Schubkarre*, Raabe suggests that both Theodor and Bruseberger are obsolete and anachronistic, connected by “ein Grundgefühl von Zurücksetzung und von Überflüssigsein in der Welt.”<sup>408</sup> But they do not feel their obsolescence at the same time.

When Theodor’s older siblings send him into the garden after their father’s funeral, Bruseberger observes Theodor from his window. The boy sits “auf einem umgestülpten Schubkarren, von dem das Rad schon seit Jahren sich unter einen andern Busch verloren hatte.”<sup>409</sup> The overturned cart suggests a time before the current neglect of both garden and boy, a time when the cart was used to keep the garden in order, or when an even younger Theodor practiced walking with it. Now, its disrepair externalizes Theodor’s daydreams of shipwreck and emphasizes his real lack of mobility. The little hill the overturned cart creates becomes an island in the garden that separates Theodor from civilization and he seems quite stuck on it. The “Sünde und Schande” of the wild garden makes the already estranged boy even more foreign to his bourgeois sisters and as the garden has grown more and more wild, so have Theodor’s fantasies.<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> BA 15, 225. This assumption is supported by the narrator’s remarks: to those who might research the curious Bruseberger, whose real name is Heinrich August Baumann, “dem hilft kein Kirchenbuch, kein Standesamt dazu.”

<sup>408</sup> BA 15, 209.

<sup>409</sup> BA 15, 208.

<sup>410</sup> BA 15, 207.

Bruseberger recognizes Theodor's lonely daydreams—perhaps they echo his own experience of alienated fantasy, one he tries to overcome with Enlightenment naïveté. He comes to meet the boy for the first time over the course of the novel: “Bald eine halbe Stunde habe ich dich mir da auf deinem Karren schon von der Werkstatt aus betrachtet und Zschokkes Stunden der Andacht dabei geheftet. Dieses ist nun besorgt, und jetzo komme ich im Zusammenhang der Dinge und der Wissenschaften zu dir.”<sup>411</sup> The status of Zschokkes work as an *Erbauungsbuch* (devotional) resonates with Bruseberger's real name, Baumann, and *Erbauung* (edification) in turn resonates with Bruseberger's refrain of the power of *Bildung* (education): “Und möglich ist einem Mensch mit Bildung alles!”<sup>412</sup> Like Campe's adaptation of the *Robinsonade*, Bruseberger comes in the spirit of *Bildung*. Theodor is shocked to discover that Bruseberger predicts his plans to run away from home: the bookbinder knows the literary source of Theodor's imaginings to the letter.

Near the end of *Prinzessin Fisch*, Theodor is returning home, not from running away, but for Christmas vacation after a respectable departure to study at the university in the big city. While stranded in a nearby village waiting for his final train connection Theodor runs into Bruseberger. He greets his mentor with warmth, but the bookbinder is slow to put down his cart and meet Theodor's embrace: “‘Theodor?!’ rief der Alte, seinen Schubkarren anhaltend und niederlassend und das Karrenband von den Schultern streifend, aber durchaus nicht, um die

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<sup>411</sup> BA 15, 212. Heinrich Zschokke, *Stunden der Andacht zur Beförderung wahren Christenthums und häuslicher Gottesverehrung*, (Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer, 1809-1816). A popular devotional in multiple editions throughout the nineteenth century that brought rationality to religion. The fact that Zschokke lived in Switzerland after conditions in Prussia prevented him from being granted a full professorship is probably not insignificant. Raabe casts him by association as another “aus ähnlichen Stimmungen heruas durchgegangenen Jungen” (209).

<sup>412</sup> BA 15, 212. Other versions of this sentiment, all coming from Bruseberger and containing *Bildung* appear elsewhere in the text.

Hände besser gleichfalls zum Gruße dar bieten zu können.”<sup>413</sup> The hesitation that Theodor once possessed to leave his *Schubkarre* and his dream world is now Bruseberger’s hesitation to leave his *Schubkarre*, his dream world of literature, and tell the boy the truth about Ilmenthal.

Bruseberger is uncertain of the boy, he asks Theodor if he has learned “schon genug von der Welt” to face his childhood window, the view into the garden, and the town of Ilmenthal again.<sup>414</sup>

The two decide to walk together with the *Schubkarre*, which holds the books remaining from his sales at nearby Christmas markets, and proceed slowly towards Ilmenthal. When Theodor offers to push the *Schubkarre* Bruseberger refuses (370).<sup>415</sup> Theodor’s concern for Bruseberger’s physical state is part of a gradual role reversal that occurs as the two share the path to Ilmenthal. At the same time, it is his desire to get closer to the imaginative realm of his past, both by getting to town faster and by taking control of the cultural goods (*Kulturgüter*) in the cart. But Bruseberger clings to his cart, pushing slowly, and telling the story of the developments in Ilmenthal, “als ob er [sie . . .] wie ein Buch auf seinem Handwerkstische Bogen für Bogen kollationieren wolle.”<sup>416</sup> Bruseberger labors to put the pages of his story in order and check their integrity. As a result Theodor decides not to return home. At this moment Raabe connects the new world coming to Ilmenthal to the new developments that have rendered Bruseberger’s profession obsolete:

Die beiden Wanderer traten eben mit dieser Wendung des Gespräches auch an einer Wendung des Weges aus dem Dunkel des Tannenhochwaldes auf eine

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<sup>413</sup> BA 15, 365.

<sup>414</sup> BA 15, 367.

<sup>415</sup> BA 15, 370.

<sup>416</sup> BA 15, 374-75.

Holzschlagstelle, wo die gefälligten und teilweise schon geschälten Stämme von dem Gipfel des Berges bis zur Talsohle, der Ilme, der Chaussee und der neuen Eisenbahn, wie Leichen auf einem Schlachtfelde lagen.<sup>417</sup>

The trees being cleared for the new railroad that brings the wider world directly to Ilmenthal are the same trees that enable the industrialized production of cheap books, putting an end to Bruseberger's mediated interaction with the wider world through the books he binds. Theodor's youth has passed on; when he looks down on Ilmenthal he sees it as harboring a figurative corpse: "Da unten lag denn seine Kindheitsstadt; aber in ihr lag auch eine Leiche: seine unbefangene Kindheit, seine glückselige, schuldlose, vertrauensvolle, märchenvolle, wundervolle Jugend!"<sup>418</sup> But that corpse is like the corpses of the fallen trees—it might have a new life preserved on the paper of newly minted books, books that might nevertheless tell old stories, despite their new means of production and distribution.

Together Theodor and Bruseberger have been "zwei Phantasten und Traumgeher"<sup>419</sup> but now their ways must part—not due to the desires of either of them, but because they are children of different times. And this makes Theodor finally young and Bruseberger finally old. Theodor is called a student and a *Knabe* without qualifiers.<sup>420</sup> Theodor says *Sie* to Bruseberger and Bruseberger says *du* to Theodor.<sup>421</sup> Theodor becomes "mein Kind, mein lieber, lieber Junge"<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> BA 15, 374.

<sup>418</sup> BA 15: 382.

<sup>419</sup> BA 15, 373.

<sup>420</sup> BA 15, 377.

<sup>421</sup> BA 15, 377.

<sup>422</sup> BA 15, 384.

and a “Jüngling.”<sup>423</sup> Raabe uses new terms that bestow unprecedented authority on Bruseberger: Theodor is his “Schutzbefohlenen”<sup>424</sup> and “Schützling”<sup>425</sup> and Bruseberger is Theodor’s “greiser Führer.”<sup>426</sup> Bruseberger is finally “der Alte.”<sup>427</sup>

The pushcart in its two instantiations and their polar placement in the novel constitutes a key symbol that connects discourses of age and discourses of reading and in doing so questions the notion of progress as positive. The pushcart is not only a conveyance for the cast off, but a tool for the very young and very old. It is both a toy for young children first learning to walk and a necessary aid for the elderly struggling to walk. It facilitates Theodor’s imaginative start in life and his mutual mentorship with the bookbinder, who clings to it as what remains of the past, not foolishly or blindly but because he, by virtue of his old age, can. Theodor does not have the luxury to choose; he must make his way in the new world. He says, “Ich will lieber in Leipzig versuchen, was ich mir noch retten kann aus der guten alten Zeit, aus dem versunkenen Phantasie-Wunderlande!”<sup>428</sup> Theodor does not look back towards Ilmenthal, but returns to

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<sup>423</sup> BA 15, 382.

<sup>424</sup> BA 15, 383.

<sup>425</sup> BA 15, 383.

<sup>426</sup> BA 15, 382.

<sup>427</sup> BA 15, 386.

<sup>428</sup> BA 15, 384. I find it very interesting that Theodor goes to Leipzig to attend university, despite the (presumable) proximity of other institutions. The critical edition claims that there is evidence Raabe based the fictional town of Ilmenthal on the nineteenth-century spa Bad Harzburg, which he is known to have visited. The view is corroborated by certain textual references and the timing of Harzburg’s touristic boom. At the same time, the name and the real river of the Ilm, together with the Goethe allusions in Raabe’s text present Ilmenau as another possible model, though Ilmenau’s tourism was later in coming. Furthermore, the fact that the university in Erfurt was closed by the Prussian government in the early nineteenth-century would be a compelling reason for Theodor to seek a more distant locale for his studies. In all likelihood, Raabe did not

Leipzig. What methods will he use to rescue what remains of his childhood fantasy world in Leipzig, the city of books and capital of the German book trade? He is not taking any of the preindustrial books from Bruseberger's cart. The bookbinder is left with the remains of his imaginative life, the unsold books he will push back to Ilmenthal in his cart, the cast-off remainders. As Bruseberger watches Theodor go, his resignation contrasts with Theodor's determination. Bruseberger has done his duty and now Theodor will do his.<sup>429</sup> He is "befreit" as he pushes "den Marktrest seiner Ladung echter, wahrer Weltliteratur, seine Bibeln, Kinderfreunde, Bilderbücher, bunten Märchenbogen und Volksbücher bergab wieder hinein in die allgemach so sehr berühmt gewordene Stadt Ilmenthal an der Ilme."<sup>430</sup>

The words *Auf der Schwelle* and *Prinzessin Fisch*.<sup>431</sup> *Schwelle* can refer to a threshold, or a railroad tie, or the ridge of a waterfall, even the condition of being on the verge—all fitting images here. What does it mean to say that Theodor stands on a threshold? Will he ride the

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have one particular source for his imaginary town, but rather an amalgamation of references that together represented a fictional fantasy of a real phenomenon occurring across Germany. It is worth mentioning that the only other reference I can find to Ilmenthal as a place name—real or fictional—is a Graf von Ilmenthal in a short story by Karl Emil von Schafhäufl published under the pseudonym Emil Pellisov entitled *Der Alte von den Bergen: Eine Erzählung für Kinder*, (Ingolstadt: Attenkover, 1832). It is also printed in the fifth volume of a collection of stories for young people in the series edited by J. M. Hauber, *Jugend-Bibliothek: Moralische Schilderungen zur Belebung des Edelsinnes und der Tugend*, (Lindau: Stettner, 1856). Given that these are examples of youth literature published in the first half of the nineteenth century (like so many of the literary references Raabe includes in *Prinzessin Fisch*, especially in Bruseberger's reading material), this fact seems to warrant more than a footnote, but as I have not yet read the story I cannot speculate about further connections at this time.

<sup>429</sup> BA 15, 385. "Tue deine Pflicht in der Fremde."

<sup>430</sup> BA 15, 386.

<sup>431</sup> BA 15, 386. As the last sentence indicates (and journals and drafts corroborate) Raabe also considered them as a title for the story: "Wir aber—wir hatten zuerst die Absicht, dieser wahrhaftig wahren Geschichte den Titel zu geben: *Auf der Schwelle!*"



wave of new publishing industry—enabled by the hydropower of rivers such as the Ilm that also carry the logs for paper to factories? Perhaps he will try to carry the imaginative space of literature that Bruseberger cultivated through his duality of reading and binding into a new era. Perhaps he will become a part of the publishing industry? Perhaps this is his way to rescue the remains of his childhood phantasies in Leipzig, a city that was center of bookmaking both before and after industrialization.<sup>432</sup> He is not abandoning his childhood world, but trying to find a new way to mediate it. Entering the growing market segment publishing for young people might be one way to preserve something of his childhood fantasy world. Theodor makes a choice, because alongside his fondness for the imaginative space of his books he retains a space for rationality and, as Bruseberger has demonstrated throughout the story, that too, can be found in books. As Jeffrey Sammons asserts, the “education of the young Theodor Rodburg consists not in the abandonment of the imagination but in learning to make differentiations by experiencing the pitfalls.”<sup>433</sup>

Bruseberger has helped Theodor read his brother Alexander’s life—and the corrupt imperialistic world he represents—like a corrigenda.<sup>434</sup> In the eyes of the young Theodor,

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<sup>432</sup> The text makes it clear that Theodor goes to Leipzig to study law, but never states that he intends to become a lawyer. The text refers to the Leipzig university as an “Erziehungsanstalt,” a name more appropriate for a reform school than a place of higher learning (349). Jeffrey Sammons has given ample evidence of Raabe’s problematic relationship to formal education. And while I want to abide Sammons warning not to conflate biography and fiction, since Raabe was a book seller who left to study philosophy, it is not out of the realm of possibility that Theodor might study law while also pursuing other interests.

<sup>433</sup> Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 259.

<sup>434</sup> BA 15, 381. “Wie ein Druckfehlerverzeichnis hat er sie an sein großes Weltbuch, in welches der Teufel so viel Unverständlichkeiten und falsche Wörter und Zahlen gesäet hat, angehängt. Es ist ein dummes Gleichnis, aber wegen meines Handwerks kann ich weder dir noch mir drüber weghelfen.”

Alexander was a living legend, a real life Robinson. But this does not mean that the imaginative garden of Theodor's youth is off limits. After all, a book is a powerful force in the hands of certain readers, but it cannot be held responsible for a person's actions. Theodor can enjoy the fantasy stimulated by books while still retaining a hold on reality: He has become a mature reader.

### **Mediating the Imaginative World: *Die Akten des Vogelsangs***

Wir waren alle drei in den echtsten und gerechtesten Flegeljahre.<sup>435</sup>

Was erzieht alles an dem Menschen! Und wie werden mit allen anderen Hoffnungen und Befürchtungen Eltern-Sorgen und –Glücksträume zunichte und erweisen sich als überflüssig oder besser als mehr oder weniger angenehmer Zeitvertrieb im Erdendasein!<sup>436</sup>

If *Prinzessin Fisch* shows that becoming a mature reader is possible—if not necessarily linked to chronological age—*Die Akten des Vogelsangs* shows that becoming a mature reader is not a foregone conclusion—and is certainly not linked to travel in the wider world. In both texts, Raabe explores the themes of youthful reading, imagination, and the wider world, mediating all three through literary metaphor and weaving them together into alternative coming-of-age narratives. *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*, however, which Raabe began writing almost exactly a decade after the publication of *Prinzessin Fisch*,<sup>437</sup> looks back at youth through the lens of death. Here the frenzy of young adult reading is a dangerous avoidance of adult life instead of a mechanism of arrival in a mature world. And, yet, as both portrayals of imaginative youth

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<sup>435</sup> BA 19, 233.

<sup>436</sup> BA 19, 244.

<sup>437</sup> BA 19, 447. According to Raabe's records he began writing in 1893, without a clear vision (which he otherwise often possessed). The work was ready for publication 25 months later.

reveal, *neither* outcome is a forgone conclusion. There is no single moral or pedagogical lesson about the power of books in youth to be drawn from Raabe's texts.

*Die Akten des Vogelsangs* tells the story of a trio of childhood friends, Karl Krumhardt, Velten Andres, and Helene Trotzendorff. Karl records the events of their intertwined lives, looking back as an adult. As the most respectable adult of the three *Vogelsang* children, the attorney Karl is successfully integrated in the middle-class world of late nineteenth-century Germany. Upon his friend Velten's death, he is charged by Helene to record in "recht nüchterner Prosa"<sup>438</sup> words of warning about herself and Velten. Karl does his best "nur als Protokollist des Falls aufzutreten." In reality, though, the product of his writing is much less straightforward. Raabe's novel possesses a personal (yet dependable) narrative voice, uses literary metaphor throughout, and moves back and forth from past to present with changes of time and setting often occurring mid-sentence.

Yet, a basic sketch of events does emerge. Karl's writing documents the arrival of Helene in the *Vogelsang* from the America of her birth. The three grow up together until Helene and her mother return to New York to be with her father, a German-American who works as an immigration agent (*Auswanderungsagent*). While Karl advances beyond the already solidly middle-class status of his father, becoming a civil servant and marrying conventionally, Velten becomes untethered from reality when Helene leaves, and wanders between Berlin and New York and eventually around the whole globe, possessed by an unhealthy obsession with her.

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<sup>438</sup> BA 19, 403. Her formulation hints at the tensions in Karl's task and the text he will generate. It should be sober and unemotional, yet it should be prose, which suggests it is a story of fiction, or at best an account in narrative form, not a formulaic protocol (like the legal briefs Karl must write for his profession). The expression could be rendered in English as "particularly prosaic prose" which might be a self-deprecating jab at Raabe's own bourgeois origins and the texts he creates, or (another possibility my analysis will explore) a dig at moralistic literature for the youth.

Helene's character is portrayed as questionable when she marries and eventually becomes the widow of the millionaire Mungo, yet Velten's fixation is unrelenting. The two have an ongoing—though indeterminate—relationship (as evidenced by Helene's appearance at Velten's deathbed and a reference to their sporadic meetings all over the world) that Karl pities and laments, but nonetheless understands. It is unclear whether his loyal if distanced friendship—and his writing project—is a product of nostalgia for shared youth and a deep-seated yet stifled resignation to his own traditional bourgeois path.<sup>439</sup>

Though *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* was not Raabe's final work, he repeatedly called it his *Altersarbeit*.<sup>440</sup> Composed between 1893 and 1895, the novel consumed more time than any work of its length in Raabe's lifetime of rapid and prolific writing. It appeared first in Otto Janke's *Deutsche Romanzeitung* in Oktober 1895, a magazine to which Raabe was connected over the course of his literary career. The book version was published in time for the Christmas of 1895, with an official publication date of 1896.

Raabe expected the book to give “dem Publikum wohl wieder einmal einigen Grund zur Verwunderung,”<sup>441</sup> but contemporary critics were actually quite fond of the work. The gap between expectations and reality seems to be a matter of focus: Raabe's attention to the tragic frame was countered by the public's preoccupation with the idealized space of childhood.<sup>442</sup>

Willy Rath wrote in the *Neuen Literarischen Blätter*, “Der ganze ‘Vogelsang’ steht vor uns,

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<sup>439</sup> For a more thorough description of the personalities and plot of Raabe's novel, cf. Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 300-305.

<sup>440</sup> BA 19, 449.

<sup>441</sup> BA 19, 453. Raabe, letter to Gerber 8. November 1895.

<sup>442</sup> BA 19, 454. According to Hans Jürgen Meinerts in contemporary critiques, “die reizvolle Idylle der Vogelsangkindheit wurde gewöhnlich besonders hervorgehoben.”

lebendig, sonnig, vertraut wie nur ein Stück unsrer eigenen Jugend.”<sup>443</sup> Raabe’s depictions of youth in the protagonists’ childhood neighborhood allowed fans of his youthful work to make a connection between the beloved idyll of the *Sperlingsgasse* in his first novel and the *Vogelsang* in his most recent. But even *Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse* was not as idyllic as critics and readers wanted it to be, and ignoring the frame narrative of *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*—the steady yet distressed narrator Krumhardt, the pathetic and pitied Widow Mungo nee Trotzendorff, and the prematurely deceased Velten Andres—amounts to neglecting the crux of Raabe’s novel. Indeed, critics’ dwelling on Raabe’s fairy tale world to the exclusion of his equally detailed depiction of youthful fantasy’s dark side can only be explained by willful neglect.

Raabe begins his text with one of most shadowy characters in German-language youth literature about travel, providing *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* with a cryptic motto from Adelbert von Chamisso’s *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte*.<sup>444</sup> Peter Schlemihl has given his shadow to the devil in exchange for infinite wealth. Rejected by his lover and society at large for his difference, he must wander the world. Schlemihl becomes a traveler not out of *Wanderlust* but out of necessity and an overwhelming sense of displacement. His life of itinerant scientific exploration is not one of adventure, but one of loneliness and exclusion. The resonance of Schlemihl with Velten Andres’s own story of rejection and nomadism is unmistakable, but Raabe’s quotation deserves more careful attention because it reproduces very adult words that appear in a text originally intended and widely reprinted for young readers.

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<sup>443</sup> BA 19, 454.

<sup>444</sup> Chamisso, Adelbert von, *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte*. (Nürnberg: Schrag, 1814).

Raabe draws his motto (“die wir dem Schatten Wesen sonst nicht verliehen, / Sehn Wesen jetzt als Schatten sich verziehen.”<sup>445</sup>) from the self-reflexive poem “An meinen alten Freund Peter Schlemihl,” in which Chamisso depicts the curious relationship he has with the character and the success he has achieved because of him.<sup>446</sup> While Schlemihl has lost his shadow, the narrator of the poem has retained his: while Velten has lost his way, Karl has found his. Yet, Krumhardt—like Chamisso’s narrator in the poem—owes something of what he is today to the man who has lost his way. The story Karl writes is—like Peter Schlemihl’s story for Chamisso’s narrator—not the story of Velten’s lost love, but, as Jeffrey Sammons has observed, a story of “the burden of Velten’s riddle for himself.”<sup>447</sup> After all, the two men shared much of the same upbringing and read all the same books. Why, then, have they turned out so differently? Karl writes the *Akten* because he cannot quite let go of the imaginative world he shared with Velten—a world that Velten consumed until it literally consumed him.<sup>448</sup> Velten dies surrounded by the books of his youth:

Auf seinem alten Studentensofa und seinem Bett hat er gelegen und den lieben langen Tag und auch manchmal die Nacht durch gelesen, alles was ihm einmal gefallen hat in seiner Kindheit und Jugend, was immer aus den alten schmierigen, ekligen, zerrissenen Bänden von Olims Zeiten.<sup>449</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> BA 19, 212.

<sup>446</sup> The poem first appears with the 1834 edition of the story.

<sup>447</sup> Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 312.

<sup>448</sup> The beginning of the poem, though not cited in Raabe’s text, is particularly applicable to Velten and Karl: Da fällt nun deine Schrift nach vielen Jahren / mir wieder in die Hand, und – wundersam!– / der Zeit gedenk ich, wo wir Freunde waren, / als erst die Welt uns in die Schule nahm. / Ich bin ein alter Mann in grauen Haaren, / ich überwinde schon die falsche Scham, / ich will mich deinen Freund wie ehemals nennen / und mich als solchen vor der Welt bekennen.

<sup>449</sup> BA 19, 394.

If his landlady brings him a new copy—even of an old book—he refuses it, saying “Mutter Feucht, das ist das rechte nicht.”<sup>450</sup>

Velten becomes a ghost, simultaneously infantile and ancient. He is feeble like an old person, but whines like a child. He arrives at his old student quarters like a “Spuk . . . Todmüde von seinem Wege durch sein junges Leben!”<sup>451</sup> By comparison his ninety-year old landlady is fit in mind and body. She mothers him, calling him *du* “als hätte ich ihn wie ein Kind auf dem Arme!”<sup>452</sup> When Widow Mungo finally meets him on his deathbed, she reports that his landlady “Die Frau Fechtmeisterin hat das große, schlaue Kind wahrhaftig wie ein kleinstes, dummstes, hilflosestes Kind besorgt und zu Tode gepflegt.” The widow also sees the ghost of Velten’s old childhood self: even on his deathbed his face has the same old look that used to bring her to tears and Karl “zu einem Zitat aus einem deutschen oder lateinischen Klassiker.”<sup>453</sup>

Karl, too, sees Velten as a ghost, half of his own “split self,”<sup>454</sup> a split self that he owes in part to the youthful literary imagination, as Widow Mungo’s remarks reveal. As he writes, Karl remembers the day of his father’s funeral, when Velten suddenly appears in town after a long absence. Karl is visibly shaken and feels torn between the generations. He has just buried his father, and seeing Velten reminds him painfully of his father’s disdain for his so-called good-for-nothing friend. At the same time, he thinks of his own children and feels disgust and horror at the possibility that they might turn out like Velten or Helene. It is a ghostly day and Karl feels

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<sup>450</sup> BA 19, 394.

<sup>451</sup> BA 19, 392.

<sup>452</sup> BA 19, 393.

<sup>453</sup> BA 19, 214.

<sup>454</sup> Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 300.

“Unruhe in die Glieder” that does not come from the loss of his parent but from the uncanny presence of Velten.<sup>455</sup> While he writes, Velten stands beside him as a real ghost, asking him why he is still at it: “Nun, Alter, noch nicht des Spiels überdrüssig?”<sup>456</sup> The “stolz-ruhigen Schatten” in Karl’s imagination conjures the shadow of Chamisso’s text and reintroduces the imagery of youthful reading.<sup>457</sup>

When asked if he is tired of the game yet, Karl responds with a resounding no, which is surprising given how beleaguered he is. In typical form, Raabe is sure to make his narrator’s response multilayered and open to interpretation. Karl continues to work on the *Akten* because, in his words, “Ich habe und halte meiner Kinder Erbteil. Das Spielzeug des Menschen auf Erden, das ja auch einmal meinen Händen entfallen wird, wollen sie aufgreifen, und ich—ich fühle mich ihnen gegenüber dafür noch verantwortlich!”<sup>458</sup> The crux of the statement hangs on which *Akten* make up his work: his personal writing or his professional files? Is Velten asking Karl if he is finally weary of his bourgeois existence, his diligent work to provide his children with a monetary inheritance? Perhaps. But Karl’s emotional state seems to have made clear that he is working on his personal writing project. If this is so, the inheritance, the legacy he will leave his children is the narrative itself. He feels a responsibility to them—ostensibly to leave them something of use. That his personal files of the *Vogelsang* might have something to teach his children is an idea that seems to dawn on Karl over the course of his writing.

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<sup>455</sup> BA 19, 344.

<sup>456</sup> BA 19, 345.

<sup>457</sup> BA 19, 345.

<sup>458</sup> BA 19, 345.



If he is writing the text for his children, is Karl then writing a text for young adults (*Jugendschrift*), a book of fatherly advice for his daughters in narrative form?<sup>459</sup> After all, that is what Helene has charge him to do: “gehe heim zu deiner lieben Frau und deinen lieben Kindern und erzähle den letzteren zu ihrer Warnung von Helene Trotzendorff und Velten Andres, und wie sie so frei von allem Erbeigentum ein trübselig Ende nahmen.”<sup>460</sup> She tells him to bring the story to paper, “und laß sie es in deinem Nachlaß finden, in blauen Pappdeckeln.”<sup>461</sup> She never explains why the paper covers should be blue, but the formulation suggests the bindings of popular texts. Helene’s reference to the Karl’s estate and family archive resonates with his own mention of his children’s inheritance, further supporting a reading of the *Akten* as a antithetical incarnation of the advice book for young people—albeit in narrative form. That Raabe calls Karl’s work a game (*Spiel*) and the—perhaps textual—inheritance a child’s toy (*Spielzeug*) might hint at the way texts for youth and their authors are often made light of regardless of the weight of their subject matter.

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<sup>459</sup> Joachim Campe, *Väterlicher Rat an meine Tochter: Ein Gegenstück zum Theophron. Der erwachsenen weiblichen Jugend gewidmet*, (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1791). Johannes Graf has documented Raabe’s named reference to Campe’s advice book for girls in *Drei Federn* and *Abu Telfan*. Cf. Johannes Graf, “‘Der doppelte Hinsicht verschlagene Reisende.’ Joachim Heinrich Campe in Raabes Werk,” *Jahrbuch der Raabe-Gesellschaft*, (1998), 103. I can find no explicit marker of the text, but given the presence of Campe in the text its suggestion here is not out of the question. Raabe could be suggesting an inversion of Campe’s advice book, not in the least because the fatherless Helene Trotzendorff and her adult incarnation as the Widow Mungo are not portrayed as pure of heart, the state of being that Campe recommends middle class girls

<sup>460</sup> BA 19, 403.

<sup>461</sup> BA 19, 404.

Upon receiving the letter of Velten's death, Karl tells his wife Anna "Dich und deine Kinder geht es nur recht mittelbar was an."<sup>462</sup> The story only has to do with them indirectly. Another reading of this formulation suggests that the story only has anything to do with them in the rather mediated (*mittelbar*) form it will take, that is, as *Die Akten des Vogelsangs*. As he begins his writing project, Karl describes his children and their relationship to *die Akten*:

Das sind schon ziemlich erwachsene junge Leutchen mit wenn auch jungen, so doch eigenen Lebenserfahrungen und Interessen: von Velten Andres und Helene Trozendorff wußten sie nichts, oder doch nur wenig. Und das wenige konnte jetzt bloß ein romantisches Interesse für sie haben. Mit den Akten des Vogelsangs hatten sie persönlich nichts mehr zu schaffen. Ob sie später einmal persönlichen Nützen aus ihnen ziehen werden, wer kann das wissen?<sup>463</sup>

That Velten and Helene only hold "romantisches" interest for his teenage daughters suggests that his children are imaginative, indeed, that very night they have been to the theater and in all likelihood they enjoy reading novels. That they might find some personal use for the text suggests that it will have some pedagogical value, that its stories might offer lessons or morals, like those written specifically *für die erwachsene Jugend*, a curious formulation used to address young readership from the early nineteenth century onward.

In this passage, Karl shows respect for his children's imaginative lives: they have their own interests and experiences, yet, he encapsulates the basic tension of literature aimed specifically at young people: Can it be both entertaining and educational? And, if it is both, will young people use it? To what ends? Later, Karl identifies yet another preoccupation of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century discourse on literature for young people when he writes, "Ich habe eben wahr zu sein, wenn ich durch diese Blätter bei meiner Nachkommenschaft irgendeinen

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<sup>462</sup> BA 19, 215.

<sup>463</sup> BA 19, 216-17.

Nutzen stiften will.”<sup>464</sup> Youth literature—if not pure fiction—should be as close to truth as possible, because it should help young people learn about the world. It should not send them journeying irrevocably into fantasy worlds. As parents, the Krumhardts have expressed their wish that their children learn to balance imagination and reality, heart and mind. Anna prays, “Der Himmel bewahre sie uns vor zu viel Einbildungskraft und erhalte ihnen einen klaren Kopf und ein ruhiges Herz,”<sup>465</sup> and her husband claims to agree with her to the fullest.

Anna’s wish that her children possess a still (*ruhig*) heart is precisely what Velten desires for himself: in Goethe’s words he proclaims,

Sei gefühllos!  
Ein leichtbewegtes Herz  
Ist ein elend Gut  
Auf der wankenden Erde.<sup>466</sup>

Supposedly Velten does not want a heart that is too easily moved, but for him it is too late. Here, just as in *Prinzessin Fisch*, the words of a young Goethe are misappropriated to prolong an unhealthy illusion.<sup>467</sup> The juvenile manner in which Velten chucks the words on the wall of his little student room indicates that he is anything but void of feeling. Since Velten has become infantile, the young Goethe may be read here as literature for the youth. In the end, the only way

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<sup>464</sup> BA 19, 234.

<sup>465</sup> BA 19, 216.

<sup>466</sup> BA 19, 352. The third of three odes written by Goethe in 1767 at the age of eighteen. John R. Williams writes, “The three odes to Behrisch are written under the ... influence of the lofty and declamatory rhetoric of Klopstock’s classicizing odes. In short and dense unrhymed quatrains, Goethe voices a passionate empathy for his wronged friend in a laconic expression of disgust concentrated into images of a tree attacked by loathsome insects and of swamps infested with snakes and toads.” In “Goethe the poet,” *The Cambridge Companion to Goethe*, ed. by Lesley Sharpe, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge UP, 2002), 45.

<sup>467</sup> Cf., Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 304.

Velten can achieve the escape from feeling that he desires is through the constant reading of old books.

Much of the joy that those aforementioned contemporary critics and readers took in the *Vogelsang* was Karl's *mediation* of the childhood idyll through the texts of his youth. Karl says himself that the concept of the old neighborhood *Vogelsang* is one that readers can only understand "mühsam und mit Aufbietung von Nachdenken und Überdenken von allerlei behaglicher Lektüre."<sup>468</sup> His *Akten* are "für die Jugend bearbeitet"; their appeal lies in the literary references of a bygone era: Grimms fairy tales, Cooper's pre-modern version of America, the illustrated fables of the early nineteenth century. Never mind that the neighborhood is now a mess of construction sites, factory soot, and canal digging, and the city's one-hundred thousand residents need an asylum for "Nervenkranken,"<sup>469</sup> its childhood wonderment is preserved in Karl's literary metaphor. Velten and Karl explore the *Vogelsang* "wie zwei europäische Indianer"<sup>470</sup> and imagine the arrival of their German-American playmate in literary mythology:

Die weite See, wo Robinson Crusoe seine Wunderinsel fand und wir, Velten und ich, so gern eben eine solche gesucht hätten,--das große Meer, über welches Sinbad der Seefahrer schiffte und seine tausendein Abenteuer erlebte, über welches Whittington (dreimal Lord-Mayor von London) seine Katze verhandelte und vom Negerkönig drei Säcke voll Goldstaub für das brave Tier zurückempfang: das war es, was natürlich zuerst unsere Knabenphantasie erregte.<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> BA 19, 218.

<sup>469</sup> BA 19, 219, 218, 353.

<sup>470</sup> BA 19, 231.

<sup>471</sup> BA 19, 227.

After her arrival Helene Trotzendorff is transformed from a “kleinen amerikanischen Krabbe” to a “deutschen Backfisch”<sup>472</sup> and a “gebannte, verzauberte Prinzessin aus dem Märchenbuch der Brüder Grimm.”<sup>473</sup> Karl, too, cites Goethe—not the real Goethe, but the imagined childhood Goethe “mit dem fernern Zitat aus dem Sekundaner-Klassikertum,” of the parodical poem “Eine Wasserm Maus und eine Kröte” from the *Deutsches Kommerzbuch*.<sup>474</sup>

When Karl visits Velten in the *Vogelsang* upon the latter’s return from his world travels, he sees everything in its old place, especially the inspiration for his wandering, his books:

Was für Schatten von draußen jetzt drauf hinfallen, was für Töne auf es hineinkreischen mochten, im Innern nichts verändert! Alles an seinem Platze wie vor Jahren. . . . Sein Bücherbrett mit den abgegriffenen Schulausgaben der lateinischen und griechischen Klassiker und der Weihnachts- und Geburtstagsliteratur von Robinson über den Steuermann Sigismund Rüstig und die Lederstrumpferzählungen bis zu den billigen Volksausgaben der deutschen Klassiker.<sup>475</sup>

The mood of resurrected childhood memories Karl has created from a series of literary references and mythological images is physically fixed in time at the Andres house. A question Velten poses is apt: “Wozu nützen uns die weisesten Aussprüche großer Lehrer, wenn man nichts weiter entnimmt als eine Stimmung für den Augenblick?”<sup>476</sup> Karl has created a mood for a moment, a means to work through the baggage of his childhood; Velten cannot see the difference between mediation and “ein augenblickliches letztes Anklammern an etwas, was vor

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<sup>472</sup> BA 19, 244-45.

<sup>473</sup> BA 19, 246.

<sup>474</sup> BA 19, 243.

<sup>475</sup> BA 19, 362-63.

<sup>476</sup> BA 19, 370.

langen Jahren schön, lustig, freudenvoll und hoffnungsreich gewesen ist.”<sup>477</sup> He is stuck reading the books to death.

As Florian Krobb asserts, *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* shows that “Die Ferne bietet keine Alternative mehr; die Welt ist eine Ort der Beliebigkeit, des Nichtzuhause-seins des Unterwegs-seins geworden; ihr kommt kein Eigenwert mehr zu, sondern nur noch Bedeutung als Durchgangsstation.”<sup>478</sup> Velten is a genius and world traveler who amounts to nothing. Helene Trotzendorff becomes the cosmopolitan millionaire of her childhood dreams. Their mutual wealth—of worldly knowledge and worldly possessions—is wasted on them.

Widow Mungo “hat Land und Meer um den Erdball zur Verfügung. Sie baut Paläste, Krankenhäuser, kauft Bücher, Bilder, Bildsäulen, unterstützt—” But Karl’s wife Anna bemoans the waste: “Das ändert an ihr und an der Welt nichts. Ach, ich solle an ihrer Stelle sein!” When Karl wonders what she would do with the money, her answer is quick: “Nun, ich habe doch meine Kinder?!” With a question mark and an exclamation point Raabe brings his novel full circle, shifting his reader’s attention back to the potential readership of Karl’s *Akten*: his children motivate the creation of the text and at the same time suggests Karl knows all “Eltern-Sorgen und -Glücksträume . . . erweisen sich als überflüssig oder besser als mehr oder weniger angenehmer Zeitvertrieb im Erdendasein!”<sup>479</sup> His text remains his alone, a means for his to work through his own development. Like all literature for young people, *die Akten* say more about their adult writer than their young readers.

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<sup>477</sup> BA 19, 213.

<sup>478</sup> Krobb, *Erkundungen im Überseeischen*, 194.

<sup>479</sup> BA 19, 244.

## Conclusion

Velten Andres never achieves adulthood. Despite his worldly travels he dies “der Studiosus der Weltweisheit”<sup>480</sup> who has learned little. His childhood books of travel and adventure are more important than any real life experience he has ever had. Karl Krumhardt, by contrast, leads a successful—though not uncritical—life because he has learned to balance his youthful imagination with a mature reality. The stories of his youth are a comfort to him, but not a crutch.

If we are to believe the promise for the future—and Raabe’s alternate draft—for Theodor Rodburg’s life, we can only envision that he will come to use his youthful imagination much in the manner of Karl Krumhardt—and one might hesitatingly add, Raabe himself. These protagonists show that imagination and reality are not engaged in a battle in which the only successful outcome is maturity. “For Raabe reason was not,” as Sammons observes, “the antipode of the imagination; for him reason and imagination were allies against petrified, unexamined, conventionally determined habits of mind and conduct. Illusion, even self-delusion, is not pejorative for him *as long as it is conscious*, that is, allied with reason.”<sup>481</sup> Theodor Rodburg and Karl Krumhardt have knowingly learned to unite reason and imagination and figuratively profit from their engagement with their own youthful reading. Perhaps, as I have suggested, they even become writers and publishers of it themselves.

Through his use of literary imagination and allusion Raabe creates a world of youthful wonder that hovers precariously on the threshold between future potential and future disillusion. To Raabe both possibilities are very real and neither one offers a fixed model of the future.

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<sup>480</sup> BA 19, 392.

<sup>481</sup> Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe*, 266.

Youthful reading comes unhinged from chronological age and determinations of maturity. In doing so it denies the possibility of asserting a unified aesthetics or clear-cut worldview, opting to leave the future as something necessarily unfinished. It is a means to mediate the ever-present unknowable in Raabe's fictional world: the wider world beyond the German province and cities he depicts. Travel, for Raabe, becomes anything beyond that which can be experienced immediately. In this way, every book is a journey. By presenting spaces and experiences of travel as purely imaginative journeys, or as distant sojourns utterly removed from the narration, Raabe defines travel as always mediated, a perpetual product of perspective.

At a time when Germany had recently unified and pressures of a prescriptive nationalism overshadowed many reading and educational experiences, Raabe's fiction offered both guidance and a refusal to guide. Youth—as Raabe constructs it—is necessarily incompatible with any idea that is closed off and complete. Youth harnesses the potential of education and imagination, and simultaneously, is burdened with the potential of education and imagination to fail. Youth is a journey of uncertain outcome; the possibility of remaining in one place is just as real as the possibility of going somewhere.



## EPILOGUE

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### The Uses and Abuses of Youthful Reading

Ich bin in Theben (Ägypten) geboren, wenn ich auch in Elberfeld zur Welt kam im Rheinland. Ich ging bis 11 Jahre zur Schule, wurde Robinson, lebte fünf Jahre im Morgenlande, und seitdem vegetiere ich.<sup>482</sup>

Else Lasker-Schüler

Else Lasker-Schüler's fantastical account of her birthplace, childhood, and youth and her multiple identities as Robinson,<sup>483</sup> as the *Prinz von Theben* or the *Prinzessin Tino von Bagdad* and the *Indianerin Pampeia* and her subsequent vegetative state outside of these roles, push the realist intertextuality invoked in the creation of Wilhelm Raabe's mentally active but physically idle protagonists. Her expressionism dismisses the boundaries between imagination and reality, literature and life. The poet imagined her birthdate back a decade, a shift that places her imagined adolescence near the end of the nineteenth century and at the height of German imperial fervor (1880s-1890s), although according to her birth certificate she would have been thirty at the turn of the century.<sup>484</sup> With the mention of the figure of Robinson Lasker-Schüler

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<sup>482</sup> Else Lasker-Schüler, "Kurzbiografie," in *Menschheitsdämmerung. Ein Dokument des Expressionismus*, ed. Kurt Pinthus, (Berlin: Rowolt, 2003), 352. Autobiography submitted by Lasker-Schüler originally published 1920.

<sup>483</sup> For an overview of female models of *Robinsonaden*: Cf. Susanne Zantop, "Robinsonaden," *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature*, Friederike Eigler and Susanne Kord, ed. (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1987), 456-57.

<sup>484</sup> Cf. Betty Falkenberg, *Else Lasker-Schüler. A Life*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003) and Lydia Strauß, "'Ich bin Indianer! Bedenken Sie das!'" Else Lasker-Schüler's Spiel und Verwandlung im Großstadtschungel," in *City Girls: Bubiköpfe & Blaustrimpfe in den 1920er Jahren*, Julia Freytag and Alexandra Tacke, (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2011). Lasker-Schüler was actually born in 1869, but as early as 1911 claimed to be born in 1876. The same self-mythologizing with which she embodied the characters of an imagined orient also placed her imagined adolescence and young adulthood in the mid 1880s and 1890s.

immediately relates her identity formation directly to the childhood reading of her bourgeois upbringing. She is just one of many children of the nineteenth century—one might also name Walter Benjamin (born 1892) and George Grosz (born 1893)—whose writings bear the mark of nineteenth-century young adult reading about places far and away from Campe, to Cooper, to Karl May. We could name countless examples as the century waned and beyond—the nineteenth-century classics continued to be read, even when the children were no longer of the nineteenth century. Yet, scholars have done relatively little work to trace the rich intertextual field of specific young adult literature—not in the nineteenth century and not since. When criticism notes it, it often cites broad motifs and well-worn tropes without following them back to their specific origins. By bringing together historical contexts and close readings of both young adult texts and “adult” texts that reference young adult literature, I hope this dissertation shows the value in seeking the specific roots of imagination across different textual modalities: the so-called popular and the so-called canonical, the “adolescent” book and the “adult” book.

We can follow the genealogy of youthful reading about the far and away from the popular texts of the nineteenth century that crop up in Raabe’s works to the pop literature of the twenty-first and the most recent winner of the Wilhelm-Raabe-Prize for Fiction, Christian Kracht. Kracht’s *Imperium* (2012), with its traveling bookworm protagonist, mixes the real and the imaginary to create a fictional narrative that bears the traces of earlier models of writing about foreign spaces and their imperialist and racist baggage. Those remnants and representations of older constructions of the foreign might in part be the reason some Germans have had a knee-jerk reaction to the book. Old metaphors opened Kracht up to cries of intolerance—albeit ones Kracht must have seen coming and not really cared much about. After all, it is just a book. What power does a book have? That is a question that lurks uncomfortably

behind the analyses of this dissertation. My study encompasses readers inside and outside of texts. The mix requires meticulous care and yet the question of the power of a book is one I do not intend to answer—at least not directly and definitively.

We might say publishers such as Ferdinand Hirt ascribed too much power to books—and only one kind: the power to spread exactly the ideas that they prescriptively outlined. Writers, such as Wilhelm Raabe, gave books a power, too. But the power was primarily hermeneutic—that is interpretive—in spirit. Raabe’s references other worlds, both philosophical and physical, offer insights into practices of reading, interpretation, and the creation of cultural metanarratives. They offer spaces of interpretation rather than prescriptive rules for reading. Books can teach about narrative and interpretation. They can inform other books and have much to say about reading as a cultural and personal practice. What they refuse to offer is a model of reading as a means for the uncritical propagation of ideas.

In the end, the power of a book is the power of its readers. Although literary scholarship has historically not empowered readers as much as the writers, publishers, teachers, pundits, and even regimes who create, distribute, and critique the books they read, readers matter a great deal to the life of books.<sup>485</sup> Readers read in many ways: they read with the grain, against the grain, and somewhere in between—often all at the same time. That capacity to simultaneously engage

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<sup>485</sup> Of course there are notable and important exceptions to this rule. In their recent volume, Eric Downing, Jonathan Hess, and Richard Benson remind us of the work of Jauss and Iser in Germany, as well as their American counterparts, Harold Bloom and Stanley Fish and seek to renew and retool its mission. They write, “it is high time that the question of reading be placed back in the spotlight, and in such a way that the more historical and cultural studies oriented approaches of contemporary literary scholarship can be brought to bear on the more purely theoretically conceived topics of the pioneer players in this field . . . combine critical reflections with historical investigations into changing cultural practices and representations of reading.” Cf. Eric Downing, Jonathan Hess, and Richard Benson, *Literary Studies and the Pursuits of Reading* (Rochester: Camden House, 2012), 1.

multiple strands of interpretation while reading one text is why I still believe readers could have been recognized late nineteenth-century paradigms of colonialism and racial difference in the works of Augusti's *Gertrud's Wanderjahre* and Pajeken's *Bob der Städtegründer* and yet choose tolerance over cultural imperialism; indeed, they could have even *learned* tolerance by reading these books. Sadly, though, the power of readers is also why Raabe can become an icon of the very Germanness his fiction interrogates.

Reading of course begets writing and publishing. That is why Raabe's fictional worlds can come to exist as young adult literature under the title of *Deutsche Not und Deutsches Ringen* in 1902; then, in 1931 on the brink of National Socialism, can become a literary manual for the national rootedness of the individual in *Wilhelm Raabe als Erzieher: Bodenständige Persönlichkeitsbildung*; and can be repackaged yet again at the end of the Second World War as a salve for young Germans scarred by the horrors of war.<sup>486</sup> In the series *Blaue-Weisse-Hefte* (1945-1949) young Germans could read Raabe as "good" youth literature alongside Ferry and Gerstäcker, Chamisso, and even Elizabeth Gaskell and Edgar Allen Poe:

um nach den aufwühlenden Geschehnissen des Tages, die glückliche Harmonie des Gemütes zurückzugeben. . . . Den jungen Mann, die berufstätige Tochter werden sie [die Blau-Weisse Hefte] auf der Heimkehr von der einseitigen Tätigkeit im Büro oder der Arbeitsstätte je nach Stimmung in atemberaubender, spannender oder froher Weise den befreienden seelischen Ausgleich finden lassen.<sup>487</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> Wilhelm Raabe, *Deutsche Not und Deutsches Ringen. Auswahl aus Wilh. Raabes Schriften für die Jugend*, (Braunschweig: Hafferberg, 1902) is self-described as "ausgewählt vom Prüfungsausschuss für Jugendschriften zu Braunschweig" and enjoyed at least 12 editions until 1920; Otto Kohlmeyer, ed., *Wilhelm Raabe als Erzieher: Bodenständige Persönlichkeitsbildung*, (Magdeburg: Lichtenberg und Bühling, 1931) contains "Goldkörner aus Wilhelm Raabes gedanken über Erziehung" and had at least 4 editions until 1943.

<sup>487</sup> Wikipedia contributors, "Blau-Weisse Hefte," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blau-weisse\\_Hefte](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blau-weisse_Hefte) (20 January 2013).

Who knows, though, what imaginative goods young workers in postwar Germany might have taken from reading Raabe? Texts are not just written once—they are read and reread, interpreted and reinterpreted, printed and reprinted, and imagined and reimagined.

As a scholar beholden to textual interpretation in the form of close readings and interested in the historical context of interpretive communities, I am concerned with what Janice Radway has called the “inscribed, ideal or model reader” and “actual subjects.”<sup>488</sup> The tension already present in this statement is further complicated by the fact that my real and imagined readers are often young readers; their reading and their interpretation are rarely allowed to exist autonomously. Instead, the backwards lens of adulthood creates a tension between child and adult. In *Enchanted Hunters: The Power of Stories in Childhood* Maria Tatar has even borrowed Mary Louise Pratt’s coinage “contact zone” to describe the “coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” of reading in childhood and adolescence.<sup>489</sup> Children and adults bring different prerogatives to childhood reading, in the words of Adam Gopnik, “the parents want to get back, the child wants to get out.”<sup>490</sup> One need only think of Theodor Rodburg in *Prinzessin Fisch* and Velten Andres in *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* to see these disparate reader desires in their fictional incarnations. Yet, in both cases Tatar’s analogy of young readers as explorers and

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<sup>488</sup> Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature*, (Chapel Hill NC: UNC Press, 1991), 4-5. Stanley Fish’s concept of interpretive communities, Cf. Stanley Fish, *Is there a Text in this Class?*, (Cambridge, Harvard UP, 1980), 14-15.

<sup>489</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (New York: Routledge, 1992), 6, quoted in Maria Tatar, *Enchanted Hunters: The Power of Stories in Childhood*, (New York: Norton, 2009), 3-4.

<sup>490</sup> Andrew Gopnik, “Grimms Fairy Tales,” *The New Yorker*, (18 November 1996), 96, quoted in Tatar, *Enchanted Hunters*, 4.

hunters holds. The literary metaphor of travel takes readers young and old alike through time and space.

When we consider adult readers, however, we often seem less concerned with questions of impact, of the effects of that virtual trip. Adult readers can take an armchair journey, and because they are supposedly mentally capable of distancing themselves from what they read and because they are thought of as fully formed, we worry little about what that journey might make them do, how it might impact their maturity. With young readers, though, development always looms large. Whether we consider fully fictional, interpretationally idealized, or real readers, we cannot—if they are young—seem to escape the question of where reading takes them, what it makes them do, and who they become because of it.

For many literary scholars this concern for the effects of reading has led to an examination of biography. The overbearing concern for causality presents what I think of as problems of biography, pitfalls I hope to have circumnavigated in my own work. Even Maria Tatar, when presented with the methodological challenge of getting to the root of the power of stories in childhood calls on biography. She “end[s]up relying on former children, or what Theodor Geisel [Dr. Seuss] called ‘obsolete children.’”<sup>491</sup> She acknowledges that adult memories of childhood reading are fallible and imperfect, but for lack of other sources, she chooses them anyway.

German responses to the question of the youthful reader have also looked to biography and autobiography and even gone a step further in an attempt to make the biographical empirical. In *Lesekindheiten: Familie und Lesesozialisation im historischen Wandel* (2006) Bettina Hurrelmann draws extensively on memoirs to reconstruct the cultural context of youthful reading

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<sup>491</sup> Maria Tatar, *Enchanted Hunters*, 10.

over time.<sup>492</sup> In *Lesen und Biographie* (1997) Werner Graf has composed a meticulous study of the reading habits of the boys who joined the Hitler Youth. His book claims (at least on its book jacket) to be the founding text of “die biographische Leseforschung.”<sup>493</sup> It is a worthwhile approach from which we can gain useful insights, but one that takes us curiously back to where we began, to the recommended reading lists of the nineteenth century, with their methodical turn to the biographies of famous men as appropriate sources of cues for good youthful reading, that is, youthful reading with salutary effects on middle-class maturity. What did Goethe read? And the Kaiser? Only in contemporary scholarship such as Graf’s the direction of didactic inquiry and educational energy has been inverted. We are no longer looking to high places to study reading practices and their impacts, but instead taking the most drastic and disastrous cases as our point of departure.

When Fritz von Uhde was inspired by his daughters Anna, Amalie, and Sophie to depict the idealized poses of youthful absorption in the book in paintings such as *Das Bilderbuch* (1889) and *Die Schulstunde* (1889), could he have imagined his daughter Sophie would come to write travel narratives about Africa? Perhaps. The books Sophie and her sisters read may even have offered some inspiration for her *Wanderlust*. Could he have imagined her works would tell the story of Germans bemoaning the loss of their colonies in Africa?<sup>494</sup> Probably not. There is

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<sup>492</sup> Bettina Hurrelmann, *Lesekindheiten. Familie und Lesesozialisation im historischen Wandel*, (Weinheim: Juventa, 2006).

<sup>493</sup> Werner Graf, *Lesen und Biographie. Eine empirische Fallstudie zur Lektüre der Hitlerjugendgeneration*, (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 1997), back cover.

<sup>494</sup> Sofie von Uhde, *Deutsche unterm Kreuz des Südens. Bei den Kolonialsiedlern in Südwest- und Ostafrika*, (Berlin : Dietrich Reimer/Ernst Vohsen, 1934) and *Die Rieders. Geschichte einer deutschen Familie in Südwest*, (Mühlhausen/Thür-Leipzig: Bergwald-Verlag W. Paul, 1940) among others. A 1934 edition of the former book is held by the Library of Congress as part of the Adolf Hitler library and bears the inscription to Adolf Hitler: “Deutschlands grossem Führer,

no way to prove a *causal* relationship between childhood reading and adult writing in the name of *Lebensraum*.

Invitations for literary scholars “to explore popular writings, children’s literature, and so-called *Trivalliteratur* that reached all ages and class of German society” have been well-heeded.<sup>495</sup> The broader view has taught us much about the discourses of travel and colonialism, tolerance and imperialism; in short, it has yielded many of the insights that pioneers in the exploration of the extracanonial first sought. But it has taught us more. It has extended the purview of the literary scholar and opened new ways of reading literature for the young in connection with both its popular *and* canonical adult counterparts. Is it any coincidence, then, that the broadening of the literary scholar’s critical purview beginning in the 1980s and continuing to this day, has—at least in part—precipitated an affective turn that has changed our understanding of practices of reading and meaning making in literary studies?

Some have argued that we—as adults—can never again read like children. Alan Cheuse believes “that the experience of childhood reading is as irretrievable as any other area of childhood experience. . . . It is extinguished by the subsequent experience of reading with detachment, with objectivity, with critical judgment. That ability to fuse with the narrative and the characters is gone.”<sup>496</sup> While literary scholars certainly are still trained to practice interpretation in keeping with Cheuse’s claim, I cannot imagine a more jaded idea. Jaded because it dismisses both the discriminatory prowess of young readers and the imaginative powers of

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der uns Freiheit und Ehre wiedergab und der sie auch denen da draussen wiedergeben wird, in dankbarer Treue. Sofie von Uhde. März 1936.”

<sup>495</sup> Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 16.

<sup>496</sup> Alan Cheuse, *Listening to the Page*, (New York: Columbia UP, 2001) 17-18, quoted in Tatar, *Enchanted Hunters*, 244 (note 23).



their older counterparts. I hope my dissertation has shown the potential for young readers to read selectively and with interpretive skills and the potential for adults to retain the ability to read themselves into fantastic worlds. For readers young *and* old the act of consuming a book and digesting its story might be dangerous escapism or a tempered palliative to the strictures of bourgeois pedagogy. These insights are gained only by analyzing literature directed at young people side-by-side with literature directed at adults.

I have placed literature that wears its oversimplified foreign geography on its sleeve in dialogue with literature that weaves references to the wider world into a backdrop of deceptively simple provincial domesticity. In the youth literature of Imperial Germany armchair travel is overt. In the canonical texts of nineteenth century realism it hides in plain sight. The relationship of these two models of textual globality begs further exploration. I hope, by examining reading for adolescents in Imperial Germany and uncovering the multiple modes of reading, I have worked to break down the lines that have historically separated this literature from that which has always been opened to interpretation, the works deemed more worthy of scholarly investigation because directed at adults. When I began this dissertation, I was reminded that borders between geopolitical entities were the products made-up nations and borders between childhood and adulthood are constructions of their cultures. I am now reminded that the borders between texts are imagined too. High and low, for young and old, these imposed labels often limit our studies more than they enable them. These false borders make scholars into isolated islands on a map of strictly divided territories. Viewing all texts as potential paths on a journey—overlapping, intersecting, and cross-cultivating—might yield more insights along the way for readers and scholars alike.

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