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Abstract

The apolitical attitudes that made inner emigration possible were well established in Germany in the decade preceding 1933. Three main ideas from the tradition of "inwardness" were used to justify the exclusion of politics from literature: the timelessness of the inner life, the notion of the genius as hero of society, and the religious function of art. These ideas were propagated especially by the Dresden literary journal, *Die Kolonne* (1929-1932), to which such leading poets as Günter Eich, Peter Huchel, and Elisabeth Langgässer contributed. Literature of the period reveals a preference for the themes of nature and of myth, insofar as these express the cyclical renewal of the cosmos, and for the motifs of childhood and of cultural pessimism. Apparently apolitical writers were actually politically conservative, and in at least one case, conservatism was associated with an authoritarian upbringing. This link may help explain the extraordinary survival of apolitical attitudes beyond 1945.

Keywords

Die Kolonne, apolitical, conservative, nature, myth, inwardness

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF APOLITICAL LITERATURE: *DIE KOLONNE*, 1929-1932

JOSEPH P. DOLAN

As early as 1933 Jochen Klepper spoke of his existence as a "spiritual exile" and as a form of "emigration."¹ Ralf Schnell, in his recent book on the subject, provides a selected list of similar expressions from the period 1933-1939 and comments on them as follows:

They clearly show that inner emigrants as well as exiles, regardless of wide variations in their political persuasions, conceived of the situation of the unassimilated intellectuals under a fascist regime in Germany as certainly not identical to exile, but at least comparable to it.²

The response of many writers who remained in Germany during the Third Reich was therefore to take inward leave of political events and, insofar as they continued to devote themselves to writing at all, to pursue universal, ahistorical themes. As a response to history, however, such inward leave-taking was not the original creation of the Third Reich but was already a well-defined phenomenon even in the decade preceding 1933. In fact, the roots of this response go back at least as far as the Romantic period, and one could pursue profitably the theme of public versus private experience in literature back as far as Walther von der Vogelweide. There was thus a long and well-articulated tradition upon which many a beleaguered inner emigrant of the thirties and forties was to rely. Our interest here, however, is to examine the theory and practice of apolitical literature just prior to 1933, just before external events were to turn a feeling of elitism into the scratch for survival. This examination will, I hope, accomplish two things: first, help to complete the picture of the literature of the Weimar Republic, and second, establish an important line of continuity between the pre-war and the post-war periods.

The idea that it was not just acceptable but *necessary* to exclude politics from literature was based in general on the tradition of "inwardness," which encouraged the individual to look with disdain on the market-place of men and ideas and to consider profundity, truth, imagination, inner perfection, and the cultivation of the personality as the only goals worthy of being pursued. Instead of taking an active part in dealing with social conflict on its own level, someone committed to these inner values tends to construct a harmonious world of the imagination, thus apparently resolving the problem of his relation to society, while in reality suppressing it. Inwardness was pursued by many writers of the twenties, and pre-eminently so by a group centered around the Dresden literary journal, *Die Kolonne*, edited by Martin Raschke and A. Arthur Kuhnert. Appearing between the years 1929 and 1932, *Die Kolonne* was primarily a document of the younger generation, that is, of those born around the year 1905. This indicates that apolitical attitudes were not just the fossilized opinions of an older generation but constituted an attractive option for young writers of great gifts, such as Günter Eich, Elisabeth Langgässer, and Peter Huchel, who were destined to emerge as leading poets of the post-war period.

Of course, Huchel forms an exception in that he not only made an earlier and sharper break with his past (the poem "Wintersee," written in 1933, already testifies to this) than the others, but also, after 1945, chose to live in East Berlin. He soon became the editor of *Sinn und Form*, which, under his leadership, became the most respected literary journal of the GDR. Eich underwent a much slower development, without radical breaks, while Langgässer's death in 1950 prevents us from tracing a possible change in her outlook. What is pertinent is that, after 1945, Eich and Langgässer and many others as well clung to their pre-war attitudes for considerable periods of time. A reading of early post-war literature can therefore only benefit from an examination of the literature of the period immediately preceding 1933, and this is where Raschke and Kuhnert's journal is of particular interest.

A careful reading of *Die Kolonne* reveals the use of three main ideas to justify an apolitical inwardness in literature. These are the essential timelessness of the inner life, the notion of the genius as representative of his age, and the religious function of art.

A sense of the unimportance of time is conveyed in a variety of ways by *Die Kolonne*. It was a strictly literary journal, and there

were no references to current political or social events in it whatever. Timelessness within the inner world of the creative imagination, moreover, is expressed by juxtaposing works of recent date with works by authors of the near and distant past. Hadloub, Hofmannswaldau, Goethe, Eichendorff, and Mörike occur side by side with Raschke, Eich, and Huchel. Raschke explicitly states that the purpose of this editorial policy is to prove "that the poetry of all times has always meant to portray man as the symbol of life, never the mere costume of his historical appearance."³ Poetry deals with the fundamental issues of life and death, which never lose their validity because differences in style and vocabulary are merely historical, superficial and irrelevant.

It is also part of *Die Kolonne's* revolt against "outer" or historical time to reject the idea of progress. Raschke, for example, praises the sense of "eternal return" in the poetry of Gottfried Benn and urges us to give up the foolish hope that we can understand history:

Enough of every form of belief in progress! All human standards fail in the face of history. We see but little; we see through nothing. All history's reasons lie deeper than our understanding and are removed from us.⁴

In the same vein, Raschke criticizes the palaeontologist Edgar Dacqué for finding a form of linear progress in the succession of living beings.

Finally, we find Raschke systematically excluding the realm of historical change from literature by means of his theory of poetic language. Every image must be a window onto transhistorical reality or else forfeit its legitimacy as art. Images are the very medium of poetry, but are only justified when "a smaller world of images is recognized as the nucleus of a larger world."⁵ That this larger world is not the world of historical time is clear from Raschke's criticism of Ernst Gläser, whose novels illustrate the belief that "individual longings" have only "private meaning" and that economic factors are the only important determining factors of history. Raschke protests that Gläser's language is that of a mere reporter: "Everything is just written down; nowhere is it interpreted or raised to the symbolic level."⁶ The dissolution of the unique historical event into the timeless realm of symbol is, however, precisely what

Gläser wished to avoid. He wanted rather to depict social conflict in such a way that the reader would take it seriously. In Raschke's view, this aim is irreconcilable with the nature of art, which is to reveal the timeless and universal depths in man "where life and death rule with undiminished sovereignty."⁷

Literature which attempts to express political or economic theories of history was known in the twenties as "Tendenzliteratur," and the debate concerning it forms a convenient transition to the theory of genius, because it involves the direct relation of the artist or poet to his times. Johannes R. Becher, writing in 1929 in the first issue of the Communist journal, *Die Linkskurve*, accused the bourgeois writer of degrading art to a harmless game and of refusing to participate in the making of history. Perhaps in response to this very article of Becher's, Günter Eich wrote in the *Kolonne*:

I find it totally beneath my dignity to excuse myself for my poems and to kowtow to lead articles, and I will always refuse to draw attention to my "social sympathies" even at the risk of not winning the respect of leftist journals, even at the more terrible risk of not being considered "with the times."⁸

Eich rejects the use of literature to solve social problems because there is a superior claim on his energies: "Responsibility to the times? None whatsoever. Only to myself." This preoccupation with oneself is justified because the poet-genius, to the extent that he can free himself from the bondage of time, gains access to the realm of eternal truth and becomes, in Raschke's words, "the symbol of his time and of the future contained in it."⁹

The firm conviction that the lonely genius, toiling in his garret on profundities of the spirit, is the true hero of society is clearly evident in Raschke's defense of Gottfried Benn. Benn, as a prime exponent of timeless lyric inwardness, had often been accused of empty virtuosity. But Raschke asserts that, "raised above time and space as only in a dream," Benn stands "at the very focus of the ideas which most concern us." So central is Benn, that Raschke can even say, "We, too, are Gottfried Benn." And Benn achieves this quasi-mystical representativeness precisely because he has refused "to join the throngs at the divided outer front of humanity." He stands as the poet should "on the inner side of life, his gaze directed inwards; he fights on the inner front of humanity."¹⁰

The view that the "inner front" is more decisive for the good of humanity than the "divided outer front" reflects Kant's distinction between the public and the private use of reason as put forth in his essay, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?" Social and political activities, because restricted to a particular time and place, are identified with the private use of reason, whereas artists and scholars, who address the entire world community of truth seekers of all times, are said by Kant to exercise the public use of reason. This distinction leads directly to the elevation of loneliness to the status of a heroic virtue. The poet must accept and even seek out loneliness as the condition of his inner contact with transhistorical reality. Thus Raschke can characterize Gottfried Benn as being a "poet, a man alone, a lonely man, an aristocrat."¹¹

The mystical undertone to this lonely search for truth helps not only to justify in theory the validity of personal vision, but also to assuage the inevitable sense of loss of ordinary human contact. If individual consciousness is but a wave on the universal sea of mind, then the inner vision of the poet-genius assumes greater validity the deeper it goes and the more liberated it becomes from foolish illusions of linear progress. But at the same time, the ultimate vision is that of a single divine organism embracing the entire universe, spreading its harmony throughout time and space. A few years after the demise of *Die Kolonne*, Raschke confessed that it was his aim to propagate in its pages a kind of "pantheistic nature-religion."¹²

This then, namely the religious function of art, is the final major argument in the case for apolitical inwardness. One should recall that the term inwardness acquired its specific meaning in the religious context of the Reformation and expressed the idea of being alone with one's God. With the general loss of faith in transcendence, however, inwardness became an end in itself, its forms transmuted into art. In his capacity as symbol of his age, the poet-genius assumes priestly functions, for in poetry he is given the means of reconciling conflicting forces and thus avoiding the "plunge into chaos."¹³ The forms of art, and especially of poetry, are for Raschke the only means by which man can "assert himself in the endless stream of appearances,"¹⁴ the only means of creating order. It is clear, therefore, that the sacred gravity of his task enjoins the strictest purity of mind on the poet. If he is to perform his redemp-

tive duty adequately, he must hold himself as free as possible from the historical costume of his time, so that he can penetrate to the essence of the human condition.

Having looked now at the main ideas underlying apolitical inwardness, we can turn to examples of literature which embody this attitude. The two poetry contests sponsored by *Die Kolonne* will be a convenient point of departure. The winners, of course, had to meet the standards of non-tendentiousness set by the editors. The winner of the first contest was the Austrian, Guido Zernatto (1903-1943). In his poem "Erste Schlachtung" ("First Slaughtering") we participate in a rite of passage to manhood. Although a farmer's son fails with the first thrust of the knife to hit the pig's vital artery, he pulls himself together and, to the applause of the onlookers, succeeds with the second. The final stanza then reads:

Eilig habens nun die Weiber!
Inkreisch rösten sie zum Mahl.
Ich will nichts von all dem sehen!
Ich will lieber ackern gehen,
denn der Frühtag graut schon fahl.¹⁵

Instinctively, the son responds to the taking of life by the symbolic begetting of it. Typical for the apolitical poetry of *Die Kolonne* is the rural setting. We are far from the toiling masses, the marketplace of competing interest groups, and the rapid tempo of change. We confront instead a world virtually unchanged for centuries, in which time is measured cyclically by the succession of seasons, by the birth and death of animals, and by stages in the growth of men, marked by ritualized transitions such as the puberty ceremony of "First Slaughtering." All the key events of life recur in an eternal rhythm, dictated by the need for men to live in harmony with nature.

Peter Huchel, who carried off the first prize in the second contest, places less emphasis on the social milieu of the countryside than he does on the childhood experience of nature. The first stanza of his most famous nature-poem, "Knabenteich" ("Boy-Pond"), reads as follows:

Wenn heisser die Libellenblitze
im gelben Schilf des Mittags sprühn,
im Nixengrün der Entengrütze

die stillen Wasser seichter blühn,
 hebt er den Hamen in die Höhe,
 der Knabe, der auf Kalmus blies,
 und fängt die Brut der Wasserflöhe,
 die dunkel wölkt im Muschelkies.¹⁶

The imagery is drawn almost exclusively from the realm of plant life. Like Zernatto, Huchel does not shun the use of specialized names that would be unfamiliar to the reader not raised in the poet's corner of the world. "Entengrütze," "Sumpfdotter," and "Hexenweide" bloom in Huchel's poem and sometimes threaten to overgrow it. At least in part, this flaunting of botanical and other specialized kinds of knowledge suggests the *poeta doctus* tradition of the Baroque and reflects the self-conscious elitism of many poets and writers of the twenties. Neither Raschke, nor Huchel, nor Eich claimed to be the genius who represents the age — truth does not come to all who seek it. But they did believe that poetry is a matter only for the select few and that the genius — whoever he may prove to be — is not doing his job if he strives for popular success.

Another important aspect of Huchel's verse directly related to inwardness is the extreme care given to producing sensuous, even hypnotic, effects through the sophisticated use of rhyme and rhythm. Even most of the unaccented syllables are woven into complex patterns of assonance, and literally every accented syllable is part of a network of sounds embracing the entire poem. Raschke immediately perceived the function of using words in this way: they become drugs: "Spoken in the correct way, they produce in the poet and in the similarly attuned reader a trance-like state of union with the underlying reality [*Urgrund*] of all existing things, wrapped in a heavy, sensuous aroma."¹⁷

We have already suggested one of the reasons for the peculiar resonance between the apolitical attitude and nature: the non-urban setting does not force social issues on the poet. Put positively, the model of nature as a system of strict hierarchies, knowing nothing of the legal equality of citizens but only of the organic continuity by which the dead tree enriches the soil from which its successor pushes toward the light, had a powerful hold on many writers of the twenties. For those who clung to the tradition of inwardness and its associated values, the ahistorical model of nature offered a coherent and persuasive alternative to the idea of linear historical

progress, which calls for human analysis and participation. One does not, however, try to “understand” the return of spring; one simply experiences it. Nor does one try to guide or alter any of the processes of nature — these lie outside the competence of man to grasp.

Of course in principle, the rural setting can be used to show nature in the grip of historical change. In *Die Kolonne* such a poem is Theodor Kramer’s “Rübe und Dorf” (“Sugarbeet and Village”), which tells of the coming of modern agribusiness to a traditional farm village. An investor buys up the land, plants huge tracts of sugarbeets, and obliterates the richly varied, self-sufficient life of the peasants, forcing many of them to move away. Here and there, a venerable holdout attempts to keep alive the memory of the former life:

Und das Dorf ward unkenntlich gemacht von der Frucht,
ward zum Wohnplatz von Knechten und bissigen Hunden;
wann zur Anbauzeit sauer die Ebene raucht,
ist zu sehn noch ein Alter, der humpelt und schmaucht
und sein Roggenjoch sucht zwischen breiigen Wunden.¹⁸

The poem obviously laments the coming of modernity to the timeless country village, but it also make a direct statement about historical conflict. In the vast majority of *Kolonne*-poems, however, this potential is not exploited. By using the frame of reference of childhood experience, an archetypal, ritualized event, or a metaphysical speculation, most of the *Kolonne*-poets avoid making such statements.

Intimately connected with the use of nature imagery to embody ahistorical patterns is the use of myth, which explains how things such as plants and animals came to be through the actions of gods, heroes, or ancestors in a realm before history began. The function of myth is, moreover, to project the archaic mind back into that very timeless realm in order to regenerate the present, literally to start over again from the beginning. There are two important consequences of archaic man’s rejection of autonomous history in favor of the periodic regeneration of the cosmos. The first is that for centuries primitive societies have been able to endure persecution, plague, mass deportations, in short, the terror of history, precisely through the belief that time can be periodically reversed and re-

newed. Myth was therefore bound to appeal to those in the late twenties and early thirties who not only tended to be apolitical in the first place, but were also exposed to social upheavals and political chaos. The second consequence is that any event which cannot be somehow assimilated into the original system of archetypal patterns falls below the threshold of collective awareness. Purporting to deal only with the central, eternal experiences of life, myth ignored the historical costume of the times and again appealed to those who felt that the inner life was timeless.

It is no surprise, then, to find nature poetry in *Die Kolonne* drawing upon myth as well. This is preeminently the case with Elisabeth Langgässer's poems. As an example, let us cite the second stanza of her poem "Stier" ("Taurus"), part of a complete cycle of zodiac poems.

Europa harrt
 an der Magnolienmeere
 erblühtem Rand,
 unendlich angezogen.
 Im Glashaus starrt
 die volle Myrthenbeere,
 der Amarant
 geht seinen Zeitenbogen
 mit jungem Grün — und hinter Wasserbändern
 brüllt schwach der Stier aus Asiens Purpurländern.¹⁹

The stanza is unraveled once we realize that the royal purple amaranth, which, according to classical tradition, never wilts, is Zeus; and that myrtle, traditionally connected with fertility, is Europa. Thus the poem re-enacts in terms of plant imagery the original seduction of Europa by Zeus disguised as a bull. The trappings of modern gardening lose their power to anchor the poem in history as the ancient myth of spring erupts into the present.

Finally, apolitical inwardness expresses itself in a variety of ways that have as their common factor a certain fatalism with respect to man. In Tolstoy's "Conversation of Two Mountains," reprinted in *Die Kolonne*, the entire history of mankind is reduced to a few moments in the life of the two mountains. In the same spirit, Raschke pens a "History of the Earth," which distills the lifespan of the globe into a single arch of continuous decline. Life itself is shown to be ephemeral. The idea that species evolve toward

something higher or that societies progress to something better is revealed as a function of human vanity. History dissolves into metahistory. The life and death of species, cultures, planets are subsumed into larger and larger cycles until the unimaginable ultimate is reached.

A variation of this theme on a smaller scale is found in Raschke's short story, "Der Vater." An irony arises because of the superior knowledge of the author and reader with respect to the first-person narrator. Ultimately, this irony has to do with the decline of the age, the cyclic ebbing of the life-forces in the world, expressed in the story by the degeneration of cultural values symbolized by a watch. This story will be dealt with in some detail because it also illustrates the quasi-religious function of art so clearly.

The protagonist of the story sells the gold watch he has just inherited from his father in order to finance a trip to Paris. Feeling guilty for having sold the watch so soon after his father's death, he is persuaded by a messenger from the realm of the dead to buy an imitation gold watch for the price of a real one. Now the son feels reconciled with the spirit of his father and sleeps calmly again. It is clear, however, that the reintegration of the son into the world of his father is not complete. The watch is, after all, not of genuine gold. It turns green overnight, one of the hands is loose, and it runs a bit slow. With this image, Raschke gives vent to his cultural pessimism, implying that the heritage of the past is in decline from having been betrayed so many times. The son, however, never realizes that his watch is a cheap fake. The author and reader share in the superior knowledge that it is and that it *must be*, and out of this knowledge they can create or appreciate the beautiful forms which fortify the "inner front of humanity" and which sustain them through the grim period of decline. The role of the genius is to transmute ugly materials into art so that when the time is ripe and the cycle completed, a new age of creative excellence and social vitality can begin.

It is now perhaps the time to widen the perspective somewhat and to indicate that *Die Kolonne* and its contributors were not isolated in the late twenties and early thirties but represented only a particularly well-defined crystallization-point of widespread feelings and opinions, most of which had their roots deep in the nineteenth century. While the individual positions of the editors and

contributors exhibit too great a variety of detail to permit many informative generalities, it is still possible to group them all together under that amalgamation of political, cultural, and philosophical views known as conservatism. This is, of course, a complicated phenomenon and the use of the term is beset by difficulties. For our purposes here, however, it is sufficient to use the word in its general meaning as referring to a certain set of values, which Martin Greiffenhagen lists in his book, *Das Dilemma des Konservatismus in Deutschland* (Munich: Piper, 1971): "Religion, authority, morality, homeland, family, the people, the soil; and: tradition, continuity, becoming, growth, nature, history; and finally: being, organism, life, eternity" (p. 66).

That *Die Kolonne* explicitly embodies most of these values should already be clear from the foregoing discussion. It might be added, however, that the specifically political conservatism of this apparently apolitical journal is implicit in at least two ways. The first is the lack of overt support for the Weimar Republic, opposition to the forms of liberal democracy being one of the key elements of German conservatism. To be appalled at the petty wranglings of parliament and to wish for a "conservative revolution" which would bring about a new order of patriarchal peace under a strong leader and his cultural elite was a common phenomenon of the period. Raschke voices this view in his argument with Thomas Mann about the spirit of liberalism. Rejecting Thomas Mann's hope that liberalism would be the savior of Germany, Raschke contends that the problems of society are simply too large for mere intelligence and logic to solve and that "one should not attempt to find an answer, when only time, a people, or a messiah can provide one."²⁰ The second implicit indication of political conservatism is the conspicuous lack of Jewish contributors to the journal. It had been common for some time for educated Jews to espouse liberal views, for the good reason that liberalism promised them a greater measure of freedom. Thus, the liberal journal *Die Weltbühne* numbered many more Jews than non-Jews among its contributors, whereas *Die Kolonne* could boast of only one, Theodor Kramer, who was only half Jewish at that.

Another keystone of conservative ideology, seemingly at odds with the fear of leveling and the emphasis on heroism, elitism, and individuality, is the call for authority in the guise of a charismatic

leader to whom all would subject their political wills. This apparent paradox can only be resolved by recalling that the tradition of inwardness devalues the realm of politics. The underlying tendency of many conservatives — and of the role of “German” *per se*, as Ralf Dahrendorf contends in his *Society and Democracy in Germany* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967)— is to delegate decision-making power to the expert, the strong leader, so that the private man can devote himself to the heroic adventures of the inner life. This preference for private virtues as opposed to the useful public ones breeds a demand for a society in which conflict has been abolished. According to many scholars such a society is predicated on what is called the “authoritarian” personality. Thanks to Martin Raschke’s copious autobiographical writings, we can show that in at least one case, conservatism, preference for private virtues, and the authoritarian personality were in fact indissolubly linked.

Raschke’s conservatism should be by now fully evident. His lack of interest in public life and his corresponding devotion to an elitist conception of art, his rejection of liberalism and his call for a charismatic leader are all part of the conservative syndrome. That he had authoritarian tendencies in his own psychological make-up can be shown now by comparing his life with that of the typical authoritarian as sketched by Erik Erikson. At the core of the “German character,” according to Erikson, is a “strange combination of idealized revolt and obedient submission.”²¹ The pre-condition is, of course, an authoritarian father, with whom the son identifies. We can be reasonably certain that Raschke’s father had this tendency simply because of his position in the lower echelons of the civil service, where authoritarianism was an ascribed social role. The case-book course of his son’s life, however, would be in itself compelling evidence that the father had succeeded in molding Martin’s superego in his own image.

At puberty, Martin Raschke did go through the predicted phase of revolt against his father’s values.²² He flirted first with the youth movement, that vast and diffuse upsurge of rebellion against bourgeois stultification, and then he flirted with leftist groups out of disillusionment with the youth movement. Unable to subject himself to party dogma, he moved to Berlin to freelance as a writer and live the life of a Bohemian. Erikson points out, however, that revolt is always accompanied by a profound sense of guilt, which

leads to ultimate reintegration into the world of the father: "If in early youth a patriarchal superego has once been reliably established, one can let the reins loose for youth without worrying: it cannot get away."²³ Significantly, one of Raschke's first writing projects in Berlin was an account of his childhood, doubtless part of the incipient attempt to come to terms with his superego. *Die Kolonne* documents his gradual espousal of conservative attitudes and finally he returns to Dresden in 1932, giving up his journal, claiming that he had grown tired of the Bohemian life and wanted to spend more time with his family. By the mid-thirties, he is the model burgher with a house in the suburbs, an extensive garden, and curio collection, touchingly devoted to family and friends, busy writing novels in praise of tradition, responsibility, and the German landscape.

It is probable that, had a war not intervened, Raschke would still be there, doing the same things. Unfortunately, he was killed on the Eastern front in 1943. Zernatto died in the same year in New York City. But all the other major contributors survived the war and indeed did and said the same things after 1945 as they did and said before 1933. The one exception is Peter Huchel, who threw his lot in with the Communist regime of East Germany. That Günter Eich, Horst Lange, Oda Schäfer, Martha Saalfeld, Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach, Eberhard Meckel, Elisabeth Langgässer and the others should have retained their apolitical attitudes is not too surprising if one considers that the period of revolt and reintegration normally takes place but once. It is perhaps an index of the strength of the authoritarian tendencies that the wartime experience could not shake the preference for private virtues in so many.

Representative of the large-scale survival of apolitical attitudes is the post-war discovery of Wilhelm Lehmann. Lehmann had begun to write nature poetry in 1929 of a kind very close to that appearing in *Die Kolonne*, but somehow Raschke overlooked him until 1935. After 1945, Lehmann finally received widespread recognition, easily finding publishers for his forgotten works. Symptomatic, too, is the comeback of Gottfried Benn, who was enthusiastically received by the younger generation. These facts alone suggest the tenacity of the tradition of inwardness, due not only to the inner consistency of its theoretical justification, but also to the persistent fear of leveling and to the longing for the abolition of conflict. Indeed, when even a member of the youngest generation, Wolf-

Dietrich Schnurre, could write in 1947 that "art is the longing for immortality,"²⁴ one suspects that training in the "private virtues" at the hands of social institutions, including the family, and, in some cases at least, an authoritarian upbringing must also be adduced to explain the persistence of apolitical attitudes. Apart from the validity of these suggested explanations, the existence of profound continuities remains unassailable, and one's understanding of "inner emigration" must be qualified by the knowledge that it was the expression during a certain historical period of attitudes which both pre- and post-dated that period.

NOTES

¹ Ralf Schnell, *Literarische Innere Emigration. 1933-1945* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976), p. 3. My translation, as are all the others from the German.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Über die Aufgabe der Kolonne," 3 (1932), p. 32.

⁴ "Gottfried Benn, Fazit der Perspektiven," 3 (1932), p. 31.

⁵ "Ernst Gläser rührt den Verstand," 1 (1929/30), No. 9, inside back cover.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ "Über die Aufgabe der Kolonne," 3 (1932), p. 32.

⁸ "Ich bin zunächst Lyriker..." 1 (1929/30), p. 7.

⁹ "Über die Aufgabe der Kolonne," 3 (1932), p. 32.

¹⁰ "Gottfried Benn, Fazit der Perspektiven," 3 (1932), p. 31. It must be emphasized that these are Raschke's views of Benn and apply only to those of Benn's works which appeared in the late twenties and very early thirties.

¹¹ "Gottfried Benn," 1 (1929/30), p. 36.

¹² "Über sich selbst," *Das deutsche Wort (Die literarische Welt)*, 11 (1935), No. 12/13, pp. 9-10.

¹³ "Oft denk ich, es sei sinnlos geworden..." 1 (1929/30), p. 9.

¹⁴ "Über die Aufgabe der Kolonne," 3 (1932), p. 32.

¹⁵ 1 (1929/30), p. 40. For this and the other poems cited I append my own plain prose translation: "Now the women hurry! / They're roasting the guts for breakfast. / I don't want anything to do with this! / I want to plow the fields instead, / for dawn is already turning the sky gray." It is worth pointing out that this poem was written in Vienna around 1925. In my opinion, the possibility of allusions to political events in Germany can therefore be excluded. That there is a sense, however, in which this poem can be considered to have a political message is indicated in my article "The Politics of Peter Huchel's Early Verse," to appear in the forthcoming number of *Dayton Review* on the literature of the GDR. When taken out of its native context, "First Slaughtering" loses its impact outside the framework of an Austrian political and cultural renewal movement.

¹⁶ 3 (1932), p. 27. Also included in the collection *Die Sternenreise* (Munich: Piper, 1967), pp. 22-23. "When the dragonfly-flashes / spray more

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hotly in the yellow reeds of noon, / when the quiet waters bloom more shallowly / in the naiad-green of the duckweed, / he raises his net into the air, / the boy who blew on a calamus-reed, / and catches the brood of the water fleas, / which makes dark clouds on the gravelly bottom."

¹⁷ 3 (1932), p. 4. Reprinted in *Über Peter Huchel*, ed. Hans Mayer (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1973), pp. 157-59.

¹⁸ 2 (1931), p. 7. "The village was rendered unrecognizable by this fruit, / it became the dwelling place of hired hands and snapping dogs; / when at planting time the fields smoke sourly, / an old man can still be seen, hobbling and puffing, / looking for his acre of rye among the steaming wounds."

¹⁹ 3 (1932), p. 17. Also in: *Gedichte* (Hamburg: Claassen, 1959), pp. 84-85. "Europa waits / at the magnolia-sea's / blossoming edge, / immeasurably attracted. / In the greenhouse gazes / the ripe myrtle berry, / the amaranth / traverses his arch of time / with new green—and behind bands of water / the bull from Asia's purple lands bellows gently." One might be tempted by the period in which this poem was written to find veiled allusions to, perhaps, the rape of a nation by a brutal ideology. Although I am not sure that such a contention can be totally dismissed, I would choose to emphasize the allusive nature of such political elements and point out that the poem loses in substance when such elements are focussed on exclusively. A political interpretation of "Stier" would quickly become untenably allegorical. An approach tailored to the mythic aspects seems more suitable. See my article, "The *Tierkreisgedichte* of Elisabeth Langgässer in Historical Context," scheduled to appear in the fall 1978 issue of *Seminar*, for just such an analysis.

²⁰ "Chronik, Zitate und eine Antwort an Thomas Mann," 1 (1929/30), p. 48.

²¹ *Childhood and Society* (New York: Norton, 1950), p. 316.

²² The chief source of data on Raschke's early development is his autobiographical essay, "Heimat und Herkunft," *Die neue Literatur*, 3 (1940), pp. 57-60.

²³ Erikson, p. 316.

²⁴ *Horizont*, 2 (1947), No. 1; cited in Frank Trommler, "Emigrations- und Nachkriegsliteratur," in *Exil und innere Emigration*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Frankfurt/M: 1971), p. 175.