The Rhythm of Eternity

The German Youth Movement and the Experience of the Past (1900-1933)

Het ritme van de eeuwigheid

De Duitse jeugdbeweging en de ervaring van het verleden (1900-1933)

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam op gezag van de rector magnificus

Prof.dr. H.G. Schmidt

en volgens het besluit van het College voor Promoties.

De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

donderdag 17 oktober om 13:30 uur

door

Robbert-Jan Adriaansen geboren te Middelburg



Promotiecommissie: Promotor: Prof.dr. M.C.R. Grever

Overige leden:

Prof.dr. A.M. Bevers

Prof.dr. P.G.J.M. Raedts

Prof.dr. S. Stuurman

Contents

Pı	Preface	
List of abbreviations		7
1.	The German youth movement and the problem of history	9
	1.1 Aims and research question	12
	1.2 The German youth movement in historiography	18
	1.3 The 'Conservative Revolution' and the limits of historical thought	24
	1.4 Sources, method and outline of the study	29
2	Wandervogel, Freideutsche Jugend and the Spirit of 1813	34
	2.1 The historical culture of the Kaiserreich	35
	2.2 The birth of the Wandervogel	38
	2.3 Modes of wandering	45
	2.4 Self-definition and anti-modernism	50
	2.5 Gustav Wynecken, <i>Der Anfang</i> and the critique of historical education	
	2.6 The spirit of 1813	56
	2.7 The self-education of youth as a revival of German idealism	59
	2.8 Conclusion	61
3	The experience of the past	64
	3.1 History and lived experience	65
	3.2 The dissolution of historical distance	71
	3.3 Jewish experience in the German countryside	78
	3.4 The Great War and Flanders' idyllic soul	86
	3.5 Conclusion	96
4	The post-war crisis of experience and the religious turn	98
	4.1 Rudolf Haberkorn's stillest hour	99
	4.2 The releasement of Ernst Wurche	104
	4.3 Historicism and the crisis of experience	110
	4.4 Jena 1919: passivism versus activism	115
	4.5 Memory as advent action	121
	4.6 Conclusion	126

5	Immanent eschatology and medieval forms	129
	5.1 'Swinging on the rhythm of eternity': the Neue Schar	130
	5.2 Bund	137
	5.3 Männerbund and knighthood	142
	5.4 Medievalism and ordo-consciousness	149
	5.5 Laienspiel	152
	5.6 The binding character of play	156
	5.7 Bauhütte	162
	5.8 Conclusion	166
6	In search of the spiritual motherland	168
	6.1 The discovery of the abroad	170
	6.2 Grenzland: the Eastern frontier	178
	6.3 Britain: shared destiny	180
	6.4 Hellas as a spiritual home	183
	6.5 Nordland	189
	6.6 Conclusion	194
7	Conclusion	196
A	ppendix German Quotations	205
S	ources and literature	210
III	ustrations	226
S	amenvatting	227
A	bout the author	233

Preface

When I started my research in 2008, I was a total stranger to the history of the German youth movement. At least I did know that there had been (and still is) a youth movement in Germany, that it had significant cultural influence and that it left behind a great variety of source material. When an earlier topic for my PhD thesis proved to be untenable due to a lack of primary sources, the youth movement came to me as – as they would call it – destiny. A first visit to castle Ludwigstein Castle in Hesse – where the youth movement's archives are housed – provided an immediate introduction in youth movement culture as I sat beside the campfire singing German folk songs with youth movement 'seniors'. The experience was heart-warming and alienating at the same time for I felt welcomed as a foreign guest, but also felt like an intruder, impeding the rites and customs of old friends reuniting. After explaining next day to prof. dr. Jürgen Reulecke what my intended research would focus on, he started elaborating on his own childhood experiences in the youth movement, concluding that I should not forget 'experience' ('Erlebnis'). Puzzled if he meant his own childhood experiences or my experiences that weekend, I only realized later that it must have been experience per se. Experience would become a key concept in my analysis, and had I not been grasped by my own experience of hospitality and intrusion I would probably have missed the importance of irrationalism and its consequences for historical thought.

Yet, the completion of this study is not only the result of experience. It is the result of tiresome labour, of reading and re-reading sources and literature, of mastering the meaning of the specific idiom of a foreign youth culture, of finding unavailable books and articles, of writing and re-writing notes and chapters and of very few bright moments. As solitary as the work of a historian may seem, he cannot do without a supportive environment. Therefore, I would like to thank my wife Maaike, my family and friends. A few good laughs with them kept me living in the present.

My venture was financed by the Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication and supported intellectually by my colleagues of the Center for Historical Culture at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Our research group meetings have stimulated the reflection on my work. Not only because they provided a critical but constructive dissection of the first drafts of some of my chapters, but also because the papers of colleagues occupied with other fields of study showed me what historiography could and should be like. I would also like to thank the research group on the philosophy of history of Radboud University in

Nijmegen for the opportunity to present a draft paper on my thesis in the informal setting of one of their meetings. I am grateful to Rüdiger Ahrens and Malte Lorenzen for bringing together PhD students from various disciplines who study various aspects of the German youth movement. Exchanging ideas with this group at Ludwigstein Castle affirmed my experience of hospitality and certainly diminished the feeling of intrusion. Of this group, I would especially like to thank Friederike Hövelmans and Sven Stemmer for the conversations and for their tips for relevant source material. I also want to thank Jolanda Allewijn for her careful reading of the manuscript and for the many remarks and suggestions.

Foremost, I am grateful for the support of my supervisor prof. dr. Maria Grever. Her enthusiasm, patience and constructive criticism have been inspiring, encouraging and indispensible for the completion of this project.

List of abbreviations

AWV Alt-Wandervogel

DB Wandervogel, Deutscher Bund für Jugendwanderungen

DbaSt Deutsche Bund abstinenter Studenten

JWV Jung-Wandervogel

Steglitzer e.V. Wandervogel, Eingetragener Verein zu Steglitz Berlin Wandervogel e.V., Bund für deutsches Jugendwandern