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Henry C. Helmke  
*Auburn University*

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# THE IMAGE OF THE SCHOOL IN HEINRICH BÖLL'S EARLY WORKS

Helmke: The Image of the School in Heinrich Böll's Early Works

Henry C. Helmke

The school experience has been a prominent motif in German writing for many years, and naturally, the image of the institution differs according to the social and political values held by the respective authors.<sup>1</sup> Goethe, in his fiction, depicts the school experience as beneficial and the teachers as helpful and understanding. Heine, on the other hand, is highly critical of the German educational system.<sup>2</sup> Over the years, especially in that writing which is critical of the socio-political climate in Germany, the picture painted of the school has changed with the changing concerns of German authors, but it has generally been very dark. During much of the nineteenth century the literary image of the school reflected the poor education opportunities available. Toward the end of the century writers began more and more to view public education in the context of German social and political change. In the twentieth century the impact of political developments on the school became a prominent theme, and thus Böll continues what may be called a tradition when he depicts the impact of Nazism on the school and describes education during the Adenauer years.<sup>3</sup>

A prominent theme in Heinrich Böll's early fiction is the social chaos of the forties and fifties caused by World War II. He describes the plight of the common soldier during the war and the existence of the ordinary citizen who after the war often does not share in, or even becomes a victim of the material progress made by Germany after the "economic miracle." Böll's interest in the plight of the "little man" leads him to attack the social institutions which keep the individual from reaching his full potential.

One of the social institutions which Böll treats is, of course, the school. He does not deal primarily with the school as such in any of his longer works, but it is a significant motif, especially in some of his shorter fiction. The role which the school plays in all of Böll's writing does not vary appreciably — it serves as a vehicle for social or political criticism.

Böll was born 21 December 1917 to middle class parents who were industrious, peace loving, orderly, and dependable. Like many parents of that social class, they considered a good education important — and the importance given a good education and the resulting trials for children are later criticized by the author in his writing. Böll himself attended a *Gymnasium* in Cologne and completed his *Abitur* in 1937. His studies at the university were interrupted in 1939 when he had to enter first the *Arbeitsdienst* and then military service. He did not attempt to finish his studies at the end of the war.

Hermann Stresau writes that Böll was fortunate to have lived in the Rhineland, for the region was not so unwavering in its support of Hitler as many other regions were.<sup>4</sup> We note with interest that Böll counts some of his teachers among those who prevented him from making the mistake of joining the Nazis:

Meine Eltern, meine Brüder und Schwestern, zahlreiche Freunde und deren Freunde, einige meiner Lehrer bewahrten mich davor, ein Nazi zu werden.<sup>5</sup>

Böll does not seem to be a likely subject for an author in the immediate postwar period. Rather, he is more concerned with the impact of recent historical events upon the people than with the reasons these events came about. The author directs his criticism against the government by setting his anti-establishment writing in the late war years and the postwar era, and in so doing he, at least by implication, indicts the Hitler and Adenauer governments.

The image of the school in Böll's early writing goes through distinct phases. In his earliest stories Böll criticizes the role of the school under Nazism. Three early short stories: "Der Zug war pünktlich" (1949), "Wanderer, kommst du nach Spa..." (1950) and "Wir Besenbinder" (1950) illustrate this criticism. In all three stories the school is made part of the Establishment which, in a sense, is responsible for the chain of events which eventually leads to the death of the protagonist. Detailed analysis of "Wanderer," the best of three stories, will show how the author approaches this theme.

The plot of "Wanderer, kommst du nach Spa..." is easily told. In this first-person narrative, the narrator, a badly wounded soldier, is driven to an aid station set up in a school building which is one of the three *Gymnasia* in the burning city. The young soldier is carried through the halls of the school which he slowly comes to recognize as the *Gymnasium* he attended only three short months earlier. On the blackboard of the classroom formerly used for art instruction, but now used as an operating room, the boy sees in his own handwriting the partly-erased saying which gives this story its title:

Siebenmal stand es da: in meiner Schrift, in Antiqua, Fraktur,  
Kursiv, Römisch, Italienne und Rundschrift; siebenmal deutlich  
und unerbittlich: Wanderer, kommst du nach Spa...<sup>6</sup>

The title of the story comes from the opening words on the famous monument found at the Pass of Thermopylae which commemorates three hundred Spartans who died in battle against a numerically superior force of Persians. These three hundred Spartans died for their country as demanded by the laws of their country, and they died for a principle in which they believed. Little did the schoolboy narrator in Böll's story know as he copied the lines on the board that in just a few months he, too, would give his life in service to his country. When the teacher assigned the narrator the task of writing the patriotic words on the board, he probably told the story of the brave Spartans and held up their devotion to their country as worthy of emulation. But the irony of the story is that the young German as he lies dying an ignominious death does not believe in the national ideology of Nazism.

The narrative gains depth through the use of flash-backs, and most of the text is devoted to the feverish thoughts of the mortally-wounded soldier as he is carried through the halls of a building which is being used as a military hospital. For a long time he is uncertain if this is really his old school. The thought that the schools in Prussia all look alike, they all have the same pictures and the same busts decorating the halls, runs through his mind. The theme of uncertainty is central to the story, for the narrator is confused by what he finds in the world because the ideals taught in school are not like the realities of life as he finds them. The poignantly ironic story demonstrates the discrepancy between the sheltered, "unrealistic" world of the school and the real world of war and death which the narrator finds literally at the schoolhouse door.

The attack on the school is described in a passage describing the contents of the building as medical personnel carry the soldier to one of the classrooms being used as an operating theater. The reproductions of paintings and busts of famous men that line the walls stand for the Greek, Christian and Germanic heritage usually emphasized in a German humanistic *Gymnasium*. Of the descriptions of these works of arts, two will suffice to show how Böll uses these typical school motifs to effect his critique. The picture of Fredrick the Great represents to the students the glorification of Prussianism:

...da war das besonders schöne, besonders grosse, besonders bunte Bild des alten Fritzen mit der himmelblauen Uniform, den strahlenden Augen und dem grossen, golden glänzenden Stern auf der Brust. (p. 331)

This picture of the German king represents militarism and, by implication, the glorification of war. The light blue uniform, the radiant eyes, etc., stand in marked contrast to the filth and pain of warfare as the narrator experiences it. Real war does not elicit the thrilling responses which the picture of the king in uniform might lead the schoolboy to expect, and in this instance the narrator is embittered by the difference between what he was told in the school and what he has experienced in reality. Böll's irony comes out in his repetitious use of the word "besonders." Moreover, the alliterative use of the hard "g" in "dem grossen, golden glänzenden Stern" hints at the bitterness which the narrator feels toward all that the picture now represents for him.

The feeling that what the school stands for is not accurate or genuine is demonstrated in a description of figures from antiquity:

..die drei Büsten von Cäsar, Cicero, Marc Aurel, brav nebeneinander, wunderbar nachgemacht, ganz gelb und echt, antik und würdig standend sie an der Wand... (p. 331)

These figures are copies, plaster imitations in other words, and the author seems to say that they are thus of dubious value. Even the word "brav" — whose modern-day usage is generally reserved for children — serves to satirize the presence of these busts in the school. The three great men of antiquity are made to stand side by side like "good little boys." The author infers that in some way the school will mould its pupils to be like these men. An unmistakable cynicism shows itself in the description which combines "wunderbar nachgemacht" and "ganz gelb und echt, antik und würdig" to depict the busts. The description of these items seems to expose the school as little more than a cheap theatrical prop, just as the pictures and busts themselves are little more than cheap imitations.

A copy of Feuerbach's *Medea*, that is, a twice-removed copy of classical antiquity, is also in the school. The implication of its appearance is clear: *Medea* is known in the Greek legend as the treacherous and erratic mother who murders her own children. Like *Medea*, the "Fatherland" is killing off its young — plus the fact, perhaps, that the Nazi government, too, is treacherous and erratic.

The year 1953 signals a different treatment of the school in Böll's writing. In three short stories whose setting could be many places other than Germany a more general, non-political view of the school is given. In "Hier ist Tibten" Böll satirizes the common conviction that an "educated person" should hold a

prestigious position, was that of his educational appointments. The really educated person, Böll tells us, is the one who asserts himself in the face of public opinion and works at what he finds most satisfying. In this case the educated hero is content to make announcements in a train station.

In "Im Lande der Rujuks" the implication is that the educational institutions (here a university) have remained static while the rest of the world has changed. In this story the university propagates an unimportant body of knowledge, which in addition is erroneous. The hero spends years learning an esoteric island language, which he discovers on visiting the island to be spoken no longer by the islanders. Although Böll does not explicitly advocate that the educational system be revamped and brought closer to the actual needs of society, the reader is challenged by the satiric sketch to recognize the need for some curricula changes and perhaps to work toward that end.

Böll is aware that an individual needs knowledge, a theme which he develops in the humorous "Erinnerungen eines jungen Königs." In this story a schoolboy becomes king and takes sweet revenge on his teacher who must not only ask questions, but also supply the answers to them. Although this is not a normal school situation, the story contributes to the overall image of formal education in Böll's writing. Certainly the author would like to see the school experience made a little less unpleasant, but he does not advocate the complete overthrow of the system of education such as is hinted at in the story where the pupil dictates his wants to the teacher. The necessity of an adult's deciding on the basis of experience what a child should learn is brought out later in the story when the deposed young king and his child bride wander about with a circus troupe and have no idea just where the towns are in which the circus performs. The young man's ignorance causes him remorse for not having learned more geography when he had the opportunity.

In general Böll's longer writings of his early period present postwar Germany with its brilliant facades and its political machinery which seems to work, but behind which poverty and fear lurk. *Und sagte kein einziges Wort*<sup>7</sup> (1953) is a critical commentary on social conditions just after the war. The novel has as its main theme the everyday problems which Fred and Käte Bogner face in the hard world in which they live. They see themselves bound to an existence of need and fear which they do not master or even comprehend and of which they are apprehensive. A central theme is the indifference (*Gleichgültigkeit*) of people toward each other, a prominent theme, of course, in much postwar German writing.

Fred has not achieved the material success after the war which most of the people around him have attained, and his marriage is apparently destroyed by the strains and stresses of overcrowded living conditions. Fred feels a deep obligation to provide for his wife and children and so, in order to add to his meager income as a switchboard operator in a church office, he tutors children. The learning process described in the episode where he tutors a little girl in mathematics is mechanical and fails to stimulate the imagination or even to hold the attention of either child or tutor. The picture of the "education" process here gains broader scope then, as Fred attempts to give the child some grasp of fractions, his mind wanders to his own children and when they will begin schooling. In Fred's mind the school is part of a deadly cycle in which the individual is caught up and forced into a dull existence:

...ich sah meine Kinder eingespannt in den tödlichen Kreislauf, der

mit dem Hehlke. The Image of the School in Heinrich Böll's Early Works, wo auf einem Bürostuhl endet. (p. 14)

Böll shows that not only children are in a sense victims of the school in its role within the social system, but parents are also affected. In the same episode the child's mother, a widow, finds her daughter's academic progress just one more problem she must contend with, for the pressure exerted on the daughter by the requirements of the school are felt by the mother:

Und als es punkt zehn nach drei war, kam die magere Frau aus dem Nebenzimmer, brachte heftigen Essiggeruch mit, strich dem Kind übers Haar, blickte mich an und fragte: 'Glauben Sie, dass sie es schaffen wird? Die letzte Arbeit hatte sie drei. Morgen machen sie wieder eine... Sie muss es schaffen, sie ist meine Einzige, mein Mann ist in Winiza gefallen. (p. 15)

Böll gives literary expression here to the importance given to a good education by the German middle class and its concomitant trials for children. Böll criticizes the system which equates success in life with success in school, but he offers no alternatives which would decrease the burdens on parents and children.

Böll again describes the difficulties under which the survivors of war must live in the novel *Haus ohne Hüter*<sup>8</sup> (1954). The lives of the two families depicted here have two things in common in that both husbands died in the war and in each there is an eleven year old son. The economic and social situations of the two families are different, however. In the first family, Martin's mother is the daughter of a wealthy manufacturer, while in the second, Heinrich's father was an auto mechanic. Despite the different economic backgrounds of their families, both boys face a life deprived of stability, help and comfort.

The author emphasizes how both Heinrich and Martin suffer from the lack of a father's guidance. In Martin's home there is at least a father image in the person of his uncle Albert, but for Heinrich, home means a long series of "uncles" with whom his mother lives. To describe the insecurity of Heinrich the author several times uses the metaphor of walking on thin ice to suggest the boy's feeling toward the world around him.

The school receives its share of the blame for the boys' insecurity. To illustrate this, Böll uses certain words as a metaphor which are accepted and frequently used in the home, but which are forbidden in the school. The difference in the use of language at home and at school is illustrated when Martin returns home from school and finds a note left there for him:

Der Zettel enthielt sicher die Mitteilung, dass auch Albert hatte wegfahren müssen. Wenn er 'niemand' dachte, schloss er die Grossmutter aus, die bestimmt da war. Sie war immer da. Zu denken 'niemand ist da', hiess zu denken 'die Grossmutter ist da, sonst niemand.' Das *sonst* war entscheidend, ein Wort, das der Lehrer hasste, der auch *eigentlich* hasste, *überhaupt* und *sowieso*, Wörter, die wichtiger waren, als die Erwachsenen wahrhaben wollten. (p. 66)

Semantics and the use of the words "eigentlich, überhaupt, sonst," etc. are problems for Martin, and much later in the novel he is still worried about their use:

...und er begriff nicht, dass Worte wie *überhaupt*, *eigentlich* und *sonst*

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in der *Haus ohne Hüter*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1950) liess sich ausdrücken, was sonst nicht auszudrücken war. ( p. 169)

Böll seems to point out here that the school is so out of touch with the requirements of the modern world, that the school even fails to use language as the real world uses it.

Heinrich suffers from the words that are used at home, but are considered socially unacceptable words and thus must be used with care. One such word is employed as a leitmotif, which is in itself not unusual, but the word never appears in the text. (The unmentioned word is a vulgar expression for copulation — perhaps it is “pimpeln,” “ficken,” or “vögeln.”) The “word” causes a crack in the ice on which Heinrich feels he is standing:

Der erste Riss in diesem Eis hatte sich gezeigt, ein ungefährlicher Knacks noch, als er Martins Schrecken über das Wort sah, das seine Mutter zum Bäcker gesagt hatte, es war ein hässliches Wort für die Vereinigung der Männer mit den Frauen, aber er fand überhaupt Vereinigung ein viel zu schönes Wort für einen Vorgang, den er nicht sehr schön fand. (p. 86)

The school is of no help to the boys with their problems; indeed, it even adds to their burdens. When in school Heinrich uses the word he heard at home, he is punished for it without really learning why, and the school authorities do not explain to the boy why its use is improper. Böll thus characterizes the school as an institution which does not really guide young people; it simply stands ready to punish their mistakes, without showing them what is correct.

The school in *Haus ohne Hüter* is also pictured as being hypocritical. Heinrich notices that some students are not chastized as severely as others for mistakes they make in class, and a pattern soon becomes clear to him. Those boys who have lost fathers in the war receive preferential treatment, while those whose fathers are still living have a harder time of it: “Die Jungen, die Väter hatten, hatten es schwerer in der Schule als die, die keine hatten” (p. 132). Other boys are treated by their teachers according to the moral standards of their mothers:

Die Jungen, die eine unmoralische Mutter hatten, genossen merkwürdigerweise nicht ganz soviel Schonung wie die Jungen, deren Mütter nicht unmoralisch waren — am schlimmsten aber war es für die, am wenigsten Schonung aber genossen die, deren Mütter Kinder von den Onkeln hatten: schmerzlich und unerklärlich, dass unmoralische Mütter den Grad der Schonung verringerten. (p. 133)

Böll is critical of the age-old maxim that children have to pay for the sins of their elders, and he criticizes the school for its participation in this process.

The disparity between what Martin learns at home and what he learns at school is brought out in yet another incident. Throughout the novel Martin’s uncle Albert impresses upon the boy the horrors of Nazism by taking him to different places where the Nazis committed crimes — thus to ensure that the next generation will continue to fight against the evil that was Nazism. At school, however, Martin had learned that the Nazis were not so bad:

Albert fand die Nazis schrecklich, aber in der Schule wurden sie nicht so schlimm dargestellt; andere Schrecken überdeckten die nicht so schlimmen Nazis: die Russen. (p. 288)

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Böll at least makes the school the first event in a series of man history in its true perspective and it seems to be putting the blame for the horrors of World War II elsewhere. The author does not exploit this aspect of education in postwar Germany as he might have done, but he does acknowledge that the schools are shirking their responsibility to the truth.

In one story the author does depict an individual who at least makes a start in righting some of the wrongs found in the system of education. "Daniel der Gerechte" (1954) describes a day in the life of Daniel Heemke, a principal of a *Gymnasium*. Two boys — Uli and Wierzok — are part of a group that is to take the gymnasial entrance exam. In Uli, Daniel sees himself as he had been as a youth, a youngster forced by the ambitions for him of his mother to strive upward in life. Daniel is now at the top of the ladder, but one which he did not want to climb in the first place. Daniel is asked to intervene for Uli to assure the latter's acceptance into the *Gymnasium*, but he refuses. He will no longer participate in a scheme of things which puts such a heavy psychological and physical burden on children who are not able to do well at a college preparatory school. But Daniel decides to help the second boy, Wierzok. This boy's scholastic records show promise of success, and by helping him (just how is not made clear), Daniel will lessen life's burdens for Wierzok.

In this story, as in others, Böll makes the school the first event in a series which can catch the individual without his really knowing it and carry him along to a destination which is not really one of his choice. Usually the individual has no alternative but to go along with the current until it washes him ashore in some unknown place. Man is forced into a role by society, and this coercion beginning with his earliest school years affects negatively the individual. Society shapes the individual to help him become part of society, and in turn the individual soon propagates the same system which has moulded him — and, according to Böll, this cycle is patently wrong.

The novel *Das Brot der frühen Jahre*<sup>9</sup> (1955) is the best example of Böll's view of the school of the postwar years. The description of the school as the protagonist remembers it has value for an understanding of the author's attitude toward formal education after 1945.

Frequently on Sundays Walter, the protagonist, and his father would walk to the school where his father taught so the father could pick up some forgotten item. On entering the building the interior was dark. Only occasionally a bright object caught the eye:

... eine graue Dunkelheit lag in den Fluren... der Boden war frisch geölt, Die Silberbronze am Denkmal für die Gefallenen flimmerte matt neben dem schneeweissen, grossen Viereck, wo sonst das Hitlerbild gehangen hatte, und blutrot leuchtete Scharnhorsts Kragen neben dem Lehrerzimmer. (p. 14)

The method Böll uses here is similar to that of "Wanderer, kommst du nach Spa..." in which pictures and busts in the school reflect the author's attitude toward that institution. The pictures and busts in this school suggest the changed political condition in postwar Germany. The gray darkness, in addition, perhaps hints at the uncertainty of the future. The floor is freshly oiled, suggesting a fresh start from the bottom up after the Nazi period. The mention of the snow-white spot where the picture of Hitler hung next to the dully glimmering war memorial makes an obvious comment: Hitler is gone but



the mark he left University of Dayton Review, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1982), Art. 7 present. The reader is also led to wonder if the blank space on the wall is perhaps a comment on the tendency of the German schools for some years after the war to avoid mention of anything regarding the Third Reich, to leave that era in German history blank. This remissness has, of course, been changed in recent years, and the Hitler years are now part of the regular curriculum. But Böll implies that at that time already the German schools needed to come to grips with the Hitler years.

In the hall of the school there are also pictures of Iphigenia and of Gerhard Scharnhorst<sup>10</sup> which share the word “rot” in their description, the import of which will be discussed in a moment: “... allein mit Scharnhorsts blutrotem Kragen und allein mit der Röte von Iphigenies Lippen...” These pictures represent the values propagated by the school. Iphigenia represents the classical concepts of the traditional German *Gymnasium*. By putting Iphigenia in the company of Scharnhorst Böll questions the value of classical education for all gymnasial students. The protagonist Walter, in his role as a washing machine repairman in West Germany, certainly has no need of his classical education. The picture of Gerhard Scharnhorst suggests a continued emphasis by the school on Prussian militarism, against which Böll has taken a firm stand.

That the school is out of step with contemporary needs is demonstrated in yet another manner. Böll divides the novella into two parts: the period before Walter and Hedwig, his future wife, meet, and the time after their love blossoms. The first part — which includes Walter’s school years and his dull, uninteresting jobs thereafter — is characterized by the use of “red” as leitmotif. In the second part the word “red” is discarded in favor of the word “green”, as we see, for example, when Walter insists on buying green roses (which do not exist) for Hedwig instead of the more customary red ones. The section of the novel in which “green” is a leitmotif is characterized by hope and promise for the future, appropriately typifying the love of Hedwig and Walter. In the section where the red motif dominates as in the description of the pictures in the school, Böll associates the educational institution with the blood and suffering of the past, and by shifting the color motif separates the past from the new life which dawns toward the end of the novel.

Böll’s general criticism of the school continues in the description of Walter’s former teacher.

... ich hatte ihn als nachgiebig und vergesslich, als fast ein wenig schlampig in Erinnerung, aber nun kam das Bild eines Pedanten und Knickers herauf, das nicht zu meiner Erinnerung passte. (p.19)

Neither the old mental image of the man as sloppy and forgetful nor the new one as a pedant and a miser is flattering. The letter which Muller writes to ask Walter to find his daughter a room increases the social and educational distance between the teacher and his former pupil. Muller irritates Walter with expressions like, “Gewiss werden Sie sich meiner nicht mehr genau erinnern” and “ausserdem erlaube ich mir zu betonen.” Such language contrasts sharply with that used by Böll in this novel and in his other works — a common and everyday language. Muller’s more stilted phraseology only serves to emphasize class distinctions between people. The letter reads more like an exercise in epistolary composition than a letter from a former teacher and

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family friend asking for personal favor. It exhibits an aloofness, which however unintentional it might be, creates animosity. Muller seems almost to rub salt into the wound by the stilted way he addresses his former student:

... ich bin der Leiter der Hoffmann-von-Fallersleben-Schule, auf der auch Sie einige Jahre hindurch Ihre Studien trieben. (p. 18)

Muller's pedantry makes Walter an object of derision, for the latter had been a poor student and did not complete his studies, but rather he left the *Gymnasium* and entered a trade school. The gap between the two is further intensified by the teacher's use of niggardly words which bring back unpleasant memories of Walter's postwar poverty:

...und ausserdem erlaube ich mir zu betonen, dass das Zimmer auf jeden Fall preiswert sein muss. (p. 19)

The word "preiswert" is in itself enough to make the narrator dislike Muller, for it brings to mind a person who always must have his money's worth.

In summary then, Heinrich Böll is critical of the role which the school plays in society. It is a society in which the school does not develop the individual to his full potential, instead it merely functions as an agent for fostering the current ideology of society and, thus, is at least partially to blame for the problems that confront the individual. Although Böll's work points out well these problems, it does not offer any solutions.

Auburn University

<sup>1</sup>This article is a revision of a paper originally delivered at the Georgia Colloquium in April 1981.

<sup>2</sup>Ottillie's experiences at school in "Die Wahlverwandschaften" and the well-known first paragraph of "Die Harzreise" form the basis for this view. Goethe and Heine also wrote about their own school experiences, and their statements have been collected in the anthology by Martin Gregor-Dellin, *Die erste Prüfung. Schul-Erinnerungen von Goethe bis Brecht* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlag, 1970). Further insight into how Goethe and Heine viewed the education process of their times may be gained from their essays.

<sup>3</sup>Several anthologies are available which give a good insight into the school as a literary motif over the years. Hans Eckart Rübesamen's *Man sage nicht, Lehrer hätten kein Herz* (Munich: Kindler, 1970), contains perhaps the best stories with this motif from Grimms to Günther Grass. This text and Martin Gregor-Dellin's *Vor dem Leben* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlag, 1965) contain stories which generally are critical of the socio-political climate in Germany. Martin Gregor-Dellin's *Besuch im Karzer* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlag, 1966) contains humorous school-related stories.

<sup>4</sup>Hermann Stresau, *Heinrich Böll* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1964), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Heinrich Böll, *1947 bis 1951* (Cologne-Berlin: Middlehauve, 1964), p. 339. Pagination will be that of this edition.

<sup>7</sup>Böll, *Und sagte kein einziges Wort* (Cologne-Berlin: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1953). Pagination will be of this edition.

<sup>8</sup>Böll, *Haus ohne Hüter* (Cologne-Berlin: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1960). Pagination will be of this edition.

<sup>9</sup>Böll, *Das Brot der frühen Jahre* (Cologne-Berlin: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1962). Pagination will be of this edition.

<sup>10</sup>Scharnhorst was associated with the reform of the German army after the defeat of 1806. He became the creator of modern armies, recruited from the people and consolidated by patriotic devotion in service to a common cause. He was convinced that, if the traditional soldierly training and discipline of the Prussian military machine could be preserved and harmonized with the new patriotism, the military might of a new Prussia would become impregnable. The principles of Scharnhorst's new military science provided the basis of military training and strategy well into the twentieth century. Reinhardt, Kurt F. *Germany: 2000 Years*, 2nd ed. (New York: Reinhardt, 1961), pp. 236-239.