“We were always brothers”:

Natives of the Americas in (East) German Children’s Literature

By

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For My Ancestors & Teachers

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Abstract

A quick survey of modern German hobbies, plays, school celebrations, and juvenile literature reveals a surprising presence: the American Indian. The American Indian, at first glance, is a character that appears to have been based on representations of natives of the Americas. Germany itself has no fourth world population, had no colonies in the Americas and thus no colonial subjects who were natives of the Americas. Germany also had no specific period of mass influx of immigrants who were natives of the Americas. Despite these facts, the number and frequency of events and texts centered around the Indianer figure points toward an unexpected and ongoing fascination with the historical tribes of the Americas. While the Indianer figure itself is a staple, the tribal specificity of that figure is not stable or predictable. And, rather than functioning as a cultural other, the Indianer seems to be a figure that is somehow specifically tribal *and* German.

The juvenile texts considered in this dissertation begin to show how the Indianer, who might be expected to function as a cultural other, works to define Gemanness outside of social and political upheaval in the eastern portion of modern Germany. The texts considered here are written in various genres and for various age groups. This textual variety allows for cross-genre and cross-developmental-stage investigations into the pedagogical functionality of the Indianer figure. In these texts, young readers are invited to embrace an identity that is not German. It is at times an Indianer identity and at times a hybrid German-Indianer identity.

Karl May's adventure novel series *Winnetou*[1] is perhaps the best known and by far the best researched series in which the Indianer appears. Although frequently blasted for its acceptance of manifest destiny, traditional male and female roles, and wildly inaccurate

[1] Karl Friedrich May. *Winnetou*. Freiburg i. Br: F.E. Fehsenfeld, 1893.

depictions of the Apache tribe, its popularity as an adventure series for German-speaking youth has not diminished over the last century and a half. After the Second World War, GDR author Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich worked to replace May's texts, which were riddled with ethnic inaccuracies, with her own well-researched Bildungsroman series *Die Söhne der großen Bärin.*[2] In her series, she creates a utopian society in which previously warring Indian bands, white trappers, and immigrant farmers unite. Anne Müller-Tannewitz's (aka. Anne Jürgen) captivity novel *Blauvogel*[3], also published in East Germany after the Second World War, echoes Welskopf-Henrich's dedication to accurate ethnographic representations. The novel also contrasts the white settler society with a native, socialist way of life and encourages young readers to turn their backs on capitalism like the protagonist Georg turned his back on his white biological family to become instead an Indianer. In contrast to these two well-researched, ethnographically accurate texts, Janosch presents readers with an Indianer who is described only as "South American." The 1993 version of his fairy tale, *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*[4], explains how a poor outcast becomes a self-reliant, confident youth by becoming a germanified Indianer. Unlike the former three texts, which are set in North America, Janosch's protagonist is able to learn to be an Indianer without leaving his German hometown.

The Indianer protagonists in all of these texts, while some are more tribally specific than others, are not representations of individuals with those tribal memberships at all. Instead, they are imagined inhabitants of Germany's imagined colonial space. Their imagined status allows them a fluidity denied to individuals existing in reality. By embracing this fluidity, readers can themselves become either Indianer (leaving their German identities behind) or hybrid German-

[2]Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf. *Die Söhne der grossen Bärin*. Berlin: Altberliner Verl. 1951.
[3] Müller-Tannewitz, Anna. *Blauvogel: Wahlsohn Der Irokesen.* Berlin: Verl. Neues Leben, 1950.
[4] Janosch. *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes.* München: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verl, 1993.

Indianer. The imagined Indianer have, over the course of the century, achieved hero status in the consciousness of their readers, making them imagined national folk heroes in a region in which a proud national identity and historical national folk heroes was otherwise problematic. Taking the accuracy debates as a point of departure, this project explores the genres and the depictions of Indianer protagonists to begin to explore the role of the Indianer figure in German society.

Introduction: "If Only One Were an Indian": Germany's Enduring Dream

Kafka

Wunsch, Indianer zu werden

Wenn man doch ein Indianer wäre, gleich bereit, und
auf dem rennenden Pferde, schiel in der Luft, immer
wieder kurz erzitterte über dem zitternden Boden,
bis man die Sporen ließ, denn es gab keine Sporen, bis
man die Zügel wegwarf, denn es gab keine Zügel, und
kaum das Land vor sich als glattgemähte Heide sah,
schon ohne Pferdehals und Pferdekopf.[5]

Through the figure of the Indianer, the narrator of Kafka's "Wunsch, Indianer zu werden" expresses the desire to be not only ready to face whatever unknown situations may come, but also to be completely free, leaving control and responsibility behind: to become an Indianer. The Indianer in Kafka's text acts as a familiar figure, one in opposition with the realities of the life of the narrator. There is something about the image of the Indianer that speaks to the desires of the narrator, so much so that he would like to become an Indianer himself. The title, which I

[5] Kafka, Franz, Franz Hitzler, and Juergen Seuss, *Betrachtung* (Berlin: Faber & Faber, 1994), 51. "If only one were an Indian, ever alert, and, leaning into the wind on a speeding horse, always jerkily quivering over the quivering ground, until one dropped one's spurs, for there would be no spurs, until one hurled away one's reins, for there would be no reins, and one barely saw the countryside before one as a smoothly mown heath, but now without the horse's neck and horse's head." Translation from: Franz Kafka and Joachim Neugroschel, *The metamorphosis, In the penal colony, and other stories: with two new stories*, (2000), 47.

translate loosely as "The wish to become an Indian," designates the status of "Indianer"[6] not only as desirable, but also obtainable, at least in one's imagination. The wish of becoming an Indianer is not limited to literary texts, but also is manifested in German hobbyist groups' reenactments of "traditional" Indian life. The word "Wunsch" (wish) indicates that there is something desirable about being an Indianer; something more desirable about being Indianer than being non-Indianer. Wunsch, combined with the verb "werden"[7] (to become) also indicates that Indianness is something that can be acquired and inhabited. If one can become Indianer, then the status of "Indianer" is not one that an individual must be born into, but one that can be somehow acquired. Since it is something that can be acquired, the category of Indianer is not restricted by heritage or inheritance. It is something that can be learned, acquired, and lived. Indianer is, therefore, not a racial category, it is something else. Exploring this "something else," its construction and its function, is the subject of my project.

Introduction

[6] I use the German version of the word Indian to emphasize the cultural specificity of the term and the designation. The German term "Indianer" does not carry the same connotations as the English "Indian." "Indianer" is used in German to refer to the native peoples of the Americas in general, but there is also a high awareness of cultural difference among tribes. (This awareness, however, is not always apparent in depictions and representations of Indianer.) The term "Indianer" has also been adapted into the German language in set phrases, such as "Indianer weinen nicht." and "Ein Indianer kennt keinen Schmerz." (Translated by the author as "Indianer don't cry" and "An Indian knows no pain.") It should be understood that these phrases do not carry meaning about any ethnic group, but are general admonishments used with children. These phrases are also used in the media in articles that speak to German culture and otherwise make no mention of American Indians. (See, for example, Martin Reichert, "Studie Übers Weinen: 'Ein Indianer Kennt Keinen Schmerz.'" *Die Tageszeitung*, 10 2009, sec. Alltag. http://www.taz.de/Studie-uebers-Weinen/!43149/. See also Alexander Bernhaut, *Ein Indianer kennt keinen Schmerz? ein Psychiater packt aus: wie Redensarten unser Leben bestimmen* (München: Südwest, 2009).)

[7] Translation of werden: to become. Frequently used to describe what people will become as adults, as in "John wants to become a teacher."

German interest in the Americas and their inhabitants dates back to 1796, with Alonso Decalves' ethnographic text *Eine ganz neue und sehr merkwürdige Reisebeschreibung*.[8] Fictional texts featuring Indian protagonists first became popular in the late 19th century, a time in which most European countries had given up the idea of establishing new colonial empires. Ethnographic and fictional texts concerning the inhabitants of the Americas continue to be written and published today. While originally both ethnographic and fictional texts were largely written for an adult audience, recent trends in publication evidence a modern tendency for fictional texts to be written for and marketed to a juvenile audience, while ethnographic texts have maintained their target audience of adult readers. As the ages of the intended audiences of these texts regress, the Indianer archetype is slipping into a different discourse; while originally prominent in adult texts (raising questions about accuracy and authenticity, among others), the prominence of this archetype in texts written for children opens a new, pedagogical discourse. Texts written for children are written by adults for children and serve certain goals of the adult population in terms of juvenile pedagogy. A question that begs further attention is why German-speaking adults in Europe chose the Indianer archetype to impart information to children and influence their world views.

'*%My dissertation project: "'We Were Always Brothers': Natives of the Americas in (East) German Children's Literature," is a comparative study of the representations of native inhabitants of North and South America in literature written for children by German-speaking

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[8] Alonso Decalves, *Eine ganz neue und sehr merkwürdige Reisebeschreibung, oder, Zuverlässige und glaubwürdige Nachrichten von den westlichen bisjetzt noch unbekannten Theilen von America. Enthaltend: eine Beschreibung derjenigen Länder, welche auf einige Tausend Meilen gegen Westen und oberhalb den christlichen Staaten von Nord-America liegen; wie auch eine Schilderung der weissen Indianer, ihrer Sitten, Gebräuche und Kleidertrachten* (Philadelphia: Gedruckt [bey Neale und Kämmerer, Jun.] und zu haben bey den Herren Buchhändlern, 1796.) http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/30324.

authors from 1875 to the present. My project notes that the American Indian occupies a position of lasting interest in German-language literary works, films and culture, and that the Indianer plays a significant pedagogical role in German children's literature, as indicated by publication and circulation records. It asks how individual authors made use of specific genres to meet the pedagogical goals of the text. Further, it asks how the authors used or dismissed the tribal affiliations claimed by their protagonists to structure or advance their plot. Finally, it asks how the authors utilized or contributed to the character of the Indianer that inhabits childhood imagination and whether that Indianer can be considered a true other in German society. I pursue this project by analyzing representations of American Indians in German-language fictional texts written for children, especially children of the GDR.

I argue that the lack of consistent national identity or the existence of colonies did not prevent German authors and readers from creating a colonizing nation in their fantasies. In fact, the existence of this fantastical colonial nation not only allowed authors and readers to understand their nation as a colonial one, but also allowed them to understand themselves as superior-colonizers who embraced and guaranteed the continued existence of the positive aspects of the native cultures of their fantastical colonies. I further argue that the existence of fantasy colonies during the European colonial period and the German role as native-sympathetic superior-colonizer in these fantasies allowed for the creation of a hero-archetype, the *Indianer*, who, in the colonial fantasies of the daydreamers, authors and artists, cheerfully shared his valuable cultural information with the worthy (male) German protagonist, thus helping him become more advanced and better suited for survival. The German protagonist became better suited for survival in Germany and the imagined colonial spaces through the formation of a hybrid identity, forged of the traits he already possessed because of his German cultural

background and traits he could learn from his Indian teacher. The idea of an honorable, wise, but unfortunately doomed teacher, already present in the fiction of Karl May (published beginning in the 1890s), gave way to a modern depiction of an honorable, content, wise teacher who is ill-equipped to deal with the industrialized world due to his singular cultural identity, but who is still in the position to provide modern children with valuable lessons. The result of these lessons for the young German protagonists is the creation of a hybrid cultural identity; one that is German and also Indianer, and one that makes the young protagonist especially well equipped for success in the modern world. The hybrid German-Indianer protagonist becomes the ideal German adult and hero.

In the juvenile texts under consideration in this project, the addition of the Indianer identity is required for hero-status, which is intriguing for a country that did not have physical colonies in the Americas. In the aftermath of the first and second World Wars and the rapid birth and demise of German nations, German pedagogs would have found it challenging to select national heroes that could serve as role models to the youth of a new, socialist nation. The German historical role in both wars made it problematic to select heroes from the recent past, while the relative newness of Germany as a nation[9] did not allow for the selection of more historically distant national heroes. Additionally, any recent heroes that could have been selected would have necessitated a discussion of war crimes and resistance. Discussions of these topics, while common in certain venues such as war crime trials, newspapers, and cultural events such as theater, may have been avoided in every-day life after World War II. I argue that it was not a far reach for pedagogs, authors and parents, to co-opt the Indianer inhabiting their fantastical colonies as a suitable role model and surrogate for a German national hero. The figure of the

[9] Germany has existed as a united nation from 1871-1945 and again since 1990.

Indianer, who had once represented a wise but doomed teacher, makes a convenient and logical stand-in for a national folk hero who could exist outside of the Germanness of the nation. Already portrayed as a willing teacher of settlers and explorers of German heritage, the Indianer now becomes the symbol of maturity; children become mature by taking on the traits of their literary mentors. There is, in this model, an awareness of the shortcomings of a solely German identity; only the German children who take on a hybrid German/Indianer identity are marked to excel in the modern world. The hybridity at work here is informed by historical facts and events when convenient, but not bound by them. The historical German fantasy of colonialism has, as evidenced by the texts under consideration here, become a fantasy of hybridity. The young German protagonists do not give up their German identities, but are no longer bound by them. Similarly, they are not bound by their Indianer identity and thus are not doomed to become relics of a pre-colonial past as are their Indianer teachers. The old German fantasy, as evidenced from these modern children's narratives, has changed from a colonial one to one of hybridity; one in which both Germany and the former colony are allowed to continue to exist along their separate paths, but one in which Germany continues to develop and is richer because of the presence of citizens with the new hybrid German/Indianer identity.[10]

Germans and Indians: Extant Scholarship

Recent scholarship has begun to consider the role played by representations of the American Indian in German Society. The majority of these studies consider the terms *German*

[10] The colony does not share in the benefits of this hybridity – the natives seem either unwilling or unable to learn from their young pupils. However, the behavior and knowledge of the students suggests that there is nothing positive that could be taught to the Indianer teachers in any case. This is a reversal of Said's assertion that the positive traits of the other were positive because they were European. Here, the positive traits are purely native, while the negative aspects are European or a direct result of European involvement.

and *Indian*[11] themselves, pointing out the inherent difficulties with such terms. Susanne Zantop uses both terms ironically, pointing out that both terms have "…more to do with fantasy than with any lived actuality…"[12] This recognition of the difficulties in using one general term to describe a diverse group is no doubt a result of conversations in post-colonial thought over the last few decades, but also allows for the uncomfortable space between the usefulness of a generalized term or designation and the recognition of meaningful diversity within that term. Recently, scholars and members of native groups have shown a preference for identification of specific tribal or clan affiliations over the term "Indian." Such specific identification provides more information about an individual or group and works to minimize stereotypical categorizations and their related assumptions. In my project, I, like Susanne Zantop, use both the terms *German* and *Indian* ironically, as useful albeit flawed terms that are both the products of centuries of cultural imagination. The recognition that there is no *German* and no *Indian*, and that both terms are cultural constructs—the products of fantasy partially contained in fictional texts—is as central to my use of these words as the terms themselves. Further, as I mentioned previously, in most instances I use the term Indianer in order to emphasize the cultural specificity of the term and the distance between the German archetype[13] and any living or historical group.

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[11] *Indian* here refers to the studied manifestation which assumes a connection to living of historical people, as opposed to my use of the term Indianer to signify the literary figure and cultural archetype.

[12] Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop, *Germans and Indians: fantasies, encounters, projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 26.

[13] I use the term *archetype* in the Jungian psychology meaning of a collectively inherited unconscious idea, pattern of thought, or image that is universally present in individual psyches.

With his seminal text *Orientalism*[14], Edward Said began the discussions surrounding postcolonialism, appropriation, and the identification of the self in terms of the other. In his Afterword, Said states,

> …the development and maintenance of every culture require the existence of another, different and competing *alter ego*. The construction of identity … involves the construction of opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from 'us.'[15]

One of the major issues Said confronts in his analysis is the construction of a colonial *other* and the position of disadvantage colonial others inhabit as a result of these constructed representations. Said does not consider Germany in his original analysis, since Germany was not a colonial powerhouse and, further, did not have colonies in the Middle East or Asia. As a country without significant colonies, Germany would not have created a counter-ego for itself through representations of its colonial other. In addressing this exclusion of Germany from postcolonial discussion, many researchers drew attention to the fact that, while Germany did not have colonies itself until 1883, and German control over those colonies was short-lived (ending in 1919),[16] Germany, as a European country, would have been drawn up in the European culture of colonialism.

Said suggests that the existence and maintenance of a culture relies on the existence of an alter ego. The existence of colonies makes the construction of a *colonial other* a convenient means of fulfilling the colonizing country's need for an alter ego. The existence of colonial others as alter egos allow for a great sense of pride in the identity of the colonizing nation since,

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[14] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
[15] Ibid., 331-332.
[16] A few individual German States attempted and failed to colonize parts of South America in the 16th and 17th centuries.

according to Said, the positive characteristics of the alter ego – the colonial other – are represented/interpreted as positive because of their Europeanness or because they are the direct result of European involvement. Further, negative characteristics of the alter-ego are represented/interpreted as non-European. Since these negative characteristics are non-European, they must inherently belong to the culture of the colonial other, and since they are negative characteristics, the colonial power was able to make use of the existence of these negative characteristics to justify their occupation of and involvement in the colony.

Close consideration of the German language children's texts under consideration here allows for no easy overlay of Said's theoretical framework. Said himself did not include German language texts in his seminal study, claiming a lack of relevance: "At no time in German scholarship during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century could a close partnership have developed between Orientalist and a protracted, sustained *national* interest in the Orient."[17] Many scholars working in postcolonial German studies have refuted this view, claiming that, contrary to Said's assumption that a lack of a physical colonial space equaled a lack of national interest in the Orient, German writing does reflect a "sustained national interest"; scholars point to representations of India in German travel and missionary writing[18] and an economic and political interdependency[19] to justify the inclusion of German language texts in postcolonial studies.

If Germany's texts are included in postcolonial discourse, Germany becomes the site of imaginary colonialism, a colonialism that took place in the fantasy of the nation rather than a

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[17] Said, 19.
[18] Kamakshi P. Murti, *India: the seductive and seduced "Other" of German orientalism* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001).
[19] Nina Berman, *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne: zum Bild des Orients in der deutschsprachigen Kultur um 1900* (Stuttgart: M & P: 1997).

physical space. Suzanne Zantop not only contended that a postcolonial model can be utilized when considering German language texts, she pushed the geographical boundaries of the discussion and extended them to South America by investigating German representations of South America 100 years before the establishment of any German colonies. Zantop asserts not only that the absence of state-sponsored colonialism spurred the existence of colonial fantasies in Germany, but also that the German Reich's later attempts at colonialism did nothing to quell colonial fantasies, instead instilling a conviction of German imperial talents that outlasted the physical existence of the colonies themselves.[20] Zantop, unlike Said, engages with the imagined colony. Her own analysis deviates largely from that of Said in terms of colonial subjects; since the German colony itself is imagined, so are the colonial subjects. Therefore, there are no actual colonial subjects to be considered; no silenced voices to be heard. Zantop's reflection on an imagined colonial experience works with the concept of reality itself. Authors such as David Bell[21] and Bob Chase[22] work with this concept, or rather the concept of a lack of reality. According to Chase, reality can only exist as a concept in the mind; physical reality is not possible. Rondolphe Gasché[23] contributes to the discussion surrounding the lack of a physical reality by suggesting that the Orient is not the Orient, or any other physical location—it is a

[20] Susanne Zantop, *Colonial fantasies: conquest, family, and nation in precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997)
[21] David Bell, "Goethe's Orientalism; Goethe and the English-Speaking World", in *Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture*, Eds. Nicholas Boyle and John Guthrie (Woodbridge, England: Camden House, 2002).
[22] Bob Chase, "Herder and the postcolonial reconfiguring of the Enlightenment," in *Questioning history: the postmodern turn to the eighteenth century*, edited by Greg Slingham (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1998).
[23] Rodolphe Gasché, "Hegel's Orient, or the End of Romanticism," in *History and Mimesis*. Ed. J. Massey Irving and Sung-won Lee (Buffalo: Dept. of English, State Univ. of New York, Buffalo, 1983).

concept. Since it is a concept, it is not an actuality – it does not physically exist.[24] Imre Szeman extends the concept of an imagined reality to imagined nationhood. Szeman defines the nation in postcolonial literature as a concept that relates back to the practice of creating, producing, and consuming literature in the regions that belong to the nation; the nation must be imagined first, because only after this imagining does the nation have the hope of becoming a political, physical entity. [25]

The idea that nations are first imagined through literature leads to the notion that physical reality, insofar as it can exist at all, is nothing more than an attempt to realize an already imagined nation. Applying this same logic to colonies results in the assertion that a colonial reality – the existence of colonies – is also nothing more than an attempt to realize an imagined colonial experience. Germany was an imagined colonial power in the fantasies of its authors and readers long before its existence as a physical, political nation with colonies. German citizens and organizations had long participated in the creation of curiosity cabinets (Wunderkammer, collections of preserved exotic plants, animals, and artifacts), a behavior most often associated with colonialism, especially British colonialism. One such curiosity cabinet, assembled at the end of the 17th century by August Hermann Franke, was recently rediscovered and reopened for public view at the Franckesche Stiftung zu Halle, in Halle an der Saale, Germany.[26] The creation of curiosity cabinets in Germany testifies to the colonial mentality at work at a time well before Germany existed as a united, political nation. Curiosity cabinets also can act as physical

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[24] Despite Gasché's argument, there can be no doubt that the colonial activities in the Orient had a real impact on the people and geography of the colonies. His argument is used here in support of the idea of an imagined colony in general terms.
[25] Imre Szeman, *Zones of instability: literature, postcolonialism, and the nation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 20.
[26] "Waisenhaus und Wunderkammer," Franckesche Stiftung zu Halle, accessed December 20, 2010, http://www.francke-halle.de/main/index2.php?cf=1_5_1.

manifestations of a colonial space that existed in the collective dreams of this imagined colonial empire.

A modern manifestation of this colonial mentality can be seen not only in hobbyist group reenactments, but also in the meticulous documentation through film and photo many German tourists engage in while on vacation in foreign countries. Germany, while not a realized colonial power in the Americas, was certainly a colonial power in that geographical region in the fantasies of its citizens. The use of post-colonial analysis in German texts is not misplaced; authors' fantasies housed a German colonial experience. The fictional texts produced are the products of those very fantasies. This imagined colonial experience continues today as a pedagogical tool; the Americas in German children's fiction have morphed from an imagined colony that German readers can interact with to the location of a timeless utopia that houses imagined heroes who reliably and consistently exhibit ideals that children can learn from and aspire to.

The existence of fantastical colonies makes possible the creation of an imagined cultural other. Said, in his *Orientalism,* states that a constructed other is necessary for the maintenance of one's own cultural identity:

> …the development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of another, different and competing *alter ego*. The construction of identity … involves the construction of opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from 'us.'[27]

Andrea Polaschegg contributes to Said's concept of the self and the other by contending that these distinctions are too one-dimensional and adds to them the categories of known vs.

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[27] Said, 331-332.

unknown. According to Polaschegg, an "other" could be known or unknown, depending on the length of contact with the self. She suggests three categories, the self, the known other, and the unknown other. An unknown other can become a known other through exposure and understanding, but neither the unknown other, nor the known other can become members of the self.[28] In the texts I consider here I categorize the self as the German narrators and heroes. The Indianer represented in these texts are already or become known others to the narrators and readers of the texts. The non-German colonial nations begin as an unknown other, becoming more and more unknown as the Indianer become more known.

Like Polaschegg, Joseph Walunywa also recognizes the challenges of using a strict bilateral classification system. Where Polaschegg introduces the concepts of the known and unknown other, Walunywa introduces a distinction in the categorization of non-native colonizers. He uses the concept of a *non-native native* to describe the role of immigrant populations of colonies that are neither the indigenous inhabitants nor members of the colonial empire in control of the colony. The non-native natives are sandwiched between the colonizing power and the natives on the power spectrum, they are not fully native, but also not fully colonial. They are non-natives to the land they now reside in, but they are natives because, like the indigenous groups, they are subject to the power of the colonizer.[29] The narrators of the texts under consideration in this project are clear to set their German heroes apart from the evil colonial powers at work in the Americas. Their protagonists' foreignness also sets them apart from the wise but powerless natives. The German heroes fit into the category of non-native

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[28] Andrea Polaschegg, D*er andere Orientalismus: Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 2005), 39-57.
[29] Joseph Walunywa, "The 'Non-Native Native' in V.S. Naipaul's *A Bend in the River*"*Postcolonial Text* [Online], 4, accessed February 16, 2009.

natives, and this category provides a new way to think about the position of the German heroes; they are part of the colonizing process, but not part of the colonizing powers.

In the face of the absence of a physical colonial other, both the Indianer and the colonial empire function as alter egos for the German heroes. The alter egos have the advantage of producing a positive and a negative alter-ego to the German figures in the texts, where negative characteristics are mirrored through the bodies of the colonizing nation while the positive characteristics are mirrored in the bodies of the Indianer. Here, unlike with Said, positive characteristics in the native peoples are not the result of colonial intervention, but of a simple, natural life. The Indianer function as wise but powerless teachers: teachers who are willing to share their knowledge with the "good," "non-native native," German heroes. The teachings of the wise Indianer are in danger of being lost in the face of the non-German, more-or-less evil colonial power; it is only through passing their knowledge onto the non-native native heroes that the wise-but-doomed Indianer teachers can insure that their knowledge and culture will not die with them. This results in the German hero acquiring the skills needed to become an Indianer, somehow becoming a better German while at the same time preserving the culture of the positive alter ego. It is useful to note that not ALL tribes are considered to be "good" Indianer; the enemies of the tribe the German hero is learning from are often considered to be "evil." Conversely, not all colonial nations are "evil"; while the colonial powers at work in South America and what is now the USA are consistently represented as "evil," Canada is seen as a "good" colonial nation that makes room for all diverse groups to thrive.

Fantastical colonies allow German readers and authors to not only imagine themselves as superior and therefore good colonizers, but to also imagine the colonial subjects as good. The existence of good colonial subjects or natives also allows for the existence of bad natives. This dynamic can be seen in modern hobbyist depictions of the virtues of good native groups. A brief survey of summer cultural events in Germany reveals an interesting obsession: Throughout the summer months, kindergartens have "Indian Days," [30] outdoor theaters showcase dramatizations of Karl May's best-known fictional texts, and Indian Clubs hold meetings, reenactments, and powwows. The highlight of the season may very well be the Indiannertreffen and Karl-May-Spiele in Bad Segeberg, which boasts a family friendly festival featuring dramatizations and, until recently, appearances by Pierre Brice and Gojko Mitić (Гојко Митић): the actors who played chiefs in West and East German "spaghetti westerns," respectively. Individual German

[30] Indianer Tage

hobbyist groups organize and support many smaller Indianertreffen throughout the summer months. German Indianthusiasts[31] or hobbyists[32] are citizens of Germany who dress in Indian costumes and reenact Indian life during their free time. For this, hobbyists often make a tipi and their own hobbyist clothing from leather. The frequently gather in groups in order to participate in “traditional Indian” arts, crafts, and games. While it is a common goal of the hobbyist groups to meet an American Indian, these meetings do not significantly inform their hobbyism, as said hobbyism represents an 18th- or 19th-century Indian, rather than Native American groups or individuals living in modern times. German hobbyists must, then, consult other sources for the development of their enactments and representations. The main sources available to them are ethnographic and fictional texts where representations of American Indians living prior to the 20th century are made. Popular fictional texts inform general and stereotypical representations of Indianer, whereas ethnographic texts, especially the earlier ethnographic texts, provide historical information about specific tribal groups early in the phase of contact with European settlers. Such early accounts are especially desirable for those attempting to enact Indian life in a traditional way, as many “serious” hobbyists claim to do.[33]

Instances of German hobbyist representations of American Indians almost beg for the application of Bhabha’s theory, including his “mimic man.” However, there are several reasons why Bhabha’s theory of mimicry is not effortlessly applied to this discussion. Said’s discussion

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[31] Hartmut Lutz uses this term in his article “German Indianthusiasm: A Socially Constructed German National(ist) Myth,” in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden and Susanne Zantop (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2002), 167f.
[32] Katrin Sieg uses this term in her article “Indian Impersonation as Historical Surrogation,” in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden and Susanne Zantop (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2002), 217f.
[33] Ibid., 218.

of the self and the other lead to many studies of acts of mimicry. Bhabha develops the concept of the mimic man as a result of colonization, and defines colonial mimicry as:

> …the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*…. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both 'normalized' knowledges and disciplinary powers.[34]

He claims that mimicry of the colonizing group by the natives reproduces a distorted image of the colonizer to the colonizer. The mimic man can also act as a native informant, a link of communication between his native tribe and the colonizing power.

My concept of hybrid identity differs from Bhabha's mimic man in several important ways; the mimicry is done by the German colonizers, not the subjects of their fantastical colonies, the mimicry does not show the colonial subjects a distorted image of themselves, and therefore does not inspire uncomfortable reflection on the part of the colonizers. In the fictional texts I discuss here, it is not the native that mimics the German hero, but rather the German hero who mimics the native. It is the German hero, the non-native native, who acts as a link of communication between his native teachers and the colonial power. Instead of resulting in a distorted image of the natives, the heroes become hybrid figures who embody the positive characteristics of both their own German-European culture and those of the Indianer. I suggest that the Indianer protagonists in fictional texts fill a pedagogical hole in German society by acting as role models for children who cannot look to heroes in their own country's past. Further, the young German non-native natives in the text demonstrate a willingness to learn from a

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[34] Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," *The Location of Culture* (London: Rutledge, 1994), 123.

cultural other and model the creation of a hybrid identity. Instead of merely providing children with heroes that belong to a different culture, these texts also provide a German protagonist who, throughout the course of the text, becomes an ideal German adult by learning from his native teacher and constructing a hybrid cultural identity.

In the field of German scholarship, Bhabha's concept of mimicry has also been applied to instances of masquerade, most notably in the theater and in cultural performances. German fictional works about cultural others frequently portray a German protagonist mimicking the behavior and values of a native teacher. This has spurred a post-World War II real-life mimicry in Germany, which Katrin Sieg – who builds her concept on Bhabha's definition of colonial mimicry – called "ethnic masquerade" or "ethnic drag." Sieg suggests that the representation or impersonation of American Indians after the Second World War was an attempt to deal with "…the guilt of the Holocaust as well as the widespread shame and resentment provoked by the accusations brought against the Germans in the international war crimes tribunals and denazification procedures," while at the same time affording the Germans a geographical as well as a historic distance from the genocide.[35] Ethnic drag, the performance of Indianness, allows participants to construct their identity outside of their own "germanness." Sieg explores the idea of identity construction through acts of ethnic drag in great detail, but does not consider the history of texts about Indianer that contribute to instances of ethnic drag and "Indian" identity construction. H. Glenn Penny refutes Sieg's analysis of German hobbyists in his 2013 study, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800*.[36] Here, he points out that Sieg's

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[35] Katrin Sieg, *Ethnic drag: performing race, nation, sexuality in West Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 13.

[36] For a book review of Penny's *Kindred by Choice*, see Cora Lee Kluge, review of *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indains since 1800*, by H. Glenn Penny, *MaxKade Institute Friends Newsletter* 23.4 (Fall 2014): 10f.

analysis fails to take into account the full history of the hobbyist groups (the Munich Cowboy Club, founded in 1913, is the oldest hobbyist group still in existence today) and the "…German condemnation of the United States efforts to eradicate American Indians" which goes back to the 1850's.[37] The present study will begin to address the fictional texts that inform not only colonial fantasies but also instances of ethnic masquerade. The performance of ethnic drag is a central one, not only for the discussion of hobbyist groups, but also for the reception of texts in which the German heroes learn to become Indianer and are single-handedly able to preserve and protect the history, language, and culture of their mentor, while at the same time being powerless to protect the community itself.

Scholarship related to representations of American Indians in German language texts has a long history, sponsored in large part by the Karl May Society, which publishes a journal[38] dedicated to scholarship related to Karl May's fictional works, including colonial imaginings in both the Americas and the Orient. In recent years, postcolonial scholars have turned a postcolonial lens not only on Karl May's texts, but also on lesser-known texts and authors. Special attention has been paid to hobbyist groups and cultural dramatizations, as evidenced by Sieg's scholarship. Several common threads run through these studies, including ethnographic accuracy, gender representation, and historical context.

The majority of the body of pertinent scholarship consists of questions regarding the accuracy of representations of American Indians in German-language fictional texts. This is not at all surprising, considering the long tradition of cliché busting in Germany. H. Glenn Penny

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[37] H. Glenn Penny, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 6-7. See also page 145 for a history of hobbyists in Germany.

[38] Karl-May-Gesellschaft, *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft* (Hamburg: Karl-May-Gessellschaft, 1970-2015).

points out that "…cliché busting [of representations of American Indians] in Germany is as old as the clichés [themselves]."[39] Elsa Christina Müller's dissertation, in which she discusses Welskopf-Henrich's Sioux novels,[40] is an example of such scholarship. Aribert Schröder[41] and Hartmut Lutz[42] are especially concerned with the accuracy of representations of American Indians in non-literary instances, while Marta Carlson goes to great lengths to discuss what German hobbyists are doing incorrectly in their representations, and ends with the argument that they should not be "playing Indian" at all.[43] But what if, as Penny suggests, Germans aren't really playing Indian? What if they are playing at something else? Something that is specifically German? My interpretation of the motives of hobbyists in Germany is more similar to Penny's; rather than playing Indian, I suggest that the Germans engaged in instances of ethnic drag are not exploring an Indian identity, but rather a German one. The hobbyist community, as Penny notes: "is the one thing, sometimes *the* thing, they [Germans] were able to hold on to during times of repeated radical transformation, and it is something they have elected to do with great self-reflexivity."[44] If the hobbyist community found comfort in the familiarity of their hobbyist portrayal of the Indianer, especially in times of "repeated radical transformation," it is not surprising, then, that authors of children's books would reach for a familiar Indianer character when authoring texts that could be used to guide children through times of radical political and

[39] H. Glenn Penny, "Elusive Authenticity: The Quest for the Authentic Indian in German Public Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48.4 (2006): 798-819.
[40] Elsa Christiana Müller, "A Cultural Study of the Sioux Novels of Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich," *Dissertation Abstracts International* 57.3 (1996).
[41] Aribert Schröder, "'They lived together with their dogs and horses:' 'Indian Copy' in West German Newspapers, 1968-1982," *Indianer and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 1999).
[42] Lutz, "German Indianthusiasm," 32.
[43] Marta Carlson, "Germans Playing Indian," In *Germans and Indianer: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden and Susanne Zantop (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2002): 31.
[44] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 7-8.

national transformation. Just as the hobbyists sought comfort in the familiarity of their re-enactments of Indianer life, so, too, could the children find comfort in literature featuring the familiar Indianer.

Discussions of the masculinity and femininity of American Indian figures in German language fictional texts has been largely informed by Queer Theory. The often androgynous characteristics of male Indian figures have understandably received considerable attention. Johanna Bossinada explores the idea of the co-existence of masculine and feminine characteristics within one body,[45] arguing that masculine and feminine qualities can co-exist in the Indian male body, whereas the female body can only contain feminine qualities. Bossinada's theory is contested by Gudrun Kleindorf who argues that, in the later work of Karl May, the "good" characters have a hybrid balance of masculine and feminine qualities, while the "bad" characters have only the qualities of the masculine *or* the feminine. [46]

Historical contexts and influences on texts about American Indians have also received considerable attention. Albrecht Classen points out that, unlike contemporary works of the late Middle Ages, German literature of that time period concerning the Americas demonstrates a willingness to accept American Indians as noble humans.[47] He further contends that texts written in this period, specifically the *Wagnerbuch,* were instrumental in influencing the formation of a picture of the New World among the German public that was significantly different from a

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[45] Johanna Bossinade, "Das zweite Geschlecht des Roten: Zur Inszenierung von Androgynität in der Winnetou-Trilogie Karl Mays," *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft* (Hamburg: Hansa Verlag, 1986): 241-67.
[46] Gudrun Kleindorf, "Weibliche Seele—Männlicher Geist? Zur Rollenverteilung im Spätwerk Karl Mays,"*Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft* (Hamburg: Hansa, 2002): 181-233.
[47] Albrecht Classen, "Die Entdeckung Amerikas in der deutschen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Der Fall *Wagnerbuch,*" *German Life and Letters* 47.1 (1994): 3.

stereotypical Imperialist perspective.[48] Nina Berman, who works in a later literary period, suggests that Karl May's later novels were popular among a German reading public that was "…attempting to cope with the effects of a modernizing society…" because May's protagonists highlighted issues central to this struggle.[49] Scholars such as Ekkehard Koch,[50]Wojciech Kunicki, and Norbert Honsza[51] are largely concerned with the historical background of specific literary texts, either in their exotic or local historical reality.

More recently, investigations into German cinematic representations of American Indians points to a significant difference between the depictions of the American Indian produced in Germany and North America. German films, especially East German films, build on the concept of the Indian as a noble human, as expressed by Classen. Further, in contrast to the earlier American Westerns, these films make the American Indians the central characters and heroes. Franz Birgel notes: "Already the title given to this film genre indicates the shift in emphasis: not western, not cowboy, but Indianerfilme, Indian films, which depict the fate of Native Americans from their own perspective, showing how western expansion and settlement affected the country's original inhabitants."[52] This pro-Indian depiction is nonetheless problematic in that, in producing the Indian films, the producers are speaking for the Indians, as if the Indians were not

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[48] Ibid., 13.
[49] Nina Berman, "The Appeal of Karl May in the Wilhelmine Empire: Emigration, Modernization and the Need for Heroes" *A Companion to German Realism 1848-1900: Studies in German Literature, Linguistics and Culture,* ed. Todd Kontje (Woodbridge, England: Camden House, 2002), 286.
[50] Ekkehard Koch, "Zwischen Rio de la Plata und Kordilleren: zum historischen Hintergrund von Mays Südamerika-Romanen," *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellchaft* (Hamburg: Hansa, 1979), 137-68.
[51] Wojciech Kunicki and Norbert Honsza, "Unterhaltungsliteratur im europäischen Realismus: *Karl May und 'Winnetou IV,'*" *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellchaft* (Hamburg: Hansa, 1986), 225-40.
[52] Franz Birgel, "The Only Good Indian is a DEFA Indian: East German Variations on the Most American of all Genres" (Scarecrow Press, 2013), 5.

able to speak for themselves. At the same time, the producers allowed the Deutsche Film Aktiengesellschaft (DEFA) Indianer some victories in battle and left the endings of most films open. This, according to Birgel's interpretation, implies "…that the struggle of those who survived continues."[53] This open ending for the DEFA Indians (and the audience reminder that some Native Americans survived western expansion) would have resounded with an audience familiar with Welskopf-Henrich's second Bildungsroman series featuring the Oglala Sioux: *The Blood of the Eagle.*[54]

Current Study

There have been many past studies on American Indians in German Literature, and there is even a journal dedicated to discussing the representations of the natives in Karl May's works. Rather than rehashing the representation debates, my investigation considers the question of representation of Indianer through a different lens by moving beyond the representations at face value and asking if there is a thread of a different discussion underlying the various fictional texts and their representations of Indianer. There are significant bodies of work regarding representations of American Indians in German literature, media, and culture as well as specific genres of children's literature, such as fairy tales and Bildungsromane, but significant connections between these bodies of scholarship have yet to be made.

Throughout the course of this project, I will investigate four representative fictional texts, considering how the genre specific to each text contributes to the story, how the author utilized or dismissed tribal affiliations, and how the text itself contributes to the development of the Indianer. For the purposes of this investigation, I have chosen to work with children's texts.

[53] Ibid., 7.
[54] *Das Blut des Adlers*, published between 1966 and 1980. The DEFA Indianerfilme were produced between 1966 and 1985.

Books written for children often receive less scholarly attention than texts written for adults, yet the stories within the books mold children's perceptions of their world and their expectations for the future. I propose to offer new insights into the discussion of Indianthusiasm in Germany and German depiction of American Indians in written texts and the media by looking at depictions of Indianer specifically created for children.

In addition to beginning to make these connections, this study also considers the question of geography. Past investigations have paid little attention to texts read in a specific geographic region, recognizing that well-loved texts were transported throughout German speaking areas. I focus my attention specifically on the geographical area marked by the borders of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) for several reasons. First, Radebeul, the adult home of Karl May is located within this region. Second, despite the fact that, for 40 years, average citizens of this region were cut off from the West and any chance of traveling to the Americas, and opportunities for meeting American Indians in person were rare, Indian hobbyist groups and stories about Indianer flourished. Finally, citizens of this region have coped with five periods of vast political change during the twentieth century. By restricting my study to a specific geographical region that underwent specific political changes, I hope to offer new insight into discussions of issues surrounding representations of American Indians in German literature.

Throughout my investigation, I also pay special attention to the American geographical region and tribal affiliations represented in each text. Oftentimes, researchers content themselves with the discussion of a few texts set in North America, discussing the representations of Indianer as if tribal, linguistic, and geographical differences among the Indianer represented are of no consequence. In considering representations of Indianer, I elaborate on Katherine Arens' assertion that the plurality of colonial powers must be restored to the discussion of postcolonial

theory by asserting that the plurality of minority groups must also play a role in these discussions.[55] In my investigation, I do not wish to clump all representations of Indianer into one, homogenous group, and so I have chosen one representative text for each of four major geographical regions, thus preserving sight of the differences in representations of the minority Indian groups. Within each of these regions, I have taken the tribe that is represented in the text and offered a brief ethnographic history of the tribe independent of the fictional text being discussed. I do this in part to assure a base of knowledge about the actual tribe in order to then consider how the various authors utilized or dismissed tribal affiliations in their texts. I also strive to demonstrate the contrast between modern tribes and the Indianer in the fictional texts who, regardless of the date of authorship, seem to have been frozen in time at some point between first European contact and forced removal to reservations. Finally, it is my hope that this attention to the varying tribal affiliations of the protagonists of each text will refocus attention upon and maintain sight of differences between representations of different Indian tribes, as studies of difference should not lose sight of the differences within the minority group.

Through this discussion of tribal affiliations, I investigate not only how Indianer are represented and what this may say about a German reading audience, but also how different sub-groups of Indianer are represented differently, and what new information is gained through analysis of these subgroups. I suggest that, since the category inhabited by the Indianer is not a racial or an ethnic category, the germanified Indianer bridges these categories. The tribal specificity of the individual characters in the texts is a necessary characteristic of the protagonists who make up the archetype, but the tribal specificity is unimportant to the Indianer archetype

[55] Katherine Arens, "Said's Colonial Fantasties: How Orientalism Marginalizes Eighteenth-Century Germans," In: *Herder Yearbook: Publications of the International Herder Society,* # 7 (2004): 11-29.

itself. However, it remains important to consider what function the tribal selection of the authors has in molding the plot of the text as well as the archetype itself.

The overarching goal of the current investigation is to consider the role played by Indianer in children's literature in the geographical area of the former GDR produced throughout the 20th century. I propose that an imagined stable hero in the form of an American Indian assisted children in dealing with upheavals in their national identity, offering a form of stability in a politically unstable century. Further, although the accessible hero is an Indianer, the subjects of the texts themselves are not American Indians, but rather the German reading audience. Since the subjects of the texts to be considered here are not actual American Indians or American Indian tribes, the texts should not be read as attempts at accurate depictions gone wrong. The figures in the texts to be considered here make statements regarding German life and culture, not American Indian life and culture. Because of this, I do not engage in the authenticity debate of the representations, nor do I engage in the debate of whether representations of American Indians should continue.[56] My questions focus on the statements being made about German readers and writers (at times German society) and the German role in preserving history.

Books featuring American Indian characters have long been popular among young, German-speaking readers. Hartmut Lutz, already in the 1980's, notes that spanning the frame of time from the late-19th to the late-20th centuries, books featuring American Indians were "…the

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[56] While I do agree with scholars such as Suzanne Zantop, Bernd Peyer, and Katrin Sieg, who argue that German representations of American Indians are to varying degrees inaccurate, and I do not wish to take issue with Marta Carlson, who argues that German hobbyist depictions of American Indians should not continue, the questions of this investigation move in a different direction. Instead of a careful analysis of the accuracy of the depiction, this study takes the actuality of the depictions as a point of departure and moves the discussion beyond the braids, feathers, and fringes.

most widespread form of German children's literature."[57] Tomas Kramer addresses the variety of formats of children's literature featuring American Indians; Indianer were the featured characters not only in childrens books, but also in a vast assortment of comic books, magazines, and small booklets.[58] Despite being so popular and widespread, until quite recently, little focused literary attention has been paid to the Indianer of German children's literature, or what the Indianer is doing as a figure central to childhood literature in a European nation that did not have colonies in the Americas, more than 100 years after the project of westward expansion in North America was largely complete.

Two pieces of this puzzle are addressed by H. Glenn Penny in his recent work *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800.* Here, Penny points to two major justifications for the ongoing German obsession with American Indians. First, Penny identifies to the American Indian as a cipher for 20th-century struggles: "'Indians,' in short, became deeply ingrained in German cultures during the nineteenth century, their stories became ciphers for modern struggles during the twentieth century…"[59] In this, he builds on the desire for freedom from the constraints of modern civilization expressed, for example, by Kafka in his piece "Wunsch, Indianer zu werden," with which this introduction began. Penny continues by noting that the Indians resurface "…during cold war clashes, peace protests, environmental movements, esoteric musings, and the persistent settings of backyard play and hobbyist camps."[60] Here, Penny's mention of the various settings in which American Indians appeared in German cultural

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[57] Lutz, "Der edle Wilde auf dem Kriegspfad: Indianenbilder für die deutsche Jugend." In *Das Gift Der Frühen Jahre: Rassismus in D. Jugendliteratur,* (1981), 236.
[58] Thomas Kramer, *Micky, Marx und Manitu: Zeit- und Kulturgeschichte im Spiegel eines DDR-Comics 1955-1990: "Mosaik" als Fokus von Medienerlebnissen im NS und in der DDR* (Berlin: Weidler, 2002).
[59] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 3.
[60] Ibid.

context works to underscore how deeply ingrained the Indianer is in German culture, and also transitions to thought about how the Indianer is utilized in times of political upheaval, Penny's second explanation for the ongoing German obsession with American Indians.

Penny reminds us that "no European nation-state shifted and changed [in the 19th and 20th centuries] as much as this [the German] one…"[61] He points to the American Indian as the figure that, through "shared ideas" and "the experience of thinking about the American West" provided "consistency across individual Germans' experiences of flux, rupture, and ebbing change that historians seeking to define and understand those changes often overlook."[62] I agree with Penny's analysis that, not only did the germanified Indianer offer consistency in times of upheaval, but that the Indianer was utilized more or less seamlessly by ideologues of each German regime to support its own ideolological and pedagogical goals.[63] Penny, in his investigation, focuses on the consistent and enduring characteristics assigned to American Indians by Germans, regardless of their political affiliation.[64] In doing this, Penny undertakes a broad investigation that focuses largely on historical documents and records. It is these very enduring characteristics, as manifested in four specific texts, authored, published, and consumed during times of political upheaval, which motivates this investigation. In focusing my investigational lense on the specific texts and authors of this investigation, I hope to contribute a specifically literary element to the largely historical and cultural studies concerning German cultural use of the American Indian figure.

[61] Ibid., 18.
[62] Ibid., 9.
[63] Ibid., 163.
[64] Ibid., 187.

Self Disclosure

My own interest in this topic stems from my own surprise at discovering an overlap in two of my areas of undergraduate study and interests: German Studies and American Indian Studies. Not a member of either group, I grew up in northern Minnesota near several reservations. Four of the seven nearest reservations housed a tribal and 2-year college.[65] It was not until I relocated for graduate school that I discovered how uncommon it was for reservations throughout the United States to have tribally operated K-12 schools and 2-year colleges.

Travel in Germany revealed a German fascination with all things American Indian. And, while I found the composition of German-produced imagery of American Indians challenging and problematic, my discussions of this imagery with fellow students and advisors in my American Indian Studies program were most often met with patient and amused tolerance. My confusion and curiosity about this seemingly unusual cultural interplay lead me to this current project, where I probe into this unexpected cultural overlap, where German interaction with American Indians seems to follow two different paths simultaneously: one in which American Indians exist as real people living in real time, with whom one can interact as peers, and one in which the Indianer are characters of the German's imagination and the heroes of childhood dreams.

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[65] The four larger reservations established and operated 2 year colleges, namely: White Earth Tribal and Community College (est. 1997), Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College (est. 1987), Leech Lake Tribal and Community College (est. 1990), and Red Lake Nation College (est. 1987). Lac Courte Orielles Ojibwe Community College in nearby Hayward, WI was founded in 1982. The three smaller Ojibwe reservations of Minnesota, Bois Fort, Grand Portage, and Mille Lacs do not operate 2-year colleges. The American Indian Higher Education Consortium includes 37 Tribal Colleges and Universities, nationwide, including Red Lake Nation College, Fond du Lac Tribal & Community College, Leech Lake Tirbal College, Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe Community College, and Keweenaw Bay Ojibwe Comminity College. "Tribal Colleges: Educating, Engaging, Innovating, Sustaining," The American Indian Higher Education Consortium, accessed May 30, 2015, http://www.aihec.org.

Outline of Chapters

"The Red Gentleman": Karl May's Winnetou and the Germanification of the Indianer

Karl May's popular 3-book series *Winnetou* is the topic of my first chapter.[66] A discussion of literary representations of American Indians in German Language Literature cannot exclude one of the most influential authors in the subject matter, Karl May. Central to my discussion of the *Winnetou* series is the colonial idea of Manifest Destiny, the idea that the Indianer must give way to the progress of the superior race of white colonizers, and the role of the German hero, who functions both as a compassionate friend to the Indianer and a cataloger of their rapidly disappearing language and culture. Since the German protagonist is neither a member of the Apache tribe nor the colonial power, Old Shatterhand occupies the space between those two groups, defined by Joseph Walunywa as the *non-native native*. Another important avenue of inquiry is how Indianer are represented throughout the three texts and whether the representations of the hero, Winnetou, differ in any way from the representations of other Apache Indianer and/or representations of the Comanche and Sioux.

"Over the Missouri": Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich and Creating a Nation Outside of Race & Ethnicity

The utopian solution to American Manifest Destiny, where ethnic Indianer of formerly warring tribes and non-Indianer unite to create a Canadian utopia in the form of an Indian-white hybrid socialist society is found in Welskopf-Heinrich's Bildungsroman *Die Söhne der Grossen Bärin.*[67] Like Karl May's *Winnetou*, I find it impossible to discuss one book apart from an understanding of the series as a whole, and so I briefly summarize the five-book series and

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[66] Karl Friedrich May, *Winnetou*, (Freiburg i. Br: F.E. Fehsenfeld, 1893).
[67] Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf-Henrich, *Die Söhne der großen Bärin*, (Stuttgart: Union Verlag, 1960).

discuss differences in representation between Sioux and Blackfoot Indianer and White settlers in the United States and Canada. I will also discuss the concept of the human self and the notion of a de-humanized other as a tool for survival.

"Behave like a Man!": Becoming an Indian to Become Human in Anne Müller-Tannowitz' *Blauvogel*

My third chapter focuses on the captivity novel *Blauvogel: Wahlsohn der Irokesen* by Anna Müller-Tannewitz.'[68] My discussion of this text centers on the concepts of the self and other, as well as negotiating changes in personal and national identity. Central to this discussion is the role of childhood pedagogy in the development of personal and national identity. In addition to Cold War depictions of an evil America and a friendly, socialist Iroquois group, this text continues the theme of Manifest Destiny and the eradication of a non-white way of life found in the first chapter, and suggests through the adaptability of the hero, Georg, that German children, when raised by Indian parents, can become superior Indianer, thus creating what I term an "adoptopia;" a utopian society based on adoption which allows for the creation of superior generations. This is read both as commentary on the superiority of socialist childrearing and another form of a utopian solution to the problem of American Manifest Destiny.

"9=8": Becoming an Indian to Become a Grown-Up in Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*

A third utopian solution to American Manifest Destiny is found in Janosch's fairy tale *Du bist ein Indianer Hannes*.[69] This text takes a rapid departure from the painstakingly detailed, accurate depictions of North American Indian Tribes found in Welskopf-Henrich's and Müller-Tannoiwtz' texts, creating instead a South American Indian whose tribal affiliation remains

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[68] Anna Müller-Tannewitz, *Blauvogel: Wahlsohn den Irokesen*, (Berlin: Verl. Neues Leben, 1950). The author is also known as Anna Jürgen.

[69] Janosch, *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*, (München: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1993).

undefined. Janosch's text is significantly different from the other texts discussed in this project in that his text is the only one that does not ask to be believed. While it cannot be argued that Karl May's works were based upon anything but the author's imagination, and Welskopf-Henrich and Müller-Tannewitz took painstaking care not to repeat May's misrepresentations, all three authors created stories that asked to be believed. Janosch, in creating his fairy tale, throws reality away, inviting readers to enter a world in which dogs speak, Indian spirits travel independently of bodies, and people can become invisible at will. The solution to Manifest Destiny offered in Janosch's fairy tale also calls for a hybrid society. However, unlike Welskopf-Heinrich's Utopia and Müller-Tannewitz' adoptopia, no ethnic Indianer are required for the creation of this hybrid society.

Conclusion

In my conclusion, I tie together the pedagogical and utopian threads of each chapter by suggesting that the texts in all geographic regions unite to tell a story of German cultural survival through tumultuous political times by the creation and adoption of the Indianer persona. The inevitable downfall of the Indian tribes in the face of white colonial progress, as represented by the Indianer of the Southwest, problematizes a type of genocide. The clear humanity and idealist desirability of the Indian way of life is represented through the Indianer of the Northeast, while the hope for a utopian German-Indian hybrid society in Canada is found through the tribes of the northern plains. The Indianer of South America teach German heroes how to become Indian, actualizing the utopian ideal of a German-Indian hybrid society while at the same time making the existence of non-German Indianer superfluous. They have been superfluous all along, since the German Indianer was used as a surrogate cultural hero and a vehicle for discussing what it

meant to be German without the baggage that came with discussing the political and cultural entity that is Germany.

Chapter 1: "The Red Gentleman": Karl May's Winnetou and the Germanification of the Indianer

The Wild West in the Former East

A ferry, filled to capacity with passengers, floats down the river at the base of the towering sandstone mountains of the Sächsische Schweiz. Passengers stare in wonder at the weathered sandstone sculptures as the ferry slowly approaches the dock. Contact is made, the lines are secured, and the ramp is lowered. A crowd composed of excited children and their patient parents and grandparents, aunts, uncles, and adult friends, hurries off the ferry and up the long path through the forest. Moving quickly between trees and outcroppings, the crowd's anticipation, almost a physical force itself, contributes to the festive atmosphere. Upon reaching their destination, individuals in the crowd scramble for position, hoping to find the best available seat with the most perfect view possible. Parents and adults are not able to keep their animated, youthful companions in their seats. Eager, cheerful voices quiet abruptly at the first horn. An energized whispering rises from the now-seated crowd. A second horn sounds, the crowd silences anew, and horses race out onto the stage. The children gasp in delight, anticipating an hour filled with breathtaking amusement. They all know the Winnetou story, and can hardly wait to see the gunslingers, settlers, and Apache come to life in front of their eyes.[70] This production of Winnetou III took place in 2001 on Felsenbühne Rathen, where theatrical performances based on May's texts were a part of regular theater rotation between 1938 and 1941, and again since 1984. The ongoing productions of Karl May-inspired theatrical arrangements indicate an ongoing interest in American Indians: in 2011, the Schaubühne Lindenfels staged a festival

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[70] Karl May, *Winnetou III*, Felsenbühne Rathen, 2001.

around the question of America,[71] and in July, 2015, Felsenbühne Rathen will again present *Winnetou I*.[72]

The performance described above is especially fascinating because it occurred in 2001, nearly 90 years after Karl May's death and 115 years after Geronimo's surrender at Skeleton Canyon in Arizona.[73] Further, it occurred in the geographical area of the former GDR, and was put on by a theater located in a country that had never as a nation had historical political encounters with natives of the Americas in general or the Apache specifically. Yet, grandparents, parents, and school-aged children knew the actors' lines almost by heart and spoke of Winnetou as if he were a long-lost friend and hero. How is it that a Western set among the Apaches of the North American Southwest became a text that defined the childhood and inspired the imaginations of generations of German-speaking children, regardless of geographic location or national affiliation? How did the author's motivation for writing dictate what he wrote and how he presented himself to the public? What impacts did his texts have on the creation of an imagined national folk hero? Were these influences intentional? Do his texts inspire readers to imagine a utopia? A specifically Germanic utopia? If so, what does it look like? Is there hope that it can be realized? To answer these questions, one must take a closer look at the phenomena of the Karl May *Festspiele* and Karl May, the author behind Winnetou.

In this chapter, I will begin by discussing Karl May and his motivations for creating the Winnetou character, as well as his dismissal of details related to specific tribal affiliations and

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[71] "Was ist A.M.E.R.I.K.A?" *Kreuzer* http://kreuzer-leipzig.de/2011/04/08/was-ist-amerika/ 8. April 2011.
[72] "Spielplan," Landesbühnen-Sachsen, accessed March 24, 2015, http://www.landesbuehnen-sachsen.de/spielplan/felsenbuehne-rathen, July listing.
[73] Geronimo's Sept. 8, 1886 surrender marked the end of organized Apache resistance according to Euroamerican history, but the so-called "Apache Wars" officially continued until 1906. The army, however, did not turn over Fort Apache to the Interior Department until 1922.

how counteracting this dismissal has become a project central to hobbyist groups, Karl May fans, and Karl May scholars, alike. I continue by investigating characteristics of the germanified Indianer that are defined through May's depictions and representations of his Winnetou character. Finally, I explore the modern manifestation of a gemanified Indianer: the hobbyist groups and their Karl May Festspiele.

Karl May: Reformed Criminal or Crafty Swindler?

Karl May was born in Hohenstein-Ernstthal, a weaving village in Saxony, in 1842, and he died in March 1912 of a heart attack.[74] Public legal record and May's assertions about himself tell two very different tales; while May would have readers believe that he had traveled to the Americas and the Orient himself and had personally experienced the events depicted in his publications, official documents and records paint a picture of a young man wandering through what is now Germany, acquiring the necessities of survival through deceit and theft from his fellow citizens after his attempt to support himself as a teacher or private instructor failed. Throughout his life as an author, May crafted a labyrinth designed to preserve public perception of himself as the incarnation of his fictional white characters Old Shatterhand and Kara ben Nemsi, while concealing the reality of his own criminal past.

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[74] Colleen Cook, "Germany's Wild West Author: A Researcher's Guide to Karl May." In: *German Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1. (Feb., 1982): 71; Claus Roxin, "Strafrecht. Allgemeiner Teil. Band II. Besondere Erscheinungsformen der Straftat." *Auflage, München* (2003): 16. May's assertion that he spent the first four years of his life in blindness due to malnutrition has been successfully contested by Johannes Zeilinger, who, thanks to a reported quote by Karl May, which contended that his sight was extraordinary, found in Egon Erwin Kisch's "Im Wigwam Old Shatterhands," as well as an analysis of two pair of Karl May's reading glasses, was able to conclude that May's sight was perfectly normal for a person of his age. May's glasses merely corrected a minor farsightedness. Zeilinger concludes that, since there is no optical disease that can result in a four-year blindness shortly after birth and leave no scars, May's assertion that he was blind as a child must be read as a metaphor. (Johannes Zeilinger, introduction to *Karl May: imaginäre Reisen*, edited by Sabine Beneke and Johannes Zeilinger [Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2007],10.)

As a young child Karl May developed a knack for storytelling, entertaining his classmates with his exaggerated stories and recitations.[75] Shortly after concluding his education in Waldenburg[76] and Plauen[77], an instance of petty theft resulted in a six-week prison sentence and his removal from the official state teachers' roster.[78] Upon his release, May, building on his creative imagination and his early success as a storyteller, engaged in a series of imaginative minor offenses and was sentenced to two separate four-year prison terms.[79] May's first offense was the impersonation of an eye doctor, Dr. Heilig.[80] Then, in Chemnitz, May impersonated a teacher under the name of Seminarlehrer Lohse, before traveling to Leipzig, where he claimed to be a teacher with the name of Hermes.[81]

May's imaginative identities might not have resulted in criminal charges, had he simply sought work under a different name in each location. However, with each instance of impersonation, May ordered and received goods, then vanished without making payment. For example, under the name of Dr. Heilig, May commissioned a suit for himself and left the area

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[75] Roxin, *Strafrecht*, 11.

[76] May was expelled from the school in Waldenburg after he was caught stealing 6 candles from the school for use in his family's Christmas celebration (Andreas Graf, *Lektüre und Onanie: das Beispiel des jungen Karl May, sein Aufenthalt auf dem Seminar in Plauen (1860/61) - und die Früchte der Phantasie* (Husum: Hansa, 1998), 96; Roxin, *Strafrecht,*12).

[77] Graf, 91. Graf focuses on a report by Dr. Pfaff regarding poor living conditions in the boarding school in Plauen and instances of onanism among its seminar participants. May, Graf concludes, was one of the students in Plauen who was known for acts of onanism. Graf further summarizes action taken by school officials to investigate and discourage onanism. Graf concludes by finding parallels between May's experiences in Plauen and his comments on masturbation in his later texts.

[78] May took a pocket watch, tobacco pipe, and cigar holder from his roommate to show to his family at Christmas, so that they would believe he was doing well. His roommate reported the theft and, although there was no proof that May had intended to keep the items, he was sentenced to a six-week prison term and was no longer allowed to work as a teacher (Zeilinger, 14).

[79] Cook, 72, and Zeilinger, 15-17.

[80] May, under the name of Dr. Heilig, had a suit made for himself at a tailor and disappeared without paying the bill. (Roxin, *Strafrecht*, 13.)

[81] Ibid.

with the suit, but without paying the bill. Had May merely assumed these various identities and not acquired credit with area businesses in their names that he left unpaid, he might have avoided detection. However, as this was not the case, these instances of impersonation and related theft resulted in a four-year workhouse sentence.

May's second sentence was the result of a more elaborate masquerade. A few months after his release from his initial sentence, May stole a horse and began impersonating a member of the "secret police," confiscating wares and making payment with counterfeit currency.[82] Although the German police arrested May for these impersonations, he escaped and, while on the run, assumed the fictional identity of Albin Wadenbach, the nephew of a plantation owner on the island of Martinique. After evading the police for years, May was finally arrested for the equivalent of trespassing. Although May maintained his cover and even managed to convince several people that he was, in fact, Albin Wadenbach, the prosecutor was eventually able to ascertain May's actual identity. May was subsequently sentenced to four years in a prison.[83]

While serving his prison sentence, May apparently used his cunning creativity to envision a way to support himself legally; upon his release from prison, he began work as an author, writing serialized adventure stories which were published in home and family periodicals. [84] His work as a writer allowed him to support himself in a legal way, using his vivid imagination and ability for storytelling in a new way, one which would not result in additional workhouse or prison time. As a writer, May frequently reworked or re-imagined humbling or mortifying experiences from his past into grand success stories, some of which he then utilized in his texts.[85]

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Cook, 72.
[85] Graf, 97.

After consideration of his childhood talent for telling stories and his past criminal life of impersonations, deceptions, and half-truths, it should be no surprise that May continued his use of imaginative impersonations into his work as an author; through statements and photographs of himself dressed up as his protagonists, May convinced fans that he was, in fact, the protagonist in his adventure novels. Further, fans assumed that, since May was the protagonist himself, the stories found in the adventure novels were based on fact or actual experiences that May had himself experienced in the Americas and the Near East. These untruths worked to boost sales of May's texts, which otherwise might not have made it out of serialized publication in youth and family magazines.

Karl May's stories were almost all set in either the American West or the Far East and the Orient.[86] All were written in first person and most from the perspective of Old Shatterhand in the American West and Kara ben Nemsi in the Far East. Karl May actively encouraged his readers to believe that he was, in fact, simultaneously Old Shatterhand and Kara ben Nemsi and further, that he had experienced firsthand the events depicted in his narratives. In addition to having himself photographed in Western and Arab attire holding the famous weapons from his texts, he had his calling cards inscribed with the title: "Dr. Karl Friedrich May, known as Old Shatterhand."[87] Although for years he had cunningly encouraged his readers to believe that he was Old Shatterhand and Kara ben Nemsi,[88] Karl May's first journey outside of Europe (to Egzpt and Sumatra) took place in 1899, after the initial publication of the majority of his

[86] Cook, 72.
[87] Ibid.
[88] James D. Hartman "Providence Tales and the Indian Captivity Narrative: Some Transatlantic Influences on Colonial Puritan Discourse." *Early American Literature* 32.1 (1997): 61-64; Claus Roxin, "Dr. Karl May, genannt Old Shatterhand". Zum Bild Karl Mays in der Epoche seiner späten Reiseerzählungen," *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft* (1974): 17. In this article, Roxin investigates authorship techniques May used to conceal his actual identity and support audience impressions that he had actually experienced the events described in his fictional works.

works.[89] His only other travels outside of Europe took place in 1908 with his visit to the northeastern United States and Canada.[90] While his experiences on his first trip, which lasted approximately one year, aligned well with what he assumed he would find in that area, the same is not true for his second. May, disillusioned that the realities of the United States deviated so far from his expectations, cut his American tour short and quickly returned to Germany.[91]

May's childhood, criminal acts, and ongoing impersonations have led many to raise questions about the general state of May's mental health. The question of whether the young Karl May was simply a clever criminal or suffered from a psychological condition has fascinated scholars for decades. Otto Rubner, in his article "Der sächsische Phantast; Eine Pathografie Karl Mays," summarizes in great detail current scholarship on Karl May's possible personality disorder and also meticulously defines relevant psychological terms to ensure a common base of knowledge.[92] Rubner, unlike scholars such as William Thomas, who contends that May suffered from Dissociative Identity Disorder,[93] interprets May's assertion that he had a split personality as

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[89] Zeilinger, 21, 29.
[90] Cook, 72 and Zeilinger, 34.
[91] *Karl May Tragik und Triumph* (Halle: NFP teleart Karl-May-Museum Radebeul, 2005). And Christian Heermann, *Winnetous Blutsbruder: Karl-May-Biografie* (Bamberg: Karl-May-Verlag, 2002).
[92] Otto Rubner, "Der sächsische Phantast; Eine Pathografie Karl Mays," *Jahrbuch der Karl May Gesellschaft* (2003): 17–66.
[93] William E. Thomas, "Karl May und die 'Dissoziative Identitätsstörung,'" *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft* (2000): 195-231. Thomas describes at length the symptoms of the Dissociative Identity Disorder (D.I.D.) and then studies May's autobiography for instances in which May describes the symptoms of D.I.D. Thomas concludes with a timeline in which he asserts that May suffered from D.I.D. in his youth, but was fully healed upon his release from prison in 1874. While Thomas' timeline does correspond with May's autobiography, Dissociative Identity Disorder is itself quite rare and over diagnosed. According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV (DSM IV)* patterns of D.I.D. behavior are usually traced back to late adolescence and the beginning of adulthood, therefore a diagnosis of D.I.D. before the age of 16 or 17 is most likely not appropriate. In instances in which D.I.D. is mistakenly diagnosed, the patient often suffers from a combination of Antisocial Personality Disorder and Schizoid Personality Disorder.

his attempt to justify his impersonations of Old Shatterhand and Kara Ben Nemsi.[94] Rubner sees May's self-diagnosis of a split personality as an attempt to justify his deceptions to his audience, rather than an objective observation of fact. [95] For Rubner, May's claimed forgetfulness is not a symptom of his psychological disorder, but rather a tool that masks awkward or painful events that could tarnish his reputation.[96] If May did suffer from an (at that time yet undefined) identity disorder, then his public appearances as Old Shatterhand or Kara Ben Nemsi could be seen as appearances of one of his counter-personalities rather than a clever publicity stunt. While May's childhood, as seen from a modern perspective, can be understood as traumatic, it was not an uncommon one for the time, and I find it difficult to believe that those childhood experiences would have resulted in the development of a multiple personality disorder *in Karl May only* that would have resulted in May having three personalities: himself, Old Shatterhand and Kara ben Nemsi, all of whom authored adventure novels and made public appearances.

The alternative to this interpretation is that May, building on his past experiences of creative storytelling and making a living by deceiving others through masquerade, intentionally impersonated the fictional protagonists of his own adventure novels: world travelers and adventurers Old Shatterhand and Kara ben Nemsi. May's impersonations of his fictional protagonists were done with the goal of boosting his own book sales and lecture invitations. This is, I believe, the more likely scenario. It would also mean that May did not cease the behavioral patterns that landed him in the workhouse and in prison as a young man, but rather continued his masquerading and swindling in a different venue. While it was illegal to create and impersonate a fictitious character in order to confiscate wares or run up bills in that person's name that

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[94] Rubner, 48-49.
[95] "…eine Spaltung des menschlichen Innern…" Karl May, *Mein Leben und Streben* (Freiburg o. J. 1910).
[96] Ibid., and Rubner, 49.

remained unpaid, it was not illegal to impersonate a fictional character of one's own creation and thus motivate others to purchase products or to pay for lectures. Rather than leaving the gullible victims of his impersonations with unpaid bills, May's targets had a book or photo that they had purchased. When hired to speak to an audience, May actually did give a lecture. Thus, May delivered a product or service in exchange for payment. Here, his deception was centered around increasing interest in his products; and he did not skip town without paying a bill, but left his chumps holding a product that was not all it had been advertised to be.

May's crafty deception was made public by an 1899 article published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which left him scrambling to defend his public image and placate his fans. Dr. Fedor Mamroth's exposé on May's early criminal activity proved that May was serving a prison sentence during the time people had been led to believe that he had been traveling through the Americas and the Orient.[97] The impact of his first tour outside of Germany, the journey through the Orient that took place the same year as the exposé was published, can clearly be noted in his texts authored upon his return to Germany. His earlier novels tended toward adventure and violence, but his novels composed following his time in the Orient were characterized by a dramatically different pacifist tone. [98] While some scholars and readers see a self-redefinition and a new world view as a result of his Asian travels in this changed tone, Günter Scholdt argues that this marks not a collapse of May's original self-identity and world view but rather a redefinition of himself and the creation of yet another new identity.[99]

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[97] Roxin, *Strafrecht*, 15.
[98] Cook, 72.
[99] "May war zwar ein Mann der Extreme, aber nie der Ausschließlichkeit. Was nach der Orientreise und den folgenden publizistischen und juristischen Attacken geschah, erweist sich lediglich als längst überfälliger, wenn nicht verspäteter Rückzug in eine neue Auffangstellung, ein neues Versteck. Old Shatterhand war schließlich nicht nur der große Spurenleser, sondern auch Meister der Tarnung." (Günter Scholdt, "Von armen alten May; Bemerkungen zu

My interpretation of May's possible Dissociative Identity Disorder is in accordance with Otto Rubner's; a much more likely explanation for May's "multiple personality disorder," symptoms, which May himself described in his 1910 autobiography, is that he was trying to justify his deception of the public following the publication of Mamroth's 1899 exposé. After years of deception that boosted book sales and lecture invitations, the exposé threatened May's reputation and, perhaps even more importantly, his financial security. Since May's identity as the adventurer Old Shatterhand/Karl ben Nemsi was negated through Mamroth's exposé, his trip to Asia in that same year would have been an ideal time for him to envision his next identity – this time as a humble pacifist.

Like his earlier impersonations that resulted in workhouse and prison sentences, Karl May's impersonation of the adventurer and explorer Old Shatterhand/Kara ben Nemsi was just another instance of cunning impersonation; another instance of Karl May pulling the wool over people's eyes in order to ensure his survival and some level of financial security. Similarly, his post-1899 pacifist/Christian tone would have cleverly encouraged readers to follow the teachings of the Christian church and forgive his earlier transgressions, while also justifying their continued purchase of his work.[100] Karl May's life as an author, although more financially stable, did not require a change from his earlier criminal mentality. The major difference

'Winnetou IV' und der psychischen Verfassung seines Autors," *Jahrbuch der Karl May Gesellschaft* (1985): 145.) Scholdt uses a close reading of May's text in order to draw conclusions about May's mentality as an author after his time in the Orient. Rather than being a turning point in May's life, Scholdt argues that the Orient journey was a convenient event upon which to stage a self-redefinition and further instance of impersonation.

[100] The pacifist philosophy in his later works would result in the banning of these texts by the Nazis a few decades later. Had May still been alive at this point in time, it would have been interesting to note his resulting defensive actions. Perhaps he would have created yet another personality.

between his early impersonations and his impersonation of his literary figures[101] is that the latter type of impersonation resulted in a boost in book sales instead of extensive prison sentences.

Say "Dooda[102]" to Totem Poles

Karl May's goals in writing Winnetou, much like the goals of set designers for recent Karl May festivals, did not necessarily involve creating an ethnographically accurate depiction of the Apache Indianer. In fact, the Indianer protagonist in his earlier short stories which were reworked to form *Winnetou II* and *Winnetou III* – thus resulting in the disjointed story lines – was not an Apache at all, but rather a Sioux! Nonetheless, May did not find it necessary to make significant, culturally-imbedded changes to the depiction of his protagonist Winnetou, or his protagonist's tribe; after all, ethnographic accuracy was not among May's goals when authoring his adventure novels.[103]

While he did have access to ethnographic texts penned by German explorers and scholars, May took editorial license, creating his natives to suit his own purposes. Numerous scholars and hobbyists have already pointed out discrepancies between Karl May's depictions and actual native tribes of the Americas. It is not my purpose here to rehash these well-thought-out debates, but rather to offer readers some basic and accurate knowledge about the Apache, thus ensuring a minimum knowledge base and understanding and, further, to contest the

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[101] Once his adventure novels had been printed in book form, Karl May announced that he himself had experienced the stories first hand (Roxin, Strafrecht, 14).

[102] Western Apache: "no." Dorothy Bray, editor ; in collaboration with the White Mountain Apache tribe. Western Apache-English Dictionary: a Community-Generated Bilingual Dictionary. Tempe, Ariz: Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe, 0ADAD.

[103] In fact, as Rivka Galchen explains, "May's idealizations and errors have inspired countless fans to undertake detailed cultural investigations…. Part of being a Karl May fan, it seems, is correcting Karl May." (Rivka Galchen, "Wild West Germany: Why do cowboys and Indians so captivate the country?" *New Yorker* [2012]: 40-45.)

assumption that the tribes represented in the texts require outside involvement (particularly in the form of German hobbyist groups) in the preservation of their language and culture.

As is the case for many native groups in North America, the commonly used English word *Apache* is derived from an enemy tribe's name for the group. The term *Apache*, it is believed, originates from the Zuni tribe and means *enemy*.[104] The Apache tribe itself uses instead the term *Inde, Ndee,* or *Nide*, which means *the people*. The Nide, like the Navajo, speak a language that elongs to the Athabascan language family.[105] (It should be noted, however, that the Navajo Nation and the Nide Nation are not the same, nor are their specific languages.) The ancestors of the modern Apache Nation[106] migrated to the plains of the southwest from the northwestern regions of Canada around A.D. 850. There, they lived in regions now known as Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. As a rule, the Nide Nation preferred trading with their neighbors to obtain the supplies needed for survival, but did not shy away from raiding when necessary, which earned them the name *Apachu* (enemy) in the Pueblo villages. They developed keen guerrilla war tactics, which made them feared in the Pueblos and among European settlers.

The Nide was historically a matriarchal society organized into extended family groups and united under a war chief.[107] The family groups consist of the matriarch, her unmarried children, her daughters and their husbands, and her grandchildren. Upon marriage, the male became part of his wife's family group. The war chief could call the family groups together only

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[104] *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996). And *Native America in the Tewentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Mary B. Davis (New York: Garland, 1996.), 44.
[105] M.E. Opler, "The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan-Speaking Tribes," *American Anthropologist* 38.4 (1936): 620.
[106] I use the term *Apache* for initial clarity and also to stress the federal designation of the tribe, and also the term *Nide* to stress self/definition.
[107]pler, 620. and Davis, 46.

in cases of war, primarily for the purpose of avenging death, raids, or other attacks. Raids not done for the sole purpose of vengeance were not organized by the war chief; they were organized by individual families who were unable to gather or trade for needed supplies.

Two types of housing were used by different subgroups among the Nide. The most popular type of housing was a dome-shaped wickiup, which was covered with brush or hides. The Jicarillas and Kiowa-Apaches, however, were known to use prairie-style buffalo hide tipis. And unlike the Pueblo people, the Nide tended to be more mobile, moving with the seasons and following food sources. This less-stationary lifestyle should not be interpreted as a statement on the insignificance of place to Nide people; in fact, place plays a paramount role in understanding oneself and the Nide culture. Place is even more important than time to the Nide; Keith H. Basso notes that "…what matters to the Apaches is *where* events occurred, not when, and what they serve to reveal about the development and character of Apache social life."[108] Martin W. Ball, who takes issue with portions of Basso's Eurocentric framework of understanding Apache sense of place, does, however concur with his analysis of the importance of place in Nide society: "It is from where the event took place that context and meaning is derived, not precisely when, in a lineal sequence of time, the event took place."[109] This is a different understanding of events than the common, Euro/Euroamerican understanding. While Euroamerican society takes understanding of events from the sequence in which they occur, the Nide focus on which types of events have occurred in the same location, with little concern for the order of occurrence. In other words, in Nide society, location plays a more central role than time and is, in some ways,

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[108] Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 108-109.
[109]Martin W. Ball, "'People Speaking Silently to Themselves': An Examination of Keith Basso's Philosophical Speculations on 'Sense of Place' in Apache Cultures," *American Indian Quarterly* 26.3 (2002): 465.

more important than location in the Euroamerican culture. It should come as no surprise, then, that Nide histories stress place over time and deal with loss of place in an inconclusive way. While considering histories surrounding the Camp Grant Massacre (1871), Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh concludes:

> …for the Western Apache people who called the San Pedro River and Arivaipa Creek home, the massacre was just one part of a larger saga that concerned not just the loss of life one spring morning, but also the loss of one's land, one's entire way of life. Thus, the Apache narratives do not finish with an unequivocal verdict, but nearly in contrary terms, remain ambiguous and uncertain. The massacre constitutes not an isolated story, but an unfolding and still unfinished tale that connects people today to the lives of their ancestors—to the people and places that are the foundations for our modern world.[110]

Unlike an understanding of events that have a beginning and an ending that is time based, events that are understood to be intrinsically linked to a place cannot be isolated incidents, since they are connected to other events that occurred in that same place. Further, since these places have been lost, the events themselves, while still linked with the place, end in an unfinished or indefinite way. The common thread in the three previously cited studies is the prominence of place in Nide society. The loss of place due to U.S. government policy, while leaving the Nide without physical or legal control over much of their homeland, is itself integral to modern Nide society. The Nide focus on place of events rather than time of events corresponds perhaps in surprising ways with the timelessness of the German Indianer figure; depictions of Winnetou today do not usually allow for time-bound progression or modernization.

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[110] Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, "Western Apache Oral Histories and Traditions of the Camp Grant Massacre," *American Indian Quarterly* 27.3/4, Special Issue: Urban American Indian Women's Activism (2003): 661.

The modern Nide can be divided into five distinct groups, the White Mountain, San Carlos, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Fort Sill.[111] A sixth group, the Lipan, have been assimilated into other groups, with a large number joining the Mescalero. The White Mountain and San Carlos tribes (known as “Western Apache”) live on the 1.7 million acre Fort Apache Reservation in Arizona, an area traditionally inhabited by White Mountain people.[112] The Mescalero and Jicarilla have individual reservations in New Mexico. The Chiricahua, who had been transported to Oklahoma as prisoners of war, were divided into two groups, one of which joined the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico while the other remained in Oklahoma forming the Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma. Other smaller groups and reservations also exist in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. The Lipan Apache, now a largely splintered group living on a variety of reservations in different states, demonstrates the modern and sustained self-determination and definition of an Indian group, in part in response to, but not solely because of, Euroamerican involvement. Because this group demonstrates self-determination and definition independently of Euroamerican involvement, it is the group that I have chosen to discuss in further detail.

The Lipan Apache most likely lived among other Apache tribes at the point of first European contact, and only later united to form the Lipan Tribe. By 1780, the Lipan had further divided into the Upper and Lower Lipan, terms from Spanish records indicating their locations relative to the Rio Grande.[113] The Upper and Lower Lipan experienced a sharper division during the Texas Revolution (1830’s), with the Upper Lipan tending to side with the Mexicans while the

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[111] Davis, 45.
[112] John R. Welch and Ramon Riley, "Reclaiming Land and Spirit in the Western Apache Homeland," *American Indian Quarterly* 25.1 (2001): 5-6.
[113] Andrée F. Sjoberg, "Lipan Apache Culture in Historical Perspective," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9.1 (1953): 76-87.

Lower Lipan tended to side with the Texans. After this period, the Lipan numbers reduced rather continuously; smaller groups of Lipan united with other Apache groups. In 1905, the remaining Lipan groups were removed from Mexico and placed on the Mescalero Reservation.

In his article on the Lipan Apache Culture, Andrée Sjoberg painstakingly attempts to reconstruct details of a culture that came into existence after initial European contact and was assimilated into other Apache groups before field observations and thorough anthropological records could be recorded. While Sjoberg uses as many English and Spanish language documents and texts as he can find for the study, large portions of his cultural reconstruction are based upon two captivities: *Buckelew, the Indian Captive*[114] and *Life of F. M. Buckelew, the Indian Captive, as Related by Himself.*[115] One of the issues inherent to captivities is that many were written with a specific goal in mind, namely to sell as many copies as possible, and therefore, some details in captivities may not be entirely accurate while others may have been exaggerated or even created by the author.[116] Sjoberg, while he does find non-captivity novel sources for many of the details of Lipan life, at times, uses only captivities to support a detail of Lipan cultural activity. It is problematic to take at face value details of Lipan life and culture when the only sources describing the details are captivities and the ethnographic accuracy of these captivities has not been clearly established. However, it is not my goal here to argue for or against the reliability of Sjoberg's cultural reconstruction, but rather to highlight the self-determination and cultural development of the Lipan Apache after the point of first contact.

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[114] S. E. Banta, *Buckelew, the Indian Captive* (Mason, Texas, 1911).
[115] T. S. Dennis. *Life of F. M. Buckelew, the Indian Captive, as Related by Himself* (Bandera, Texas, 1925).
[116] For further discussion of Captivities, please see Chapter 3, on Anna Müller-Tannowitz's *Blauvogel.*

While offering a unique and interesting perspective on a previously largely unknown cultural history, the interesting point of the articles does not lie with the details of daily life of the Lipan, but rather in the understated fact that the Lipan became a self-determined group after first contact with the Europeans, continued to develop and evolve as a tribe, faced a sharp decline in population, and assimilated into other Apache groups, largely without direct Euroamerican involvement. This autonomous formation, evolution as a people, and later assimilation directly contradicts the largely unstated assumption that tribes were somehow "frozen in time" at the point of first contact, at which time "tribal and cultural preservation" commenced.

As demonstrated by the brief discussion of the Lipan, actual tribes and tribal members develop through time and adapt to changes and developments in their world. In contrast, the German Indianer figure, who is the topic of this investigation, develops and changes only in terms of social context and personal characteristics. The germanified Indianer does not develop through time; instead, he is frozen in time at a point somewhere between first contact and removal to reservations. Even Joao—who we will meet in the fourth chapter—living in modern South America, displays no notable temporal difference or development from Karl May's Winnetou, Welskopf-Henrich's Harka, or Müller-Tannowitz's Blauvogel. This lack of temporal development sharply contrasts the germanified Indianer from the actual tribes, and underscores my assertion that the Indianer are not and do not represent living American Indians, but rather are a purely German construct developed to meet the cultural needs of a German audience.

May's dismissal of details of Apache tribal life

Ethnographic accuracy, I argue, is not one of May's primary goals in any of his adventure novels. This can clearly be seen in his writing and rewriting process. As previously mentioned, his books *Winnetou II* and *Winnetou III* were not originally written as novels;

following the initial popularity of *Winnetou I* and the promise of relative financial stability, May was under enormous pressure to rapidly produce additional novel-length texts. In order to piggy-back off the success of *Winnetou I*, May clumsily assembled previously published short-stories into 2 disjointed volumes, connecting the short stories to his *Winnetou I* via familiar characters and occasional references to Old Shatterhand's and Winnetou's cooperative relationship and common goals of revenge.

In his revision process, May does not bother with revisions that would account for a change of tribal affiliation: May's Winnetou character was originally conceived as a member of the Sioux nation, and his shift to the son of an Apache chief did not necessitate significant differences in descriptions or depictions of the tribes. Further, the lack of ethnographic accuracy of his texts did not concern contemporary or modern readers. In fact, this lack of ethnographic accuracy inspired a key component to being a fan of Karl May: meticulous awareness of how these texts are inaccurate.

May's contemporary reading audience had already been exposed to a variety of ethnographic and fictional texts featuring American Indians. In fact, the first volume of James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* was translated into German as early as 1826.[117] In addition, Völkerschauen and circuses featuring American Indian performers were popular attractions of the time; Buffalo Bill's first tour in Germany concluded in 1893, the same year in which the *Winnetou* series was published.

May's lack of attention to ethnographic accuracy in his depictions of the Apache tribe is interesting for two reasons. First, this lack of accuracy was unnecessary, given the wealth of ethnographic texts available to German readers. Second, but more importantly, May's depictions

[117] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 2.

of Winnetou and his tribe did not significantly change with his shift from Sioux to Apache identity.[118] When this fact is considered in connection with traveling circuses and Völkerschauen at that time, a possible explanation for this lack of change in depiction appears. As Penny notes, Lakota Sioux performers were considered especially suited to perform in German circuses and Völkerschauen, with recruitment focused largely on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota.[119] The result of the popularity of Lakota performers is that Germans reading May's texts at the turn of the twentieth century would have been especially aware of Lakota traditions and contemporary conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation, thanks in part to informational pamphlets that were distributed at the Völkerschauen.

Aligning his depiction of tribal life with audience expectation would have increased the popularity of his texts, while at the same time, claiming a different tribal affiliation would have easily accounted for any discrepancies in specific details. It is in this tradition of awareness that many Karl May fans and scholars have gleefully documented inaccuracies in his depictions of Apache life, and this tradition of awareness that Welskopf-Henrich taps into with her two Bildungsroman series – a historical series (*Die Söhne der großen Bärin*) discussed in the next chapter, and a modern one (*Blut des Adlers*) not discussed in this current project. Karl May, through his Winnetou trilogy and other western adventure novels, freed the Indianer from a connection to reality and real American Indian tribes through his wildly inaccurate, albeit imaginative, depictions, thus allowing future authors to use the figure as a national folk hero without a racial, ethnic, cultural, or national past.

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[118] May's change in Winnetou's tribal affiliation may have been motivated in part by a need to modify his tale enough to resell it and avoid copyright issues. The Dakota Uprising of 1963 in New Ulm, Minnesota, may also have contributed to May's decision to change his noble savage|s tribal affiliation from Sioux to Apache.
[119] Ibid., 130-134.

Winnetou is but a Memory: Characteristics of the germanified Indianer

Winnetou I (the only book in the trilogy that was originally composed as a full-length novel), features the protagonist Karl, a private tutor of German citizenship. Karl leaves his teaching post in St. Louis and travels west as a surveyor. While on his journey, he is captured by the Apache, becomes Winnetou's blood brother and changes his name to Old Shatterhand. In Winnetou II, Old Shatterhand is prevented from returning to Germany due to his ship sinking and takes a post as a detective in New York. While on assignment in the Southwest, he encounters Winnetou again and works with him to solve his case. In Winnetou III, Old Shatterhand again encounters and works with his blood brother, Winnetou, to try to prevent a train robbery and rescue the settlers who have been taken hostage. Unfortunately, Winnetou is shot and killed while attempting to come to the aid of the settlers. The trilogy's disjointed story line is a result of compilations of previously written and published short stories about the Sioux.

May intended his audience to perceive his Apache character Winnetou in a very specific way; his *Winnetou* series was originally published with the subtitle *The Red Gentleman*.[120] Winnetou is not just an Apache; he is similar to a sophisticated subset of European in that he is a gentleman. As Penny reminds us, whiteness was "no guarantee of equitable treatment in Weimar Germany…"[121] This designation of "gentleman" not only corresponds with his noble actions but also carries a social status connotation. Gentlemen were cultured and often wealthy in comparison to their community. Their status in society resulted in community members looking to them for guidance and assistance during difficult times. Before May has even begun to describe his figure Winnetou, his readers already have a perception of this figure's character solely based on the book's subtitle.

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[120] *Winnetou, der Rote Gentleman*
[121] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 128.

In the second sentence of the text, the American Indian is declared to be a "dying man."[122] This idea is continued into the second paragraph of the text, where the narrator declares that the American Indian is dying[123] as a result of a "grim destiny"[124] that knows no mercy.[125] Although the American Indian tried to the best of his ability to fight against this outcome, his efforts were "futile,"[126] and he unfortunately has no other option but extinction. In this, the narrator accepts as fact and describes the principle commonly known as Manifest Destiny in American Indian Studies.[127] Although the narrator passionately defends the American Indians' right to existence ("…thus the Red Man is in possession of the right to exist…"[128]), he also notes that, while the European was granted centuries of time to develop from a hunter to an industrial man, the American Indian was expected to successfully jump the chasm between hunter to productive member of an industrialized society with limited support and education in a matter of decades.[129]

The narrator's observations are not only realistically true, they are also worded in a way that allows the narrator to maintain a neutral, academic distance from the political policy of the United States and its westward expansion. In addition to providing the illusion of distanced neutrality, these observations also serve a literary purpose for the narrator; they instill in readers the belief that the American Indians are not different from Europeans, they just have not been

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[122] "sterbender Mann" (May, *Winnetou I,* 2.)
[123] "liegt im Sterben," Ibid.
[124] "unerbittliches Schicksal," Ibid.
[125] "keine Erbarmen kennt," Ibid.
[126] "vergeblich," Ibid.
[127] The term Manifest Destiny first came into use by the Democrats in the 1840s in support of the Polk administration as justification for the War with Mexico (1846-1848). Manifest Destiny is the belief in an American mission to promote and defend democracy throughout the world. Although the term *Manifest* (readily apparent) *Destiny* (inexorable) fell out of favorable use by the mid-1850s, the belief behind the term is still apparent in American politics today.
[128] "…so besitzt der Rote das Recht zu existieren…," (May, *Winnetou I,* 2.)
[129] May, *Winnetou* 2.

afforded the same slow development from hunter/gatherer to industrialized society member.[130] Further, they are unfortunately doomed to extinction through no fault of their own. They are incapable of survival in the modern industrial world not because they lack the mental or physical capacity to survive in this new world, but because they were not permitted the time to make this adjustment themselves, nor were they offered outside support to adapt to this change.[131]

Already in the second page of Winnetou, it is clear that the narrator's sympathies lie with the American Indian:

> If it is correct that everything that lives has a right to life, and this applies to the whole as well as the individual, then the red man possesses the same right to exist, not less than the white man, and may lay a claim to the capacity to develop his individuality in social and governmental relations.[132]

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[130] A German acceptance of the assertion that the American Indian could not keep up with the changes and innovation of industrialized society and longed for a simpler way of life when considered in combination with German experiences of the industrial revolution may begin to explain the lasting German obsession with the figure of the American Indian. The European experience with the industrial revolution involved rapidly changing technology and worker migration from rural areas to urban slums. More technological advances were made during the industrial revolution than ever before. Individuals may have identified with the American Indian because they were themselves unable to keep up with the changes they experienced. This may particularly be true of May, who originated in a weaving village. With the dawn of weaving machines and factories, the weaving cottage industry was decimated and the former weavers and their families plunged into poverty.

[131] DiNitto notes that "western expansion of white settlers disrupted the economic, demographic and social organization of Native American life." At the same time that the bison were hunted to near extinction, the US government "…used almost any pretext to … destroy their capacity for an independent life." While most Native Americans were relocated to (often infertile and barren) reservations by the 1890s, they were first allowed the right to become American citizens in 1887 via the Daws Act, but only if they did not live on reservations. Diana M. DiNitto, *Social Welfare: Politics and Public Policy*, 5th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), 86.

[132] "Wenn es richtig ist, daß alles, was lebt, zum Leben berechtigt ist, und dies sich ebenso auf die Gesamtheit wie auf das Einzelwesen bezieht, so besitzt der Rote das Recht, zu existieren, nicht weniger als der Weiße und darf wohl Anspruch erheben auf die Befugnis, sich in sozialer, in staatlicher Beziehungen nach seiner Individualität zu entwickeln,." (May, *Winnetou* 2).

After establishing the Indianer's right to exist and develop as an individual—and, in fact, their equality to the white man—the narrator explains why the Indianer are not able to continue in their journey of development. The fault for this lack of development is placed squarely on the shoulders of the mendacious settlers: "The white man came with sweet words on his lips, but also a sharp knife in his belt and a loaded gun in his hand. He promised love and peace, but gave hate and blood."[133] With this description, the narrator further sets up the American Indian in general and Winnetou specifically as noble *human*[134] beings who had a right to their existence. The white settlers of the Americas, in contrast, are described as greedy, two-faced scoundrels, willing to lie, cheat, and steal to get what they wanted.

Whether this description was a sign of the European mentality of the time or a precursor to modern German interpretations and understandings of the plight of the Native American (or both) is less interesting than the existence of the description itself, its survival through the years of Nazi control in Germany, and its reworking (as we will see in later chapters) to support a socialist (and anti-capitalist, anti-American) agenda in the GDR. The physical, geographical distance between Germany and the Americas provided an opportunity for German citizens to imagine themselves in the role of the non-native native; neither American settlers nor members of any tribe, Germans could imagine themselves to be the sympathetic and understanding heroes, the ones who could help archive the pure (non-industrial) American Indian way of life while at the same time helping the American Indian adjust to their new, industrialized world.

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[133] "Der Weiße kam mit süßen Worten auf den Lippen, aber zugleich mit dem geschärften Messer im Gürtel und dem geladenen Gewehre in der Hand. Er versprach Liebe und Frieden und gab Haß und Blut," (May, *Winnetou* 2).

[134] Upon discovery of the Americas, a debate ensued regarding the status of the American Indian. While some argued that American Indians were human beings, other argued that their status should be equated to animals.

In this context, Old Shatterhand is successfully able to ensure the continued existence of Winnetou's Apache tribe by becoming Winnetou's blood brother and thus a member of the tribe. Therefore, even if Winnetou himself and the rest of his tribe were to be wiped out, one member of the tribe, namely Old Shatterhand, blessed by his cross-cultural identity, would survive and therefore the tribe would not completely disappear. By inhabiting the known other in their own bodies, Old Shatterhand and modern hobbyists are able to preserve their impressions of the American Indian way of life, even if no members of the ethnic tribe itself remain. This continuation of the tribe outside of the physical bodies of any ethnic members of the tribe creates a utopia of sorts; since the ethnic tribal members cannot survive in industrialized society, the continuation of the tribe must rely on individuals with cross-cultural identities, such as Old Shatterhand. While this version of utopia is clearly not a utopia for ethnic members of the tribe, it can function as a warped utopia for Germans such as Old Shatterhand, who would prefer that the tribe continue to exist in some form, even if individual members of the tribe cannot persevere in modern society.

The figure of Winnetou is introduced to readers as a memory—a fallen friend of the narrator.[135] Although Winnetou was, unfortunately, forced to die in accordance with the destiny of all Native Americans, his character (which was typical of Native Americans) made him stand

[135] "Habe ich doch die Roten kennen gelernt während einer ganzen Reihe von vielen Jahren und unter ihnen einen, der hell, hoch und herrlich in meinem Herzen, in meinen Gedanken wohnt. Er, der beste, treueste und opferwilligste aller meiner Freunde, war ein echter Typus der Rasse, welcher er entstammte, und ganz so, wie sie untergeht, ist auch er untergegangen, ausgelöscht aus dem Leben durch die mörderische Kugel eines Feindes. Ich habe ihn geliebt wie keinen zweiten Menschen und liebe noch heut die hinsterbende Nation, deren edelster Sohn er gewesen ist. Ich hätte mein Leben dahingegeben, um ihm das seinige zu erhalten, so wie er dieses hundertmal für mich wagte. Dies war mir nicht vergönnt; er ist dahingegangen, indem er, wie immer, ein Retter seiner Freunde war; aber er soll nur körperlich gestorben sein und hier in diesen Blättern fortleben, wie er in meiner Seele lebt, er, Winnetou, der große Häuptling der Apachen," (May *Winnetou* 4).

out in the narrator's heart as his most treasured and worthy friend. Winnetou is described as the narrator's best, most loyal friend who was also the most willing to make sacrifices for others. Because of the type of friend Winnetou was, the narrator would have gladly given his life so that Winnetou might survive, if that had been possible. Winnetou, as described in the preface to the book, is a larger-than-life saint-like figure. It would have been impossible for him to have been more honorable, more pure, more caring, more self-sacrificing than he was. Winnetou is described as a super hero or saint, the ideal leader and role model that everyone can look up to and aspire to be like. But is such a figure, void of even the most insignificant of character flaws, even possible?

"That which we remember is, more often than not, that which we would like to have been; or that which we hope to be. Thus our memory and our identity are ever at odds; our history ever a tall tale told by inattentive idealists."[136] Ralph Ellison's statement on memory, that memories are not facts, but rather idealistic fairy tales of what we would have liked to have been, casts an intriguing light on the author, Karl May, as well as the story itself. It has already been mentioned that May re-imagined humiliating experiences from his past as fantastical success stories, which is clearly in accord with Ellison's statement. To this writing process, we add the memory of May's early serialized works (in which Winnetou belongs to a different tribe), which are combined to form the majority of the second and third books in the Winnetou series. We add as well the first person narrator, Old Shatterhand, who tells the tales of his former adventurous life in the Americas and his fallen friend Winnetou. How accurate are the narrator's memories?

[136] Ralph Ellison and John F. Callahan, *The collected essays of Ralph Ellison* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), 237.

How reliable is his narration? Finally, we add the Indianer protagonist Winnetou, who is, himself, a memory introduced to audiences before the book proper begins.

Perhaps Old Shatterhand's Winnetou is an idealistic, fairy tale version of himself, inhabiting the idealized past of his blood brother, which in turn has possibly been created by the author as a re-imagining of that author's own less-than-impeccable past. And in this case, rather than being an accurate depiction of May's own past adventures in the Americas, the Winnetou texts are an exercise in idealized memory. But what if it isn't only Winnetou, Old Shatterhand, and May's texts that are being remembered? What if Germany itself is being remembered through the heroic figure of Winnetou, and its future imagined through his blood brother Old Shatterhand?

Mindless Imagining: A German Nation Imagined Through Memory

As mentioned in the introduction to this study, Benedict Anderson defines nation as an *imagined political community*. Anthony D. Smith points out that the printing press as well as the rise of vernacular language use made these imaginings possible; a social space had to be created outside of the monarchies and religious scripts in which the imaginings could take shape.[137] He continues by defining an ethno-symbolism approach to nation building:

> For ethno-symbolists, what gives nationalism its power are the myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritages and the ways in which a popular *living past* has been, and can be, rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias. It is from these elements of myth, memory, symbol, and tradition that modern national identities are

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[137] Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8.

> reconstituted in each generation, as the nation becomes more inclusive and as its members cope with new challenges.[138]

If we define a nation as an imagined community, and accept the printing press as the catalyst for national imaginings independent of the monarchy and church, then we see a clear period of time in which national imaginings could begin.[139] And according to the ethno-symbolist tradition, the imaginings would have comprised a rediscovery and reinterpretation of myths, memories, traditions, and symbols. At the time the printing press was created, there was no one, united German nation. There was, however, a history of epic texts that recounted the lives and adventures of medieval Germanic heroes and warriors. Such texts, belonging to the period of German literature known as the *mittelhochdeutsche Blütezeit* (1170-1230) were authored alongside Minnesang, courtly romance poetry composed in rhyming couplets. The epics, tamed down Christianized versions of stories from the Germanic oral traditions, extol the honor, loyalty, and bravery of German warriors. Some such epics include *Parzival*, the *Niebelungenlied*, *Herzog Ernst*, and *Tristan*.

One concept Smith focuses upon in his work on nations and national identity is known as *la longue durée*, or the concept that, in order to truly understand modern nations and modern nationalisms, we must consider the origins and formations of nations over long periods of time.[140] Therefore, when considering a modern German national identity, it is imperative to also consider its historic Germanic roots. Roots that were defined by the fantastically honorable, talented, and pious warriors found in its Minnesang and medieval epics. Taking the imagining of

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[138] Ibid., 9.
[139] The German Johannes Gutenberg invented his printing press around 1440.
[140] Smith, 10.

a German nation one step further, or rather, one step back, leads to the rediscovery of Tacitus' *Germania* in 1450.[141]

In his *Germania*, Tacitus describes the Germanic tribes encountered in battle by Romans. Here, Tacitus paints a picture of the Germans not as barbarians, but rather as noble savages: a fierce, noble people living in an inhospitable climate. The Germans, Tacitus continues, lead rugged, rustic, simple lives, practice a simplistic form of democracy, eat simple foods, wear simple clothing, and live in monogamous relationships.[142] In short, the Germanic people are Tacitus' ideal, and lead lives that are starky different from those of the decadent Romans, who are the actual subjects of his *Germania*. It is this idealized depiction of the Germanic tribes that authors of the Romantic period use to define the concept of "German" outside of a political nation.

Despite the use of Germanic tribes to level critique on Roman society, Tacitus' *Germania* and his descriptions of the Germanic people have, according to the findings of Christopher Krebs, been at the core of almost every important German movement beginning with the Reformation.[143] Tacitus began a myth, a myth embraced by the Germanic people attempting to define Germanness outside of a united national identity. A myth that dictates that their ancestors were noble, honorable, family-centered, and talented warriors. This myth agrees with the myths of medieval courtly knights: honorable, pious, loyal, talented, refined warriors.

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[141] Todd C. Kontje, *German Orientalisms* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 35.
[142] Cornelius Tacitus, Alfred John Church, William Jackson Brodribb, and Moses Hadas, *The complete works of Tacitus* (New York: Modern Library, 1942), 709-732.
[143] See Christopher B. Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2011).

Looking at *la longue durée*, the lack of a historic unified nation, and the consistent upheaval caused by political redefinition of the nation,[144] it is not necessarily surprising that, given their historic dedication to the ideals of a German warrior (a noble and refined savage, a pious and loyal family man), the modern Germans imagining their modern nation would latch onto the image of Winnetou (the noble savage, the fierce warrior, the intellectual, the loyal friend) and use him to redefine themselves. As explained by Penny, German consideration of a similar ethnocide in the past at the hands of the Romans and a shared fate in the "…impersonal and hypermodern world of global capitalism may be the greatest affinity of all, and thus the central reason why so many Germans developed and retained an empathetic fascination for American Indians."[145]

In addition, in the face of upheaval, modernization, and a loss of a simpler way of life, like Tacitus, the Germans revered a people who lived what they considered to be a simpler, more pure way of life. The role filled by the Germanic tribes for Tacitus is filled by the Indianer for the Germans. In fact, as Penny concludes, "Tacitus wrote about Germans like Germans wrote about American Indians."[146] The Germanic tribes were imagined by Tacitus, and so, too, are the Indianer envisioned by May. Both were based on real-existing human beings, but the specific characteristics of these imagined noble savages were left to the imaginations of the authors.

German national identity is being imagined, not through the physical body of any human being, American Indian or otherwise, but rather in the extra-monarchy, extra-religious space created by the printing press. The Indianer, like Tacitus' Germanic tribes, is an imagined

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[144] 1804 – Napoleonic wars, 1806 – collapse of the Holy Roman Empire, 1815 – formation of the German Confederation, 1848-1849 – Revolutions of 1848 in German states, 1867 – North German Confederation formed following the collapse of the German Confederation, 1871 – German Empire, 1914-1918 World War I.
[145] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 16.
[146] Ibid., 30.

construct, a vehicle through which national imaginings and national identity can be explored, defined, and identified. Conveniently enough, since the Indianer is not ethnically German, he is free from the baggage caused by the German regional and cultural past. Disconnected from the historic homeland of the Germanic tribes, the Indianer is free to be anything the authors imagine him to be. In fact, recent copyright litigation in Germany determined that the name Winnetou itself has been disconnected from May's literature. It no longer refers to a literary figure, but to the "name for a certain human type, that of the noble Indian chief."[147] Winnetou, free from his literary origins, is now free to fulfill his role as German national folk hero.

Modern Manifestations of the Germanified Indianer

One would be hard pressed to find a person in Germany who had not read Karl May's texts as a child or at least had heard of Karl May and his Apache hero Winnetou. Karl May has been called "…the most popular author in modern German history."[148] In fact, the Karl May Verlag determined by means of a questionnaire that in the years between 1931 and 1935, 81.6% of german youth read Karl May's texts.[149] Since the expiration of May's copyright in 1962, it is estimated that more than one hundred million copies of his works have been published.[150]

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[147] Markus Kreis, "Deutsch-Wildwest: Die Erfindung des definitive Indianers durch Karl May," in *I like America: Fiktiven des Wilden Westens,* ed. Pamela Kort and Max Hollein (New York: Prestel, 2007), 271.
[148] Cook, 67-86. See also Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon* (Bern: Francke, 1963), 268f. and Heinz Stolle, *Der Volkschriftsteller Karl May*, Diss. Jena 1936 (Radebeul bei Dresden: Karl-May-Verlag, 1936), 7.
[149] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 159.
[150] Jeffrey Sammons, *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 229-232.

Thomas Kramer proclaims, “Karl May’s novels and his heroes were and are – regardless of cyclical variations – a part of German daily consciousness.”[151] So much so, that the 2003 spoof on German Indianerfilme, *Manitou’s Shoe*, broke all earning records in the German film industry.[152] In addition, the 2007-2008 exhibition at the German Historical Museum in Berlin, “Karl May: Imagined Journeys,” as well as its popularity (the time line of the temporary exhibition had to be extended to accommodate its many guests) testify to the continued popularity of Karl May and his novels. Karl May has even been the topic of recent attention in the United States; the *New Yorker* published an article in 2012 titled, “Wild West Germany; Why do cowboys and Indianer so captivate the country?”[153] And in 2014, a *Times* documentary titled “Native Fantasy: Germany’s Indian Heros” aired.[154] In this documentary, American producers explore German Festspiele and the German hobbyist movement, delving, once again, into questions of accuracy and authenticity.

Karl May *Festspiele* have a long and continuous tradition in Germany. A *Festspiel* is a grouping of cultural performances that occur annually in the same location. The *Festspiel* described at the opening of this chapter took place at Felsenbühne Rathen in Sachsen, Germany, in 2001 and featured a production of Karl May’s *Winnetou III*. During the hour-long theatrical productions based on May’s texts, the audience is captivated by images of the Wild West, its

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[151] “Karl Mays Romane und seine Helden waren und sind – ungeachtet konjunktureller Schwankungen – Teil deutschen Alltagsbewusstseins.” Thomas Kramer, “Heldisches Geschehen, Nacherzählt: Rezeption und Medienwechsel 1933 bis heute,” In: *Karl May: Imaginäre Reisen,* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2007), 291.
[152] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 3.
[153] Galchen, 40-45.
[154] Axel Gerdau, Erik Olsen, and John Woo, *Native Fantasy: Germany’s Indian Heros*, Times Documentaries, 2014, accessed January 5, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/video/world/europe/100000003056479/native-fantasy-germanys-indian-heroes.html. In his study *Kindren by Choice*, Penny notes that reporters from the United States have gleefully “re-discovered” the German fascination with American Indians and the German hobbyist movement regularly since the 1950’s. See pages 4-5 in *Kindren by Choice.*

population, and its native inhabitants. Everyone in the audience knows the story of Karl May's Winnetou Trilogy, which is in regular rotation at Felsenbühne Rathen and other German outdoor theaters.

The staged adaptation of Winnetou described in this chapter offers stereotyped depictions of imagined heroes and villains. The railroad, white surveyors, and the white settlers are depicted as unstoppable monsters because of their lack of humane values. The frontiersman,[155] Old Shatterhand, is a German national and a native-sympathetic helpless observer who is powerless to stop the unscrupulous behavior of the surveyors and settlers. The Apache, portrayed as generic natives living in tipis next to totem poles are, for the most part, incapable of understanding the rapid changes brought to their homelands by the westward expansion of the United States and fight progress, while clinging to a primitive way of life.

Felsenbühne Rathen began producing plays based on Karl May's fictional works in 1938 with the July 29th premier of "Bilder und Gestalten um Winnetou" with "Schatz im Silbersee."[156] "Schatz im Silbersee" was produced again in 1940, along with "Ölprinz," while the years 1939 and 1941 featured productions of "Winnetou." From the end of World War II and Hitler's era in 1941, Felsenbühne Rathen ceased holding Karl May *Festspiele*, reestablishing the tradition in 1984, when "Schatz im Silbersee" was again featured. Since 1984 (a date marked by the loosening of censorship in the GDR), a variety of plays based on Karl May's fictional works

[155] Frontiersmen, or trappers, were early explorers of the western portions of North America. They often lived nomadically and typically moved out of a region when permanent settlers moved in. I use this designation to contrast this type of figure, whom I define as a non-native native based on Joseph Walunywa's classification, with settlers who belong to the colonizing forces and actively participate in the act of permanent colonization.

[156] "Pictures and Figures surrounding Winnetou" with "The Treasure in Silver Lake." E-mail interview with Petra Grubitzsch, Press Officer for the Dresden Theater. 19 March 2010.

have been featured once again in semi-regular rotation.[157] In the summer of 2014 Felsenbühne Rathen produced ongoing performances of the children's musical *Drei Halesnüsse für Aschenbrödel*, the opera *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber, May's *Old Shurehand*, *Dracula – the Musical*, the fairy tale *Mein Freund Wickie*, and also several short-running concerts. The 2014 season opened and closed with performances of *Old Surehand*. The 2015 season will feature *Winnetou I.*

Felsenbühne Rathen is not the only stage that hosts Karl May *Festspiele*. The main Karl May *Festspiele* take place each year in Bad Segeberg[158] (Schleswig-Holstein), Elspe[159] (Lennestadt, Nordrhein-Westfalen), and Dasing bei Augsburg[160] (Bavaria). Many other smaller festivals occur throughout the German-speaking countries each year, many at least in part sponsored by hobbyist and reenactment groups.

A myriad of hobbyist and reenactment groups also sponsor "Indianertreffen," akin to the Rendezvous and Civil War Reenactments sponsored by some American hobbyist groups.[161] At the North American "Rendezvous," hobbyists in period clothing set up camp and engage in demonstrations of period-appropriate skills, such as blacksmithing, flint knapping, open-fire cooking, storytelling, long-bow shooting, etc. North American Rendezvous are typically open to

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[157] Felsenbühne Rathen produces one Karl May-based play approximately every three years; 1984: "Schatz im Silbersee"; 1987: "Winnetou"; 1990: "Winnetou"; 1991: "Der Ölprinz"; 1992: "Winnetou II"; 1995: "Old Surehand"; 1998: "Unter Geiern"; 2001: "Winnetou III"; 2004: "Winnetou I"; 2007: "Der Schatz im Silbersee"; 2010: "Der Ölprinz"; 2011: "Der Ölprinz"; 2012: "Old Shurehand; 2014: Old Surehand; 2015: Winnetou I."

[158] Karl May Spiele, Bad Segeberg, accessed September 23, 2014, www.karl-may-spiele.de.

[159] "Karl May Festspiele," Elspe Festival, accessed Septemberr 23, 2014, www.elspe.de.

[160] Süddeutsche Karl May-Festspiele Dasing, accessed September 23, 2014, www.karlmay-festspiele.de.

[161] For an Americentric discussion of Rendezvous and Reenactment groups, see, for example, William W. Gwaltney, "Way across the Wide Missouri: Western History, Memory, and the Lunatic Fringe" and Richard O'Sullivan, "'Living History' as the 'Real Thing' : A Comparative Analysis of the Modern Mountain Man Rendezvous, Renaissance Fairs, and Civil War Reenactments."

the non-hobbyist public and also offer skill-based competitions, as well as markets and concessions. In Germany, the Indianertreffen offer hobbyists the opportunity to camp together with other enthusiasts, practice their skills, trade their hand-made crafts, and converse in Apache, Sioux, and a multitude of other languages. The vast difference between American Rendezvous hobbyists and their German counterparts is that the Rendezvous hobbyists are engaging in a reenactment of their nation's history, while the Indianertreffen hobbyists are engaging in a reenactment of a past in which their nation was not directly politically involved. A closer look at each type of hobbyist group would, undoubtedly, reveal varying degrees of inaccuracies in each group, as well as groups of non-native hobbyists "playing Indian."[162]

My purpose in comparing these groups is not to enter into an accuracy debate, or a debate on the appropriateness of the reenactments, but rather to point out an important and intriguing difference between the two groups. While Rendezvous participants may or may not have cultural roots leading back to the French Voyageurs, the explorers and fur traders who first explored and established settlements along the Great Lakes of North America, they are engaging in the reenactment of the history of a nation of which they are citizens.[163] The Indianertreffen participants are engaging in a reenactment, not only of a cultural group and society with which they have no shared cultural roots, but also a group that is not part of their national history. Although many immigrants to the Americas had a German heritage, Germany, as a political entity, had no colonies in the Americas, and was not, as a nation, actively engaged in either the colonization of the Americas or the resistance to colonization by the groups residing in the Americas before its discovery by Europeans. Additionally, German hobbyists and the American

[162] See Marta Carlson's "Germans playing Indian." Carlson maps out instances of Germans playing Indian, or hobbyists, and concludes that they should not be "playing Indian."
[163] See, for example, activities scheduled at Fort William Historical Park near Torronto, Canada. http://fwhp.ca/index.php

Indian subjects of their creative pastime do not have similar cultural roots. In fact, what we have here is a group of Germanic hobbyists attempting to reenact a national history that is not connected with their own national past[164] and an ethnic history not founded in the same continent.

One may be tempted to overlook the cultural significance of the Indianertreffen participants and hobbyists. One could dismiss the phenomenon as a fanciful group's daydreaming, if the Indianertreffen were not so large, if there were not so many distinct groups, and if those groups had not existed for such long periods and persevered through adversity. A simple Google search returns over 20 separate Indianer clubs and associations.[165] While a few of these associations are intended to support human rights, the majority are clubs that allow participants to act out their hobbies and interests together. Some clubs are general hobbyist clubs, such as the Country & Western Club Bern, while others, such as Die Haudenosaunee oder Irokesen and Mescalero-Apachen e.V. Freiburg, are intended to focus reenactment efforts around a particular tribe.

Yet, the reenactment groups could still be dismissed as a fluke rather than accepted as evidence of a deeper cultural trend, were it not for the continued popularity of fictional texts and films based on those texts. Winnetou itself is one of the German "Longsellers," a bestseller that achieves that status not at once, but over decades and even centuries, making these texts not only bestsellers, but also classics. That Winnetou would become a "Longseller" was not always an

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[164] I distinguish here between a national political history and an intellectual history. The contributions to the educational system of various countries by individual German scholars and the connections between German institutes of higher learning and educational institutions in the Americas is clearly documented. There is a difference, however, between the connections and contributions of individuals and the political connection of a country to colonies when discussing the history of a nation.

[165] See, for example, "Mitgliedsvereine," Western-Bund E.V. Deutschland, accessed March 25, 2015, http://www.westernbund.de/%C3%BCber-uns/mitgliedsvereine/.

assumption that could clearly be made. Not only did his publisher find it necessary to begin a heavy-handed defense of the author in 1899 following a *Frankfurter Zeitung* Exposé regarding May's early criminal life,[166] but politicians in both Nazi Germany and the GDR found Karl May's texts to be problematic, albeit for strikingly different reasons.

Hitler himself, although not educated in the German gymnasium and university system, was an avid reader during his rise to power.[167] The history of Winnetou and Karl May's texts during Nazi Germany is especially interesting because, although some officials in the Nazi party found May's texts to be problematic, Hitler himself was one of May's greatest fans. Attention to May's novels as a boy was the assumed source of a "noticeable decline" in Hitler's grades. Despite a general distaste for May and his texts propagated by officials in the Nazi party, Hitler's dedication to May's texts did not diminish with adulthood or his ascent to power; he kept leather-bound editions of May's novels in the study of his alpine villa.[168] According to Albert Speer, May's stories gave Hitler hope in seemingly hopeless situations, and so throughout his adult life, he still would read the stories late at night.[169] Additionally, Hitler instructed his generals to study May's texts and had a special edition printed for soldiers on the front.

Hitler was not the only member of the Nazi party to look to May's Indianer as pedagogical tools. Penny discusses Nazi pedagogical use of the Indianer at length in chapter five

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[166] An 1899 article by Dr. Fedor Mamroth's published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* thoroughly destroyed the myth, carefully constructed by May, that he was, in fact both Old Shatterhand and Kara Ben Nemsi, and further, that he had personally experienced the adventures found in his novels. Mamroth revealed May's early criminal activity and proved that May was serving a prison sentence during the time people had been led to believe that he had been traveling through the Americas and the Orient. Roxin, *Strafrecht*, 15.
[167] Anthony Grafton. "Mein Buch." *The New Republic*, (Dec. 24, 2008): 33.
[168] Ibid., 34.
[169] Ibid.

of his recent study, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800*.[170] Here, Penny notes that the cultural collections painstakingly assembled by the Munich Cowboy Club were recognized in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the central paper of the Nazi party, for their demonstration of "…a certain similarity in the lifestyle, in the conception of morals and customs, in the bravery [Kampfesmut], and in the positive development…"[171] between Germanic ancestory and American Indian tribes.

Hitler's love for Karl May and Nazi recognition of positive pedagogical application of the Indianer, however, did not ensure the continued publication of May's texts or a lack of censorship for his publisher during the Nazi period. Kramer points out that May's positive representation of other nations and races stood in direct opposition to Nazi-Ideology.[172] This positive representation of ethnic and national others placed Karl May's text squarely in the crosshairs of Nazi-criticism. The pacifist themes of his late novels resulted in the publisher, under pressure from Nazi censorship, listing several texts as "out of print."[173] The publisher's annual research publication was also suspended due to the independent nature of the scholarship. Despite the publisher's apparent cooperation and Hitler's love for the texts themselves, Karl May's works were further threatened by book burnings throughout Germany during the Nazi period.[174] Meanwhile, anti-Nazi authors living in exile declared May to be either a precursor for

[170] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 163-172.
[171] Ibid., 152.
[172] Kramer, Heldisches Geschehen, 292f.
[173] Cook, 75.
[174] Erich Heinemann, "Karl May paßt zum NS wie die Faust aufs Auge," *Der Kampf des Lehrers Wilhelm Fronemann. In: Jb d. Karl-May-Ges* (1982): 236. Heinemann focuses on the role of Fronemann in the pedagogy of the Third Reich. He focuses specifically on Fronemann's interpretation of May and his attempts to ban or sensor works read by the youth, especially May's works. Heinemann asserts that it was only Hitler's love of May that prevented a full ban of his texts during the Third Reich.

Nazi ideology or even a Nazi author.[175] Without support for May's texts from the Nazi party or the exiled communities, *Winnetou's* popularity might well have ended before reaching "Longseller" status, particularly when one considers the generation of German-speaking children who grew up between 1933 and 1945, a time in which May's work was less accessible to young readers.

The road to May's "Longseller" status remained uncertain, even after World War II and the end of Nazi rule. However the Karl-May-Verlag[176] faced further censorship under the socialist rule of the Soviet occupational force and, later, the East German government.[177] While the Soviets merely refused to authorize the publishing house to resume publication of May's novels, the GDR government blacklisted May because of the "…glorification of war and violence…" in his texts.[178] Unlike the Nazi censorship, which allowed the publication of some texts while prohibiting the production of the pacifistic texts, the GDR censorship was unilateral. In 1960, one year before the construction of the Berlin Wall, the Karl-May-Verlag was permitted to relocate to Bamberg in Bavaria where it resumed publication.[179] Following this relocation, May's texts again became available in West Germany, although, they remained unavailable for sale or library loan in the GDR.

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[175] Günter Scholdt, "Hitler, Karl May und die Emigranten," *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft Hamburg* (1984): 62. In this article, Scholdt provides an overview of May reception in the Weimar Republic, Nazi Germany, the GDR, and by exiled authors and scholars. He concludes that, although Karl May has always been a popular author, he has also been academically and politically problematic. May's reception has most often been plagued by negative commentary from scholars and officials on the left and right, but his popularity among readers has remained intact.
[176] Verlag, in German, means publishing house. The Karl-May-Verlag is a publishing house that publishes only works by and about Karl May.
[177] For more on banned books in the GDR, see Siegfried Lokatis and Ingrid Sonntag. *Heimliche Leser in der DDR: Kontrolle und Verbreitung unerlaubter Literatur*. (Berlin: Links, 2008).
[178] Cook, 76.
[179] Ibid.

Despite the unilateral blacklisting of May's texts in the GDR, previously published and purchased texts and smuggled copies were secretly circulated among fans of all ages.[180] The relocation of the Karl-May-Verlag and the covert circulation of May's texts, as well as their availability in West Germany, inspired the imaginations of the post-war generation and may well have saved May's texts from obscurity, paving their way to becoming "Longsellers."[181]

Karl-May inspired representations of American Indians in Germany occur not only on stage at outdoor theaters, in hobbyist reenactment groups and their festivals, in films and fictional texts, but also in the schools. Some kindergartens host summer celebrations called "Indianertage" or "Indianerfeste, in which the children dress up as Indianer, complete with brown paper vests and colorful headdresses made of paper feathers."[182] There is even a Karl May Elementary School in May's hometown of Hohenstein-Ernstthal. The school's website features images of tipis next to all menu links and an image of *Indianer* heads wearing headbands

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[180] Giesela Drevin, interview by author, Berlin, Germany, July 8, 2005. Mrs. Drevin moved to West Berlin from East Germany upon retirement in the 1980's and gave the author first-hand accounts of her experiences living in the GDR, relocating to West Berlin, and maintaining a relationship with her children and grandchildren who still lived in the GDR.

[181] Today, the Karl-May-Verlag has offices in Bamberg and Radebeul bei Dresden. It has a history of defending Karl May's image at all costs (Cook, 76f), a history which begins to be addressed by its recent cooperation with the Karl May Gesellschaft in the publication of a historical-critical edition of Karl May's texts. The publisher's past practices of modifying May's texts to create full-length novels and exchanging his chosen English vocabulary for German terms made the publication of a critical edition for scholars of paramount importance. The Karl May Museum in Radebeul contains not only artifacts from Karl May's life, but also his collection of Native American artifacts and a library. The museum also hosts lectures and readings concerning Karl May's life and work. The Karl May Museum in Radebeul is one of the most popular destinations for May-enthusiasts, families, and hobbyists due not only to Winnetou's following but also due to the large exhibits of tribal artifacts and cultural items.

[182] "Indian Days" or "Indian Festival"

containing one or two vertical feathers appearing above a hill as well as a lone dancing *Indianer* holding a tomahawk at the bottom of several pages.[183]

Thanks to Karl May and his Winnetou, the Indianer figure has been and remains a presence in the lives of German children. The use of an American Indian figure as a role model in Germany dates back to the early 20th century when Hitler, who considered Winnetou, the chief of May's Western adventure novels, "…a master of 'tactical finesse and circumspection,' and a model for his own love of cunning tactics and surprises," encouraged his generals and soldiers to study May's texts.[184] Even when Karl May's books were banned or fell out of favor because of their veneration of violence and ethnographic inaccuracies, other authors, such as Welskopf-Henrich, Müller-Tannowitz, and Janosch stepped in and provided young readers with more socially acceptable Indianer stories. This substitution and ongoing presence of the Indianer figure raises the question of why the Indianer figure was important, so important to the youth of a nation, in fact, that, even when that nation was redefining itself, its adult authors clung to the figure of the Indianer for their texts.

I propose that the Indianer figure in Germany allows German-speaking people to define themselves as part of a group outside of their own Germanness. Further, the usefulness of the figure of the Indianer is not confined to any political era. Its usefulness did not begin after World War II, and did not end with a reunited Germany and the maturity of post-war generations. The Indianer figure, from its very inception, captured the imagination of the German-speaking people and allowed citizens of a specific georgraphic area that was politically frequently forming, changing, and reforming to imagine what it meant to belong to a national group outside of the

[183] Karl-May-Grundschule Hohenstein-Ernstthal, accessed October 18, 2014, http://www.karl-may-grundschule.de/. See Appendix, images 12 and 13.
[184] Grafton, 34.

political and social baggage of their own nation. The Indianer proved to be a stable figure in the childhood of generations, regardless of national turmoil and change. The Indianer has been imagined to be the most noble, honorable, mature hero possible: a hero whom anyone could look up to—a hero whom anyone could aspire to be more like. Especially in times of great political or social change in which national heroes lost their sheen, the Indianer, independent of political or national affiliation, endured. In a late-forming nation in which national identity was splintered into small nation-states welded to images of war, the Indianer emerged as the national hero, providing a common bond and a role model. The Indianer, a national hero imagined in books and minds, inspired childhood games of imitation that, at times, continued into adulthood.

Conclusion

According to John Welch and Ramon Riley, *Ni* is the Apache word for land. They assert that it is also the Apache word for mind. The concepts of mind/thought and land are therefore irreversibly linked in Apache language and culture. For Welch and Riley, it follows that the action of thinking is related to a specific location, a specific land. One must have land, that is, have a connection to the place one resides, in order for thought to occur. This link in terminology could have resulted in an untoward perception of Euroamerican farmers, ranchers, loggers, and miners who, thanks to the governmental confiscation and redistribution of Nidee territory, moved about formerly sovereign Nidee land, rashly depleted the resources of each new location. Because the Euroamericans did not stay in one place, but rather "moved from place to place as they depleted and sometimes destroyed the land, the Nidee viewed the newcomers as landless and thus, from all appearances, mindless."[185] And, from this same perspective, Germans

[185]Welch and Riley, 7.

imagining their nation through the memory of Winnetou are mindlessly imagining, since the land involved was not their land, nor do Germans claim to have any ties to it.

In the first sentence of Karl May's *Winnetou*, readers are provided with a generic description of American Indians: "Whenever I think of the Indians, the Turks come to mind…"[186] The narrator, Old Shatterhand, begins his story by providing readers with a familiar point of reference and comparison. The "Turks" are not Germans, and thus function as others in German society, but they are known others; their geographical proximity to Germany has allowed for (more or less accurate) knowledge of their way of life to be transmitted to Germany. If the "Turks" are known others, and the Indianer are "like the Turks," then the Indianer can also become known others. Setting up a point of reference allows readers to begin to form an understanding of the American Indian based on what they know (or what they believe to be true) about the "Turks."

Despite the introduction of Winnetou as a gentleman in the subtitle of the book, the assertion that Indianer are like "Turks" and a doting description of Winnetou's character in the book's introduction, a physical description of Winnetou is withheld from readers for nearly the first hundred pages of the text. When he is described, he appears as a dutiful son accompanying his father (Intschutschuna), the Apache Chief. Intschutschuna is described in detail, and Winnetou is described as being dressed like his father, but with more delicately detailed clothing. His hair is also described as particularly long, thick and black.[187] He is an exemplary Indianer.

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[186] "Immer fällt mir, wenn ich an den Indianer denke, der Türke ein...." Karl May *Winnetou* 1. This may also be a precursor to the use of Eastern Europeans as stand-in actors for American Indian roles in 20th century German-produced spaghetti-westerns.

[187] "Der Jüngere war genau so gekleidet wie sein Vater, nur daß sein Anzug zierlicher gefertigt worden war. Seine Mokassins waren mit Stachelschweinsborsten und die Nähte seiner Leggins und des Jagdrockes mit feinen, roten Nähten geschmückt. Auch er trug den Medizinbeutel am Halse und das Kalumet dazu. Seine Bewaffnung bestand wie bei seinem Vater aus einem Messer

Not only is Winnetou an exemplary Indianer in appearance, he has had the opportunity of education denied to most Indianer: "He spoke a very pure English."[188] Winnetou didn't speak the broken English that may be expected from Indianer or newly immigrated settlers, but rather a very pure English that one would expect to hear from a well-educated English gentleman. This demonstrates that, given the opportunity and time, every Indianer has the capability of being a gentleman. The fact that, from a white perspective, the majority of Indianer do not become gentlemen despite their innate ability to learn and change, highlights the malevolence of the white settlers who do not allow the Indianer opportunities for education and thus sentence them to extinction.

It is no coincindence that the noble warrior images from Tacitus' Germania are mirrored in the Indianer figure; this appropriation of an image (the American Indian) allows for the redefinition of the ideal self in an Aryan body that is not a German body; American Indians were labeled Aryan, and the Nazi Party specifically recognized all Sioux Indians as Aryan.[189] The German Indianer functions as a known other, but one that is located on a fluid spectrum of known and unknown others. In different texts composed by different authors, a specific tribe can be located at different locations along this fluid spectrum based upon information available in the text itself. Not only does this allow for varying and concurrent text-internal understandings of different tribes at different times, but it also allows authors to promote any tribe to (known other) hero and demote any tribe to (unknown other) villain to serve the literary purposes of the text.

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und einem Doppelgewehre. Auch er trug den Kopf unbedeckt und hatte das Haar zu einem Schopfe aufgewunden, aber ohne es mit einer Feder zu schmücken. Es war so lang, daß es dann noch reich und schwer auf den Rücken niederfiel" (May, *Winnetou I,* 92-93).

[188] "Er sprach ein sehr reines Englisch" (Ibid., 94).

[189] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 152f.

May and subsequent authors take care to stress the tribal differences between their Indianer figures, even when those tribal differences may not be depicted according to ethnographic actualities. Therefore, not all Indianer are represented in a positive fashion. In contrast to May's representation of the Apache in his *Winnetou* series, which is an overwhelmingly positive representation, the Sioux are not represented in a favorable light at all. This is fascinating considering Winnetou's character origins in May's earlier stories, where he is depicted positively as an honorable member of the Sioux tribe. In the *Winnetou* book series (in which Winnetou is an Apache), the Sioux work together with the white bandits who rob trains and take an entire village of white settlers captive. Interestingly enough, Welskopf-Henrich selects the Sioux tribe for her own Bildungsromane, and it is her positive and more accurate representation of the Sioux that replaces Karl May's texts in the GDR. While the BRD produced movies based on several of Karl May's texts in the period after the Second World War, the East German DEFA produced several of its own "westerns," one of the best-known based on Welskopf-Heinrich's Bildungsroman series *The Sons of the Great Bear* (*Die Söhne der großen Bärin*).

One of May's major contributions to the Indianer archetype was perhaps an unintentional one; while struggling to earn a living as a freelance writer, May did not pay special attention to the ethnographical accuracy of his reputations of Indianer. The Indianer figure is therefore freed from the constraints of reality and informed expectation. Once freed from these constraints, the Indianer figure can be manipulated and molded to serve the purposes of the author. May's freeing of his Indianer figure in general and Winnetou specifically is not unlike what he did to his own identity; May revised his own and Winnetou's identity as needed to ensure his own survivial.

May's figure Old Shatterhand also plays an important role in the construct of the Indianer as nation hero. Old Shatterhand was respectable as a frontiersman because of his relationship with Winnetou and the skills he learned from Winnetou. Once Old Shatterhand became an Apache (by becoming Winnetou's blood brother), he could single-handedly ensure the surival of the tribe; the Apache tribe would not die with the doomed ethnic band members. Its survival was placed in the hands of the German Old Shatterhand. As the only tribal member likely to survive into modernity, Old Shatterhand had the duty to keep the culture alive. The invention of Old Shatterhand's duty to preserve the Apache culture opens the door to hobbyist groups who claim to be preserving the culture of one tribe or another. It also opens the door to future authors in need of a cultural hero who can help to re-define the nation.

Karl May's texts enjoyed a boom of publication between the years of 1962 and 1974, with the numbers of books printed in Bamberg jumping from 18 to 50 million copies.[190] This time frame also corresponds to a period of heavy censorship in the GDR. Karl May's works were banned from the GDR because of their inaccuracies; however, the public's desire for fictional novels about Indianer did not diminish. In the geographical region of the GDR, Anne Müller Tannovitz' and Lisolette Welskopf Heinrich's well-researched juvenile fiction novels filled the void left by the banning of Karl May's texts. Already introduced by Karl May, the concept of the unjust American settler and the just American Indian is an intergral component of the Indianer adventure stories. This sets up in the German subconscious the idea that the American Indian is just and noble while the American is not, a belief that both Welskopf-Heinrich and Müller-Tannowitz tap into in their GDR-issued juvenile novels.

[190] Cook, 76.

Chapter 2: "Over the Missouri": Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich and Creating a Nation Outside of Race & Ethnicity

Introduction

Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, whose fictional texts quickly rose to intense popularity in the fledgling GDR, negotiated the precarious parameters between authoring a fictional non-German socialist cultural hero and becoming involved with the political struggle of contemporary American Indian tribes and individuals living in North America. In doing so, she modified a deeply entrenched cultural archetype to create an Indianer who became a role model for generations of European children. At the same time, the author maintained and advocated an awareness of the difference between this Indianer figure and the contemporary reality of decendants of those who inspired this cultural archetype.

In this chapter, I begin by describing Welskopf-Henrich as an author. I explore how she wrote against Karl May and his inaccurate depictions of American Indians, using her training as an ethnographer to compose texts rich in historically accurate and detailed depictions of Lakota and Blackfoot Indians. I then consider how her choice in genre, the Bildungsroman, works to justify a narrative that spanned the adolescence of her Lakota protagonist. Finally, a closer look at her texts themselves reveals a utopic solution to manifest destiny, namely an ethnically diverse society composed of the most advantageous traits of each contributing group. This solution, I argue, contributes to the project of GDR nation-building by offering young readers an opportunity for engagement with this imagined utopic nation and the descendents of the real humans who inspired the narrative.

The Author: Resistance, Activism, and Inspiration

Elisabeth Charlotte Henrich was born in Munich in 1901. Welskopf-Henrich's education in Germany was strikingly dissimilar from those attendees of the Indian Boarding Schools. She studied economy, history, and philosophy, and obtained her Ph.D. in economics in 1925.[191] Welskopf-Henrich did not make immediate professional use of her degree, working instead in a department store. From 1928 until 1945—dates which correspond with the US stock market crash, Hitler's rise to power, and the Second World War—she worked at the Statistischen Reichsamt and was active in the antifascist resistance. As part of the resistance, Welskopf-Henrich "…delivered clandestine food packages to Jews and French POWs, assisted prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp who were brought into Berlin as laborers in 1943, and helped…the confirmed communist [and her future husband] Rudolf Welskopf…escape in 1944 after ten years in captivity." [192] She hid Welskopf for the duration of the war and helped him produce and distribute flyers encouraging soldiers to surrender and embrace the Red Army instead of continuing to fight. In 1945, Welskopf-Henrich began work for the Charlottenburg mayor as personal secretary and head of his statistics department and translation office. Through her involvement in the antifascist resistance during the Second World War to her involvement in the SED in the newly formed GDR and her awards for service to her country, it is clear that Welskopf-Henrich believed in fighting fascism and repression and supported the ideals of a

[191] Rüdiger Steinlein, Heidi Strobel, and Thomas Kramer, *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. SBZDDR von 1945 bis 1990* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2006), 1306. And H. Glenn Penny, "Red Power: Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich and Indian Activist Networks in East and West Germany," *Central European History* 41.3 (2008): 447-76, 447. See also Erik Lorenz, Rudolf Welskopf, and Isolde Stark, *Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich und die Indianer: Eine Biographie* (Chemnitz: Palisander, 2009). Lorenz' book is written in accessible German, which is not surprising since this publishing house publishes almost exclusively juvenile books. Lorenz, in addition to offering biographical information, walks juvenile readers through a (left leaning) interpretation of Welskopf-Henrich's texts.

[192] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 448.

socialist state. At the same time, she did not blindly follow party policies and the GDR mired almost as often as it promoted her scholarly work.[193]

She did not give up her activism with the end of fascism; throughout her life, Welskopf-Henrich worked with the question of what it meant to be German in the face of government policies and restrictions that she did not necessarily agree with. In 1949, after the end of the Second World War, she was able to return to the university as a research assistant (Aspirantin). The political shift in the aftermath of World War II afforded her the opportunity to publish the first version of *Die Söhne der großen Bärin*. Originally conceived before the 1930s, completed in 1940, and published in the GDR in 1951, the original text titled *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* was ultimately reworked into the fifth and sixth volumes of her first series of the same name.[194] From 1952 to 1960, Welskopf-Henrich worked as lecturer at a university (Dozentin). In 1958, Welskopf-Henrich was awarded the bronze Vaterländischer Verdienstorden[195] and in 1960, she became the first female professor of ancient history (Alte Geschichte) at the Humbolt University in Berlin.[196] In 1961, she received the silver Vaterländischer Verdienstorden.[197]

In addition to the juvenile Bildungsromane "Die Söhne der großen Bärin" and "Das Blut des Adlers," Welskopf-Henrich contributed during this period to *Weltall, Erde, Mensch*, a collected reference edition about the development of nature and society that was under almost constant revision in the GDR.[198] This book was a customary gift for participants in the

[193] Ibid., 447-76, 451.
[194] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 453-454.
[195] Order of Merit for the Fatheland; awarded for special services to the state and to society in the GDR.
[196] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 188.
[197] See note 187.
[198] Steinlein, Strobel, and Kramer, 1306.

Jugendweihe until 1974, and thus a copy was owned by almost every family.[199] And, like May with his *Winnetou* series, Welskopf-Henrich reworked her first version of the *Söhne der großen Bärin* to become part of a larger series. (This larger series, consisting of 6 volumes, contains the following titles: *Harka* published in 1962, *Der Weg in die Verbannung* published in 1962, *Die Höhle in den schwarzen Bergen* published in 1963, *Heimkehr zu den Dakota* published in 1963, and *Der junge Häuptling* and *Über den Missouri* reworked from the 1951 publication titled *Die Söhne der großen Bärin*.)

However, unlike May's reworking of his Winnetou series, Welskopf-Henrich's original text, *Die Söhne der großen Bärin*, was quickly recognized as an important juvenile literary work; it was awarded the prize for youth literature in the GDR, sold more than one million copies internationally, was rated by UNESCO as one of the best children's books in the world in 1963, served as the basis of DEFA's first *Indianer* Film in 1966, and received the Friedrich-Gerstäcker prize for children's literature in West Germany in 1968.[200] *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* novel was already licenced for printing in the BRD and Austria in the 1950's,[201] and the book series has been translated into several languages, including Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Polish, Romanian, Czech, Lithuanian, Russian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Slovak; although the book has not been translated into English, an English-language version of the film is available.[202]

Welskopf-Henrich herself directly encouraged readers to make a distinction between the romanticized, imagined germanified Indianer and the modern American Indians with her second

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[199] Ibid. The Jugendweihe was a secular, socialist coming-of-age ceremony practiced in the GDR.
[200] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 454. and Birgel, 12-13.
[201] Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 190-191.
[202] Muller, 10.

series, *The Blood of the Eagle*, which was first published in 1966.[203] In this series, Welskof-Henrich uses her juvenile fiction platform to inform readers about contemporary American Indian affairs, including the growing American Indian Movement, the Native American Church,[204] and descriptions of the brutal events on the Pine Ridge Reservation preceeding the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, as well as the more mundane conditions of life on a contemporary reservation.[205] Although no specific clans, tribes or reservations are named in this series, the words used are Lakota, and the reservation borders on the Badlands. It is a common assumption that Weskopf-Henrich based her characters and plots on people and situations she herself encountered while visiting several reservations in the United States and Canada. Whether or not this assumption is true, the series reads as if Welskopf-Henrich wanted her readers to assume that this narrative could take place in a multitude of times and locations, while giving enough detail so that they could connect the tribal history featured in the *Sons of the Great Bear* with the contemporary situation described in *Blood of the Eagle*. The situations described on the

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[203] *Das Blut des Adlers*

[204] The Native American Church refers to a Pan-Indian religion based on the consumption of Peyote founded at the end of the 19th century. For more information on the Native American church, see: David H. Getches, Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, *Cases and Materials On Federal Indian Law,* 5th ed. (St. Paul, MN: Thomson/West, 2005), 779-781. and Phillip M. White, *Peyotism and the Native American Church: an Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000).

[205] The 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee by Oglala Lakota from the Pine Ridge Reservation and AIM members was the result of inequality on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The tribal chairman, Richard A. Wilson, allegedly steered the few employment opportunities to his friends and family, resulting in unusually high unemployment among the rest of the tribe. During the standoff, the occupying forces of Oglala Lakota and AIM members traded fire with the FBI and federal marshals for over three months. Two occupiers were killed and one U.S. Marshal was paralyzed as a result of the conflict. The occupation ended without further violence, however, the murder rate on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation for the three years following the occupation was 17.5 times the national average. For more information on the Occupation of Wounded Knee, see Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New Press: New York, 1996). and Akim D. Reinhardt, *Ruling Pine Ridge: Oglala Lakota Politics from the Ira to Wounded Knee* (Texas Tech University Press, 2007).

reservations are dire, but not hopeless, and illustrate the necessity for passive readers to become social activists. In this second series, Welskopf-Henrich uses her fictional characters to explore positive characteristics such as honesty, honor, and courage in contemporary crisis situations. In contrast, her first series, *The Sons of the Great Bear*, attempted to correct ethnographic assumptions based on Karl May's texts while at the same time underscoring the desirable and noble characteristics of the main character, Harka/Tokei-ihto.

The American Indian Movement was founded in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1968 to address issues of police brutality targeted at Indian suspects. AIM rapidly gained in popularity and began addressing issues of health and education, as well as adherence to treaties signed by the United States government. 1969 saw the beginning of a 19-month armed occupation of Alcatraz Island,[206] the launch of AIM's first radio broadcasts (Radio Free Alcatraz with reception in the San Francisco Bay Area), and the founding of the Indian Health Board of Minneapolis. In 1970, AIM members took over abandoned property at the Naval Air Station near Minneapolis, Minnesota, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' main office in Washington, D.C., and a dam that had been controlled by Northern States Power on the Lac Court Orieles Chippewa[207] reservation in Wisconsin. The first national AIM conference took place and the Legal Rights Center was also founded in this year.

[206] The federal prison on Alcatraz Island had been closed in 1962. AIM members, citing the Sioux Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which promised the return of surplus or abandoned federal property to the Indian tribes, traveled to Alcatraz on March 8, 1964, to reclaim this abandoned federal property. Smith & Warrior, 10.

[207] I use Chippewa here in the context of it being the federally recognized tribal name. Ojibwe is another term for this tribe, while Anishinabe is one of the names of the tribe used in the tribal language.

In 1972, the year in which Welskopf-Henrich was awarded the Nationalpreis der DDR,[208] two tribally operated schools were founded (Red School House and Heart of the Earth Survival School). This was also the year of the Trail of Broken Treaties march on Washington, DC, which ended in the occupation of BIA headquarters. AIM's armed occupations culminated in a 71-day occupation of the Wounded Knee settlement on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1973. AIM's successful legal action in that same year forced the federal government to restore grants to three tribally operated schools, which had been cancelled in the aftermath of the Trail of Broken Treaties. In 1974, eight months of federal trials in Minneapolis resulted in the dismissal of all charges related to the Wounded Knee 1973 occupation due to federal government misconduct. The International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) was formed to represent Indian people in the Western Hemisphere in front of the United Nations. AIM leaders Dennis Banks, whose charges had been dismissed in the Wounded Knee trials, and Vernon Bellecourt, who was one of the AIM founders of 1968, visited with Liselotte Welskopf-Henirch at her East Berlin home in 1975.

Even with her immense success as an author in the GDR and her position as a leading scholar in the field of ancient civilizations at the Humboldt University in East Berlin, Welskopf-Henrich maintained her convictions regarding the important activist role individuals must take when faced with injustice, regardless of its origin. During the Second World War she was a social activist in the anti-fascist resistance movement and later, through her position as professor at the Humboldt University, she worked to insure the ability of her colleagues to travel outside of the GDR and conduct research on topics that were undesirable to the SED.[209] Additionally,

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[208] The National Prize of the GDR: given in three classes for scientific, artistic, and other meritorious achievement.

[209] Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (The Socialist Unity Party of Germany)

through her role as author, she continued her activist role and took the opportunity to raise awareness for the struggles of contemporary American Indians. Welskopf-Henrich melded her roles of social activist, scholar, and author though her support of the American Indian Movement and North American tribally operated schools. She invited and hosted the AIM activists Dennis Banks (Leech Lake Anishinabe), Vernon Bellecourt (White Earth Anishinabe), Russell Means (Pine Ridge Oglala), Clyde Bellecourt (White Earth Anishinabe), and Chris Spotted Eagle (Houma[210]) in Berlin and was able to visit reservations, tribally operated schools, and AIM occupied areas, such as Alcatraz and Wounded Knee, during travel through the United States made possible by her scholarly endeavors.[211] Because of Welskopf-Henrich's outspoken support of AIM, during one of her American tours, she was arrested and jailed on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota and interrogated by the FBI.[212]

Welskopf-Henrich was well respected in East Germany as a fictional author and scholar, as well as being a respected authority on issues concerning American Indians, as is demonstrated by her audience's investment in contemporary American Indian issues and organizations. Under

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[210] The state recognized Houma Tribe, located in the south Louisiana Bayou, petitioned for federal recognition with the Bureau of Indian Affairs over 20 years ago and is still awaiting a response.

[211] The American Indian Movement (AIM) came into existence in Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1968 in answer to extensive police brutality. AIM has been involved in supporting native rights and interests worldwide since then. Some of the most notorious AIM activities include the 19 month occupation of Alcatraz Island, the founding of the Indian Health Board of Minneapolis and several tribally operated K-12 schools, the 1970 take-over of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, the establishment of an International Indian Treaty Council within the United Nations, and establishing the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and Media.
("A Brief History of the American Indian Movement," American Indian Movement, accessed January 12, 2011, http://www.aimovement.org/ggc/history.html.)
See also Smith & Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* and Dennis Banks and Richard Erdoes, *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

[212] Penny, *Red Power*, 447-76, 461.

the encouragement of Welskopf-Henrich, they ceased being passive readers and transitioned to being social activists. Many of her readers in East Germany began to send signed petitions and letters of support to American Indian Reservations and tribally operated K-12 schools in the United States. So many East Germans signed petitions and penned letters of support that, in 1974, Welskopf-Henrich proudly declared that East Germans had sent more signed petitions and letters of support to American Indian activists than the rest of Europe combined.[213]

Her audience did not stop their activist role with letters of support and petitions; they went one step further and also supported AIM materially through carefully constructed care packets.[214] It would, however, be naive to claim that readers became socially active in terms of the AIM movement for purely selfless reasons. Support of AIM provided East Germans the opportunity to connect with the inspiration for their own cultural heroes, the germanified Indianer. Sending care packages to contemporary American Indians and reservations offered another conduit for this connection. As noted by H. Glenn Penny, "[a] closer analysis of the ways in which these packages were organized and delivered to the United States … demonstrates that the individuals involved in sending these packages regarded them as a new way to serve an old desire—connect to American Indians…"[215]

However, these care packets were not meant for the gemanified Indianer inhabiting the imagination of the German nation; the modern content of these care packets indicated that the

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[213] Welskopf-Henrich to Frau Fenner, 11. Nov. 1974, in WN,LB (Folder 188). Cited in Penny, *Elusive Authenticity*, 812.

[214] In the introduction to the museum catalog accompanying an exhibition of Native American Art by the Ethnological Museum in Berlin in 1999, Peter Bolz notes that German support for AIM was not surprising, as it played into the German stereotype of Indianer as resistance fighters. Peter Bolz, "“Indians and Germans: A Relationship Riddled with Cliche´s," *Native American art: the collections of the Ethnological Museum Berlin*, ed. Peter Bolz, Hans-Ulrich Sanner, and Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 9-22.

[215] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 451-452, 458.

Germans who sent the care packets had at least a cursory understanding of modern life lead by contemporary natives living in poor conditions in city centers and reservations.[216] While the imagined Indianer wore headdresses, lived in tipis next to totem poles, rode horses, hunted for game, and fought the encroachment of the white settlers, the care packets were constructed to fulfill the needs of a contemporary minority group and to help amass supplies needed in their schools. This illustrates well an important dichotomy. On one hand, there is a comprehension of the plight of modern American Indians and a strong desire to improve their situation. On the other hand, there is the continued construction and maintenance of a German cultural hero, the germanified Indianer. These two—the germanified Indianer and the American Indian recipients of care packets—are not the same, they are not two sides of the same coin, and should be studied individually. While it is true that the imagined German Indianer was inspired by the ancestors of the care-packet recipients, a lack of knowledge and understanding about the differences between the two should not be assumed.

From her work in the antifacist resistance to her support of scholarly freedom in the GDR and the American Indian Movement, Welskopf-Henrich remained an activist of justice throughout her life. In 1979, she was awarded the Nationalpreis der DDR.[217] In this year in the United States, AIM was able to prevent the US Department of Housing and Urban Development

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[216] This support of AIM was, I imagine, tolerated (if not encouraged) by the GDR because support of AIM corresponded well with a socialist political ideology and allowed engagement in a human rights issue outside of the GDR. The GDR did not ban participation in the AIM movement through letters of support and care packages, which suggests at least a tolerant disinterest in these particular actions. Since the GDR controlled (and often opened and searched) letters and packages going into and out of its boarders, it would have had ample opportunity to confiscate items it did not desire to be delivered to AIM. See David Childs, *Honecker's Germany Moscow's German Ally* (Routledge, 2014). And Pawel Goral, *Cold war rivalry and the perception of the American West*. 2014.

[217] Steinlein, Strobel, and Kramer, 1306.

(HUD) from forclosing on the Little Earth of United Tribes Housing Project through litigation. Welskopf-Henrich died in June of 1979 in Garmisch-Partenkirchen at the age of 78.

As an author, Welskopf-Henrich was a revisionist; although her texts about American Indians focus on a Sioux tribe in a predictable Plains locale, her goal was to combine the attractive qualities of a Western adventure novel "…with historical and ethnological instruction and a pointed exploration into the actions and character of people faced with crisis situations."[218] Additionally, the utopic conclusion of her first series, which involves the creation of a new band composed of members of previously warring tribes, farmers and frontiersmen, allows for imaginings of a new nation which exists outside of the bounds of prior national, racial, and ethnic identities. The timing of her publication—offering youth an alternative to the banned texts by Karl May—effectively insured the initial popularity of her texts. While this initial popularity alone could be dismissed as a short-lived over-consumption of available youth adventure texts in a fledgling socialist state, the continued popularity of her series and its continued publication requires further attention.

Brief History of the Sioux

Lakota is a native term for the language and people called the "Western Sioux." The Lakota are the largest of the seven fireplaces (or branches) of Oceti Sakowin. The Oceti Sakowin migrated from their native home in the southeast of what is now the United States to Minnesota, near Mille Lacs around 1000 A.D. During the mid-eighteenth century, the Lakota migrated further west to the Great Plains (currently known as South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Nebraska) in pursuit of buffalo. The Black Hills had been discovered and established as their spiritual center by the end of the eighteenth century. Originally, the Oceti Sakowin was made up

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[218] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 456. See also Welskopf-Henrich, "Zum Karl May Problem."

of seven nations who spoke three mutually intelligible dialects of Siouan. The term Sioux itself is a derogatory term resulting from a French corruption of the Algonquin "Nadowesiuh" (snakes or adders) which was used by the Anishinabe (federally known as Chippewa), who took over land in Minnesota that had previously been under Lakota control, to describe their enemies.[219]

The Lakota, the seventh fireplace of the Oceti Sakowin, further subdivided between the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries into seven tribes: Oglala (They Scatter Their Own), Sicangu (Burned Thighs aka. Brule), Hunkpapa (End Village), Mnikowoju (Plant Beside the Stream), Itazipco (No Bows aka. Sans Arcs), Oohenunpa (Two Kettles), and Sihasapa (Black Feet). Before removal and restriction to reservations, the Lakota were Plains Indians; they lived in tipis, hunted buffalo, and were fully mobile on horseback.

The Lakota are best known in mainstream America for the Red Cloud Wars of the 1860s, which was the only war any American Indian tribe won against the United States government. The result of the Red Cloud War was the Great Sioux Reservation, which occupied approximately half the state of South Dakota. Upon the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in the early 1870s, however, the US army offered protection to the white gold miners whose presence in the Black Hills violated the treaty. In 1876, Custer and the Seventh Cavalry were dispatched to find Teton and other "hostiles" hunting buffalo off-reservation. The encounter resulted in Custer's and his troops' defeat by Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Rain in the Face, and Gall. Following this battle the Lakota dispersed and some migrated to Canada.[220] The United States "purchased" the Black Hills from the Lakota later in 1876, but did not obtain the required

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[219] It is interesting to note that most English tribe names are actually derogatory names used by enemies of the tribe being named. Perhaps because the Europeans who first came into contact with the tribe had first gotten information about the tribe's name and location from members of a neighboring/different/enemy tribe.

[220] This migration to Canada may have served as the inspiration for the migration of Welskopf-Henrich's heroes to Canada at the end of the *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* series.

number of Lakota signatures, which has resulted in ongoing Lakota litigation contesting the sale of the holy land. Some Lakota reside on the Standing Buffalo Reserve in Saskatchewan, where they fled after the battle against Custer.[221] 1888 – 1890 saw the rise of the Ghost Dance under the influence of the medicine men Short Bull and Kicking Bear. The Ghost Dance religious movement "ended" in 1890 with the massacre at Wounded Knee.

In 1887, the Dawes Act allowed for the removal of "excess" land from the Great Sioux Reservation and bands were forcibly settled on smaller reservations. This act, also known as the General Allotment Act, authorized the survey and division of reservation land into individual allotments.[222] While the goal of the Dawes Act was assimilation, the result was the loss of "excess" reservation land through sale on the open market and the "patchwork" land holdings of reservations today. The Dawes Act remained in effect until 1934—the same year Hitler gained full dictatorial power in Germany—when the Indian Reorganization Act reversed the privatization of individual land holdings and returned remaining land to local self-government.[223]

Indian Boarding Schools were another prominent feature of the policy of assimilation in the United States. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School, founded in 1879, served as a model for Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) founded Indian boarding schools throughout the United States.[224] The primary goal of such boarding schools was to achieve assimilation of Indian children by separating them from their families, languages, and cultural roots. Upon arrival at boarding schools, often located far from their own reservations, children were given uniforms, haircuts, and English names. They were expected to attend church services, encouraged to convert to Christianity, and forbidden to speak in their own languages. A militaristic schedule and corporal

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[221] *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, 299.
[222] Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams, 142-190.
[223] Ibid., 191-203.
[224] Ibid., 184-185.

punishment was the norm.[225] Despite the recommendations of the Meriam Report of 1928, which highlighted myriad issues with boarding schools and recommended establishing educational opportunities for Indian children close to home which would prepare them equally for life in their own communities and American society, boarding school enrollments continued to increase dramatically until the 1970s.

The settlement of Wounded Knee (located on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota) was the location of a 71-day standoff between Pine Ridge activists (the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization - OSCRO), American Indian Movement (AIM) members, and the United States government in 1973.[226] The conclusion of Wounded Knee II marked a shift in American Indian Movement action from armed occupation to political activism.

A Return to Ethnographic Accuracy

As discussed in Chapter 1, Karl May was one of the major contributers to the creation of the germanified Indianer in German language literature. His penchant for reimagining his own and his literary figures' identities to better suit his own needs resulted in a division of the germanified Indianer from the constraints of historical, ethnographic reality and informed expectation. Hence, through May, the germanified Indianer was free to be manipulated at the author's whim; the figure, thus freed from ethnographic reality, could be molded to best serve the purposes of the author. The germanified Indianer, no longer tied to the cultural conventions of any tribe, is free to embody any idealized traits. Even traits that echo those traits that Tacitus

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[225] Many first-hand accounts of childhood experiences in Boarding Schools are in existance. For one such account, see Jim Northrup, *The Rez Road Follies: Canoes, Casinos, Computers, and Birch Bark Baskets* (New York: Kodansha International, 1997), 4-9. and Kenneth R. Philp, *Indian Self-rule: First-hand Accounts of Indian-white Relations From Roosevelt to Reagan* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1995), 24, 40, 43, 66, and 180.
[226] For more information on the Occupation of Wounded Knee, see Smith and Warrior *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* and Reinhardt, *Ruling Pine Ridge: Oglala Lakota Politics from the Ira to Wounded Knee*.

identified as hallmarks of the Germanic tribes: aboriginal, lightly clad warriors with strong family ties, especially hospitable hosts, prizing honor above all else.[227] This freeing of the germanified Indianer from an American identity, and an association with a Germanic one, allowed authors such as Welskopf-Henrich to tap into the familiar Indianer archetype while devoting renewed attention to ethnographic accuracy to forge a new literary hero for the fledgling GDR.

Welskopf-Henrich began publishing texts about American Indians shortly after the end of the Second World War, an especially opportune time for a new author of narratives about Indianer to make a name for herself. During the Allies' occupation of Germany after the Second World War, many books that had been popular during the Nazi period were banned, Karl May's works among them. Labeling May as a "chauvinist" and citing inaccurate depictions of the American Indian people, the East German government enacted a ban on all Karl May works, which lasted 30 years.[228] Welskopf-Henrich herself noted several issues with May's ethnographic depictions at a young age, including that May's hero Winnetou seemed too subservient.[229] The banning of Karl May resulted in the literary loss of a surrogate German national hero: the Indianer. It should be no surprise, then, that GDR and GDR-sympathetic

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[227] Tacitus, 709-732.
[228] Frederic Morton, "Tales of the Grand Teutons: Karl May Among the Indianer," *The New York Times* (January 4, 1987): http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B0DE4DD173CF937A35752C0A961948260&sec=&spon, accessed 11. Nov, 2010. "…the SED declared his [May's] work too bourgeois, imperialistic, kitschy, and too focused on "unrealistic" supermen to be published or sold in the GDR." The books were not completely forbidden, but were removed from libraries and schools. Their publication was strongly discouraged and their importation from the west and east forbidden. Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 452. See also Christian Heermann, „Old Shatterhand ritt nicht im Auftrag der Arbeiterklasse," (Dessau: Anhaltische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995).
[229] Welskopf-Henrich. "Zum Karl May Problem," (No Date) in: *Nachlass* at the Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Folder 15, as cited in Penny, „Red Power," 447-76, 455.

authors stepped in to fill the void in youth literature left by the banning of May's texts. These new texts, featuring American Indian heroes, became a surrogate for Karl May's texts. The Indianer heroes in these texts, one could say, became surrogates for the surrogate national hero of May's texts and an integral component in the re-imaging of a socialist nation outside of a national, racial, or ethnic identity.

May's texts were written primarily for a juvenile audience and so, however unintentionally, helped shape the childhood understanding of not only what life in the Americas was like, but also what it meant to be an adult. Recognizing the potential pedagogical power of children's literature, GDR-sympathetic authors used children's texts as pedagogical tools, instructing children about the positive aspects of socialism and the evils of the West and its capitalism. Additionally, authors such as Anna Müller-Tannovitz and Lisolotte Welskopf-Henrich counteracted the wild imaginings of May's texts by incorporating detailed tribal history and specific ethnographic information in their works. Thus, their texts served a dual instructional purpose; they informed children about the superiority of their own socialist system and warned of the evils of capitalism, while also teaching children about another culture in very specific detail.

The Indianer in these new works are not the static, ubiquitous "Indianer" of Karl May (and later Janosch), whose only tribal distinctions are externally imposed by the interpretations of the white settlers and frontiersmen. These Indianer are ethnographically researched by the authors and presented as members of a specific, autonomous tribe. The new German literary Indianer hero lost none of the advantages of being freed from the constrains of reality and informed expectation with the renewed ethnographic ties, because that figure, already a modern, albeit culturally dissimilar, embodiment of the noble, warrior of *Germania* and courtly medieval

epics, continued to exist in the imaginations of the newly formed nation's citizens. Already aware of the problematically inaccurate depictions of Indianer by May, authors could correct and amend the ethnographically and historically specific details without destroying the germanified Indianer itself or its comfortingly familiar cultural ties.

Welskopf-Henrich, unlike many of her peers, gathered her ethnographic information about the Sioux represented in her texts through close work with ethnographers as well as first hand experiences. In a letter to Ann Rourke in 1975, Welskopf-Henrich cites her travel to North America in 1963, 1965, 1968, and 1970. While in America and Canada, she visited the Oglala, Blackfeet, Tshimshian, Bella-Coola, Navajo, Hopi, Creek, Cherokee, Seminoles, Miccosuki, and Mohawk tribes (among others) and visited some newly created, American Indian-run K-12 schools.[230] Welskopf-Henrich subscribed to American Indian newspapers, sent care packages to tribally operated K-12 schools, tribes, and individuals, and monetarily supported the American Indian Movement and the International Indian Treaty Council and helped fund the defenses of several imprisoned American Indians in the United States.[231]

Scholarship on Harka series

Scholarship on Welskopf-Henrich's works in general and the *Söhne der großen Bärin* series specifically was, until quite recently, nonexistent. The 1995 dissertation *A Cultural Study of the Sioux Novels of Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich* by Elsa Christina Müller opened the academic

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[230] LLWH to Rourke at the Akwesasne Library in Hogansburg New York, March 17, 1975, in *Nachlass* at the Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Folder 179. Cited in Penny, *Red Power*, 453. Survival Schools were conceptualized in the 1960s in order to preserve and pass on the language, culture and customs of specific tribes by employing tribal members and tribally hired teachers teach in the schools. Since tribal languages and histories were passed on through oral tradition, boarding schools—which prohibited any language other than English and any religion other than Christianity—had for over 100 years been an effective, government supported method of assimilation. The last boarding schools were closed in the 1990s, by which point generations had lost their tribal language.

[231] Penny, *Red Power,* 460-461.

discourse on these novels. In this groundbreaking dissertation, Müller traces Welskopf-Henrich's development from unthinking Eurocentric Marxist to (still Eurocentric) Indigenist. Müller uses representations of the figure of the Sacred Clown (in Lakota culture, the Heyoka) to trace Welskop-Henrich's journey from appropriation to approximation of the Heyoka. She concludes, "Welskopf stopped speaking for the Other; her final literary works became places where Others could and did speak for themselves."[232]

The first book published about the author and her series followed several years later. Written by Uli Otto and Till Otto, *Auf den Spuren der Söhne der großen Bärin: Untersuchung zum historischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Jugendbücher "Die Söhne der großen Bärin" von Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich* was published as part of Kern Verlag's "Auf den Spuren von…" series in 2001. As stated on their website, the "Auf den Spuren von…" series is intended to act as a type of handbook for parents and teachers who wish to discuss these texts with their children and students.[233] This book is divided into roughly three sections; a brief section containing information about the author, a longer section summarizing the books in the series and their main characters, and a lengthy section describing the histories and cultures of the tribes appearing in her texts. As such, the majority of the book is dedicated to the authenticity debate; that is, to describing the ethnographic details of the tribes alongside the depictions in the texts. However, the stated purpose of the book itself cannot be forgotten; the book was written to serve as a resource for parents and teachers. Otto and Otto's book provides parents and educators with information that can be useful when employing Welskopf-Henrich's series as a spring board

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[232] Muller, 522.
[233] "Dr. Uli Otto[ʻs] Spuren-Bücher sind Handreichungen für Eltern und Lehrer, die sich mit Ihren Kindern über diese Literatur eingehender unterhalten möchten. Darüber hinaus sind es detailreiche und ebenso liebevoll recherchierte Texte, die in das Leben der Autoren eintauchen, und auch die Hintergründe ihrer Geschichten beleuchten." accessed March 23, 2011, http://www.kernverlag.de/spuren.asp.

into a history lesson about the individual tribes, which, interestingly ends with the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee by AIM members. The book does not, nor does it seem to intend to, deal with questions of textual interpretation.

In 2002, on the 100th anniversary of her birth, scholarship on Welskopf-Henrich exploded, and while most of that scholarship was related to her work as a professor and scholar, some did center on her activities as an author. In 2005, the articles presented at the 2002 conference in Halle (Saale) on Welskopf-Henrich and the scholarship on ancient history in the GDR was published and made available for individuals who had not been able to attend the conference. Titled *Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf und die Alte Geschichte in der DDR: Beiträge der Konferenz vom 21. bis 23. November 2002 in Halle/Saale*, the articles deal mainly with Welskopf-Henrich's role as scholar and professor of ancient history at the Humboldt University in Berlin. However, Thomas Kramer does discuss both her juvenile fiction series in his contribution titled "'Die Söhne der großen Bärin" und "Das Blut des Adlers": Liselotte Welskopf-Henrichs Indianerbücher 1951-1980." Kramer discusses both series within the confines of the Adventure novel genre, but, this genre designation is not the most useful for understanding Welskopf-Henrich's texts. While it can be argued (and Kramer does argue[234]) that her works can be identified as Adventure novels because of the setting and the Indianer figures of her texts, a more appropriate genre classification for these texts, as discussed in the following section, is that of the Bildungsroman.

2006 saw the US release of Gottfried Kolditz' "Westerns with a Twist,"[235] a DVD collection of three DEFA Indianerfilme, as well as the publication of H. Glenn Penny's article:

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[234] Kramer, *Heldisches Geschehen*, 206.
[235] Gottfried Kolditz , et al, *Westerns with a twist,* (New York, NY: First-Run Features, 2006).

"Elusive Authenticity: The Quest for the Authentic Indian in German Public Culture."[236] The DVD release offered Americans their first glimpse into the East German film culture inspired by the figure of the Indianer, but by no means ensured that the East German Indianer film became a topic of American household conversation. Penny's article, however, offers more insight into the phenomenon of Indianerthusiasm in Germany. Penny, a professor of modern history, begins his article with a description of the authenticity debate in Germany and the never-ending cliché-busting that occupies much of the conversation surrounding the figure of the germanified Indianer. Considering scholarship and conversations surrounding Karl May, Welskopf-Henrich, and Müller-Tannowitz, as well as the hobbyists and recent documentaries that allow American Indians to speak for themselves, Penny argues: "[T]he remarkable thing about this cliché busting is not just that many scholars are engaged in it, or that there is anything necessarily wrong with it, but that few of the people engaged in it seem to realize that cliché busting in Germany is as old as the clichés."[237]

Penny follows up his 2006 article with a 2008 article focusing on Welskopf-Henrich and her activist role with the American Indian Movement (AIM).[238] Here, Penny introduces the East-German author to an English-speaking audience who may not be familiar with her work and goes on to document her participation in AIM, as well as her efforts to coordinate material and political support for the group in East Germany. Relying heavily on documents and letters archived in the "Welskopf File" at the Behörde des Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Stasi files), Penny traces Welskopf-Henrich's development as an author engaging in the authenticity debate

[236] Penny, *Elusive Authenticity*, 798-819.
[237] Penny, *Elusive Authenticity*, 798-819.
[238] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76.

to one who stepped back and allowed her subjects to speak for themselves. This echoes Müller's 1995 thesis and her interpretations of Welskopf-Henrich's approximation of the Heyoka.

2009 saw the publication of two more texts dealing with Welskopf-Henrich and her work: a Masters Thesis concerning German literary representations of ritual and religion among Native American tribes[239] and a children's biography of Welskopf-Henrich.[240] The biography of Welskopf-Henrich written for a juvenile audience contains accurate biographical information about the author as well as information about her childhood and her relationship with her mother. It continues with summaries of the plots of both juvenile book series, as well as interpretations and problematizations of those texts written in a conversational and accessible language for young readers.

In her thesis, Petra Watzke explores the appropriation of the American Indian into German literature through consideration of May's and Welskopf-Henrich's texts. Watzke interprets Welskopf-Henrich's *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* series as a socialist critique of May's texts and uses her discussion of representation of ritual to argue that not only do the Germans create imaginary Indians, but that the German perception of Indianness "…serves the purpose of reflecting on or criticizing 'Germanness' in certain ways in each individual author."[241] While I agree with Watzke that the Indianer are a purely German construct having nothing to do with actual American Indians and their tribes and that Germans can use their imaginary Indianer to reflect upon their own culture (much the same as Tacitus used descriptions of imaginary Germanic tribes to reflect and criticize the Roman Empire in his *Germania*), I take the argument

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[239] Petra Watzke, *"Howgh, ich habe gesprochen!" - German literary representations of Native American ritual and religion*, Masters Abstracts International. 48-01. Thesis (M.A.)--University of Colorado at Boulder, 2009.
[240] Erik Lorenz, Rudolf Welskopf, and Isolde Stark, *Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich und die Indianer: eine Biographie* (Chemnitz: Palisander, 2009).
[241] Watzke, 2.

one step further. The imaginary Indianer of juvenile German literature are created to be and used as pedagogical tools and surrogate national heroes. The scholarship on Welskopf-Henrich is as yet quite limited, and the comparative explosion in the last decade in books, articles, and theses published about her and her texts barely scratches the surface of important discussions that will ultimately lead to a greater understanding not only of her texts and her role in European support for AIM, but more importantly of the role of the germanified Indianer in German culture.

Bildungsroman as a Genre: Moving Beyond the Western Adventure Novel

Karl May, in his writings about the American Frontier, wrote short stories which were later rewritten or combined to form novel-length texts in the Western Adventure Novel genre. While it could be argued that Welskopf-Henrich followed May's lead and created surrogate texts of the same genre, closer interpretation of the content of the texts leads to a different conclusion. While the location and adventure of the *Söhne der großen Bärin* series lends itself well to the genre of the Western Adventure Novel, the character development and plot of the series point to a different genre: namely the Bildungsroman.

According to Wilhelm Dilthey, one of the first to define the genre of the Bildungsroman (in *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, published in 1906), Bildungsromane

> all portray a young man of their time: how he enters life in a happy state of naiveté seeking kindred souls, finds friendship and love, how he comes into conflict with the hard realities of the world, how he grows to maturity through diverse life-experiences, finds himself, and attains certainty about his purpose in the world.[242]

[242] Quoted in Martin Swales, "Irony and the Novel," In: *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, Edited by James Hardin (Columbia:University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 98. Dilthey was not the first to use the term *Bildungsroman*, although he is often credited with the definition of this genre. In fact, Karl Morgenstern used *Bildungsroman* as a genre title in 1819 in a lecture titled "Über das Wesen des Bildungsromans". Morgenstern was a professor of

On the surface, this definition seems straightforward and detailed enough to negate controversy. However, the genre of the Bildungsroman has long been problematic in literary analysis.

According to Susan Ashley Gohlman, "[T]here is virtually no agreement on either what constitutes a Bildungsroman or which novels belong to this tradition."[243] Thomas P. Saine concurs and adds, "[w]hat a Bildungsroman actually is…and how many of them there are in German literature or in world literature at large, are questions still under discussion and probably unsolvable."[244] The debate surrounding the Bildungsroman genre is not confined to the definition of the genre itself; there is also a debate regarding which literary epoch the Bildungsroman belongs to. Some argue that a novel can only be a Bildungsroman if it was written within a specific time frame.[245] While genres may develop in a particular epoch and may reach extreme popularity in a specific epoch, the argument that an author can only create a narrative of a particular genre during a particular period, and that authors who are born in latter periods cannot work within this genre is restrictive and ineffective. If a literary work contains the characteristics of a particular genre, banning the possibility that the work may belong to that particular genre due to its time of authorship diminishes meaningful conversations about the

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aesthetics at the University of Dorpat. (Tobias Boes, "On the Nature of the *Bildungsroman,*" *PMLA*. 124.2 2009, 647-648.)

[243] "The term *Bildungsroman* has long been one of the most problematic entries in the lexicon of Literary Studies." Boes, 647-648. [T]here is virtually no agreement on either what constitutes a Bildungsroman or which novels belong to this tradition." (Susan Ashley Gohlman, "Starting Over: The Task of the Protagonist in the Contemporary Bildungsroman," *Garland Studies in Comparative Literature* (New York: Garland, 1990), 228).

[244] "What a Bildungsroman actually is…and how many of them there are in German literature or in world literature at large, are questions still under discussion and probably unsolvable." Thomas P. Saine, "Was *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* Really Supposed to be a Bildungsroman?" In: *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, Edited by James Hardin, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1991), 119.

[245]Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (London: Verso, 1987), 228.

literary work itself. In addition, such restrictive definitions prohibit tools of interpretation that can help scholars formulate conversations about the narrative itself.

The defining characteristic of the Bildungsroman is a focus "…on the development of a young protagonist."[246] While it could be argued that several different novels written about young protagonists could be categorized as Bildungsromane, some certainly fit the genre better than others. Scholars who claim that the *Winnetou* series is a Bildungsroman focus on the development of the protagonist; in the case of *Winnetou*, perhaps this protagonist is Old Shatterhand. However, Old Shatterhand is not a youth, and a strict adherence to the definition of the Bildungsroman genre would seem to require a young person – not an adult – as the protagonist. Additionally, Old Shatterhand does not display enough significant personal development to warrant the categorization of Bildungsroman. Old Shatterhand's figure, while he does participate in certain aspects of the plot throughout the series, is largely an outsider and observer. He is not the one confronted with a difficult reality, and is therefore not greatly changed throughout the series.

Die Söhne der großen Bärin, in contrast, follows a young boy, Harka, through his teenage years and into his early adulthood. As such, this series – which revolves around the adolescence and early adulthood of its main protagonist – can and should be read as a Bildungsroman. Additionally, as a child maturing to adulthood outside of his clan and among white settlers who have a generally low opinion of Harka's own humanity, Harka is faced with a harsh reality that greatly impacts the man he becomes throughout the series. By the end of the series, Tokei-ihto (Harka's adult name) has identified his role and purpose in life as uniting his birth clan with his adopted tribe and leading both to a new, modern, stationary, and peaceful life away from their

[246] Boes, 647.

sacred hills. The content of the series *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* and the development of its main character from a youth to a young adult in the face of great adversity warrants the genre definition of Bildungsroman. In addition, the author's stated purpose, to explore "…the actions and character of people faced with crisis situations,"[247] conforms to Dilthy's definition of Bildungsroman. This definition, as problematic as it can be, is a useful interpretation tool for scholars and readers, as it sets certain expectations for the text itself and directs readers' attention to specific instances of adversity as well as how the main character overcomes that adversity. The question of how individuals overcome adversity and continue to develop as human beings is the question that the author herself claimed to be exploring in this series. Welskopf-Henrich utilized the length and style of the Bildungsroman as a central organizational tool not only for her *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* series, but also for her later series, *Blut des Adlers*. The genre of the Bildungsroman made for an easy justification for a narrative that spans the adolescence of her Lakota protagonist.

A closer look at Welskopf-Henrich's *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* series reveals a utopic solution to manifest destiny, namely an ethnically diverse society composed of the most advantageous traits of each contributing group. This solution contributes to the project of GDR nation-building by offering young readers an opportunity for engagement with this imagined utopic nation and the descendants of the real humans who inspired the narrative. This ethnically diverse, socialist society appears as a dream and then a promise at the conclusion of the final book in this series. The formation of this dream, this imagined society, is one that is dependent upon the childhood, adolescent, and young adult experiences of Tokei-ihto. As the sole member of his tribe who grows up outside of the protection and rules of the band, he is in the unique

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[247] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 456. See also Welskopf-Henrich, "Zum Karl May Problem."

position of having experienced the humanity of members of enemy tribes and commonalities in lifestyles between enemy tribes and his own band. Through his time working as a railroad scout and traveling and performing with the circus, Tokei-ihto is aware of the rules and mentality that govern white American society. He also develops an awareness of differences among individual Caucasian members of this American society. In addition to the imagined nation created at the conclusion to the series, there are several pedagogical themes that run through the texts. Consideration of these themes is the subject of the following pages.

Harka as a surrogate for Winnetou in East

As discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, after the surrender of the Third Reich at the end of Second World War, the allies took a close look at German literature and drama, censoring many works that could be considered pro-Nazi and encouraging the theatrical production of more traditional works and works created by authors who had been living in exile, such as Bertold Brecht. Karl May, one of the most popular authors of modern Germany, was one of Hitler's favorite authors.[248] It is no wonder, then, that his texts were among those under close consideration for censorship by the allies. In the Soviet Occupation Zone, and later the GDR, his works were categorically banned.

This ban was problematic for a German culture trying to reinvent itself after National Socialism in that May's main figure, Winnetou, had served as an unofficial surrogate national German hero, inhabiting the imaginations and childhood dreams of generations of children. Germany was first united as a modern nation-state in 1871, which was followed in 1918 by the establishment of the Weimar Republic and in 1933 with the Third Reich. The relative brief united history had not allowed for the creation of a German national hero, such as America's

[248] Grafton, 34.

George Washington, Paul Revere, or Abraham Lincoln (whose stories have all been fictionalized to serve the purposes of creating an ideal American national hero). May's 1878 publication of *Winnetou* occurred at the same time that Germany itself was trying to define itself as a nation, define what it meant to be a citizen of this nation, and establish some sort of national identity. Karl May was central and immensely influential in establishing a literary national identity and providing scores of adolescents and young adults a hero in the figure of Winnetou. His Winnetou character, as Katrin Sieg argues, allowed Germans to create a national identity outside of their own Germanness, which was even more critical after the Second World War than it had been previously.[249]

With the banning of Karl May's texts, occupied East Germany, a country that once again needed to redefine itself, was left without a national literary hero. The vacant space left by the loss of this national literary hero was quickly filled by authors such as Welskopf-Henrich and Anna Müller-Tannowitz, who provided juvenile fictional texts about Indianer that made it through the review process without being censored due to the ethnographic accuracy of their depictions of historical American Indian tribes. These texts' rather unfavorable view of western capitalism no doubt aided their acceptance and promotion by the new socialist government of the GDR.

Welskopf-Henrich's *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* series, originally conceived of before the end of the Third Reich, was intended to address inaccuracies the author herself found to be problematic in May's texts. After the banning of Karl May's texts, Welskopf-Henrich's series offered young readers the opportunity to re-connect with the memory of their absent hero through the figure of Harka/Tokei-ihto. Not only was Welskopf-Henrich's series more

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[249] Sieg, *Indian Impersonation*, 217f.

ethnographically accurate (which is not surprising for fictional texts written by a professor of ancient history), but they also promoted the Indianer figure Harka as an ideal child and youth, who, because of his character, would ultimately be instrumental in saving his people from a miserable existence on a barren reservation. At the end of the series, Tokei-ihto (Harka's adult name) is the leader who guides his clan from the repressive reservation environment to the safety of a new existence in Canada. It is his nomadic childhood experiences away from his tribe, growing up among the Sisikau and white settlers, that gave him an understanding for the type of change his clan needs to survive in a new, industrialized world. Tokei-ihto not only guides his tribe to physical safety in Canada, but helps his clan reinvent itself as a hybrid Lakota-Siksikau-white society, and is thus an ideal role model for children growing up in a time of a society's redefinition.

Harka is a young Oglala Sioux boy from the Bear Clan in Welskopf-Henrich's first series, *Die Söhne der großen Bärin*, which begins in the Black Hills region of the United States at the beginning of the Black Hills Gold Rush.[250] Harka, the son of Mattotaupa, the war chief (Kriegshäuptling), is a model child and a leader among the young boys of the clan. At the beginning of the series, the Bear Clan meets its first white man, Red Jim, who convinces Mattotaupa to consume alcohol for the first time. While drunk, Mattotaupa allegedly begins to tell Red Jim about a stash of gold, which results in Mattotaupa being banished by Sitting Bull. Harka, who firmly believes in his father's innocence, follows him into exile. Readers follow Harka's coming of age while existing in the difficult situation of living in self-imposed exile from his own clan. Throughout Harka's adolescence, he and his father Mattotaupa live on their

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[250] approximately 1874.

own in the wilderness, join a group of Siksikau (Blackfeet - traditional enemies of the Bear Clan), work for a circus, and work as scouts for the cross-continental railroad.

Harka's self-imposed exile ends with Mattotaupa's death at the hands of Red Jim (who, despite years of effort, still has not managed to pry the exact location of the gold stash from Mattotaupa or Harka). Harka elects to return to his clan (which has in the meantime been forced to live on a small, desolate reservation) where he assumes his adult name: Tokei-ihto. Dissatisfied with life on the reservation and corruption within the BIA[251] appointed tribal government headed by his childhood rival, Tokei-ihto decides to be the leader his father raised him to be. He joins forces with the remnants of the Siksikau clan he and his father stayed with years ago as well as a few honorable white men they met during their exile. Their joint goal is not only to guide the Bear Clan through a daring escape from the reservation and into Canada, a utopian land in which they will use their gold to purchase land, but to found a new tribe composed of members of the Bear Clan, Blackfeet Clan, and sympathetic, honorable white farmers and frontiersmen. Recognizing that members of all groups have something to contribute, the Bear Clan will, under Tokei-ihto's guidance, reinvent itself using the talents and knowledge of all members to ensure its survival in the dawn of the new era of sedentary farming.

Despite the fictionality of the figure, his hero status was equal to that of a national hero, a surrogate national hero in a country that lacked acceptable national forefathers and foremothers to fulfill that role. Not only did Harka/Tokei-ihto lend himself to be used as a national role model in times of great change and cultural redefinition, there is much evidence to support the idea that reading about Harka and identifying with him as a role model resulted in positive behavioral changes in the child readers themselves. In one letter to Welskopf-Henrich (as quoted in Glenn

[251] Bureau of Indian Affairs, an agency of the United States Government tasked, among other things, with maintaining order on reservations.

Penny's article "Red Power: Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich and Indian Activist Networks in East and West Germany") a mother notes:

> I no longer need to urge her to do her morning calisthenics regularly. [My daughter] was often hot-tempered, now she understands how to control herself. Before she lacked self-confidence. Now she is no longer afraid to read a poem in front of her classmates or to give a fitting reply to sassy youths. The girls value her opinion, and often ask for it during disagreements. A girl in her school told me, [she] is totally different now, and we all like her a lot. . . . She often gave up too quickly when facing difficulties, but now she has a hero to whom she wants to measure up. Thus you have greatly helped me, dear Frau Dr. Welskopf, in raising my daughter; and for that I remain grateful from the bottom of my heart.[252]

In the face of such letters, it is impossible to argue that Harka was *not* a role model for children.

While the assertion that this hero of East German children just happens to be an Indianer is conceivable, it is not probable. The Indianer role as an imaginary national hero had already been established by Karl May, whose texts also contributed to the creation of an imagined German colonial space. Welskopf-Henrich's texts filled the void in juvenile literature left by the banning of May's texts as well as provided a new, positive imagined national hero and role model. It is not circumstantial that, in times of great instability and redefinition of nation, the author relied on the established Indianer figure that, despite the censorship of Karl May's texts, was alive and well in Germany's imagined colonial space.

Geography of the series

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[252] Reader to Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich June 27, 1966, in ABBAW Nachlass, File 183. Cited in Penny, *Red Power*, 447-76, 457-458.

It is not only the replacement of a lost imagined national hero that made Welskopf-Henrich's series wildly popular. In the GDR, travel was greatly restricted; it was unusual for citizens of the GDR after 1961 to be issued visas allowing them to visit West Berlin or West Germany, much less the United States. Not only did low currency value make travel outside of the GDR and Eastern Block prohibitively expensive for most citizens, travel restrictions also prohibited most Eastern Germans from visiting the Americas and meeting the descendants of the inspiration for their imagined national heroes, the germanified Indianer. I have argued and I maintain that the America of German colonization was an imaginary one, and therefore the Indianer inhabiting this imagined space were also imagined. But that imagined colonial space with its imagined Indianer was based on early ethnographic accounts of actually-existing original inhabitants of the physically existing Americas. Therefore, despite a desire to see and experience the Americas firsthand, very few citizens of East Germany (and the Eastern Block) had the ability to travel to the Americas and see the physical inspiration for a national imagined colonial space.

Welskopf-Henrich's Bildungsroman *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* addressed this unobtainable yearning for America through the descriptions of Harka's travels. Already on page 5 of the first book in the series, readers are provided with a detailed environmental description. This allows readers to have a better comprehension of the space being imagined in this series and also offers them a detailed description of a country that they cannot visit themselves. This type of detailed description continues throughout the series as readers follow Harka's travels through the Dakota territory to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains where he and his father stay with a Siksikau tribe, through the country already settled by the whites during their work with the traveling circus, and through the Great Plains during their work as scouts with the railroad.

Through the eyes of the protagonist, Harka, East German readers are provided an opportunity to travel through the United States during the period of Westward Expansion. This allows them to make a connection between the physical place that inspired their imagined colonial space and their imagined colonial space itself. Not only can readers travel to the inspiration for their own imagined colonial space while reading Welskopf-Henrich's series, but they can also travel back through time and imagine themselves into the story as helpful heroes. It was therefore not only the necessity of replacing a lost national hero that made this series immediately popular; the promise of imagined travel to an otherwise restricted area during a past time also worked to strengthen reader interest in the series.

Human self, non-human other

In writing the *Söhne der großen Bärin* Bildungsroman series, Welskopf-Henrich provided "…a pointed exploration into the actions and character of people faced with crisis situations,"[253] but did not confine herself to that topic. A recurring theme throughout the entire series is the definition and redefinition of the self versus the definition and redefinition of the other. In the introduction to this project, I summarized the debate around the definitions of self and other as well as additions to these terms of postcolonial theory. Said looked at the necessity of a cultural other in defining and maintaining one's own culture, while Polaschegg elaborated on Said's definitions to include the categories of known and unknown others. According to Polaschegg, unknown others could become known others through exposure and understanding, but an other could never become a self.

With these theories in mind while reading the text, a parallel can be seen between descriptions of the self and known others (known as "human" in the text) and the unknown other

[253] Penny, *Red Power,* 447-76, 456. See also Welskopf-Henrich, "Zum Karl May Problem."

(non-human). Throughout each book in the series, as the protagonist encounters and gets to know various groups of others, they slowly become human (or accepted into the known-other group) through exposure and understanding, or are revealed as holding beliefs that are so far removed from Harka's that they cannot ever be known or understood. The latter results in these others being firmly pressed deep into the non-human, unknown/unknowable other category. This interplay exhibits Polaschegg's elaboration of the known other vs. the unknown other. The unknown others are not considered to be human; they are, in fact, unknowable due to the vast difference between their beliefs and values and those of Harka. Once Harka meets and spends time speaking with an other, the other is either accepted into the category of human/known other, or remains a non-human, unknown/unknowable other.

One of the first instances of exposure to an other who then is accepted as part of the human (known other) group in the Bildungsroman series is the introduction of Kraushaar, an African American boy who had escaped from slavery with his father.[254] Father and son were unable to make it to freedom and safety in the North, and so escaped into the prairie to avoid being captured. They were, however, captured by railroad surveyors who, despite belonging to the northern states, kept them as slaves. Father and son escaped once again, but the father was shot during the escape and turned to a Pani clan for help. However, since the Pani were allied with the railroad surveyors, they took the father captive in order to return him as a slave to their allies. The son avoided capture and requested assistance from the Bear Clan, who had just fought a battle against the same Pani clan. The Bear Clan came to the father's assistance and both father and son found refuge, and a new family, with the Bear Clan. After the death of his father, Kraushaar is adopted into the Bear Clan and trained as a hunter with the other boys of his age

[254] Welskopf-Henrich, *Harka*, Vol. 1, *Die Söhne der grossen Bärin* (Berlin: Altberliner Verlag, 1996), 95-128.

group. As an adult, Kraushaar is respected as a fellow hunter and therefore is human, or part of the Bear Clan. This early exploration of race foreshadows the coming utopic solution to manifest destiny and the future composition of a society that can exist outside the bounds of race and ethnicity. Race is not a determining factor in Kraushaar's humanity; rather it is his adoption into the tribe and his actions as a good hunter and honorable man that make him human.

The Siksikau have their own understanding of what is human and what is not, and their definition closely mirrors Harka's understanding of the definition of human at the beginning of the text. To the understanding of hunters belonging to the Siksikau group, Siksikau men are human; men of other tribes looked like humans but were not actually human. Harka and his father call this into question when they travel into Siksikau territory, meet, and live with a Siksikau group.[255] Exposure to the two Dakotas convinces the Siksikau men and boys that individual Dakotas can be human, because they can behave honorably as well as being good hunters and warriors. This resulted in the Siksikau expanding their schematic from self (human)/other (non-human) to self (human)/known other (human)/unknown other (non-human).

Harka's experience with the Siksikau and their mutual reassessment of each other as human is reproduced between Harka and select white men he encounters throughout the series. It is interesting to note that, unlike Karl May's depiction of frontiersmen as being positive, compassionate white characters and settlers as being negative, greedy, inhumane white characters, Welskopf-Henrich includes individual white people across several different categories as either positive or negative characters. Harka, who is at first excited to meet and

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[255] "Der Mann mit den Adlerfedern war etwas verwirrt. Die beiden Dakota, die er hier vor sich hatte, passten nicht in sein bisherriges Weltbild. Er war großgeworden in der Vrstellung, daß es Menschen gab, und zwar Silsikau. Außerdem gab es Dakota und Assiniboine, die zwar aussahen wie Menschen, aber Feinde, Kojoten, Feiglinge und Lügner waren, mit denen die wirklichen Menschen in ständigen Kamp lebten." Welskopf-Henrich, *Die Höhle in den Schwarzen Bergen*, Vol. 3, *Die Söhne der grossen Bärin*, (Berlin: Altberliner Verlag, 1996), 15.

learn about the whites through Red Jim in the first book, quickly comes to mistrust all whites.[256] During an encounter with a group of white men lost in the desert, Harka's mistrust is intensified when the healthy white men murder their injured companions instead of transporting them to safety.[257] Here Harka notes a large difference between the Bear Clan and the white men; members of the Bear Clan would have helped the weak and injured to safety, even if that meant that they themselves moved at a slower pace. Harka also notes that one white man, while he does nothing to prevent the murders, also does not engage in the murders with the rest of the group. Harka concludes that this white man, Tom, must be somehow different from the other white men because he refuses to murder his wounded companions. There are a few other white men who Harka also considers to be different. Two are the twins Thomas and Theo who are frontiersmen/trappers. The other is Adam Adamson, a farmer who had been raised to believe that agreements between white men and tribes would/must be honored by both sides.[258] As he grows into adulthood, it is the actions of these honorable few that allow Harka to see some individual white men as humans (known/knowable others) instead of monsters (unknown/unknowable others).

The position of women in the series as non-humans to the Bear Clan is firmly established, and thus introduces a new category into the self/known other/unknown other schematic. The idea that women or girls do not warrant the attention of the warriors is clear at the end of the first book in the series, when Harka puts on his sister's dress so that he, who is being watched so he does not follow his father into exile, is able to leave the tipi without drawing the attention or

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[256] Welskopf-Henrich, *Harka,* 257-295, and *Der Weg in die Verbannung,* Vol. 2, *Die Söhne der grossen Bärin*, (Berlin: Altberliner Verlag, 1996), 151.
[257] Welskopf-Henrich, *Verbannung,* 129-131.
[258] "Adams war von zu Hause gewohnt, daß man dem Wort eines freilebenden Indianers vollständig vertrauen konnte und daß man ihm auch selbst Wort hielt." Welskopf-Henrich, *Der junge Hauptling*, Vol. 5, *Die Söhne der grossen Bärin*, (Berlin: Altberliner Verlag, 1996), 133.

notice of the warriors assigned to guard against his potential escape.[259] This idea of women and girls being insignificant is carried into the second book in the series. Harka, who is adjusting to life at a traveling circus, is initially impressed by the riding abilities of a female performer. The performer uses a jumping board in order to mount her horse, and Harka wonders for a moment whether she was going to carry that springboard with her through the entire tour. However, he then dismissed his curiosity, thinking to himself, "But she was only a girl. Therefore, it was not worth it to continue to think about her."[260] In the third book, the narrator steps into the story to explain why women and girls are not considered to be human; "Women were not hunters, and therefore the hunters did not consider them to be complete human beings, no matter how useful they may otherwise be."[261] This explanation leads to an interesting definition in this text of what it means to be human. Since the text is told from the perspective of the young male protagonist, a self-proclaimed hunter/human, it is not problematic to assign the status of "self" to those described as being human. Human, it seems, is a definition used by the self to identify members of both the self and known other groups. Since women are not hunters, they do not belong to the "self" or "known other" groups of the hunters, and are therefore not identified as human.

However, the women do live with their human/hunter families, and so are, from the perspective of our protagonist, known and knowable. This not-human-known-other is a different status from that assigned to other groups of hunters and male white settlers. Women, from the perspective of the protagonist in this text, do not fit into the strict self/known other/unknown others categories of Polaschegg's definition. The women and girls of this text inhabit their own,

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[259] Welskopf-Henrich, *Harka*, 297.
[260] "Aber sie war ja auch nur ein Mädchen. Es lohnte sich daher nicht, weiter über sie nachzudenken." Welskopf-Henrich, *Verbannung*, 169.
[261] "Frauen waren keine Jäger, und darum zählten sie bei den Jägern nicht als volle Menschen, so nützlich sie auch sonst sein möchten." Welskopf-Henrich, *Schwarze Bergen,* 133.

additional category that, in the terms understood by the protagonist, could be best defined as non-human-known-other, but can be better understood as non-hunter-known-other. In understanding the self/other schematic for this text, instead of trying to define a category for the women within the categories for the men, it is beneficial to first break characters into categories of hunter and non-hunter. Once this has been completed, the women of the protagonists clan would certainly inhabit the non-hunter self category. Women belonging to other groups could then be divided into known others and unknown/unknowable others, much like the men belonging to the hunter group. However, as previously discussed, women were not considered to be important from the perspective of the text's protagonist, and therefore there is little opportunity for him, and thus for readers, to get to know female characters in the text.

There is one notable exception to this rule in the character of Cate, a young girl who watches the circus performance before the Minnesota Dakota escape to Canada. Cate's grandmother's farm was burned in the Minnesota Sioux (Dakota) Uprising, and because of this, her father lost all of his inheritance and wealth. One might expect that she would echo the deep hatred for the Dakota that her father and aunt express. However, unlike her guardians, she immediately recognizes the humanity of the child Harka and asks her father to step in so that Harka is not punished after truthfully answering the question of whether or not he is actually Sitting Bull's son.[262] In Cate's eyes, the evil individual is not a Dakota, but rather a white man who wished to beat a child: "The evil man wants to punish the Indian-boy because he told us the

[262] The circus director expects that Harka will lie to the public, and tell them that he is the son of Sitting Bull, because that will increase the circus' profit. When Harka refuses to lie and instead tells the truth, the director decides to have him punished, which does not make sense to Cate, who has been taught that children must never lie.

truth, that he is not Sitting Bull's son."[263] For Cate, it is not race that defines good (self or known other) and evil (unknowable other), but rather the actions of an individual. She clearly identifies with the plight of a child more than with the position of her own father. However, white adults, especially males, do not share Cate's ability to sympathize with the Indianer in this text. Indianer (as a group) are unknown others to the white men, and they cannot become known others, nor human.[264] Cate's father, among others, is convinced that the Indianer are not human, and assures his daughter that the Indianer do not feel pain and emotion the way that white people do.[265]

But already in the second book, it is clear that this point of view is not maintained by all white men. Bill, possibly the previous owner of Kraushaar and his father, whom Harka and his father discover wandering in the desert of the American southwest, states: "Vielleicht stammt ihr Roten gar nicht von Adam ab."[266] Bill's comment here is informed by a belief that Adam was the first man who was created by God and from whom all of humanity is descended. If the Indianer are not descendents of Adam, then they cannot be human. However, the placement of "vielleicht" (maybe/perhaps) here is of importance. Bill is not sure that the Indianer are not humans; there is a possibility that they are humans, and therefore capable of becoming known others. However, his current situation, namely being lost in the desert, concerns him more than the possible humanity of Indianer.

Different groups of characters in the series define humanity in different ways: some are positive that both known and unknown others are not human and cannot become human, other characters are willing to contemplate the possible humanity of known others, while still others

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[263] "Der böse Mann will den Indianerjungen bestraffen, weil e runs die Wahrheit gesagt hat, daß er nämlich nicht Sitting Bulls Sohn ist." Welskopf-Henrich, *Verbannung,* 257.
[264] Ibid., 17.
[265] Ibid., 257.
[266] "Perhaps you reds aren't decendents of Adam at all. " Ibid., 124.

are constantly meeting, getting to know, and admitting others into the known other group, thus rendering human former members of the not-human group. The identification of members of a different group as not-human serves an important purpose in this text. Bees are not considered to be human because in battle, they do not stop to count or mourn their dead. [267] Whites are often considered to be non-human because they lie when convenient.[268] But it is not only bees and lying white men who are not considered to be human; all others are initially assumed to be not-human. This default assumption is of great importance when the living conditions dictate defending supplies needed for survival by force from other groups. Stealing from and killing members of other groups insures the survival of one's own clan (self and known others) in times of drought or famine. If one were to assume the humanity of the group one is stealing from, the stealing and killing would become morally problematic tasks; defining an individual or group as non-human allows one to steal from or kill an "other" with no guilt. A unique aspect of Harka's character is his willingness as a leader to expand his own group and extend the label of human to individuals from other groups that have been traditionally considered to be not-human. Therefore, by the end of the series, his Bear Clan includes members of the self and known others group. Not only does his group consist of people born or adopted into the Bear Clan, but also a refugee group of Siksikau, the trappers Thomas and Theo, and the farmer Adam Adamson and his wife Cate.[269] (Whether this Cate is the same Cate who, as a child attending the circus, recognized the humanity of the young Harka is left to reader interpretation.)

Imagined Dakota nation in Canada

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[267] Ibid., 7.
[268] Ibid., 129-131.
[269] Welskopf-Henrich, *Über den Missouri*, Vol. 6, *Die Söhne der grossen Bärin* (Berlin: Altberliner Verlag, 1996), 359.

In the final book of this Bildungsroman series, we see the once-proud Bear Clan forced to live in the miserable confines of a desolate reservation under the oppressive watch of Schonka, Harka's childhood nemesis. Because of the deplorable living conditions on the reservation, which result in hunger, illness, and death for many clan members, Harka, with the help of Kraushaar and other childhood friends, develops an elaborate escape plan that will allow the Bear Clan to establish a new home in Canada. The concept itself that the Dakota could leave America and escape to a better life in Canada occurs early in the text, relative to the actual escape of the Bear Clan to Canada in the final book in the series. Already in the middle of the second book, while Harka and his father are beginning to work for the traveling circus, they meet another group of Dakota. These Dakota are from Minnesota and are forced to work for the circus because they were unable to flee to Canada due to increased US military presence at the border after the Minnesota Sioux Uprising, which had taken place the previous year.[270]

While the idea of an escape to a better life in Canada is not new to Harka, his specific plan is not only innovative, but also ensures his clan's survival into modern times. Instead of a repeat of the Minnesota Dakota's escape to Canada with the intent to continue their traditional way of life out of reach of the United States' military, Harka's plan involves using the clan's gold, which had been hidden in the sacred Black Hills, to purchase fertile land from the Canadian government, thus ensuring Canadian governmental recognition of his clan's ownership of that land. His plan further involves expanding tribal membership (already made up of ethnic Bear Clan members and the adopted African American boy Kaushaar) to include the refugee group of Siksikau, the white trappers Thomas and Theo, and the farmer Adam Adamson and his wife Cate. The new, white tribal members, with their knowledge of spoken and written English, white

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[270] Welskopf-Henrick, *Verbannung*, 193. Historically speaking, the war known both as the Minnesota Sioux Uprising and the Dakota Conflict took place in 1862.

tools and machines, and white farming techniques, are especially essential to Harka's plan for clan survival. Learning a new, sedentary way of life will combine the knowledge and beliefs of the Bear Clan, the Siksikau, Thomas and Theo, and Adam Adamson as equal contributors. This new way of life is only possible in Canada, not only because of the reservation policies of the United States, but also because of the inability for the majority of Americans to recognize the humanity of the Dakota and the Siksikau in this text. The new hybrid Dakota-Siksikau-White Clan would have no chance of survival in a nation that refused to accept the humanity of the group. The Utopic solution to Manifest Destiny imagined in this text, namely the creation of a nation outside the bonds of racial, ethnic, and national origins, is therefore only possible outside the confines of the United States.

Critique of America

Welskopf-Henrich, a staunch activist and champion of positive social change through transition to a socialist system, explored the evils of capitalism and a utopic model for a new socialist society through her Bildungsroman series *Die Söhne der großen* Bärin. Her protagonist's experiences outside of his clan and the Siksikau band underscore the evils of a capitalistic society and act as instructional warnings against the capitalist system for her young readers.

Further, the group of Dakota traveling with the circus underscore the idea that capitalist systems do not operate in reality, nor are they committed to justice and liberation from oppression. The white settlers create their own image of the other, and go to great lengths to make this constructed image reality. In the case of the circus, the white managers of the circus conceive of an act that plays into the constructed image of the Indianer, forcing the Lakota

themselves to play along with this derogatory depiction.[271] As they are performers in the circus, in addition to imagining the self and the other differently than they really are, the director has the performers practice the scene over and over until it looks convincing.[272]

The contrived image of the Indianer as non-human (unknown) others prevents the Bear Clan from participating in contemporary American society. The series, while it does not label the whites as being capitalists and the Bear Clan as being socialists, does depict recognizable negative features of capitalism (greed, poverty, lack of employment) as features of the White American society, while positive features of socialism (cooperation, acceptance of different skill sets for different tasks, working toward a common goal) are associated with the Bear Clan and Siksikau. The utopic hybrid society that is promised at the end of the series is especially easily recognizable as a socialist society; the land will be purchased and used communally, all members will work together according to their talents for the subsistence of the group, and membership in the new society will not be dependent upon racial, ethnic, or national origins.

While the negative characteristics of American society are not explicitly discussed as being negative aspects of capitalistic societies, when contrasted with the positive depiction of the socialist societies represented in the text, a clear critique of capitalism can be discovered. Capitalistic societies believe in corporal punishment for children, are not interested in the well-being of their weakest members, do not support the needs of their fellow citizens, and do not tolerate differences in appearance or belief. Socialist societies, on the other hand, treat their children with respect, ensure the successful survival of their weakest members, and work

[271] "Männer der Dakota! … Hierher haben die weißen Männer uns gebracht. Sie haben uns betrogen. Wir sind ihre Gefangenen ohne Fesseln. Wir müssen ihnen gehorchen ohne Worte. Sie futtern uns, wie wir unsere Pferde futtern, und sie haben die Zügel in der Hand. Sie haben uns befohlen, eine Postkutsche zu überfallen und ein Mädchen zu fangen und zu martern. Schande über uns, aber wir müssen vor den weißen Männern Räuber und Diebe spielen!" Ibid., 194.
[272] Ibid., 195.

together for common goals and a common good. These societal features, assigned to the capitalistic white America and socialist American Indian tribes are also echoed in Anna Müller-Tannowitz's captivity novel, *Blauvogel*, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

This critique and comparison makes a strong case for the socialist system. Further, it makes that case in an indirect manner to a young audience. This fact is especially interesting when one considers the publication of this series. Originally, the story *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* was published in 1951 in the GDR, two years after the GDR's founding and the same year the first five year plan was created. This story was later reworked as part of her longer series of the same name to become the fifth and sixth volumes: those dealing most directly with the differences between American society and values and those of the Bear Clan, as well as the imagining and promise of a utopian socialistic hybrid clan in Canada.

The publication of the original story coincided with a time in which the GDR was redefining itself politically, and this story, as well as later versions, would serve not only to fill the void left by the banning of Karl May's texts, but also to subtly instruct children on the differences between capitalism and their new socialist society. Welskopf-Henrich, who had been personally involved with the antifascist resistance in Germany during the Second World War, was not the only juvenile book author to use the familiar character of the germanified Indianer to help children understand their new socialist society; Anne Müller-Tannewitz' captivity novel *Blauvogel*, which was printed in the GDR already in 1949, also contrasted white American capitalistic society with a socialistic Indianer society, specifically the Iroquois.

Chapter 3: "Behave like a Man": Becoming an Indian to become human in Anne Müller-Tannowitz' Blauvogel

Introduction

One day during their journey home, nine-year-old Georg was alone at camp while his father and sister were gathering provisions. He was roasting pieces of meat on a spit over the fire, being careful to rotate the spit so the meat didn't burn. Suddenly, a Wyandot[273] walked into camp and directly to the fire. "You are welcome, sit down," said Georg. Georg took the largest, best-cooked piece of meat off the spit and gave it to his surprise guest. By the time his father returned to camp, the Wyandot had continued his journey. Georg cheerfully told his father about the visit, and was praised for being such a generous host. "Surely you also offered him the maple sugar and bear grease?" "No," said Georg. "Because there is only one small bag of sugar left, and we wanted to save the bear grease." "You are still acting like a white man!" said his father. "Haven't you noticed that we always give strangers the best that we have?" Georg thought a while, lowered his head, and said, "Yes, I have seen that." "Then learn to behave like a man, and not like a pale face!"[274]

Georg—a nine year old boy from a settler's family—was kidnapped and adopted by the Turtle Family to replace a deceased son. His new family requires him to forget the value system taught to him by his white settler parents; suddenly, he is expected to put the needs of guests in front of the needs and desires of his own family. A high awareness of and concern for the well-

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[273] The Wyandot, like the Iroquois, were not a tribe, but rather a confederacy of tribes speaking a similar language. The Wyandot lived in what is now Ontario, Canada. For more information on the Wyandot Confederacy, see Olive Patricia Dickason, "Huron/Wyandot," *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, Ed. Frederick E. Hoxie, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 263-65. and Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North, (*New York: Holt, 1969) & *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660,* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

[274274] Müller-Tannowitz, 72f.

being of others is not the only moral taught through Anna Müller-Tannewitz' *Blauvogel*.[275] In this children's novel that was popular in East Germany, the value system and morals of the Iroquois are constantly compared to those of white settler America. Not surprisingly, white America does not walk away from this comparison unscathed. The Indianer—although first introduced as violent murderers—are quickly transformed into loving, family-oriented people who put the wellbeing of the group ahead of their own interests while the white settlers are portrayed as cold, unfeeling, greedy individualists who are willing to give up their children if it best serves their own agendas. Although the author herself was not a citizen of the GDR, the story line fit the political agenda of the socialist state, as indicated by the recurring publication of the text and its use as the basis for a popular DEFA film.[276]

Captivity quickly becomes freedom in the socialist utopia of Blauvogel's new family. Educated in the evils of the savages by his settler family, Georg (Blauvogel) quickly finds the assumptions of his white family, fed by the hearsay of the frontier and propaganda of the military as it pushes west, to be wildly inaccurate. Instead of savages, Blauvogel finds a socialist society that defines members by familial ties, not the culture, race, or nation of origin.

The construction of nation, specifically the construction of a colonial nation, has been given much thought in research in postcolonial studies in recent years. These arguments played a significant role in my discussion of Karl May and his *Winnetou* text, where I argued that, despite the absence of physical colonial spaces in the Americas, an identity as a colonial nation was constructed in the imaginations and literary spaces of the German-speaking citizens of what has

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[275] Anna Müller-Tannewitz also published books under the name Anna Jürgen.
[276] Holt, "Pictures: Film Reviews – Blauvogel," *Variety (Archive: 1905-2000)* Jan 01 1986: 19, *ProQuest,* accessed September 3, 2014.

become modern Germany. Because they were written and published in the second half of the 20th century, the arguments considering imagined colonial nations do not—on the surface—directly address three of the texts discussed in this project; however, a dismissal of all postcolonial thought would be hasty. If the nation was imagined to be a colonial one by the readers of Karl May at the turn of the 20th century, then the texts written in that same space in the second half of the 20th century are the literary descendents of that imagined colonial nation. Müller-Tannewitz' *Blauvogel* can be read as a book critiquing colonial expansion and mourning the loss of a simpler way of life. It can also be read as a text that represents a colonial other, flipping the tables of that representation by changing both the directionality and power dynamics of that mimicry. Such valid interpretations would bypass a unique textual dynamic; although on the surface *Blauvogel* is a text written about the American frontier, American Iroquois people, and imagining an American nation, deeper analysis reveals a text that, through its handing of these seemingly American topics, actually participates in the imagining of a new socialist German nation.

Nations, it has been argued, cannot be defined by their boundaries as seen on maps, but rather through social and political interaction. As discussed in the previous chapter, Benedict Anderson defines nation as "an imagined political community" and stresses the importance of cultural interaction in the process of nation building.[277] There are two key parts to Anderson's definition of nation; imagination and politics. An imagined community is not one that exists in actuality, or one that is physical or visible, but rather it is envisioned by individuals in positions of power to justify their aggressive actions, which leads us to the second portion of the definition. Nations are political communities. A political community is one that has some sort of

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[277] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism,* (London: Verso, 2006), 6. Anderson considers the origin of the idea of the nation state and discusses how individuals in positions of power use the idea of nation to justify their actions.

centralized power and authority over its citizens. It is able to not only create laws and regulations for the people living within its boundaries, but also defends those boundaries against outside influences. A nation is, then, an envisioned entity that controls to some extent the actions of its citizens and defends itself from the interference of surrounding communities. In 1949, at the time of *Blauvogel's* original publication in East Germany, the GDR was a newly formed nation, a newly envisioned entity that was beginning to attempt to create laws and regulations for its citizens and defend its borders from outside influences. Books, especially books for children, can help to create and redefine a nation—either through statements about what is or is not, or by providing a forum for imaginings and discussions.

Imre Szeman further defines nation in postcolonial literature as a concept that relates back to the practice of literature in the regions that belong to that nation; in other words it is through the production of literature itself that national identities and ideologies are conceived and maintained.[278] This definition led to the introductory argument that Germany's citizens could have imagined their nation as a colonial power long before Germany existed as a physical, political nation with colonies. Central to the analysis of Müller-Tannewitz' *Blauvogel* is the idea of literature playing a key role in the creation of nation. Unlike fictional texts often-analyzed in postcolonial scholarship, the texts discussed in this project, although set in the Americas and seemingly dealing with issues of constructing nations there, were not written by either American settlers or American Indians. They were not written in the physical space of the Americas and, further, were not written for an American reading public. The narratives—written by German authors in what has become modern Germany for German speaking audiences—make use of an imagined space, one that happens to be a colonial space, but not a German colonial space. They

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[278] Szeman, 20.

imagine a new nation, but it is not the expected imagining of a colonial America that is the product of these imaginings, but rather a new German nation. An added layer of complexity in this process of imagining is that the texts, although written in the second half of the 20th century and addressing the need to redefine a German nation during that time, are set in a distant past, one perhaps made more distant by the depiction of primitive natives at the center of the narratives. Szeman's analysis focuses upon how literature participates in the imagination of nation, an imagination that is about the nation itself within its own borders. In Müller-Tannewitz' text, we see an imagination of nation that seems to be about a different, non-German nation, one located outside of the borders of the nation producing the text. In Müller-Tannewitz' *Blauvogel*, it is not the inter-textual creation of an American national identity or the inter-textual imaginings of a physical, political America that is of interest, but rather the imaginings of socialism and a new national identity that breaks its ties with a Nazi past and attempts to redefine itself without making use of national imaginings and myths that had been utilized to justify a Nazi agenda. Through its imaginings of an Iroquois nation, *Blauvogel* participates in the imagining of a new, socialist German state.

Before moving on to a discussion of how the author made use of a specific genre to participate in the creation or re-creation of the Indianer figure and utilized the tribal identity of the native people depicted in the writing, I will discuss some aspects of the publication records of the text itself. This discussion will illustrate the popularity of the text in the GDR. The GDR, as a socialist state, worked with a planned production of goods. As a result, any publication of a text was part of governmental plan for the production of that text rather than a response to the free market or consumer demand.

Blauvogel is a unique text in that it was printed concurrently in both the FRG and the GDR. Initially published in 1950 and again in 1951 by the East German publishing house Verlag Neues Leben, the text also appeared on the publication records for a West German publishing house located in Düsseldorf in 1952. The frequency of publication in both countries points to the popularity of the text; both countries produced 20 publications of the text between the years of 1949 and 1989. And, although both countries began publication of *Blauvogel* within a few years, the GDR publications occurred between 1949 and 1975, while the majority of FRG publications of the same text occurred between 1970 and 1989. *Blauvogel* was published by Maier Verlag in Ravensburg twice in 1989, and went through an additional 5 printings before 1997. The most recent publications of the text include a print edition in 2005 and an electronic edition in 2009.

Between 1949 and 1975 in the GDR, *Blauvogel*'s frequency of printing resulted in a rate close to a new edition every year and a half. In order to necessitate the number and frequency of printings in a nation that rationed paper and planned the production of all goods, the text must have addressed the goals and concerns of the fledgling nation. While children's literature was not as heavily censored as adult literature, it was still expected to serve the instruction of the desired socialistic citizen.[279] While engaging in an act of national imagining, *Blauvogel* played a key role in instructing the children of the GDR in the benefits and superiority of socialist ideals while congruently offering lessons on the ills of capitalism. This story was not one of mere historical instruction; in addition to learning about the early settler period of the United States and ethnographic details about one specific American Indian group, children also learned to identify

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[279] "Vor allem in den ersten Jahren und Jahrzehnten bis in die 1970er Jahre hinein erfüllt die KJL der DDR…den erzieherischen Auftrag, ihren kindlichen und jugendlichen Lesern solche Bilder…und Epochen…und in einer Art zu entwerfen, die der Herausbildung des erwünschten und ersterbten sozialistischen Menschentypus dienlich sein konnte." Steinlein, Strobel, and Kramer, 1013. See also Jennifer L. Creech, "Christianopolis: A Woman's Dystopia?" *Focus on Literatur: A Journal for German-Language Literature* 5.2 (1998): 73-84.

themselves with Georg and the Indianer. They learned about the peaceful, socially conscientious indigenous culture. They learned about the greed of the white settlers of America and learned to see white Americans in the text as evil, self-serving monsters, devouring everything in their path. Not only did children learn about the benefits of socialism and some of the Eastern Block cold war propaganda regarding the United States, they also participated in the imagining of a socialist nation in East Germany.

The fact that *Blauvogel*'s author, Anna Müller-Tannewitz ,[280] was a citizen of the FRG adds another layer of complexity in the use of *Blauvogel* to imagine a new, socialist national identity in the GDR. Born a citizen of the Deutsches Reich[281] in 1899, Müller-Tannewitz witnessed several periods of re-imagination of national identity; at the age of 19, she witnessed the creation of the Weimar Republic, followed by Nazi Germany in 1933, its defeat in 1945, and the 1949 founding of the FRG and the GDR. Her death in 1988 prevented Müller-Tannewitz from experiencing German Unification, the only period of German national re-imagination she didn't experience firsthand in the 20th Century. Müller-Tannewitz, a student of German and Ethnography, worked as a librarian in Berlin and traveled extensively through the United States prior to the Nazi defeat in 1945. Upon her return to Germany in 1945, she began writing children's books about Indianer. A witness of major periods of political change and national re-imaginings, Müller-Tannewitz deals with issues of personal and national identity, redefining value and belief systems, and adapting to change in her children's narratives. Such themes were significant in the GDR, as evidenced not only by her impressive publication numbers, but also through her awards. In 1950, Müller-Tannewitz received the first prize in a competition

[280] Aka. Anna Jürgen
[281] The Deutsches Reich, 1871 -1918 was the first political German nation. Prior to 1871, "Germany" was a geographic entity bound by linguistic and cultural ties.

(Preisausschreibung zur Föderung der sozialistischen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur) sponsored by the GDR Ministry for National Education (Ministerium für Volksbildung) for her book *Blauvogel.*[282]

Blauvogel's popularity in the GDR only increased after the 1950 award. Despite her residence in the FRG, Müller-Tannewitz' texts, including *Blauvogel*, continued to be published well over a decade after the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. The book *Blauvogel* also functioned as the source for a 1979 DEFA[283] film of the same title. [284] Because of the historical and ethnographic accuracy of Müller-Tannewitz' *Blauvogel*, the narrative continued to be popular after the fall of the Berlin Wall and German Unification.[285]

Blauvogel takes place during the French and Indian War—which occurred between 1754 and 1763—in the northeastern part of what is now the United States of America. In this captivity novel, the two oldest sons of a frontier family are sent to join a road crew, building a path for the advancing military. Due to his young age, Georg works as a messenger for the captain of the road crew. Returning from his first assignment, Georg is kidnapped by Indianer and brought to the French Fort du Quesne for medical attention. Once healed, his captor and future uncle brings him to an Iroquois village, where Georg meets his future sister, is adopted into the Turtle Clan of the Iroquois, and begins to learn the language and customs of the tribe. On one of his failed

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[282] Steinlein, Strobel, and Kramer, 1131.

[283] DEFA (Deutsche Film-Aktiengesellschaft) was a state owned film studio in the GDR.

[284] Steinlein, Strobel, and Kramer, 1131. *Blauvogel* was also published four times as a hardcover and six times as a paperback in the FRG during this same timeframe. The narrative was first available in the FRG through the Middelhauve Verlag in Munich in 1953. The text is intended to be read by children above the age of eleven.

[285] Ibid., In 1994/5, ZDF produced a 13-episode series based on the Blauvogel text that was released in both Germany and Canada. Blauvogel has been translated into many languages, including Dutch, Polish, Czech, Chinese, Russian, Swedish and Danish. The most recent German-language publication of the text occurred in 2009, a recent testimony to its enduring popularity.

escape attempts, Georg's adoptive father rescues the young boy, who has become lost in the woods, and then takes Georg and his adoptive sister to live in a different village. Georg adjusts rapidly to life with his new family, and has almost forgotten his old life as the war comes to an end. As a condition of peace, the Iroquois must return all adopted whites, including Georg, to their biological families. Georg, like many of the adopted whites, cannot adjust to life away from his loving Iroquois parents, and chooses to leave his biological family forever in order to return to the Turtle Clan.

Throughout the narrative, the author makes good use of the genre of the captivity narrative, but departs from a simple retelling of the captivity experience by interjecting critique of the White (read American) methods of childrearing and family values through a subtle comparison of Georg's Iroquois and white families. As counterpart to these white values, the Iroquois childrearing techniques and family values—such as hospitality, the value of children, and collective ownership—are placed in a superior position; not only are the Iroquois ways kinder, more humane, and their behavior more socially minded, they are also more effective. *Blauvogel's* author takes a genre normally reserved for the retelling of chilling tales of captivity by savages to a white audience, and turns it on its head; instead of the captivity reporting on the uncivilized savagery of the Indianer, here the captivity allows a white child to see his own biological family as the uncivilized savages.

Books and films about American Indians were popular in both the FRG and the GDR, as evidenced by the number of "spaghetti westerns" produced by film companies in both countries as well as the prevalence of novels about American Indians. Karl May was—and continues to be—a well-known and influential author of German fiction about imagined Indianer; even Hitler

read Karl May's texts and had them produced for and distributed to soldiers during WWII.[286] However, the inaccuracies of representation in Karl May's texts were well known and they were banned from East Germany. (This did not, however, stop the GDR from producing the texts for export to the FRG. The GDR held the copyright for Karl May's texts due to the location of his home in Radebeul.[287]) Texts that were more accurate in their depictions of American Indians, such as Müller-Tannowitz' *Blauvogel* and Welskopf-Heinrich's *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* (discussed in the preceeding chapter) filled the gap in East German children's literature left by the absence of Karl May's banned narratives. Although available in both Germanys, *Blauvogel* was initially more popular in East Germany than it was in West Germany; the text was printed twice as often in the GDR than it was in the FRG between 1949 and 1975. As a popular children's text in the fledgling GDR, *Blauvogel* engaged in the literary creation of a new national identity that differentiated itself from both the German Nazi past and also the capitalist political system of the FRG.

In addition to providing more accurate depictions of and information about American Indians than the works by Karl May and participating in the imagination of a new socialist nation, texts such as *Blauvogel* and *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* also contain instances that could be interpreted along the very specific political lines of the German Democratic Republic. Such texts established sympathy with specific imagined American Indian tribes and allowed children in the GDR to develop an analog to these tribes. The imagined American Indian tribes, as commonly depicted in East German novels, lived communally. They did not consider luxuries, status symbols, or personal wealth important; rather they worked together for the common good

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[286] Grafton, 34.
[287] Michael Kimmelman, "Karl May and the origins of a German obsession," *New York Times* Sept. 12, 2007, Accessed July 20, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/12/travel/12iht-12karl.7479952.html.

of the clan, village, tribe, and confederation. As such, these depictions of American Indians served not only to entertain a young reading audience, but also to teach them socialist values. In addition, the colonization stories of American Indian tribes served to articulate the casualties of capitalism and highlight its negative aspects. As such, they functioned as pedagogical tools; in addition to fulfilling the reading desires of young citizens of the GDR, the stories functioned to subliminally underscore the advantages of the socialist system developing in the GDR while at the same time accentuating the pitfalls of capitalism. The fact that many stories about Indianer also include a story line that follows a youth as he matures or as he or she learns certain skills required for adulthood adds an additional layer of complexity. The stories are not only popular adventure narratives, but also coming-of-age narratives. As we will see in Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*, growing up and reaching adulthood are in some ways linked with the process of becoming an Indian. Texts about Indianer produced in the GDR ceased to be merely the product of culture and became the building blocks of a new socialist culture themselves, exploring and establishing national norms and values while concurrently participating in an imagining of a socialist German nation.

History of Scholarship on Captivity Narratives

Captivities and captivity narratives—the former a first person retelling of an actual experience and the latter a historic fiction which may or may not be based on a captivity—concerning American Indians have been in existence since the publication of John Smith's *True Relation* in 1608, but were not always included in the widely accepted definition of literature.[288]

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[288] Phillips D. Carleton , "The Indian Captivity," *American Literature* 15.2 (1943): 169-80, and Thomas Keiderling, *Die Modernisierung des Leipziger Kommissionsbuchhandels von 1830 bis 1888* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 367. In his article, Carleton compares narratives of Indian captivity in the United States to literature produced in Iceland. He claims that this comparison can be made because both have a body of narratives that cover periods of settlement

Phillips D. Carleton made one of the first major arguments for including "Indian captivities" in our understanding of literature, citing that captivities are "…unique, vigorously written narratives containing in their painful realism, their simple unaffected prose, their revelation of a pioneer people, the virtues of true literature."[289] He notes as well that captivities were wildly popular reading material at their time of authorship. Carleton does assert that captivities were not originally written as literature, but rather as personal accounts; their content was influenced greatly by marketability and the possibility for profit, thus many fictional accounts masquerade as authentic captivities.[290]

A more recent study, as summarized by Bruce Burgett, Nancy Armstrong, and Leonard Tennenhouse, argues for the inclusion of captivities in literary studies as the precursor to modern fiction. They assert that the puritan captivity "…should be seen as a precursor to both the British and domestic novel and the secular frontier narrative…"[291] They further argue that the inclusion of captivities in literary studies sheds light on the beginnings of modern fictional novels. This claim is supported by Jill Lepore, who identifies Mary Rowlandson's 1692 account of her three-month captivity among the Algonquin Indians as American's first best-seller.[292] Captivities, in

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in new lands. While this justification comes across as quick and a bit clumsy, his early observations of the captivity as a genre are insightful and in accord with more recent scholarship on the genre of captivity narratives.

[289] Carleton , 169-80. See also Leonhard Kossuth, *Volk & Welt: autobiographisches Zeugnis von einem legendären Verlag*, 2., (korr.) Aufl ed. (Berlin: Nora, 2003), 379.

[290] Carleton , 169-80. See also Horst Bunke and Deutsche Bücherei, *Neubeginn und Tradition: Bücher und Buchgestaltung vor dreissig Jahren* (Leipzig: Deutsche Bücherei, 1975), 47.

[291] Bruce Burgett, "Every Document of Civilization Is a Document of Barbary? Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and Spaces Between: A Response to Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse," *American Literary History* 20.4 (2008): 686-94. See also Franz Cornaro, "Bemerkungen zu Karl Mays Manuskript 'Ange et diable'," *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft* (1978): 256-63.

[292]Jill Lepore, *The name of war: King Philip's War and the origins of American identity*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1998), 337. See also Mandy Funke, *Rezeptionstheorie, Rezeptionsästhetik: Betrachtungen eines deutsch-deutschen Diskurses,* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2004), 201. Mary

addition to being the precursor of modern novels, also set the precedent of wide-scale popular best-selling novels.

Audra Simpson agrees with Carleton that captivities were popular reading material at their time of authorship, but takes a different approach to the modern use of the texts. Unlike Carleton, Armstrong, and Tennenhouse—who wish to underscore the literary value of captivities—Simpson sees the texts as ones that can serve as sources for "…historians, anthropologists, and literary scholars for historical data."[293] While captivities do make valid historical observations and can document historical information useful to historians, anthropologists, and literary scholars, I would caution researchers to carefully consider the reliability of the captivity. As noted by Carleton, captivities were an easy genre to duplicate, and not all captivities actually document true accounts. June Namian notes: "captivity materials, especially those from the late nineteenth century, are notorious for blending the real and the highly fictive."[294] The addition of fiction to purportedly true captivity narratives produced more

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Rowlandson's account was titled The Soveraignty and Goodness of God. Lepore argues that acts of war generate acts of nation. Both often work to define geographical, political, cultural, racial and national boundaries. She further argues that words carried a defining weight during the time of King Philip's war (1675-1676) and that the way in which white settlers in colonial America used words to report and discuss King Philip's War defined an early American national identity.

[293] Audra Simpson, "From White into Red: Captivity Narratives as Alchemies of Race and Citizenship," *American Quarterly* 60.2 (2008): 251-7. See also Ben Novak, *The sign of four: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce, and Karl May* (Bellefone, PA: B. Novak, 2000). Simpson is mainly interested in a feminist analysis of settler society, especially in the geographic and political region of Canada. She focuses also on the affects of the Canadian Indian Act of 1876, which conferred rights along a patrilineal line, in effect destroying the Iroquois matrilineal culture, at least as legally recognized by the government. The author also discusses issues of racial and cultural identity; white women who married Indian men were legally considered Indian women, while Indian women who married white men were legally considered white women, which resulted in a loss of culture. It was not until 1985 that a bill passed to rectify this loss of status in the eyes of the law.

[294] June Namias, *White captives: gender and ethnicity on the American frontier* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 378. Namias' project is a feminist reading of women in captivities. The first section of her book contains a general discussion of the role of

interested readers, in turn increasing the sales of the fictionalized accounts. In addition, captives who were rescued or ransomed without spending a great deal of time with their Indian captors may not have had time to build a reliable understanding of their captor's culture or language. Their accounts may be more limited and faulty due to their own misunderstanding of the language or events that took place during their time of captivity.

Indian Captivity Narratives

The fictional Indian Captivities, as Carleton points out, have the length of short stories and a uniform format; most described the attack in the first few pages, described the aftermath of the attack in the middle section, and rose to the climax of escape or return at the end.[295] The writers of fictional or fictionalized captivity narratives adopted this format for their own texts; thus, the general plot line of non-fictional captivities and fictional captivity narratives do not differ greatly. Captivity narratives do differ from captivities in that they are not first hand accounts of a captivity experience, but rather an author's retelling of an actual or imagined captivity. While authors may make more or less of an attempt to make their retelling historically accurate, the figures in the text are fictitious and should not be confused with the figures of captivities, who were based on the personal experiences of the writer and people the writer came into contact with before, during and after the described abduction experience. Since the figures are fictitious, they are imagined figures. While the imagined figures may at times closely resemble or be based upon historical individuals, they are fictitious, based on an author's imaginings and specifically designed to serve the advancement of the narrative's plot.

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women in captivities, while the second section deals more in depth with three specific captivities. She does not, however, consider the role of men or children in the captivities.

[295] Carleton, 169-80. See also C. Dagmar, G. Lorenz, and Renate S. Posthofen, *Transforming the center, eroding the margins: essays on ethnic and cultural boundaries in German-speaking countries* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1998), 324.

Similarly, the conditions of these captivity narratives—including circumstances and events in the story—are also created by the author to advance the plot. While some circumstances and events are based on historical record (i.e. Indian adoptions and the French and Indian War) others are imagined by the author to hold reader interest, develop figures in the text, and advance the plot. Including descriptions around events or conditions that are already known to the reader from other sources allows the reader a sense of familiarity and comfort with the text, and may contribute to increased interest in the text; a reader who is familiar with narratives about Indian adoptions may very well seek out other, unfamiliar narratives about Indian adoptions. In addition, the selection of some events that have been historically documented, such as adoptions, lend an authenticity to the narrative and work to hold reader interest, since some popular historical events appear in more than one type of text.

Adoptions were well documented in the captivities discussed in Carleton's article:

> The fact of adoption is curious and persistent, a survival of the Indians' old custom of filling their fighting ranks with children of the enemy. Apparently the Indianer believed that by a magical ceremony a man could experience a ritual rebirth and become actually of their blood. Certainly their belief seems justified when the success of their adoptions is considered. Hundreds of white children were adopted and persuaded only with reluctance to return to white civilization.[296]

Whether the children could be persuaded to return to white civilization at all and why such persuasion and forceful means were necessary to ensure the return of white children is the topic of many more recent fictional captivity narratives. [297] These fictional narratives differ from the

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[296] Carleton, 169-80.
[297] Individuals familiar with commonly taught American captivity novels like Conrad Richter's *The Light in the Forest* and Elizabeth George Speare's *The Sign of the Beaver* will find many

captivities not only in their content and intended audience—captivities were intended for adult readers while the majority of captivity narratives now in print are intended to be read by young adult readers—but also in their depiction of the captivity and the willingness of the adopted child to return to white civilization. A study of the intended audience and political history at the time of captivity publication provides great insight into the goals of the captivities; captivities were written for a white settler audience at a time when Indian attacks and kidnappings were not uncommon. White settlers wanted greater access to and control of what was considered "Indian Land" and wars between settlers and individual Indian tribes were always possible. Indian tribes provided an actual and immediate threat to the continuation and expansion of white settlements and white settler society. The fictitious captivity narratives written for a modern young adult

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similarities between these narratives and Müller-Tannowitz's *Blauvogel*. *The Light in the Forest* features the captivity narrative of True Son (John Cameron Butler); True Son was adopted by Delaware Indians at the age of four and is forced at the age of fifteen to return to his white biological family. This narrative focuses mostly on True Son's journey away from his Delaware family and his adjustment difficulties upon his return to white society. Like *The Light in the Forest*, *Blauvogel* also problematizes adjustment issues upon returning to white society, but the primary focus of the narrative is Georg's adoption and adjustment to life as an Indian. Unlike the protagonist True Son in Richter's narrative, Georg does not spend the majority of his childhood with his adoptive family before a forceful return to white society. However, like True Son, Georg cannot adjust to white society and his biological family. Both Georg and True Son return to their adoptive Indian families after their failed attempts to assimilate back into white society.

While the rough plot outline of *Blauvogel* matches that of *The Light in the Forest* most closely, the content of the narrative and the attention given to specific locations of the plot line more closely resembles *The Sign of the Beaver*. *The Sign of the Beaver* is not a captivity narrative per se—the twelve year old protagonist Matt Hallowell is rescued by Saknis, chief of the Beaver clan, but Saknis' intention is not to adopt Matt, but rather to help him survive until his family returns—the young protagonist does learn survival skills and become familiar with the customs of the Beaver Clan. The Beaver Clan also offers to adopt Matt when his family fails to return on time, but the decision to await their return without the support of the Beaver Clan rests solely on Matt's shoulders. *The Sign of the Beaver*, like *Blauvogel*, is a narrative that focuses on descriptions of a specific tribe's way of life and on the experiences of a young protagonist as he begins to learn, understand and change preconceived, learned biases about a foreign way of life. However, unlike Georg in *Blauvogel*, Matt's association with the Beaver Clan is his own decision; he is not adopted by the Clan and ultimately decides to decline their offer to make him an Indian in order to reunite with his white family.

audience have the luxury of being historical accounts. The agendas of the narratives are not those of self-preservation, but rather those of entertainment and instruction about a way of life that no longer exists. The tribes written about in the fictional captivity narratives may or may not be federally recognized tribes, may or may not have reservations in their traditional homeland, and pose no acute or immediate threat to the way of life for the majority of Americans. Therefore, these fictional captivity narratives have the luxury of taking a sympathetic stance toward the adoptive Indian parents and their tribe. A similar stance in the captivities would have put into question the ideals of the country and its settlers' identities. In the current time period, the nation has been established and a national identity has been solidified. A sympathetic stance toward the past (and unfortunately tragic) plight of the American Indian now has no bearing on the establishment or survival of the nation.

The History of Captivity Narrative Studies

Captivity narratives were often thought of as Indian captivity narratives; in fact, until the 1990's, the term "captivity narrative" was used synonymously with "Indian Captivity Narrative." It is only in more recent years that the study of captivity narratives has broadened to include narratives about other types of captivity and confinement.[298] The study of narratives about all types of confinement has created a new field of Captivity Narrative Studies, which includes not only Indian Captivities and Indian captivity narratives, but also slave narratives, barberry narratives, hostage accounts, POW stories, UFO abduction stories, Indian boarding school autobiographies, and convent captivity narratives. Namias notes that the act of taking captives is

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[298] Kathryn Derounian-Stodola, "Captivity, Liberty, and Early American Consciousness," *Early American Literature* 43.3 (2008): 718. See also Roxin, *Strafrecht*, 9-36. In her article, Kathryn Derounian-Stodola gives a brief overview of Captivity Studies and its development from the study of Indian captivities. The author further argues that the term "confinement narrative" may soon replace "captivity narrative" because it seems "more transhistorical and culturally neutral."

a centuries old tradition around the globe that continues today in hostage situations and through the taking of prisoners of war.[299] This fact supports the inclusion of all types of captivity narratives in the field of Captivity Studies. Opening up the field of captivity narratives to these new areas of inquiry will no doubt advance the study and understanding of captivity in literature.

Teaching Captivity Narratives

Captivity narratives are being taught in elementary schools throughout the United States and Canada, as well as in Germany. *Blauvogel* is taught in German schools, as evidenced by teaching materials available for the text.[300] Teaching captivity narratives—or even including captivity narratives in a school or city library collection—is problematic for many reasons, including a stereotypical portrayal of American Indian peoples, misrepresentations of American Indian tribes, and advancement of the misconception of American Indian extinction, to name a few. Because of the problematic nature of Indian captivity narratives, the attention granted to the genre of captivity narratives for children in book guides and library anthologies in the United States and Canada is not surprising. Vicki Anderson's book merely categorizes certain books as captivities, but does not comment on the overall quality of the book or its illustrations.[301] Her

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[299] Namias, 378. See also Jörg Jochen Berns, *Roman und Utopie: Ein typologischer Versuch zur Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts; Utopieforschung: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur neuzeitlichen Utopie, II*, ed. Wilhelm Vosskamp, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1982), 384.

[300]*Klasse ... Klassenbücher. Thematik Indianer, Auseinandersetzung mit zwei Kulturkreisen; 6./7. Klasse Blauvogel, Anna Müller-Tannewitz* (Ravensburg: Ravensburger, 1996). See also Helga Hauchler, *Thematik Indianer: Anna Jürgen, Blauvogel, 269 Seiten, RTB 2015; Orientierungsstufe* (Ravensburg: Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle, 1996). and Kristina Kroll and Anna Müller-Tannewitz, *"Blauvogel" im Unterricht Lehrerhandreichung zum Jugendroman von Anna Jürgen (Klassenstufe 4 - 6); thematische Aspekte: Konflikt zwischen Indianern und Weissen, Entfremdung und Heimweh, Heimat und Familie, Freundschaft, Identitätsfindung; literarische Aspekte: beschreibendes Erzählen, Spannung, Zeitsprünge, zeitraffendes Erzählen; mit Kopiervorlagen,* (Weinheim; Basel: Beltz, 2008).

[301] Vicki Anderson, *Native Americans in fiction: a guide to 765 books for librarians and teachers, K-9,* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1994). 166. Anderson's book guide includes titles, authors, publication information and a brief summary of the text, as well as categories the

book guide does remain a useful list of children's books available for purchase, but assumes an equal knowledge base and ability to assess the accuracy and quality of books on the part of librarians and teachers. An older selection guide spends more time informing teachers and librarians about the issues surrounding captivities specifically and children's book selection in general. Mary Jo Lass-Kayser first informs her readers about the general techniques that can be used to assess a book's overall quality before discussing issues specific to captivity narratives; "…they can imply treatment that may or may not be true [which] confuses an already complex issue."[302] The author does note that such narratives may often be "some of the best written and the most delicious to read," which may help inspire children to read.[303] Throughout her book selection guide, Lass-Kayser includes nine captivity narratives with a brief summary of the text and a book rating; four listed captivity narratives are rated good, or suggested for purchase, while five are rated adequate, or purchase with awareness. No captivities are rated poor, or do not purchase.

Blauvogel differs from American captivity narratives for young adult readers in that the author does not claim that the narrative is based on a true story. American captivity novels for young adult readers "…tend to be recycled accounts of some of the best-known captivities, among them Mary Campbell, Cynthia Ann Parker, and the individuals associated with the 1704

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book can fit into. The author fails to make comments on the quality of the text, leaving this task for librarians and teachers who use her book.

[302] Mary Jo Lass-Kayser and Mary Jo Lass-Woodfin, *Books on American Indians and Eskimos: a selection guide for children and young adults,* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1978), 237. Lass-Kayser's book guide addresses many of the quality issues found lacking in Anderson's guide. It not only makes a quality rating scale available to teachers and librarians, it also explains how the scale works so that it can be implemented outside of the guide. In addition, the author goes to great lengths to inform an assumed non-native audience about issues in purchasing American Indian content books for both native and non-native audiences.

[303] Ibid.

events in Deerfield, Massachusetts."[304] Paulette Molin points out that young adult novels in the captivity genre "…tend to be female-authored and, although they include both male and female captives, their protagonists are generally young females."[305] Here as well, Müller-Tannowitz's *Blauvogel* differs from the American captivity narrative form. While *Blauvogel* is female-authored, the protagonist is male. Supporting female figures are central to the text, but not more central than supporting male figures. Jill Lepore explains this domination of the genre by female protagonists by suggesting that surrender was managed in the female body; females already surrendered to God and their husbands, so surrender to Indians would not have been out of character or outside of cultural expectations for a woman.[306] Müller-Tannowitz deals with the issue of surrender in her text as well, but instead of following gender lines, her focus is centered upon age and health. Georg is nine years old at the time of his abduction, and at the time when he could have made a viable escape attempt, he was injured and could not walk. Georg had already been transported too far away from his familiar territory by the time his foot had healed enough to make an escape viable. The time spent with his uncle and aunt before he is physically able to make an escape attempt work to diminish his memories of home and also allow for bonds to grow between Georg and his adoptive family. Georg's age allows him to adapt to his new family and community rather quickly, and his young age affords him more flexibility in his understanding of Indianer, thus allowing him to change his preconceived notions more easily than an older child or an adult male. Another notable break from the American captivity tradition is Müller-Tannowitz's description of the dwelling place of Gerog's Iroquois family as a village,

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[304] Paulette Fairbanks Molin, *American Indian themes in young adult literature* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 183.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Lepore, 337. See also Thomas Höhle and Dietrich Sommer, *Probleme der Literatursoziologie und der literarischen Wirkung* (Halle (Saale): Abt. Wissenschaftspublizistik der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1978), 124.

and the longhouse-style accommodations as apartments. In Euro-American captivity narratives, tribal societies are typically portrayed as primitive and childlike, and according to Lepore, in American captivities, housing was typically referred to as huts; there was a general refusal to identify Indian settlements as towns or villages.[307] Unlike its American counterparts, *Blauvogel* insists that Indian settlements were villages and further that the dwellings were houses or apartments.

Throughout the text, the author makes use of the genre of the fictional captivity narrative to hold the reader's interest and advance her plot. Her work conforms to many of the expected norms of the genre in that it begins with an Indian attack and abduction, contains an adoption ceremony, describes the protagonist's gradual understanding and acceptance of new customs, and returns the protagonist to his biological family. *Blauvogel* differs from the expectations of the genre in that the protagonist is a male, it is an acknowledged work of fiction, and it portrays the Indianer as humans, focusing on the commonalities of childhood experiences for Indianer and white children. The traditional aspects of the genre serve to educate her young readers in ethnographic details about Iroquis life during a specific, historical period. Georg's captivity, return to white society, and ultimate decision to return to his Iroquois family are made possible in the narrative through the encorporation of historic events surrounding the French and Indian War (1754-1763). Like Welskopf-Henrich, Müller-Tannewitz utilizes a familiar genre to capture her reader's attention and advance her plot, while refusing to conform to the presumptive expectations of that genre.

The Iroquois Confederacy

[307] Lepore, 337.

In Müller-Tannowitz's text, the specificity of the Indian tribe that adopts Georg remains central to references of specific and subtle details of daily life, despite the absence of naming the tribe within the text. It becomes clear that more than one tribal group resides together in both the village of Georg's uncle Rauchiger Tag (Smoky Day) and his father Kleinbär (Little Bear). Subtle details of daily life in the villages—such as the longhouses, transportation, farming and gathering techniques, inheritance rights and ownership—are an integral part of the text, and one of the reasons the text is so highly praised as a historical children's narrative. Readers learn about the Iroquois way of life as Georg himself becomes acquainted with the norms and customs of his adopted clan. However, readers are not specifically told, beyond the title of the narrative, that Georg has been adopted into an Iroquois village. There is no indication from the text of an understanding of the Iroquois confederacy, beyond the mention of different tribes living together in one village. While the role of the Iroquois confederacy may have been unclear to the protagonist Georg, a basic understanding of the Iroquois confederacy would certainly assist readers to understand the ethnic significance of certain aspects of the narrative, as well as the book's continued popularity among children and teachers alike.[308]

Unlike Karl May's *Winnetou* trillegy—which claims an Apache tribal definintion despite the depictions of Indianer in the text undergoing little revision from those in the orginal text claiming Sioux affiliation—and (as we will see) Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*—whose refusal to define Joao as anything but the general South American Indian makes a reflection of accurate depictions all but impossible—Müller-Tannewitz's title clearly defines a specific group of Indianer that function as the source of her text. Moreover, the adoption of a white boy into the

[308] *Blauvogel* is currently being used in schools to teach children about the Iroquois Confederacy and the early American Colonial period. See, for example *Klasse ... Klassenbücher. Thematik Indianer, Auseinandersetzung mit zwei Kulturkreisen.*

tribe and his subsequent instruction on how to behave as an Iroquois offers detailed, ethnographically acurate depictions of Iroquois life to young readers in Germany.[309] It is not my intent with this section to give a detailed, line-by-line analysis of the accuracy of each representation and detail in Müller-Tannowitz's text, but rather to briefly summarize the Iroquois confederacy and its history, thus assuring a general point of reference for the following textual discussion. While, as previously stated, questions of accuracy are not the focus of the present investigation, it is, nonetheless, useful to have a general familiarity of the actual histories of tribes represented. Only after an acknowledgement of history has been made can one hope to move beyond discussions of accuracy and inaccuracy of representations in the text (as is the current trend of usage) and move toward a discussion of the text in the larger body of German language fictional representations of American Indians. Through offering a brief summary of tribal history, I will read the text from a position of awareness of tribal history and conditions rather than ambiguous, inaccurate assumptions.

There was no Iroquois tribe; rather the Iroquois Confederacy was a "loosely organized ceremonial system shared by the five Iroquois-speaking tribes (Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas) in what is now New York State."[310] According to tradition, the confederacy was formed in response to a constant state of warfare that existed between the five separate

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[309] Müller-Tannowitz's *Blauvogel* is marketed to children ages eleven and up.

[310] For a brief overview of the Iroquois Confederacy, seeWilliam A. Starna, Jack Campisi, and Laurence M. Hauptmann, "Iroquois Confederacy," *Native America in the twentieth century: an encyclopedia, ed*. Mary B. Davis (New York: Garland Pub., 1994), 278-279. For more in depth Information about the Iroquois Confederacy and specific information about the tribes that made up the Confederacy, see Michael Johnson , *Tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003). For information on the role of women in the Iroquois Confederacy, see Wm Guy Spittal, *Iroquois women: an anthology* (Ohsweken, Ont.: Iroqrafts, 1990). James Lynch's 1983 dissertation offers insight into the function of adoption of individuals and groups into the Iroquois Confederacy. James P. Lynch, *The symbolic structure of the Iroquois confederacy as it pertains to the adoption and administration of non-Iroquoian individuals and groups prior to 1756,* 1983.

tribes. Their collective territory was described in terms of the traditional elm bark communal longhouse dwellings; the Mohawks were Keepers of the Eastern Door, the Senecas were Keepers of the Western Door, the Onondagas were Keepers of the Central Fire, and the Oneidas and the Cayugas were called the two "Younger Brothers." The Tuscarorans—who are one of 16 separate tribes whose language belongs to the Iroquoian language family—joined the confederacy in the 1700s after wars with British Colonists in North Carolina forced them to leave their homelands.

Brief History of the Confederacy

As already mentioned, the Iroquois Confederacy was formed between the five tribes to address a constant state of warfare and to insure peace between the tribes. The confederacy was likely formed at some point between 1450 and 1600.[311] According to tradition, Deganawida, a native of the north shore of Lake Ontario, traveled to all five tribes and persuaded them to join in a "Great Peace." An Onondaga exile living among the Mohawks, Ayouhwatha, joined Deganawida; together they proposed a confederacy among the five tribes. The confederacy was based on local kinship groups (clans); tribal and clan membership was passed down matrilineally. Self-governing local clans were composed of two or more matriarchal families; clans joined together to govern the village and tribe. Clan mothers were responsible for appointing clan chiefs, who also served as confederacy chiefs. Decisions made by the Confederacy chiefs required unanimous agreement. From its inception, the Iroquois Confederacy was designed to accept additional members; if any tribe desired to join the confederacy, they need only agree to live by the laws of the Great Peace. Maintained in the oral traditions of the

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[311] Mann and Fields argue that the Iroquois Confederacy was formed in 1142. Tradition states that an eclipse occurred at the time the confederacy was formed, and although they do consider the eclipse dates 1451 and 1536, they find that the 1142 date is more congruent with archaeology, astronomy, historical records, and oral tradition. (Barbara A. Mann and Jerry L. Fields, "A sign in the sky: dating the League of the Haudenosaunee." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 21.2 (1997): 105-63.)

tribe, this precedent was followed by many tribes seeking refuge upon displacement from their homelands in the face of advancing European colonization. Because the tribes could not reach unanimous agreement regarding who to support in the Revolutionary war, the council fire was extinguished in 1777.

In her text, Müller-Tannewitz does not discuss the history of the confederacy itself, but the structure of the confederacy and the incorporation of unique clans and tribal groups are suggested in her depictions of village life throughout the text. The village in which Georg's new family resides is described as "a row of longhouses" with "a row of small, gimp wigwams, in which the Lenape live." [312] This description makes clear that the village is comprised not only of one tribe; it is also not comprised only of members of the Iroquis Confederacy, but rather at least 2 distinct groups with different tribal affiliations, housing, and customs. The author also takes time to describe the clan affiliations in the village:

> In jeden Dorf teilten sich die Clans in zwei Abteilungen: auf der einen Seite sie Schildkröten, Biber, Bären und Wölfe, die "älteren Vettern"; auf der anderen Seite die Hirsche, Schnepfen, Reiher und Falken, die „jungeren Vetternn". Die Kinder der beiden Abteilungen standen ständig auf Kriegsfuß miteinander.[313]

Müller-Tannewitz's use of the clan distinctions and groupings serves a key role in the plot of the story: as a member of the Turtle Clan, Georg's childhood adversaries belong to the "Younger Cousins," while his best friends belong to the "Older Cousins."[314]

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[312] Müller-Tannowitz, 82. "…eine Reihe langer Häuser…" "der Reihe lagen kleine, kruppelförmige Wigwams, in denen Lenape wohnten."
[313] Ibid. " In each village, the clans divide themselves into two groups: on one side the Turtles, Beaver, Bears and Wolves, the "Older Cousins"; on the other side the Deer, Snipes, Egret, and Falks, the "Younger Cousins." The children of each group are constantly at war with each other."
[314] Ibid., 83.

Role of Women in the Tribe

As a matrilineal organization, women in the Iroquois Confederacy had more of an active social and political role than in many other tribes and the white settler society at the time. Kinship, clan and tribal affiliation were passed from the mother to her children. Women were the owners of the longhouses, and the mother's clan retained rights to the children in the event of a parental separation or death. Husbands would leave their clan's longhouses to move in with their wives, but they had no ownership rights to the woman, the longhouse, or the children. Wives not only retained possession of their belongings after marriage, they also solely owned anything they made while married. In cases of separation, wives could ask husbands to leave their longhouses and husbands were free to return to the longhouse that belonged to their mother's clan.

Not only were women respectively more socially influential in the Iroquois Confederacy, they were more politically influential as well. Clan mothers were responsible for appointing male clan chiefs, who also served as local village chiefs and Confederacy chiefs. No male could have political power without the support of the female clan mothers. This created a political dynamic where, although the women were not directly involved in serving as chiefs and making decisions, the woman's voice was heard and respected in political matters.

The role of women in the tribe is not one that Müller-Tannowitz expressly explores or elucidates in her text. However, this matriarchal structure is one that is hinted at throughout the text. Georg's new sister, Malia, is the one to guide him through his adoption experience and teach him the customs and tradtions of his new clan. There are occasional references to Georg's Iroquois mother and aunts living communally in the longhouse, the children belonging to the clans of their mothers, and mothers presiding over all matters in the longhouses.[315] During the

[315] Ibid., 84, 90.

spring festival, Malia, Georg's Iroquois sister, also makes references to their father's clan, the Hawks.[316] The matriarchy is suggested in the text, since the children Georg and Malia belong to the Turtle Clan, and this clan is that of the mother. However, the matriarchical organization of the family groups in the Iroquois Confederacy is not one of the major emphases of the text. This feature is discussed as appropriate to explain certain events and situations, but little more than a sentence or two at a time throughout the text is dedicated to the topic.

Role of Replacement Adoptions in the Tribe

Iroquois population in the 1600s is estimated to be no more than 16,000 people. Population was maintained by natural births and also through the adoption of captives. Captives were routinely adopted to maintain tribal population and replace fallen relatives. Not only could whole tribes seeking asylum join the Confederacy or be offered protection in Confederacy lands by agreeing to abide by the Great Peace, but individuals as well could become full members of the Iroquois Confederacy through desired or forced adoption ceremonies. Through these ceremonies, it was believed, the individual actually became Iroquois; Iroquois blood replaced non-Iroquois blood, and the adopted individual was recognized as a member of the Iroquois nation as if she or he had been born to a specific Confederacy clan. While many adoptions were carried out to help maintain clan population, many adoptions also took place as a part of the mourning rituals. Children especially were frequently adopted to take the place of a deceased son or daughter of roughly the same age.

The adoption ritual, specifically as related to the mourning rituals where a child was adopted to replace a deceased son, plays a central role in Müller-Tannowitz's text. In fact, this adoption ritual is the basis for her entire plot line. Without the need to replace a deceased son,

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[316] Ibid., 84, 90, 94.

Georg's uncle would not have kidnapped him, he would not been adopted, and readers would not have the opportunity to learn about the customs of the Iroquois through the text. Georg's adoption by his Iroquis parents, his life as a member of the Turtle Clan, his slow understanding of Iroquois life and customs, and his eventual return to his biological family would not have been possible without the tradition of adopting a child to replace a deceased child as part of the Iroquois mourning ritual.

Iroquois Confederacy's Role during the French and Indian War (1754-1763)

The name, French and Indian War, confuses the participant list of this war. The war was fought between the French and British; tribes aligned with each side also fought in the war, but were not the main aggressors on either side. The majority of tribes fought on the side of the French; the main exception to this was the Iroquois Confederacy. The Iroquois Confederacy had a long history of animosity with the French. The French—allies of the Iroquois' enemies the Wyandot (Huron) and Mahicans—soon were understood as enemies of the Iroquois Confederacy as well. The Iroquois Confederacy sided with the British against the French, hoping to gain favors from the British after the war. Very few Iroquois actually participated in the war, and although the British government forbade settlers from moving beyond the Appalachian Mountains, local governments and settlers disregarded the border and continued to encroach on Iroquois Confederacy territory.

Blauvogel hinges on the timeframe and settler conditions during the French and Indian War. Georg is kidnapped by his Iroquois uncle while acting as a messenger for the military. Because the military needed supplies during the French and Indian War, each family in the district where his family had their homestead was required to supply two men to join the road work crew. Georg's family sends his older brother, Anders, and nine year old Georg to fullfil

their quota for the road crew. Had Georg not been traveling alone in the wilderness, he may not have been kidnapped and adopted by his Iroquois family. The end of the war also plays a vital role in the plot of *Blauvogel*; since many of the tribes fought on the side of the French, and the English won the war, a condition of the peace for the tribes was that all adopted white children were to be returned to their biological families. Although the Iroquois had sided with the English, this condition of peace applied to them as well, and Georg had to be returned to his biological family along with the other adopted children.[317]

Blauvogel remains painstakingly true to the history of the Iroquois Confederacy and what is known about daily life in Confederacy villages. Her representations of the clan structure, of multiple tribes inhabiting one village, adoption, and even the role played by the Confederacy during the French and Indian War remain true to historical written and oral histories. While a detailed analysis of which specific aspects of Müller-Tannowitz's narration accord with oral and written tribal history, such an analysis is not only beyond the scope of the current project, it would also show a remarkable lack of divergences, despite the fictional nature of the text. Such an investigation would speak in support of her text continually being used in German elementary classrooms, but would not begin to consider the possibility of national imagining. *Blauvogel* is not merely a text that allows insight in a foreign past, but also a text that makes strong assertions regarding the socialist Iroquois society and the capitalist American society. Published and read during the early years of the GDR, *Blauvogel* allows for the imagination of a utopian socialist nation through the safe distance of time, space, and language.

Analysis of Text

[317] Ibid., 230-263.

In her afterword, Müller-Tannowitz herself explains that she intended to write about the forest tribes, not the commonly described Sioux and prairie Indian tribes. The author, through the figure of a nine-year-old white boy, provides rich details about the Iroquois way of life to a young reading audience. Based upon the tone of her narrative, her foreword and her afterword, her intention of painting a vibrant picture for German youth of an often forgotten tribe during a less commonly discussed era of American colonization becomes clear. The sympathies of the protagonist lie with the Iroquois, and the narrative is written so that the sympathies of the young readers align with those of the protagonist Georg. Throughout the course of the narrative, Georg transforms from a typical young white settler to a young Iroquois. While the Iroquois adoption ceremony may have made Georg Iroquois in the eyes of the tribe, it is the love, care, and compassion of his adoptive family that converts Georg's heart.

The Prologue of *Blauvogel*, in addition to setting the period of the book—namely 1755—sets the tone for reading and interpretation for the text. The prologue describes the forest as a personified utopia where people and animals have lived for uncountable years without disturbing the great creation. The white settlers are set up as monsters from their first appearance in the prologue, the personified forest running from them and their metal axes. The forest is not the only form of life that runs away from the monsters; all forms of life, without exception, eventually flee. No amount of space is enough for the monsters, who wildly pursued the fleeing forest until no forest remained. From the moment of their first appearance in the text, the white settlers are described as monsters. Reading further into the text, there are early indications of themes that will be more fully developed throughout the text. The settlers are unaware of proper interaction with the forest. Unlike the Indianers, who can live in the forest without disturbing him, the settlers cut ever growing holes into the personified forest. The description of the settlers

in pursuit of the forest, "Aber die Weißen blieben ihm auf den Fersen und die Bäume wichen weiter zurück…"[318] articulates an idea of aggression on the part of the settlers and peaceful retreat on the part of the forest.[319] It further conveys the idea of the never satisfied settlers and the always yielding forest: "Auch hier fand der Wald keine Ruhe, denn die Ansiedler folgten ihn…"[320] After reading the prologue, there can be no confusion about the point of view exhibited in the text; sympathy lies with the forest, the animals, and the Indianers while the perpetrators of destruction—the white settlers—are destined due to their greed to destroy everything in their path. The point of view taken by the text may explain its large popularity in the GDR, where children's literature was the product of governmental planning.

Blauvogel is a traditional captivity narrative in the sense that it begins with a young child in a settler community who is kidnapped by Indianers and forcefully transported to their village. Georg, the captive, exhibits the genre-specific resentment toward his captors, failed escape attempts, and gradual adjustment and acceptance of his situation. Once Georg has accepted his Indianer family and begun to forget his biological family, he is removed from the Indianer family and returned to the biological family. Upon his arrival, Georg is so used to the Indianer way of life; he is unable to readjust to his once familiar surroundings and elects to return to his Indianer family. Simple introductory plot structures and either a forceful removal from the adoptive Indianer family or a willing return to white society through ransom, as argued by Carleton, are common in captivity narratives, both authentic and fictional.[321] Key to the genre of fictional captivity narratives is that, like Georg, captives who have been adopted and assimilated into an Indianer tribe and forcefully returned to white society are unable to reintegrate and ultimately

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[318] "But the Whites stayed on their heels and the Trees yielded further ground…"
[319] Ibid., 5.
[320] "Even here the forest couldn't find any peace, because the settlers followed him." Ibid., 6.
[321] Carleton , 169-80.

leave white society, either to roam the borderlands of "civilized" (read white) society as lone frontiersmen or to return to their adoptive families.

Function of the white settlers as a tool of social critique

Blauvogel was printed in both the FRG and the GDR. However, its popularity in the flegling GDR was much greater than that of the FRG, as evidenced by the vastly different number of times the story was printed in each country between 1949 and 1975.[322] The children's book *Blauvogel* was twice as popular in the GDR as it was in the FRG during this fledgling period. Book production in the GDR was controlled by the government; books for children were intended—some even before their authorship—to serve the political agenda of the government.[323] In order for a book such as *Blauvogel* to be reprinted 20 times before 1975, it must have fulfilled a specific pedagogical or political requirement of the state.

In *Blauvogel*, the author has created a text from dual white and Iroquois perspectives. The narrative spans approximately nine years and is told from the perspective of a young boy who belongs initially to the white settler community and ultimately to the Iroquois community. Throughout the course of the text, representations of white settlers function as a tool of social critique within the contexts of the narrative. This critique of a pre-revolution capitalist America aligned with East German anti-capitalist propaganda and agendas, which may help explain the popularity of this West-German authored captivity narrative—and its many printings—in socialist East Germany.

[322] As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the text was published ten times (four in hardcover and 6 in paperback reprints) in the FRG between 1955 and 1971 while the GDR published the text twenty times before 1975.
[323] For an excellent description and analysis of the function of children's literature in the GDR, see Steinlein, Strobel, and Kramer.

At the end of the novel, Georg makes the decision to leave his biological, white settler family and return home to his adopted Iroquois family. This decision itself is a strong form of social critique within the text; after spending relatively equal time in each culture, and upon being returned to his "civilized" biological family, Georg willingly makes the decision to undergo further hardship in order to return to his "primitive" native family. Although this decision is one that is not anticipated or understood by the white settlers, it is a self-assured decision that Georg reaches quite quickly. His decision is not a hasty, rash decision that will lead to later regret, but rather one so evident as the correct decision, it takes no lengthy consideration, no justification, no deliberation before being embraced.

The fact that Georg can make the decision to return to his adoptive native family so quickly highlights many negative aspects of the white settler society. These aspects range from self-centeredness to a lack of humanity. The settlers are depicted as being motivated by their own needs, wants and desires. They will be generous, insofar as it is beneficial for themselves. This does not only apply to strangers, but also members of one's own family; children and other family members are expected to work for the good of the family, as defined by the oldest male family member. [Although Georg's aunt in Bedford is the oldest living member of the family after his parents' deaths, she does not make decisions for the family and has no control over Georg's situation. It is his older brother, Andres, who makes decisions for the family, setting goals for the younger siblings to achieve.] The unarticulated expectation that family members will work toward the goals set by the oldest male family member results in a constant state of work and productivity, but also in a state of heightened stress. In addition to resulting in heightened stress, the productivity level is maintained at the expense of oneself and the well-being of others; no one could take time from their work to help Georg when his hand was

crushed. Family members in settler families are disposable when they are no longer capable of working toward these goals.

These descriptions, together with the prologue that initially paints white settlers as monsters who devour everything in their path, articulated from a native perspective, work to create a reflection of white society. Upon his return to white settler society that follows his full integration into the Iroquois way of life, Georg occupies a unique outsider position. No longer surrounded by his Iroquois family, he no longer belongs to white settler society. Here, his role is that of an outsider. He functions as a critical mirror to settler society and his family; for the first time reflecting on his experiences in said society as well as those within his specific biological family. Georg now has a point of comparison and an experience of family and community with which to compare the conditions of white settler society. Unlike the funhouse mirror style reflection we will see by Hannes in Janosch's text in the following chapter, this reflection is brutally honest and critical. It allows for a recasting of self-evident white settler values and opens them up for reflection and debate. The values are not explicitly discussed, defended or condemned in Müller-Tannowitz's text, but a strong judgment against these values—in the form of Georg's speedy departure from white settler society—concludes the narration. The text also offers an alternative set of values: values that strive for recognition of individuality and communal prosperity. These values cannot be found through observation of any group of settlers, but are the foundation of life for the native Iroquois groups at the center of Müller-Tannowitz's text.

Representation of Indianer from the White Settler Perspective

Georg, the second son of a settler family living on the western frontier in 1755, is nine years old at the beginning of the text. He has been raised by his parents as a settler child, and is

familiar with the frontier customs and way of life. He is especially conscious of the frontier stereotypes regarding the local Indianer tribes. Following the prologue, the narrative begins with a detailed description of Georg's family's house being attacked by a small group of Indianer. The result of this attack is not a kidnapping or the destruction of his family; Georg's father and a troop of militia arrive in time to stop the attack. The resulting conversation between Georg's family and members of the militia offers key insights into the frontier perception of and attitudes toward Indianer tribes.

Two understandings of Indianer from the white settler perspective are presented in the text. The first understanding presented to readers is that of Georg's brother Andres. Andres represents a younger and slightly more informed understanding of Indianer on the frontier. Andres has enough knowledge about the local Indianer groups to recognize the sign of the Turtle Clan on an axe abandoned near the door and understand that the Indianer on the frontier are not united and, further, have differing affiliations.[324] The other understanding of the Indianer presented in the text is from the perspective of a hardened Frontiersman. While the former perspective can't be seen as a positive one, the perspective of the older Frontiersmen is even more negative. Indianer, we are told, are not individuals, but all part of the same red pack.[325] The use of the term "pack" is noteworthy here. The etymology of the English word "pack" is Low German, and so it is not surprising that some of the same meanings and connotations for the word exist in both German and English.[326] A pack in English can be a bundle, a group or pile, a set of people with a common interest, an organized unit, "a large group of individuals massed together (as in race)" or "a group of often predatory animals of the same kind" such as a wolf

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[324] Ibid., 11.
[325] Ibid.
[326] Etymology from *Miriam Webster Dictionary*, http://madcat.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=7548346

pack or a pack of wild dogs.[327] The word "Pack" in German, like English, has more than one related meaning. Similar to its English counterpart, it can be a bundle of something, but it can also be used to describe a person who is evil, miserable, useless, rude, insolent, or wretched.

Both definitions can be integrated in the use of "Pack" by the white settlers in *Blauvogel*. When the white settlers speak of the "rote Pack," they are speaking of a bundle, or group. Their descriptions of the Indianer and the context of these descriptions affirms that they also make use of the second German meaning, describing a group of people who are evil, miserable, useless, rude, insolent, and wretched. Since the narrative is situated in the American frontier, a place where English was widely used, and because the author does use an English phrase in the text, it could be argued that the English definition of a pack as being a group of wild animals or dogs is also present, especially considering the fact that Indianer are repeatedly referred to and called dogs by the white settlers, frontiersmen, and traders. The use of the word "pack," along with its context—"das rote Pack ist alles eins!"[328]—works to dehumanize the Indianer, demoting them from equal human status with the white settlers.[329] This demotion to an existence that is not fully human is one that the older frontiersmen have accepted as truth and attempted to teach settler children in the story. However, despite the fact that these settler children may parrot what their elders proclaim to be truth, the younger settlers are more flexible in their understanding of Indianer and less willing or able to see Indianer as something other than human. Throughout Georg's captivity, he fights with his early teachings purporting that Indianer are not human and his own experiences that confirm the humanity of Indianer, despite their skin color, language, religion, value system, and way of life.

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[327] Ibid.
[328] The red pack is all the same!
[329] Müller-Tannewitz, 11.

Like Georg, Andres' understanding is more informed and flexible than that of the older men. Andres' understanding of Indianer seems to be motivated, at least in part, by an understanding of the white settlers' role in creating tension on the frontier between the two groups. While not a position that could be called sympathetic to the Indianer tribes' plight in any way, and not one that will influence actions differing from those of the older men, Andres is at least less willing to see the Indianer as sub-human animals that must be eradicated. This understanding is greatly contested by that of the older and more experienced frontier dwellers. The older Frontiersman are not only unsympathetic to the problems they cause for and among the Indianer tribes, they refuse any suggestion that the Indianer tribes could be similar to their own white society in any way. Further, they refuse any indication that the Indianer tribes are as human as the white settlers, which then allows for action without regard for consequences outside the needs and wants of white settler society.

The age factor seems to play an important role in the white settler understanding of Indianer. While the older frontiersmen have set attitudes and cannot allow for individuality in their understanding of Indianer, Andres—Georg's older brother—has a much more flexible view; he is willing to consider some individuality in his definition of Indianer. Andres at least recognizes differences in clan affiliation while the Frontiersman proclaims simply that the red pack is all the same, regardless of clan or tribal affiliation. Georg, the protagonist of the story is the youngest of these three and while, at the time of his abduction he had heard primarily the older Frontiersmen view of Indianer, namely that the Indianer are all part of the same red pack, he is quickly and easily able to recognize the humanity and individuality of his Iroquois captors. Consideration of these three views leads to the conclusion that age, as it functions in *Blauvogel*, is directly related to flexibility and understanding of the Indianer tribes. The older the white

settler is, the more fixed and prejudiced his understanding of the Indianer becomes. The young figures in the text are the individuals who are able to comprehend and respond to changes in their preconceived stereotypes of Indianer. They are also the figures who can see Indianer as owning individuality, a key trait that separates humans from animals. Georg, because of his young age, is the best candidate for Iroquois adoption in the narrative because his views on Indianer are least fixed.

The Iroquois understand and admit the humanity of the white settlers in the text, despite the fact that this understanding of humanity is not mutual. Although there are instances throughout the text in which the Indianer describe the first white settlers as children who needed help and the white fur traders and frontiersmen as people who are rude or unfeeling, perhaps the best testimonial to the fact that the Iroquois recognize the humanity of the white settlers is their willingness to adopt Georg, the son of white settlers, to replace their own deceased son. If the Iroquois did not recognize the humanity of the white settlers, then the white settlers would not have been candidates for adoptions, and thus there would have been no need for the white militia to demand the return of all of the white settlers and children who had been adopted by various tribes at the end of the French and Indian War.

The flexibility of children and their resulting ability to change their learned perspectives becomes a key point when considering the construction of nation, both within the text, and within the political and social contexts of the new socialist GDR. In the text, Georg functions as the lone protagonist. The story is about him and his experiences; therefore, Georg and his decisions becomes a positive model for children reading the text. Georg's understanding of Indianer is the most flexible, due to his young age and lack of experiences. He belongs to the age group who has the inherent ability to be most flexible, to see the advantages of a new system—

here the Iroquois way of life—and to make decisions about life based on fact and experience, not hearsay.[330] Georg is flexible in his understanding of Indianer, but he is equally flexible in his ideas of nation. Raised as a child of the settlers, Georg had firmly understood the national norms of looking out for oneself first, of stockpiling supplies and not sharing them, and personal ownership. Upon his adoption into an Iroquois village, Georg's ideas of nation shifted to those of a more socialist idea, sharing with family, friends, and strangers alike, communal ownership, and working together to provide for the whole community.

One of the reasons that *Blauvogel* might have been so popular in the GDR was because of the flexibility and adaptability of Georg. At the time of its first publication, children of the GDR, like Georg, were learning a new political system with new national norms and values. The successful formation of the socialist state relied heavily upon molding the hearts and minds of its children to value socialist norms and values. The children who read *Blauvogel* at the time of its first publication would play key roles in maintaining the fledgling socialist state and further imagining the future course of the nation. A text such as *Blauvogel*, with its emphasis on recognizing and embracing a better political and social system would have certainly corresponded to the nation-building and educational agenda of the GDR.

Life Among the Iroquois

Blauvogel, although told from the perspective of a newly adopted white captive, gives readers more information about the Iroquois way of life than the white settler way of life. Georg, due to his upbringing in a white settler family, clearly understands white settler values. As the

[330] Georg's decision to leave his biological family and return to his Iroquois family is a decision based on his experiences as a member of both families. His experiences among the Iroquois have eliminated fear of Indianer, while his experiences among the white settlers have confirmed that the Iroquois way of life is better. Georg's siblings, who have not had similar experiences, base their knowledge of Indianer on hearsay, stories they have heard and read, rather than their on personal experiences.

only value system to which he has been exposed, Georg's understanding of reality is filtered through these values. His actions are defined by the system of values he inherited from his parents. The values are a part of Georg's character as he is introduced at the beginning of the book, and are never explained or commented upon as is done with the Iroquois values system. Upon his capture and adoption, Georg must learn a fully new and foreign set of values. Because these values are so foreign to him, the Iroquois way of life, morals, and values are often explained to Georg in great detail. Whereas he blindly accepts and follows without thought or analysis the white settler values taught to him since birth, Georg spends a great deal of time reflecting upon these Iroquois values and comparing them to his expectations, allowing young readers of the story the opportunity to do the same.

Value of Children

Unlike family members in white settler society who were only appreciated for the work they could do, each family member in the Iroquois Confederacy was appreciated as a whole person.[331] Children help support the needs of the family, but like the adults, have more time for relaxation and play than the white settlers. This narrative centers specifically on the value of children; Georg is adopted as a replacement for a son who drowns while gathering wood during a flood.[332] The importance of this son to his family necessitated his replacement. It is important to note that the replacement that takes place is not the replacement of a worker or servant—someone to take on the work of the deceased—but rather someone to fill an empty place in the family. Georg is expected to be a good child, but he is adopted and appreciated for himself. Georg's adoptive father shows his concern for Georg even before their first meeting; after

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[331] See the above section for examples of the disposability of family members in white settler society as represented in this text.
[332] Müller-Tannewitz, 41-43, 68, 79.

Schielende Fuchs shot and killed his dog, Schnapp, Georg decides to run away from his uncle's home. He is hopelessly lost in the woods while attempting to return to his biological family. Georg's adoptive father Kleinbär follows and rescues Georg from his escape attempt.[333] Upon his return to the village, instead of the expected punishment, Georg's uncle presents him with a young dog that looks exactly like Georg's old dog.[334] While this instance of unconditional love and understanding is not the only one in the text, it is the first one Georg recognizes. As such, it establishes the first step toward an emotional connection that Georg makes with his Iroquois family. Once Georg, Malia, and Kleinbär arrive at their home village, Georg meets and begins to form a strong bond of trust with his mother, Strahlende Morgensonne. Contrary to Georg's expectations—expectations that he had developed throughout his childhood with his white settler family—his Iroquois mother is patient and observant. She not only notices when something is bothering her son, she stops her work to talk with him about his worries and vanquish his fears.[335]

In socialist East Germany, the child played a central and important role. This role can be seen not only in state policy about child care and schooling, but also in phrases such as "Kinderreichen Familie," which translated means a family rich in children. The turn of phrase brings with it the concept of richness through children. A narrative such as *Blauvogel* could have functioned in East Germany's children's literature to underscore the importance of children and families to the young adult reader audience. Anna Müller-Tannowitz most likely did not have a specific socialist political agenda in mind when writing this text; although *Blauvogel* was published in East Germany, Müller-Tannowitz was a West German author. However, the mere

[333] Ibid., 57.
[334] Ibid., 64.
[335] Ibid., 86.

fact that *Blauvogel* was published on 20 separate occasions in the GDR before 1975 speaks to the political importance of the text as used in East Germany. As we will see in the coming pages, the value of children is not the only moral expressed through the text that would have been appealing to the East German governmental office regulating children's literature.

Incorporation of work and play

One of the large differences between the white settlers and the Indianer clans depicted in the narrative is the treatment of children. Children were important to both groups, but the narrative's tone does suggest that children were more valued among the Iroquois. Children of the white settlers were expected to work from a young age, as were the children of the Iroquois. However, whereas the settler children understood their work to be work, the Indianer parents presented work to their children as games. Some games, such as swimming or shooting arrows, were meant to help children hone skills they would need in their adult lives while others, such as the Twisted Path (scaring birds in the garden) or gathering supplies, served the common good of the clan and village. The narrator focuses most closely on the games played by male children, an unsurprising fact since the third-person narrator speaks from Georg's perspective.

As previously stated, white settler children were expected to begin working at a young age; in fact, they were expected to begin working as soon as they were physically able to do so. As the oldest child present who could work to defend the family house from an attack in the first few pages of the narrative, Georg is expected to follow his mother's instructions without hesitation, but also to be willing and able to take action to protect the younger children and the house. With the absence of his father and older brother, it does seem logical in the narration of the book for Georg to take on more responsibility for helping his mother ensure the well-being of the family. While some of the things Georg is ordered to do are age appropriate—such as

holding a candle for his mother and helping her place the table and benches against the door to offer more protection from axes chopping away at the wooden door—Georg is also expected to extinguish a roof fire that was started by burning arrows.[336] While it is true that the fire on the roof needed to be extinguished, and Georg's mother helped by giving him buckets of water, the sole responsibility for using that water appropriately to extinguish the fire lay with a nine-year-old child.

This is not the only example of white children being expected to take on a large amount of responsibility relatively early in life. Once the fire has been extinguished, Georg plays the role of the look-out. His mother puts Georg in danger of being shot by telling him to look through the hole in the roof and tell her what he sees. While the result of this is harmless—the Indianer have retreated as a militia group advances—Georg and his mother had no way of knowing whether their attackers were still present and, in the case of their presence, if they would have a weapon trained on the hole in the roof.

The lack of a childhood for settler children is further emphasized in the text by the Militia decision to require two men from each household to report for duty building a key supply road during the French and Indian War. Georg's father John assumes that he and his oldest son will have to report for duty, but the hardened frontiersmen point out that two men from the family must report for duty, there is no specific order for John himself to be one of the men. The frontiersmen suggest sending Georg as the second man, which his mother protests, as Georg is just barely nine years old. However, the frontiersmen point out that "on the border, everyone has to be grown by the age of nine."[337] There is a recognition that, due to his young age, Georg won't be able to do the heavy labor of road construction, but he can be used as a messenger. The

[336] Ibid., 9.
[337] Ibid., 13.

family decides to send Georg—who cannot yet mount a horse on his own—as the second man, so that John can help the family move out of their settler's cabin on the dangerous frontier to the relative safety of Raystown.[338]

Once with the road crew, the lack of childhood for frontier children (as opposed to city children, who begin to attend newly conceived schools in larger, well established cities at this time) remains a fact of life. Georg's first duty upon arrival is to leave the relative safety of the road crew and their guards to bring a message to the tardy supply wagons.[339] Georg is not only expected to work as a messenger without instruction, he is also expected to travel alone, unguarded and unguided, through the wilderness to deliver those messages. There is little chance that Georg would get lost; there is merely one road and the supply wagons must be on it. However, there is still a very real danger that he could be attacked by bandits, robbers, or Indianer along the way. Through the discussion regarding moving the family to Raystown and the fact that it is not considered safe for Georg's mother to travel alone with the children, it is interesting that Georg is expected to travel alone. There is a gender difference between Georg and his mother, which could account for the assumption that it is safe for Georg to travel alone while it is unsafe for his mother to do so. However, modern readers may expect that Georg's age would play a larger role in his perceived ability to safely travel alone. The fact that Georg was expected to take on travel through an unsafe wilderness by himself underscores his adult status as a member of the road crew and further emphasizes the lack of a childhood for youth on the frontier.

Georg needed the better part of a day to find the supply wagons, and once he had reached, them, readers are presented with another perspective on Georg's adult status and the

[338] Ibid., 14.
[339] Ibid., 18.

road crew's expectations for him. The supply wagon leader is astonished that Georg was expected to travel through the wilderness alone, claiming his oxen have more intelligence than the commander of the road crew, and assigns a young man to accompany Georg back to the road crew camp. Georg's age influences the decision to send another man back with him, but the larger issue at stake is that it is dangerous for anyone to travel alone through the wilderness.[340] The supply wagon leader is more aware of Georg's age and his opinion does put Georg's adult status in question, however, he does not question the fact the Georg is expected to work as part of the road crew. While more aware of Georg's young age and more cautious about his safety, the supply wagon leader's recognition of Georg's messenger role serves to again draw attention to the lack of childhood for frontier children. Interestingly enough, Georg arrives at the supply wagons safely; it is during his return to the road crew when he is accompanied by another man that Georg's future uncle, Rauchiger Tag, captures him.

Unlike Georg's experiences with his biological family, the Iroquois emphasize the importance of both work and play. Swimming is an important skill, but one that can be learned without the presence of adults. The boys in Georg's village hone their swimming skills through races and games such as the duck, where each boy puts a piece of clay on his large toe and tries to reach the other side of the stream without the "duck" washing away.[341] Shooting arrows, however, is a skill that is practiced in the presence of adults. Georg's father is often the one to set up a target and watch the young boys attempt to hit that target with their arrows.[342] The presence of adults does not merely add a safety factor to this target practice; it allows the adults an opportunity to give positive feedback and check the developing skills of the village children.

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[340] Ibid., 20.
[341] Ibid., 51.
[342] Ibid., 50.

The types of play that directly help the village may not seem like games or playing to readers; gathering wood, picking berries, and scaring birds from the gardens appear to more closely resemble chores than play. However, through the narration of the text, readers are lead toward another conclusion. Georg himself describes playing with his sister Malia as including gathering wood, picking berries, and guarding the fields.[343] This suggests that, although these chores were not specific games, the protagonist did understand their completion as a part of play, not work. The Twisted Path is a game played by very young children that would help conserve food in times of famine. In this game, children each hang onto the belt of another child with their left hand and catch the kernels of corn that jump out of the mortar with their right hands while walking around the mortar in circles.[344] This game, useful for the whole community because it minimized corn waste, was well liked by children and could only be played when one of the mothers used the mortar to grind corn. Through the blending of work and play for children, the Iroquois parents depicted in this text have found ways for their children to help ensure the continuation of the tribe while at the same time preserving the children's playfulness. Through the depiction of games, the narrative reinforces the socialist value of working together for the common good, while at the same time insisting that this work need not be heavy handed, overly stressful, or unenjoyable.

Family Ties

Both White settler and Iroquois families are depicted as having very close ties. Families belonging to both communities must work together and depend on each other for the survival of the family. Parents love their children, and children love their parents in each community. However, the reasons for this love in each community are depicted as being quite different.

[343] Ibid., 65, 67.
[344] Ibid., 143.

During my previous discussion of white perceptions of Indianer in the *Blauvogel* text, I suggested that the aged frontiersmen had a dehumanized understanding of Indianer, which resulted in racism. Racism involves a marked disregard for the individuality of a group. This is an interesting point to consider again during the discussion of family dynamics among the white settlers and the Iroquois clans. The white settlers, I claim, have a disregard for the humanity of the Indianer in the narrative because they fail to see the individuality of the Indianer, instead referring to them as a "red pack." However, as we will see, the adult white settlers also have a lack of tolerance for the individuality of their own children and siblings, expecting them from early on to do the work of an adult while at the same time blindly following the orders of their parents.

Among Georg's biological family, it is clear that all family members, regardless of age or ability, work together for the common good of the family. As already discussed, Georg's biological family expects him to obey and assist his mother, taking on duties that are not necessarily well suited for children in general or Georg specifically. He is the principle fire fighter when their roof was set on fire, and, despite his age, Georg is sent as the second man to join the road crew. Georg and Andres, the two oldest sons, are expected to fulfill the family's commitment to supply two men to the road crew because it is in the best interests of the family to keep the only real adult, Georg's father, at home. Even Georg's younger brother Peter is expected to do his part to help the family; while Georg and Andres are departing home to join the road crew, the little boy Peter is expected to care for the family's cows, driving them home from the pasture.[345]

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[345] Ibid., 14.

The expectation that all family members do their part for the good of the family is continued upon Georg's return to his biological family. Georg, after being away from the family for approximately seven years, is expected on his first full day at their homestead to begin working with Andres and Peter to clear two new acres. Georg's older brother has little understanding or patience for Georg's unfamiliarity with the work and inability to clear trees effectively.[346] At issue is not Georg's inability to do the work per se, but rather the fact that he cannot meet the expectations and assumptions of his siblings. The fact that Georg is not used to the type of work he is expected to do and the poor fit of the axe in his hands are of no concern to Andres. Georg's effectiveness with the axe isn't as important to them as his inability to complete as much work as they would like. Since Georg cannot complete the amount of work expected of him, he does not contribute enough to the family.

Georg's thoughts concerning the axe handle point out a marked difference between the white settler mentality and the Iroquois mentality. Among the Iroquois, every one is allowed to chisel and form their own axe handle until it fits perfectly in the user's hands. While on the surface a small issue, its foundation is an understanding that people are inherently different, and what might be workable or comfortable for one is not necessarily going to fit a different person. Andres' however, does not consider the fit of the axe in Georg's hand. The axe, in Andres' opinion, is perfectly fine and functional; it is up to Georg to change his hands to fit the axe handle. In white settler society, it is not the inanimate object that is expected to change to fit the individual humans, but rather the humans who are expected to change themselves or adapt so that they can use a standardized axe handle. This expectation neither recognizes nor embraces the individuality of humans in general or axe users specifically, and may raise problems in the

[346] Ibid., 252.

definition of humanity among the white settlers who refuse to see individuality not only among the dehumanized Indianer, but also among their own children and younger siblings.

The expectation of working together is an interesting one when contrasted with the handling of injury. At the end of his first day of work with his brothers, Georg's hand is injured, perhaps as a result of Andres' refusal to recognize Georg's individuality. While he is lucky in that he did not lose any fingers, he is unwilling to work until his hand is healed.[347] His brother Andres, although severely disappointed at Georg's unwillingness to continue working despite his injury, does accept Georg's decision. However, Andres has no use for Georg at the family homestead, and encourages him to stay with his aunt in Raystown (Bedford): "You are useless with your crushed hand; you can keep your promise [to our aunt] right away by visiting her [in Bedford]".[348] Georg is only an asset to his family as long as he can work for the common good of the family. Leaving aside for a moment Andres' and Georg's differing definitions of what the family good consists, the fact that Georg is sent away from the family home to visit an aunt because he cannot work as expected is telling of the value system in place among frontier families. It seems that family members, including children, are expected to work for the good of the family, but are expendable once they cannot or will not fulfill the work expectations of that family.

While it is true that Andres may have been acting under the advisement of the Bedford church pastor—the pastor visited Georg to assess Georg's heathen conversion and whether he needed to be converted back to Chirstianity—the fact remains that the reason given to Georg (and the readers) for returning to Bedford is that he could not fulfill the family's work expectations of him with an injured hand. Although Georg attended church while in Bedford,

[347] Ibid., 253.
[348] Ibid., 257.

there is no textual evidence that he was converted to Christianity or that the pastor spent any time speaking with him directly. This suggests that Georg's Christian education was not the reason he was sent to live in town with his aunt. Equally telling is the method through which Georg was called back to the homestead. His aunt received word that Georg was to return to the homestead and, despite Georg's request to remain with her in town, she assumes that Georg must return to the homestead because he is needed to complete a job.[349] Once his hand has healed and Georg is again healthy enough to work, he is expected to return to the family homestead in order to work for the common family good, regardless of his own wishes and desires.

There is a grave contrast between the work ethic of Georg's settler family and that of his Iroquois family. While everyone in Georg's Iroquois family is expected to work for the common good—underscored by the communal living situation and the fact that food does not belong to anyone—Georg's biological family's work ethic is much higher. His white siblings work from morning until nightfall, always finding new tasks to complete. There were no relaxing evenings, and the siblings worked with such haste, it seemed that no task could ever be completed quickly enough.[350] Even when Georg's hand was crushed, no one could stop their tasks long enough to look at or treat the injury. This way of life is situated in direct contrast to the way Georg was raised. His Iroquois mother, sister, and aunts had always taken time to speak with him when he was confused or upset; whenever anyone was injured, the healers of the tribe came to assist them.

During the course of the narrative, an aspect repeatedly associated with the Iroquois villages is that of family love and commitment. While the narrator never directly says that the settlers have an absence of family love and commitment, Georg's comparisons of his treatment

[349] Ibid., 259.
[350] Ibid., 253.

by his two sets of parents always favor his Iroquois parents, perhaps surprisingly, since his Iroquois uncle captured him at the request of his parents. Readers might expect Georg to miss his biological parents more often or to harbor resentment against his Iroquois family. Georg's relationship with the Turtle Clan, his adoptive Iroquois family, gets off to a rocky start. Not only is he kidnapped by the Turtle Clan, his first negative encounter with Indianer involves the Turtle Clan; in the opening scene of the narrative, Indianer attack Georg's family home. Although the Indianer are chased away by the arrival of Georg's father, older brother, and members of the militia, evidence of the attack remains behind in the form of a tomahawk engraved with a turtle.[351] Georg learns from his brother Andres that the tomahawk belonged to a member of the turtle family. Had the attack been successful, the Turtle Clan would have been responsible for the death of Georg's family. Since his kidnapping follows the Indianer attack so closely, Georg's conviction that he will be martyred with the other captives cannot be shaken.[352] This conviction is always contradicted by Georg's new uncle, but the burning of the other captives does little to assuage Georg's fears.[353] It is only after his adoption ceremony that Georg begins to accept his role as son rather than martyr. The realization that he has been adopted by the Turtle Clan—the clan he believes responsible for the attack on his family's home—follows closely on the heels of the adoption ceremony. Given their history and the lack of trust Georg possesses for the Turtle Clan, his self re-identification as Iroquois and his love for his adoptive family develop rashly. The beginning of this development centers upon the dog, Schnapp.

Schnapp was the family dog of Georg's settler family. Georg missed Schnapp almost as much as his family members, and so adopted an Iroquois dog that he also named Schnapp.

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[351] Ibid., 11.
[352] Ibid., 33.
[353] Ibid., 30.

Schnapp was easily won over through Georg's care due to the singularity of it. The dogs in the village were not pets, and as such were not fed or treated overly kindly. They were allowed to stay in the vicinity of the houses, but were a half-wild pack that had to steal or hunt its own food. In the foreign environment of the Iroquois village with its unintelligible language, Schnapp becomes Georg's only true friend. One day during target practice Georg's main foe, Schielende Fuchs, intentionally shot and killed Schnapp.[354] The murder of Schnapp acts as the catalyst for Georg's impromptu escape attempt, and his subsequent rescue and introduction to his father, Kleinbär. Instead of the expected punishment for his escape attempt, the Turtle Clan presents Georg with a new dog; his uncle Rauchiger Tag had seen how painful the loss of Schnapp was to Georg and had searched the village until, in the very last house he discovered a dog that looked similar to Schnapp. The uncle traded a beaver hide for the dog in anticipation of Georg's return with the intention of raising his spirits: "We saw that your heart was heavy and wanted to dry your tears. Now we have covered the grave of the old Schnapp with fresh dirt, covered it with leaves and planted a tree on top."[355] The family love and understanding of Georg's loss and their desire to restore his good spirits after Schnapp's death, combined with the lack of punishment for running away, begin to open Georg's heart to his adoptive family.

The continued love and patience of his Iroquois parents and the unexpected lack of physical punishment slowly work together to shift Georg's self-identification from the kidnapped child of white settlers to a loved child of the Turtle Clan. Kleinbär's patience with teaching Georg the language and his mother's care during long months of illness are key to his integration in the Turtle Clan.[356] The narrator often stressed the importance of time in this adaptation as

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[354] Ibid., 55.
[355] Ibid., 64-65.
[356] Ibid., 70, 117.

well. Time, in addition to the patience, care, and unconditional love of his parents, result in the idea of escape becoming unimportant, the memory of his biological parents losing clarity, and his inadvertent adaptation to the Iroquois way of life.[357] Through time, his old name, Georg, becomes foreign and his Iroquois name, Blauvogel, more familiar. At this point in the text, the narrator ceases to refer to the protagonist as Georg, instead using his Iroquois name Blauvogel.[358] The transition happens seamlessly and without comment; on one page, the protagonist is referred to as Georg, and on the facing page he is called Blauvogel. The narrator states that the care and time spent with the mother and the quiet discussions with the father during his months of illness made Blauvogel an Indianer.[359] The narrator also states that Blauvogel was won over by love.[360]

Unlike the Janosch text where, as we will see in the following chapter, a simple set of skills turns Hannes into an Indianer, here Georg is made into an Indianer by the love, kindness, and compassion of his Iroquois family. Not only Georg, but the other children who had been adopted by other clans and tribes had also been made into Indianer through the love of their new families.[361] The importance of unconditional love and understanding of children is a value implicitly taught throughout the text. The Indianer families are used as examples of good, loving relationships between parents and children, while the white settler families are depicted as the negative status quo. It is because the differences in the type and quality of love are so great that the importance of unconditional love is so evident. As a nation interested in creating a new socialist society, the health and happiness of the children were of grave concern. A story such as

[357] Ibid., 81-82, 133.
[358] Ibid., 84.
[359] Ibid., 117.
[360] Ibid., 133.
[361] Ibid., 241.

Blauvogel would have offered exemplary family dynamics which could be further analyzed and modeled. In addition, children reading the story would have identified themselves with the protagonist Georg, his sympathies would become their sympathies, his aversion to American society theirs as well. This aversion to American society would have worked well with the political leanings of a socialist nation trying to convince its citizens of the advantages of socialism and the downfalls of capitalism. The cold war between the United States of America and its allies and the Soviet Union and its satellite countries began in the mid 1940s and continued into the early 1990s. The GDR, created in 1949, was an ally of the Soviet Union and, as such, interested in promoting the popular image of socialism while demoting attitudes toward the United States and other capitalist allies. An aversion to the capitalist United States among its citizens, especially the young citizens, would have been in the political and economic interests of the GDR. While I do not believe that it was Müller-Tannewitz's intent for her narrative to be used in this way, the interpretation is possible based on the plot and tone of the text.

Rituals of Eating

Rituals of eating among the Iroquois begins with confusion and hunger on Georg's part and melts into questions of hospitality throughout the text. Due to Georg's upbringing in a white settler family, his expectations revolving around mealtime are that the meal will be shared and that he, as a child, is not allowed to eat unless the food is given to him.[362] It is his new sister Malia who explains that the rituals surrounding eating only apply to midday meals: the men eat first, followed by the women and children.[363] The remainder of the day, everyone eats when they are hungry. Malia further explains that if Georg is hungry, he should go to a kettle and take what he wants. The idea of going to *a* kettle is important to Georg's comprehension of ownership

[362] Ibid., 46.
[363] Ibid., 46, 78.

among the Iroquois. Malia does not tell him to go to *the* kettle or *their aunt's* kettle, she tells him to go to *a* kettle. *A* kettle could belong to anyone, it is not necessarily the kettle that belongs to his aunt.

Georg does not understand his adoptive sister Malia's willingness to take food from a kettle belonging to another family; his white settler parents taught him that would be stealing. The belief at the foundation of Malia's actions—namely that no one can be allowed to be hungry when anyone has food—is articulated much later in the narrative; during a particularly hard winter, the entire village experiences a famine due to poor fall crops, poor hunting conditions, and lack of gunpowder. While his father is away attempting to trade for gunpowder, Blauvogel decides to take his aunt's gun and try to hunt for food so that his family would not starve.[364] His hunting trip is fruitless until he stumbles upon a bear den; Blauvogel shoots the bear and returns home with the news. Although Blauvogel shot the bear and his clan is starving, the meat is shared with every family, clan, and tribe in the village: "Other families could not go hungry if the Turtle Clan had something to eat."[365] This was true not only of the Turtle Clan, but of the other clans as well. Food was not a commodity to be owned and guarded, but a communally owned and shared provision.

At work here are two ideas important to the development of a socialist youth: an equal right to food regardless of status, affiliation, or station and communal ownership. And equal right to food and other supplies regardless of status, affiliation, or station is an idealistic idea professed by socialist thought. As a result of the war and lack of supplies thereafter, food stamps and waiting lists were a way of life in the GDR. The idea, professed though the handling of food in the *Blauvogel* text, that everyone has an equal right to food and supplies would have been

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[364] Ibid., 169.
[365] Ibid., 176.

supported through the politics of the GDR, despite the fact that reality never truly met the ideal; politicians and other people considered to be indispensable to the state shopped in different stores where they had access to products not available to the general public.

Establishing communal ownership was another matter of utmost importance to the socialist government of the GDR. Following the model set by the Soviet Union, the GDR slowly transferred titles to factories, houses, land, and farms to the government, where it was held in communal ownership for the citizens. Under the influence of pro-socialist teachings through the planned children's literature, children's groups, and school curriculum, the idea of communal ownership would have been familiar to children reading the text. *Blauvogel* offered children schooled in the advantages of communal ownership a positive example of how it could function.

Critique of White (read American) Society

There are many moments in Müller-Tannewitz' *Blauvogel* where the protagonist and his Iroquois family levy heavy critique on white settler society. Some of these moments are fairly mild, and many of these more mild moments have already been discussed in the prior section. In that section, we see a general preference for the Iroquois way of doing things and a general disbelief at the white settler norms and behavior. In that discussion, the emphasis was placed on similarities between the socialist East German nation, including its value system, and the Iroquois Confederacy. This comparison had a role of instruction. Even though that instructional role was most likely not the goal of the author, the text can be read in a way that instructs children in the positive aspects and importance of socialism. It is my contention that this instructional reading of the text in the GDR contributed to the popularity of *Blauvogel*.

In the present section, the focus shifts from an instructional reading of the text to a reading that is critical of capitalist societies. The United States of America was a major player

during the Cold War on the side of the Capitalist nations. The GDR, as a close ally of the USSR, was a socialist nation and, in simple terms, on the opposing side during the Cold War. Cold War mentality pitted the Capitalist West against the Socialist East; positive portrayals of the opposing social system were rare, regardless of the nation. The historical white settler America depicted in *Blauvogel* cannot but be identified with the Capitalist USA it had evolved into by the time of the book publication in the GDR.

Hospitality

One of the heaviest critiques leveraged against white settlers in *Blauvogel* is their lack of hospitality. Hospitality among the Iroquois was an important social function. In the text, like in the actual historical tradition of the Iroquois, hospitality was a key value that had been incorporated into the Iroquois Confederacy since its inception. The Iroquois Confederacy, as previously summarized, allowed for other tribes to join the Confederacy, as long as they agreed to live by the confederacy laws. This tradition is put to practical use in the narrative by the presence of the Lenape Indianer living in Iroquois villages.[366] Schielenden Fuchs, the son of a Lenape family, is Georg's primary adversary in his uncle's village.[367] Through the course of the text, Schielenden Fuchs shoots Georg's dog Schnapp, bullies Georg mercilessly, covers tracks during a snowstorm so that Georg can't find his way back to the village, and finally becomes one of Georg's best friends. His character represents in the text the incorporation of other Indianer groups into the Iroquois village and way of life. Throughout the text, the Lenape are recognized as members of the village, but not members of the tribe. No textual attention is given to an

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[366] The Lenape are also known as Deleware and speak a language that belongs to the Algonquin language family. There is a history of warfare between the Iroquois and groups of the Algonquin language family, but like the Iroquois, the Algonquin are organized into clans and have matrimonial inheritance rights.
[367] Müller-Tannewitz, 52.

adversarial background between the Iroquois and the Lenape. The Lenape speak both their native language and Iroquois, and are included in village events. Despite their acceptance as part of the village, the Lenape remain a separate tribe; their decision to go to war does not have any influence over or effect on the Iroquois decision to remain peaceful. Despite the clear separation between the two tribes, their co-habitation in the village testifies to the hospitality of the Iroquois; because the Lenape lost their own lands to white settlers and need somewhere to live, they are welcomed into the Iroquois villages and given places to set up their homes and grow their crops.

The example of the Lenape is an example of long-term hospitality. There are many other instances in the text that speak of hospitality and its importance among the Iroquois. The treatment of guests becomes an important lesson for Georg early in his relationship with his adoptive father, Kleinbär. Although Georg is unaware of the fact, he has been kidnapped by his uncle and will not be remaining in his aunt's house or village, but rather taken to the village of his adoptive parents. Aside from his own treatment, Georg's first example of guest treatment is the treatment of his father Kleinbär in his uncle's house; the best hides were laid out on the floor, everyone sat together in silence, and Rauchiger Tag shared a pipe with Kleinbär before the meal.[368] It is through this treatment that Georg notices the respect his aunt and uncle have for his father.

The first time Kleinbär vocalizes disappointment in Georg's behavior also revolves around the issue of hospitality. While Kleinbär does praise Georg for inviting an unknown Indianer into camp and offering him the best cooked pieces of meat from the roasting spit, he criticizes Georg highly for acting like a white man by saving the little bit of maple sugar and bear

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[368] Ibid., 67.

grease that they have left and not offering any to their guest. Kleinbär notes, "…wir [geben] Fremden das Beste…"[369] and is therefore disappointed that his son did not offer their best supplies to their guest at camp.[370] Unlike the white settlers, who give strangers what they can or are willing to spare, the Iroquois are depicted as giving freely the best food and supplies to their guests. Thus—explains Pontiac's messenger to the Iroquois village—when the white explorers arrived on the shores of North America, the Indianer felt sorry for them and gave them a place to live and shared their food so the white strangers would not starve.[371] They did not think of the possible consequences of their actions, the Indianer ancestors acted in accordance with their customs of hospitality.

This rule of hospitality not only involves customs of behavior for the host, but also for the guests. Unfortunately, the white frontiersmen are not versed in the customs of hospitality, nor do they believe in learning said customs. Their thoughtless behavior as guests in the Turtle longhouse is thus interpreted by Georg as overly rude. Not only do the frontiersmen gobble all the food available to the entire family for a meal, they do not even take time to thank Georg's mother for the food.[372] The vacuous hospitality manners among the white settlers and frontiersmen are not only noted in the confines of the Iroquois village, Georg experiences first hand an absence of hospitality among his own family. Upon his return to the family homestead, Georg is confused by his siblings' lack of manners; they ask him many questions about his years living among the Iroquois, but are too impatient to wait for a complete answer before asking

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[369] "We give strangers the best [that we have]."
[370] Müller-Tannewitz, 73.
[371] Ibid., 205.
[372] Ibid., 219.

their next question. Andres finally ends the question-and-question period by declaring Georg happy to be back home and away from the "Indian Pack."[373]

Georg's understanding of the inexistent hospitality among the white settlers becomes fully pronounced on his journey home to his Iroquois family following his forceful return to his biological family. After his arrival in Fort Pitt, Georg encountered two Lenape hunters who, upon realizing Georg's Iroquois identity, invited him to join them by their fire for a meal. "Blauvogel…genoss die lang entbehrte indianisch Gestfeundschaft,"[374] states the narrator.[375] Through this statement, attention is drawn to the differences between the Indianer understanding of hospitality and the white settler understanding of hospitality. Clearly superior, the hospitality of the Indianer is a comfortable, enjoyable, friendly hospitality. The attempts made at hospitality by the white settlers are doomed to failure, not because of their race, but because of their unwillingness to consider the needs of their guests before their own.

Ownership

Not only are the Iroquois traditions of hospitality different from those of the white settlers, their ideas of ownership also differ greatly from those of the white settlers. The norms of Iroquois ownership are not completely different from those of hospitality. At the root of the hospitality norms is an awareness of the needs of guests and strangers. Ideas of ownership among the Iroquois and Lenape Indianer portrayed in this narrative also center around an understanding for the needs of others. Shortly after his adoption, Georg notes that his aunt uses one apartment in the longhouse as storage. One day, he sees one of his aunt's sisters taking corn from the store room and reports to his sister Malia that he caught someone stealing corn from their store

[373] Ibid., 251.
[374] Blauvogel [Georg] enjoyed the Indian hospitality he had long been deprived of.
[375] Müller-Tannewitz, 262.

room.[376] He has difficulty understanding that the storeroom and the food within is owned jointly and shared by everyone in the house, but Malia explains that everyone only takes what they need.[377] Sharing food is not limited only to the residents of one matriarchal clan, especially during times of famine. Whereas, as suggested by Georg's fear that someone would take all the food and not leave any for Georg's family if it was communally owned, the white settlers would horde food for their immediate family, even if their neighbors were starving, no family in the Iroquois village was allowed to go hungry if one clan had food to eat.[378] The bear meat and grease did not belong to Georg, despite the fact that it was his first kill, it belonged to and was shared by the entire village.

The meat is not the only part of the bear that Georg shared with others. According to Georg's Iroquois mother, the hide of the first animal killed by a young man must be given to an old, helpless person.[379] The only part of Georg's kill that actually belongs to Georg are the claws and teeth of the bear. Even here, that ownership is not absolute. Upon their request, Georg freely presents a claw each to Schielenden Fuchs—a former enemy turned friend—and his cousin Rehkalb.[380] It could be said that the Iroquois norms surrounding hospitality and ownership overlap. In both cases there exists an inherent understanding for the needs and desires of others and a desire to meet those needs and desires to the best of one's ability.

This is starkly contrasted by the white settler sense of hospitality and ownership. As depicted through the problematic sale of a black fox hide at a trading post. Despite their unwillingness to give a fair price for the black fur, the traders coveted the fur and would not let it

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[376] Ibid., 49.
[377] Ibid., 50.
[378] Ibid., 176.
[379] Ibid., 177.
[380] Ibid., 178.

leave their post. Because he would not sell it at their price, the traders invited the owner, Stehender Hirsch, but instead of treating him with kind hospitality, the traders gave him alcohol, waited until he was drunk, and then convinced him to sell the fur at their price. Despite the fact that the sale was made unjustly while Stehender Hirsch was under the influence of alcohol—which equates the sale to thievery in the eyes of the Iroquois hunters—the traders are not willing to make an exchange or pay a fair price for the fur.[381] The white settler sense of ownership as depicted in this narrative is an interesting one; they are very concerned with who has title to property, but are not interested in how justly that title was obtained. Even if the rights to property were obtained through deception or other dishonest means, the rights, once obtained, cannot be contested. Unlike the Iroquois, their sense of ownership excludes all other people and does not take into consideration the needs of others.

Issues of hospitality and ownership can play the role of a critique of American capitalist society in the text. The white settlers depicted in this text were the founders of what would become the United States of America. Therefore, critique leveled against the white settlers in the text can also be read as critique against the United States specifically and the capitalist system in general. This critique of capitalism as being greedy, without hospitality and without consideration for the needs of others would have meshed nicely with socialist propaganda in the GDR and figured well into the construction of national identity among the children of the young GDR. The children, already aware of similarities between their socialist nation and the way of life for the Iroquois depicted in this text, could have equated critique against the white settlers from the point of view of the Iroquois to critique of the capitalist system in general. This critique

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[381] Ibid., 151.

would have been welcomed by a young socialist nation interested in convincing its citizens of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Childrearing

Childrearing is another area in which heavy critique is leveled against capitalist American techniques. The critique is delivered less directly, however, than those regarding hospitality or ownership. In *Blauvogel*, no direct comments are made on the subject of childrearing in white settler society, despite the many comments and demonstrations regarding childrearing in Iroquois society. To argue that the lack of direct commentary regarding childrearing in white settler society negates the existence of heavy critique of white settler childrearing would be mistaken; throughout Georg's experiences among the Iroquois, he lives in constant fear of being beaten for mistakes and wrongdoings. Because Georg's prior family experience was in a white settler family and he lives in fear of severe beatings, and because the narrator makes it quite clear that beating children is not an acceptable childrearing technique among the Iroquois, the critique leveled on the white settlers who are depicted as beating their children becomes apparent. It is not enough for the narrator to deal with the issue of beating children once; it is a motif that returns throughout the text. Additionally, Georg's continued inability to actually believe that he will not be beaten for misdeeds, despite the fact that neither he nor any other Iroquois or Lenape children are ever beaten, heightens the critique on white settler childrearing.[382] If Georg had been beaten only occasionally for grave misdeeds, he might have found it easier to believe that he would not be beaten by his Iroquois parents. These details point to the conclusion that Georg was

[382] Georg believes that he will be beaten because his new clothes were torn in a fight and also because the Schielende Fuchs accidentally set dry grass and reeds on fire while the boys were roasting a fish (Ibid., 96, 140).

often beat by his white settler parents, and that their main childrearing technique was corporal punishment.

Social critique of white settler childrearing methods is not the goal of the project, however. Instead of merely commenting that corporal punishment is not acceptable, the text provides a different and more effective method of childrearing.[383] Patience is the most important childrearing tool used by Iroquois parents.[384] This tool works hand-in-hand with asking leading questions. Kleinbär, upon meeting his son Blauvogel (Georg) is patient with him in teaching him the new language and in asking Georg leading questions to which Kleinbär already knows the answer. Kleinbär does not merely ask leading questions, he asks Georg to justify his opinions. This is the method used by Kleinbär to help Georg learn to identify different types of hides.[385] There are a few times in which Kleinbär resorts to direct instruction, but these instances are rare and are reserved for important lessons, such as how to properly treat guests.[386] The importance of positive parental encouragement is stressed often,[387] and it is assumed and proven throughout the text that these techniques will be generally effective tools of childrearing. In the case that a child misbehaves greatly and some sort of punishment is required, the text—through the voices of the Iroquois and Lenape children—again proclaims corporal punishment inappropriate and suggests instead a day long fast or a dunking in the river.[388] While perhaps not as intimidating for children as corporal punishment, these punishments require more deliberate action on the part

[383] Not only is corporal punishment of children considered inhumane, it is also ineffective. In Georg's white settler family, the children were loud and out of control, despite the liberal use of corporal punishment. In the Turtle house, however, three times as many children lived quietly and well behaved without corporal punishment (Ibid., 141).
[384] Ibid., 70, 105.
[385] Ibid., 71.
[386] Ibid., 73.
[387] Ibid., 102, 178.
[388] Ibid., 140.

of the parent in addition to working to preserve a loving, trusting, amenable child-parent relationship.

The goal of punishment among the white settlers seems to be efficiency for the parents. Despite the ineffectiveness of their childrearing and punishment strategies, the parents continue to employ them because hitting a child is fast and easy for the adult. The Iroquois childrearing methods described in this text take more effort and a larger time commitment on the part of the adult, but are more effective childrearing strategies. The critique on childrearing in Müller-Tannowitz‘s *Blauvogel* has a twofold effect; it levels more critique on white settler America and on capitalist systems in general and it offers an alternate childrearing model to socialist East Germany. This specific critique on childrearing in capitalist societies would have functioned in the forming socialist GDR to point out to children another negative aspect of capitalist ideals while at the same time demonstrating to them why the socialist (or Iroquois) childrearing method was better. On an abstract level, the socialist method of childrearing is better because it is more effective; on a personal level, the child readers would no doubt have personally preferred the socialist methods to the corporal punishment of the capitalist families. In addition to pointing out the advantages of the socialist childrearing methods used by the Indianer, *Blauvogel* also offers examples, a training of sorts, of how parents can raise children without utilizing corporal punishment. While the text was written for children aged 11 and up, and these children would themselves not have been raising children concurrently with reading this text, the methods of childrearing used by the Indianer in the text could have worked to inform their ideas of childrearing that they would use to raise their own children. In addition, *Blauvogel* would have also been read by adults such as librarians, teachers, and parents who were directly involved in childrearing and instruction. Certainly it is likely that the socialist Indianer ideas concerning

childrearing would have influenced how some child readers, librarians, teachers, and parents thought about and approached childrearing.

Conclusion

After the Second World War, two new German states emerged: one capitalist and one socialist. The project of the new states was to sever connections with the former Nazi national identity, replacing the overtly nationalist identity with a new national identity. Unlike the western occupation zones, which moved to embrace a capitalist national identity based on production and consumption, politicians in the GDR began to forge a new, socialist identity for their nation. This identity, partially based on the policies and practices of its occupational power, was also the product of an imagined possibility. The nation was imagined through acts of literary composition and consumption, both in books for adults and those for children. *Blauvogel* is just one vehicle for imagining a socialist national identity; its Iroquois figures the circumstantial and convenient objects of these imaginings.

Chapter 4: "9=8": Becoming an Indian to Become a Grown-Up in Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*

Introduction

The newest fictional narrative describing Indianer to be discussed in this project offers a unique perspective on the function of the American Indian figure in German children's literature. Not only can an analysis of this fairy tale contribute to the discussion of representation of American Indian figures in German literature throughout the twentieth century, it also offers insight into the message goals of the author. Janosch began working with the Hannes Strohkopf story in the 1960s, reworking it over the next few decades and publishing these reworkings under the titles *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*[389]and *Hannes Strohkopf und der Unsichtbare Indianer*.[390] The reworking to be considered here was published and available for purchase in 1991, two years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and one year after German unification. *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* is not simply a republication of an older text, but rather a reworking that ensures that the text is not only accessible to unification era children, but also addresses issues specific to that generation.

In this text, Joao, the South American Indian scout, should not be understood as a figure that represents and teaches Hannes about South American Indian culture, but rather a tool chosen by the author to speak to children about their changing world. A figure who is an Indian was a familiar one to children living in both the GDR and the FRG. By choosing a familiar figure, one that was already understood as a wise, trustworthy authority figure, the author was able to ensure the popularity of his story and also make use of reader expectations for Indianer. By choosing a South American Indian, a less common hero in German fiction than the North American Indian,

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[389] *You are an Indian, Hannes*
[390] *Hannes Strohkopf and the Invisible Indian*

the author was able to define the characteristics of not only his story's role model, but also those of South American Indians in general. Interestingly enough, Janosch's selection of a South American Indian did not change, but may have worked in his favor for the 1991 reworking of his text—East German children had access to a number of fictional texts about South American Indians that their West German counterparts may not have had readily accessible.

Janosch, a pseudonym used by Horst Eckert, is also the author and illustrator of popular children's books such as: *Oh wie schön ist Panama*[391] and the *Tigerente*[392] stories. Born in Hindenburg, Upper Silesia (now Zabrze, Poland) in 1931, he fled with his family to West Germany after World War II.[393] At the age of 13, Janosch began working as a blacksmith and locksmith, and later worked in a textile factory. In 1953, he relocated to Munich and spent a few semesters studying at the Academy of Arts; but despite repeated attempts he failed to pass the probationary semester.[394] After his unsuccessful attempt at the Munich Academy of Arts, he began work as a freelance artist. His first book, *Die Geschichte von Valek dem Pferd*,[395] was published with George Lentz in 1960. His breakthrough as a successful author of children's

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[391] *Oh, How Bealutiful is Panama*
[392] Lit. *The Tiger Duck*
[393] Janosch, et al, *Janosch, Gemälde & Graphik: Wilhelm-Busch-Museum Hannover, 19.10.1980 bis 11.1.198; Stadt- und Schiffahrtsmuseum Kiel, 15.2. bis 19.4.198; Stadtgeschichtliche Museen Nürnberg, Dürerhaus, 1.5 bis 28.6.1981* (Gifkendorf: Merlin Verlag, A. Meyer, 1980), 95. See also Janosch, Axel Feuß, and Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie (Regensburg), *Janosch: Katalog: mit einer vorläufigen Bibliographie seiner bisher erschienenen Bücher; Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie, Regensburg 25.1. - 8.3.1998; Altonaer Museum in Hamburg - Norddeutsches Landesmuseum 16.4. - 28.6.1998; Wilhelm-Busch-Museum, Hannover 2.8. - 4.10.1998; Gutenberg-Museum, Mainz 8.11. - 31.12.1998; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz 11.2. - 27.3.1999; Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe 24.4. - 31.7.1999*, 1. Aufl ed. (Gifkendorf Merlin-Verl: 1998). and „Biographie," Little Tiger, accessed April 30, 2009, http://www.little-tiger.de/biographie.htm. This website was created by and hosted through Janosch's publishing house, Little Tiger.
[394] "Janosch wird 75: Geburtstag in der Hängematte," accessed April 30, 2009, http://www.rp-online.de/public/article/kultur/mehr_kultur/320669/Janosch-wird-75-Geburtstag-in-der-Haengematte.html.
[395] *The Story of Valek the Horse*

books occurred 20 years later with the publication of *Oh wie schön ist Panama*. Janosch has published over 100 books, many of which have been translated into 40 different languages,[396] and won several prizes, including the Literature Award of the City of Munich (1975) and the German Youth Literature Award (1979). In 1980, Janosch left Germany, relocating to the island of Tenerife[397] in the Atlantic Ocean.

Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes first appeared in 1966 under the title *Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer*. While many of his stories have animals as central characters and take place in fantasy worlds, this particular Janosch text illustrates a trend in books about Indianer in German culture. At the turn of the 20th century and before, books written in the German language about Indianer were largely intended to be read by an adult audience. Throughout the 20th century, however, novels about Indianer began to be targeted at younger readers. The story of the Indianer was no longer considered to be a story for adults, but rather one for children. Janosch embraces the trend of using Indian themes in Children's books with the text to be discussed here. The point of departure for analysis of this text is that children's books generally reflect the attitudes of a culture at a specific time. With this hypothesis in mind, I will discuss the text in the following pages.

The male star of Janosch's text—Hannes Strohkopp—is short, fat and easily bullied in school. He does not do well in class, and has the impression that his teacher has given up on him. Hannes, a loner who spends his free time outside school in the woods watching animals, is

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[396] For a recent discussion of issues surrounding translating children's literature, see Sandra L. Beckett and Maria Nikolajeva, *Beyond Babar: The European Tradition in Children's Literature* (Lanham, Md.: Children's Literature Association and the Scarecrow Press, 2006). Maria Nikolajeva's chapter "What Do We Translate When We Translate Children's Literature?" deals with the translatability of cultures and values in translated children's literature.

[397] Tenerife is the largest of the seven Canary Islands, located off the coast of Africa in the Atlantic Ocean.

fascinated with Indianer. This fascination, already apparent at the beginning of the book, is emphasized with some obvious and other, more cloaked word choices; the third person narrator begins with: "For Hannes Strohkopp, school was a stake [used by Indianers to torture and kill their captives]."[398] Successfully communicating the idea of an unhappy school situation for Hannes here involves the use of a word with clear cultural connotations. *Marterpfahl* is a stake used to torture someone, and a common term in German novels about Indianer. In these novels, Indianer tie captives to the stake to await their fate. Within the first few pages, Janosch continues to set the theme of his text with carefully chosen words, such as *Gringo—a term specifically used in narratives about Indianer in Spanish-speaking colonial spaces—Marter* [martyr], *Späher* [spy], and *Spurensucher* [scout].

Hannes' imagination plays a large role in Janosch's text, to the point that the difference between imagination and reality are indiscernible. The first indication of this is the dog—King Maks, King of the Bears in the Land of the Invisible—that appears before school one day and begins to follow Hannes everywhere he goes. Hannes' teacher and the bullies can see King Maks and notice that he growls at them every time they are unkind to Hannes. The theme of the Indianer that was introduced in the first chapter of the narrative returns in the second chapter: Hannes' Uncle Jonas has written him a letter, enclosing a photo of himself with Joao, a South American Indian Warrior and Magician. Uncle Jonas explains in his letter that Joao can allow his spirit to be seen in different locations. This single line opens the plot for the rest of the text, where Joao's shadow appears to Hannes in Germany and teaches him how to become an Indian.

Central to his ability to become a cultural outsider within his own culture is a true cultural other, a South American Indian named Joao. The character of Joao should not be understood as

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[398] "Für Hannes Strohkopp war die Schule ein Marterpfahl." Janosch, *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes,* 2.

an accurate representation of a South American Indian, but rather an Indian imagined through the cultural lens of the author. As discussed in the Introduction, Sieg discusses the idea of an imagined German Indian at length in her project on Ethnic Drag.[399] She explores the idea of identity construction through ethnic drag, but does not consider the history of texts about Indianer that contribute to instances of ethnic drag and "Indian" identity construction. The character of Joao in Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* is a prime example of an imagined German Indian. There are no specific details about Joao that identify him as belonging to a specific tribe, and the skills, values, and beliefs taught to the protagonist are not identified as being specific to any particular tribe. They *are* specific to the "Indian" culture. Specific exploration of the details of the "Indian" culture does not occur in the text; the narrator assumes a commonly defined and understood cultural designation. What exactly this commonly defined and understood cultural designation entails is something that is explored throughout my project in general and in this chapter specifically.

Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* plays with Bhabha's concept of mimicry and Sieg's ethnic drag and allows for the creation of an Indian in Germany. The geographic location of the story is important, but only in very general terms. Janosch makes use of the Indianer Joao in his text as an imagined cultural other for the bullied protagonist. In doing so, the author participates in a German literary dialog about Indianer. His protagonist, Hannes, becomes an Indianer throughout the course of the story. Since his teacher is a South American Indian, Hannes also becomes a South American Indian. Hannes, in becoming an Indianer, engages in acts of cultural appropriation, he listens to Joao and makes Joao's culture-specific values and beliefs his own. The focus of the cultural appropriation first centers around specific skills, and it

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[399] Sieg, *Ethnic drag: performing race, nation, sexuality in West Germany.*

is through the process of learning these skills that the values and beliefs are communicated and ultimately incorporated into the identity of the protagonist. The protagonist himself engages in acts of mimicry, mimicking the behavior of the Indian Joao. Unlike Bhabha's mimic man, a native colonial other that reflects a distorted image of the European colonizer back to the colonizer himself, here the mimicry of the European protagonist Hannes reflects a distorted picture of the native colonial other.[400] Bhabha's form of mimicry cannot be of concern in this text; Joao is a mostly silent, stagnant character. He functions in the story as a purveyor of knowledge. Once his student has learned this knowledge, his raison d'être no longer exists. He is neither a character that grows and changes through the text, nor a character that reflects upon his situation. He also does not act as a mimic man in Bhabha's sense—his goal is not to imitate Hannes and thus reflect a distorted image of Hannes' native culture, but rather to teach Hannes how to mimic Joao's own native culture. Not only does this mimicry create a distorted reflection of the colonial other, Joao, but also of the European protagonist and his culture. While Hannes does not change his dress, he does change his behavior and his eyes—significant to this story because scouts, the Indianer others, can always be identified by their eyes. The protagonist becomes an Indian other in the text by taking on the identity of the Indianer. He reflects a distorted image of both an Indian other and a European outsider. As such he functions as an *other* to his own culture. Hannes, always an outsider, becomes an outsider who can also function as a critical reflection of his own culture. His position as a cultural (Indian) outsider within his

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[400] The colonized here are represented by Joao, the South American Indian. For Bhabha's discussion on the mimic man and cultural mimicry, see the introduction to this project and Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004). See alsoHomi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse" *Twentieth-Century Literary Theory: A Reader*, ed. K. M. Newton (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1997), 306.

own culture equates one that anyone in his culture could achieve, but one that appeals specifically to outsiders.

Janosch's text can be read in several ways, for its definition of Indian Culture, its handling of outsiders and cultural others, and also for its unique use of illustrations as an integral and deceptive part of the story. *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* uses illustrations to contradict the verbal/textual layer, but also uses returning images as supplementary signposts of the stage of the story, and finally as an invitation to readers to imagine themselves into the story.

Indianer and the Fairy Tale Genre

Scholarship surrounding Janosch's texts focuses largely on his use of imagery in the text, the outsider hero, and Fairy Tale elements. There is also a large history of criticism of Janosch's work. Especially in the 1970's and 80's, critics found his work to be anti-authoritarian, anti-woman, anti-feminist, and conservative.[401] Kaminski and Krause take issue with this criticism of Janosch, stating that the author does not write stories that contain the message of "you should…", but rather stories of possibility.[402] Their quick dismissal of the criticism may be too convenient, and takes Janosch's assertion that he writes "stories only for the sake of the story" at face value, without thorough consideration of his texts. Perhaps, had the authors been able to see into the future, they would have looked at Janosch's 1990 publication of *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* through more critical lenses.

Kaminski and Krause do offer a quite informative summary of trends in children's literature in the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] between 1965 and 1983. While this

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[401] Heike Brandt, "Alle lieben Janosch," *Die Tageszeitung* (December 10, 1981).

[402] Winfred Kaminski and Maureen T. Krause, "West German Young People's Literature since 1965," *New German Critique* 30 (1983): 184. Regarding the Popularity of children's books that challenge adult values rather than upholding them, see Alison Lurie, *Don't Tell the Grown-ups: Subversive Children's Literature*, 1st ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990).

summary predates German Unification and therefore cannot take into account trends in children's literature after 1990, it remains an informative source on trends in the FRG at a time closer to the first publication of the text to be discussed here. An important trend that occurs at the beginning of the article's time frame is the development of nonconformist children's literature as a result of the student protests in 1968. "A young people's literature evolved that no longer merely affirmed the here and now, but asked questions without claiming to possess the answers."[403] The influence of this movement can be seen in Janosch's texts, despite the fact that some narratives were written before the protests officially began. Janosch claims to offer possibilities, not solutions, a stance that fits well with the nonconformist literary movement that asked questions without claiming to possess answers is of special concern to Kaminski and Krause. The "connection between young people's literature and ideological criticism…" in the FRG cannot be ignored.[404] Children's literature, they argue, has been since its inception designed for the middle class. "The interests behind it were directed against the aristocracy and the Fourth Estate. In addition, young people's literature was the literature of the "class" of the *small* against the *large*."[405] The authors continue by pointing out that, especially in the Weimar Republic, a distinction between bourgeois and proletarian children's literature developed, which has resulted in today's differentiation between "good" children's literature and the children's books available to the lower classes at department stores. A survey of the content of children's books in each category shows a trend in children's books written for each class as portraying the class other:

> The children from the lower class read in trivial young people's literature about privileged children and boarding schools that will never be accessible to them. The children from the

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[403] Kaminski and Krause 172.
[404] Ibid. 171.
[405] Ibid. 172.

> middle class read about the fate of the lower class as 'outsiders,' something that likewise has only marginal relevance to their own situation. So each class reads about what they neither are [n]or possess. They read about 'the others' in order not to perceive themselves. The lower-class children define themselves over against the privileged children, the middle-class children define themselves over against the exotic (alluring and intimidating) world of the social outsiders.[406]

This discussion revolving around class distinctions and defining the self by reading about the other offers insights for the current study and allows consideration of the Indianer Joao as an other in a larger context of German language children's literature. In *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*, if we can take the supposition of the author here, middle class German children read in this text about an outsider, but unlike many other texts, the outsider is not only a German from a lower class (Hannes' family couldn't afford to go on a short vacation over Easter like the other families), but one who learns to deal with his outsider status by embracing it, and becoming more of an outsider. The pedagogical value in this lesson teaches middle class children that embracing an outsider status helps one fit in, blending in and refraining from voicing opinions makes life easier, and learning from other cultures helps one become a better citizen.[407]

The fairy tale style of stories is an aspect specific to Janosch's texts that Kaminski and Krause stress. As part of their larger project concerning West German Children's literature, the authors focus on the stories of Janosch to illustrate the trend of creating modern-day fairy tales. They claim, "The stories of Janosch are full of 'irregular concerns'…. Social criticism does not appear to be a concern of Janosch's heroes, who are born of the fable and fairy-tale

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[406] Ibid. 172.

[407] In the classroom, learning about the Indian culture helped Hannes fit in better, the bullies stopped bullying him. The classroom environment also improved when Hannes began seeing with the eyes of a scout.

traditions …. Janosch tells 'beautiful stories' (as he himself calls them) in which he illustrates how a person 'who is weak and despised by everybody becomes the victor in the end.'"[408] Unlike traditional fairy tales, Janosch's stories do not have a simple moral, but rather provide an "introduction to how one can live happily."[409]

Jack Zipes takes up the topic of the modern-day fairy tale in his study on fairy tales' changing functions through time. His informative study traces the development of the fairy tale from the late Medieval Period to the present. His twentieth century focus is on the role fairy tales have begun to play in pedagogy:

> …part of children's schooling – and this is a major functional shift in the twentieth century—was to train children to become adept in recognizing, appreciating, and learning from fairy tales. As a result of this schooling, the social function of the fairy tale for children underwent two major changes that were pedagogical and political….With the help of teachers and librarians, the fairy tale became a staple of education throughout the west….[410]

If, as Kaminski and Krause assert, Janosch's stories should be understood as modern day fairy tales, then Zipes' observations about the role of Fairy Tales as a pedagogical tool open up new paths of analysis for *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*. Canonized fairy tales, such as *Little Red Riding Hood, Cinderella,* and *The Ugly Duckling* became pedagogical tools for teachers, parents, and librarians for children aged five to ten. Parents and educators alike utilized fairy tales for

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[408] Kaminski and Krause 182.
[409] Janosch, *Das grosse Janosch Buch: Geschichten und Bilder.* (Weinheim: Beltz & Gelberg, 1977), 213-15.
[410] Jack Zipes, "The Changing Function of the Fairy Tale," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 12.2 (1988): 24.

their spiritual and psychological values.[411]

Definitions of the genre of the literary fairy tale for children must begin with the "premise that the individual tale was indeed a symbolic act intended to transform a specific oral folktale (and sometimes a well-known literary tale) and designated to rearrange the motifs, characters, themes, functions, and configurations in such a way that they would address the concerns of the educated and ruling classes of late feudal and early capitalist societies."[412] It follows that modern fairy tales are also designed in a way that will address the concerns of the society that produces them. Janosch's fairy tales address concerns specific to his German reading audience and the audience of western capitalist society, as evidenced by the many translations of his stories. What these specific concerns might be can be investigated through consideration of his larger body of work. Here, the specific concerns addressed in one of his fairy tales for older children will be considered.

In the FRG, traditional fairy tales were regarded as "'secret agents' of an educational establishment that indoctrinates children to learn fixed roles and functions within bourgeois society, thus curtailing their free development." Authors and critics of fairy tales in the 1960s became aware of sexist and racist themes in the traditional fairy tales; emphasis was placed on "passivity, industry, and self-sacrifice for girls and on activity, competition, and accumulation of wealth for boys." This resulted in rewriting old and creating new fairy tales to "expose contradictions in capitalist society and awaken children to other alternatives for pursuing their

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[411] For more analysis on this development, see Charlotte Bühler, Josephine Bilz, and Hildegard Hetzer, *Das Märchen und die Phantasie des Kindes* (Berlin: Springer, 1977). See also Rudolf Steiner and Ernst Weidmann, *Märchendichtungen im Lichte der Geistesforschung: Berlin, 6.Februar 1913; Märchendeutungen: Berlin, 26.Dezember 1908; [zwei Vorträge]* (Dornach: Rudolf-Steiner-Verlag, 1988).
[412] Jack Zipes, *Fairy tales and the art of subversion: the classical genre for children and the process of civilization*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 6.

goals and developing autonomy."[413] Janosch engaged in both rewriting old fairy tales and creating new fairy tales. His collection *Janosch Erzählt Grimms Märchen: und zeichnet für Kinder von Heute; 50 ausgewählte Märchen* was published first in 1972; a revised version of this collection is still in print today and available in digital form. His other books for children have been identified as fairy tales, making use of the imaginary and fantastic to entertain children and teach them the morals and norms of society.

Janosch's *Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer*, the forerunner to *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*, was published at a time when nonconformist children's literature was being written, fairy tales were being used for primary instruction, and Cold War politics ruled the political and educational systems. The use of the fantastic, of speaking animals and invisible people, incorporates several fairy tale motifs. The format of the story is accessible to children who have some reading independence and are familiar with reading fairy tales at home and in school. This allows Janosch's text to be read as an accessible, modern-day fairy tale, and also opens questions of the moral messages contained in the text. Zipes asserts that authors such as Janosch radicalized traditional fairy tales, "…to raise questions about the illusions of becoming a queen or king to rule over others…" with the goal of a "depiction of the problems encountered by young people in West Germany which would allow young readers to see the contradictions in their society."[414] Although Kaminski and Krause dismiss the working of morals in Janosch's texts, the moral lessons in *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* cannot be ignored. Hannes learns to be an Indianer from the South American Indian Joao. Joao teaches Hannes many lessons, and while some lessons are practical skill lessons, others deal with the issues of right and wrong,

[413] Ibid. 60.
[414] Jack Zipes, "Children's Literature in West and East Germany," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 10 (1986): 28.

responsibility, ownership and the treatment of others.

Fairy tales began to be written down at the same time a commercial market for children's literature was developing. It should be no surprise, then, that fairy tales were adapted for children's literature. Children's literature at the time could be assigned to two categories: cautionary tales and exemplary tales.[415] Protagonists of cautionary tales were killed or made perpetually miserable as a result of acts of disobedience, while protagonists of exemplary tales displayed exemplary behavior, but also died. Fairy tales provided a welcome change, one in which morals and lessons could be taught without always resulting in the death of the protagonist. The fairy tales, as Maria Tatar points out, were written by adults for children. As such, they disclose "…more about an adult agenda for children than about what children want to hear....they often document our shifting attitudes toward the child and chart our notions about child rearing in a remarkable way."[416] *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*, which we have already identified as a modern children's fairy tale, may not, necessarily, be able to offer insights into the minds of the children who read the tale, but it can offer insights into the attitudes and opinions of adults and their goals for their children.

Tatar contends that fairy tales—which had once contained images of "…the random, senseless violence of the world…"—were reformed to serve the moral education of children.[417] Fairy tales, once taken over by children's literature, were heavily edited to eliminate bawdy elements and to include moral lessons. They ceased to be an amusing way to pass time, and

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[415] Maria Tatar, *Off with their Heads!: Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993; 1992), 8.
[416]Ibid., 20.
[417]Ibid., 49.

became a pedagogical tool used to shape the minds and opinions of children.[418] Our western society expects children's stories to contain morals and lessons for children. We use children's literature to instruct our children in moral and social issues, "…even in those cases where they [the lessons] are not spelled out in the text."[419] Multiple teaching materials exist in which teachers, librarians, and parents are encouraged to use children's literature to teach morals to children.[420] One example published in 1992, the year before this revised version of *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* was published informs readers that, while "young children are unable to put themselves in someone else's shoes, socially or morally, until they are well into elementary school….[children] can still be successfully encouraged to make sound moral decisions."[421] All children's literature, it is claimed, "contain moral and ethical views and values."[422] If all children's literature contains moral and ethical views and values, then it must be the intentions of the authors and publishing houses to incorporate this information in stories for children. The statement this makes about Western society is clear, even through the distorted reflections of the texts; Children's literature in Western society is used as a tool to instruct children in moral and

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[418] For information regarding the suitability of fairy tales to function as children's literature in this way, see André Jolles, *Einfache Formen: Legend, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Kasus, Memorabile, Märchen, Witz.* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1929). and Max Lüthi, *The European Folktale: Form and Nature*, Trans. John D. Niles. (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of human Issues, 1982). Both worked to develop the now widely accepted idea that fairy tales comfort children by showing them a world in which the good are constantly rewarded while the bad are punished. See also Volker Klotz, "Weltordnung in Märchen," *Neue Rundschau* 81 (1970): 73-91. He asserts that harmony, not justice, is the goal of fairy tale narratives.
[419] Tatar, *Off With Their Heads!* xv.
[420] The lessons taught in children's literature are not confined to moral and ethical lessons. See for example Ruth R. Kath's "Nulear Education in Contemporary German Children's Literature" *The Lion and the Unicorn* v. 10 (1986) 31-39.
[421] Linda Leonard Lamme, Suzanne Krogh, and Kathy A. Yachmetz, *Literature-based moral education: children's books and activities for teaching values, responsibility, and good judgment in the elementary school* (Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press, 1992) vii.
[422] Ibid. 14.

ethical views and values, with the expectation that this instruction will lead to moral and ethical behavior on the part of the children.[423]

Fairy tales can provide information about the conditions of the world for people who hear and tell fairy tales.[424] However, Tatar argues that, while much exists in each fairy tale that requires an awareness of social realities, and pieces of historical and cultural realities persevere in fairy tales, these pieces of realities are deeply embedded in a more-or-less surreal text.[425] Fairy tales can act as societal mirrors, but rather than providing a crisp image that can be taken at face value, the reflections they show are often the distorted reflections of fun-house mirrors. Because the reflected reality has been so distorted, any societal information must be carefully read through the distortion.

The tendency to reflect societal conditions is not limited to fairy tales. Fetz notes that "[c]hildren's literature in the German-speaking world, as elsewhere, serves as a revealing mirror to the society in which it thrives…"[426] This makes the study of children's literature the study of

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[423] See also Carolyn W. Field and Jacquiline Shachter Weiss. *Values in Selected Children's Books of Fiction and Fantasy* (Hamden, CT: Library Professional Publications, 1987). and Suzanne L. Krogh and Linda L. Lamme, "Learning to share: How literature can help," *Childhood Education*, 59 (January/February 1983), 188-192. and Suzanne L. Krogh and Linda L. Lamme. "Children's literature and moral development." *Young Children*. 40, No. 4 (May 1985): 48-51. and June McConaghy, *Children Learning through Literature* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1990). and Renee W. Campoy, "Creating moral curriculum: how to teach values using children's literature and metacognitive strategies," *Reading Improvement* 34.Summer 1997 (1997): 54-65. and Celia Ann Durboraw, "Teaching moral values through literature: melding "us" and "them"," *The Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin* 68.1 (Fall 2001) (2001): 58-9. and Sheryl O'Sullivan, "Books to live by: Using children's literature for character education," *The Reading Teacher* 57.7 (April 2004) (2004): 640-645. and Stephan Ellenwood, "Revisiting Character Education: From McGuffey to Narratives," *Journal of Education* 187.3 (2006): 21-43.

[424] Eugen Weber, "Fairies and Hard Facts: The Reality of Folktales," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 42 (1981): 93.

[425] Maria M. Tatar, *The hard facts of the Grimms' fairy tales* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987).

[426] Nancy Tillman Fetz, "Christin Nöstlinger's Emancipatory Fantasies," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 10 (1986): 40.

the society in which the literature was produced and consumed; It is an inquiry into the home and school conditions, the political attitudes, the culture in general, and the pedagogical attitudes of the time. *Hannes Strohkopp und der Unsichtbare Indianer* was published in the late 1960's, a time of political and social change in West Germany. Early 1960's West Germany saw the emergence of the Neo-Nazi party, which indicated to leftists a lack of political education in the schools. The past events of WWII could no longer be ignored. Not only did the children's book market see a surge of production in books concerning Germany's involvement in WWII, but children's books were also becoming politicized.[427] By the end of the 1960's, West German children's literature was not only politicized, it had developed strong anti-authoritarian themes. Anti-authoritarian children's books featured characters from the working class and the concerns of the underprivileged; its focus was utilizing collective skills to develop socialist forms of living, a surprising trend when one takes the later Cold War mentality into consideration. "In its entirety, the anti-authoritarian book was meant to express a rejection of the middle class world, even the design, style, and illustrations were an abnegation of aesthetic standards of that class."[428] It is this cultural and political context that hosted the composition of *Hannes Strohkopp und der Unsichtbare Indianer.* The later revision of this book, *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes,* reflects not only the 1960 anti-authoritarian values but also an image of childhood in post-unification Germany.

Despite the reworking of fairy tales to meet modern pedagogical ends, Zipes observes that the boundaries between fairy tales for adults and fairy tales for children begin to blur during the first part of the twentieth century;[429] a trend that Sikorska finds especially fascinating when

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[427] Ibid. 41.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Zipes, *Changing Function*, 23.

considering the illustrations of Janosch's texts. Sikorska discusses strategies of illustration at work in texts written and illustrated by the same author and concludes that children's book illustrations fall into one of two categories: either they are "…pictorial translations of the written text…" or "…reach beyond the verbal layer of the book, thereby reinterpreting it."[430] Creative illustrating can be defined as using illustration to alter, reinterpret, contradict, or carry beyond the written text, which Sikorska finds at work in Janosch's texts. The verbal and visual layer each tells a different story, and it is only through the combination of these two layers that the author's intended story can be told. The "deception," or discrepancies between the visual and verbal layers of Janosch's texts point to, in Sikorska's opinion, a dual audience of children and adults. "…[T]he interpretative difficulty [of Janosch's texts] lies in the implications of his illustrations for the verbal layers…."[431] Even the visual portion of Janosch's texts have two layers, a mainstream layer that illustrates the story (although not always in a pictorial translation form), and a marginal layer containing "adults only" illustrations. *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* varies from the texts Sikorska consideres in her investigation in that it is a short chapter book, intended to be read by children, not to them. However, it does use creative illustrating—which makes use of illustrations that contradict the verbal/textual layer—as well as certain recurring illustrated motifs as signposts of the story.

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[430] Magdalena Sikorska, "The Stories Illustrations Tell: The Creative Illustrating Strategy in the Pictures by Beatrix Potter and Janosch," *New Review of Children's Literature and Librarianship* 11.1: 1.

[431] Ibid., 10. For general discussion on dual audiences, see Hans-Heino Ewers, "The Limits of Literary Criticism of Children's and Young Adult Literature," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 19.1 (1995): 77-94. Ewers' supposition is that all books for children are written for dual audiences of adults and children, since adult mediators are required in the communication between author and child. See also Zohar Shavit, *Poetics of Children's Literature* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

Janosch, in selecting the fairy tale genre for his text about Indianer, made use of specific fairy tale aspects that would make interpreting the story a familiar task for children used to reading fairy tales in school and gleening moral lessons from them. In making this genre selection, the author combined two traditions of children's literature that were well known to German-speaking culture: that of the fairy tale, and that of the Indianer. Combining these two traditions allowed the author to call on generalized knowledge that his young readers had about both traditions; they were able to interpret the moral lesson of his texts because of their familiarity with the fairy tale genre, and they had previously developed expectations for the teachings of Joao due to their familiarity with the Indianer figure.

A Question of Geography: Janosch's Dismissal of the Importance of Tribal Specificity

The geography of *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* is not, on the surface, overly important. Hannes does not travel, he lives in a German-speaking European country, but the exact country, much less the region, remains unspecified. While living in this unspecified region in an unspecified country, Hannes learns to become an Indianer. However, since he doesn't travel to the Americas and the Indianer teacher Joao doesn't physically travel to Hannes' home, the exact location of Joao's home (and any assumptions of tribal affiliation) also remains undisclosed. The lack of these specific geographical placements in the text work to give the text universality; Hannes could be the boy next door, or even the reader himself. Joao could be an Indianer from anywhere in South America. The author keeps the location of his text unclear, not unlike his other children's stories. Janosch generally develops an alternative reality in his stories that neither belongs to a specific geographic location nor resembles our understanding of reality. As Sikorska describes, Janosch creates for his readers a world in which fish fly, birds swim, and

humans and animals can talk to each other.[432] Even in his 1978 book *Oh, wie schön ist Panama*, the main figures are not in Panama to begin with, and never arrive there on their journey. In fact, the characters do not have a clear understanding of Panama's geographic location or how that location relates to their own. The story line reads similarly to a story of two children who decide to go on an imaginary journey while at play. Location in Janosch's texts does not exist in a physical place, but rather in the imaginations of the texts and the readers. This imagined positioning of Janosch's texts allows for a universality of the stories, a translatability through time and across geographic locations, as well as linguistic and national boundaries.

National boundaries do not play a significant role in Janosch's texts, including *Du bist ein Indianer Hannes*. That lack of geographic specificity allows for increased imagination of possibilities. With the lack of specific information regarding Joao's home, Hannes (and readers) are left to imagine what Joao's home country might be. Readers are provided with some limited information about Joao's homeland: located in South America, it is rural and there are panthers.[433] Readers (and Hannes) are left to imagine the rest, drawing, no doubt, on their cultural understanding and imaginations of the Indianer.

The idea of an imagined nation is not one confined to literature, or texts written for children. In recent discussions of the development of the physical, political nation, connections between imaginings, literature and the nation have been made. Szeman asserts that a nation must be imagined before it can become a political reality, and that the production of literature—and the competing national fictions produced through literature—are closely related to the production

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[432] Sikorska, 4.

[433] The panther illustrated in the text resembles a large, black housecat. The term *panther* is generally used as an umbrella term for large cats, including Jaguars, cougars and leopards. The only "panthers" at home in South America are actually Jaguars. Jaguar coats are spotted and usually yellow or tan, although redish brown and black colorings are also possible.

of a nation, itself.[434] Since the nation is imagined, it is fundamentally artificial or fictional. As a children's book author, Janosch, through his vague geographic positioning of his text, participates in the imagination of nation by encouraging children to imagine their own nation as well as a nation of the other, namely Joao's homeland. Children are encouraged to imagine possibilities for themselves and their nation as well as imagining possibilities of a national other. Unique here is the possibility for children to imagine themselves *as* their own national other. They can, like Hannes, learn from their cultural, national other and appropriate the other's knowledge, value systems, beliefs and skills. The Indianer Joao in this text functions as a cultural other, one visible only to Hannes, and willing to share his knowledge with Hannes. Through his interactions with Joao, Hannes learns to identify details about himself and his culture that differ from Joao and his culture, think about these differences, and make a decision regarding which aspects to take on himself. Hannes decides to learn to see like a scout, for example, but does not start to smell like an Indianer. Only Hannes—and possibly his teacher at school—can see Joao. Joao may be a character of Hannes' imagination; an imagined other in the sense that he functions as a cultural other for Hannes and is imagined by Hannes.

Unlike Karl May, who indentified the tribe of his Indianer Protagonist, Winnetou, but chose not to concern himself with accurate descriptions or depictions of that tribe, and Welskopf-Hennirch and Müller-Tannowitt, who utilized their background in ethnogoraphy to ensure the accuracy of their descriptions and depictions of their respective tribes, Janosch elects to leave the tribal affiliation of his Indianer Joao undefined. His dismissal of tribal specificity as an integral part of his Indianer character development is as significant as May's disregard for differences among the tribes; by choosing not to specify a tribe, Joao is freed from the expectations specific

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[434] Szeman, *Zones of Instability.*

to any individual tribal representation and free to be imagined as the universal hero, an Indianer composed solely of the positive traits exhibited by and universal to all Indianer heros of German literature.

Politics and Pedagogy of Children's Literature

From 1966-1981, this text was available under the title of *Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer*. *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* appeared in 1990, and was a reworking of the original text. In 1994, Janosch reworked the text again and published it under the title *Hannes Strohkopp, der Unsichtbare Indianer*. The text appeared, reworked once again, under the original title *Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer* in 1997. This particular version of *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* was not only published in 1990 at the time of unification, but also continued to be published in 1993 and 1996. These versions were available for sale in the united Germany. Their continued sale speaks not only to their wide popularity, but also to their effectiveness as a pedagogical tool.

A brief review of the development of Children's literature in the two Germanys would serve useful at this point. According to Zipes, "…both the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] … and the German Democratic Republic [GDR] … gradually produced some of the most innovative and stimulating literature for children and young adults in the world," but that literature was constrained by the political structure in each country.[435] The development of Literature in the FRG and the GDR were entirely different. In the FRG, "…writers and publishers were constrained by the Cold War and conservative policies of the new state, which, under Konrad Adenauer, did *not* embark on a campaign to end authoritarianism in public

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[435] Zipes, *West and East Germany*, 27.

institutions…"[436] Although publishers, librarians, writers, and educators were given a free hand in the production of children's literature, the goals of production were to make money and "uphold the standards of a state that sanctioned exploitation of workers, restoration of capitalism, social and political amnesia regarding the Holocaust, and repressive and elitist education for children."[437] The goal, according to Zipes, of children's literature of all genres in the FRG was to "…depict the problems encountered by young people in West Germany which would allow young readers to see the contradictions in their society."[438]

The development of children's literature in the GDR was different from that of the FRG. Instead of being controlled by the free market, profit, and the politics of the FRG, the GDR's children's literature was from the beginning a "concentrated effort on the part of the state to establish a unified socialist approach to children's literature which was to a great degree patterned on the models developed by the Soviet Union…. The central planning and coordination of education policies by the East German government gradually led to a consistent type of production."[439] There are five main trends in children's literature of the GDR. In 1949, anti-fascist and anti-war themes were unsurprisingly present. Children's literature also encouraged class solidarity and membership in the Young Pioneers and the Free German Youth. Children's literature of the 1950's centered around the importance of farm collectivization, while the late 1950's and 60's focused on children living in the city and protagonists who assumed a responsible role in society. The 1970's children's literature focused on technology and science, while historical books illustrated the lives of important socialist politicians. The 1980's saw a rise in fantasy and science fiction, forms that had been banned through the 1970's.

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[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Ibid. 28.
[439] Ibid.

Despite the very different developments in children's literature in West and East Germany, FRG and the GDR have two trends in common. During the 1980's, both nations favored children's literature that referred "… symbolically rather than directly to social and political problems…"[440] In addition, both states representations of the United States and the Soviet Union tended "…to be distorted according to the state's ideological line…"[441] This distortion becomes increasingly important when analyzing the texts considered here. The United States itself remains absent from Janosch's text, but the Americas are not.

Selection of this Version of the Text:

In choosing this version of Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes,* I selected a recently published version of the book, despite the existence of other, older versions. The reasons for this choice are many. Although the first version of this text was written for a West-German audience before the fall of the Berlin Wall, the text continued to be a popular one after unification. The version of the text I chose was revised for a post-unification printing and printed in 1990, 1993, and again in 1996. As such, it makes an interesting statement about the text and its function in the pedagogy of unification.

Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes was a West-German text. First published as *Hannes Strohkopp und der Unsichtbare Indianer* in 1966, it can be read as a text of the cold war. Other texts about South American Indians were available to children of the former East Germany, but acting in accordance with social realism, the texts were overall historical, accurate, and didn't leave much room for imagination. They were dual-purpose texts of education and preservation. They cataloged and preserved a (foreign and) "vanishing" culture and way of life, while at the same time educating young readers about specific Indian cultures and reinforcing the image of

[440] Ibid. 29.
[441] Ibid.

the evil, greedy, conquering, capitalist West and the inevitable but sad extintion of the native peoples and their way of life. An interesting analogy exists in this image. The native peoples of the Americas were depicted as natural socialist nations made up of people working for the common good and holding on to their ideals and values in the face of encroaching capitalism. The status of the Indian tribes as socialist nations allowed them to be united with the East Germany in the common fight against the ever growing and sinister capitalist West.[442] Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* can be read against such East German texts.

The time of German unification was a time of great change, politically, culturally, and socially. Changing the politics of the former GDR on a national level was one of many changes that took place. An oftentimes less considered change existed in the pedagogy of the young people. Children who had for the entirety of their young lives heard about the evils of the FRG and capitalism suddenly found themselves citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany and as such, members of a capitalist nation. Clearly, an overhaul of children's pedagogy was needed. Everything from teaching materials and after school programs to schoolbooks and children's literature needed to be rethought and revised. Oftentimes, materials in use in the FRG replaced those at use in the former GDR. The version of *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* that I have chosen for this project is one of those books that were already available in the FRG and replaced

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[442] *Der Amazonas Ruft, Bei Arawak und Waiwai,* and *Fische Singen im Ukayali* by Arkady Fiedler, all translated to German from Polish for printing the the GDR. See also *Lautaro, der Araukaner* by Kurt Kauter, *Karajá: Indianer von Rio Araguaia* by Erich Wustman, and *Gauchos, Indios und Piraten* by Friedrich Gerstäcker. Karl May's *Das Vermächtnis des Inka* focused on the inevitable downfall of the socialist Indian tribes, a thematic that worked well for release in West Germany. (While it was printed in East Germany for sale in West Germany, Karl May's texts were banned in the GDR.) Acknowledgeably, many of the East German texts written about South American Indians were written in different languages and then translated into German for sale in the GDR. However, the fact that the books were translated into German, consumed by a young German readership, and are still available for purchase today speaks to their cultural relevance.

children's literature in the former GDR. As such, it can also be read as a kind of re-education for children who had gone through the GDR's early educational system. There already was a comradeship between the GDR and the Indian Tribes of the Americas, so the topic of this text would have been appealing to young readers in the former GDR. However, this text stays vague in its cultural specificity and levels no social critique against the capitalist system. The hero learns how to fit in at school and in society, and as such can act as a role model for children learning about their new way of life. Hannes could serve as an accessible role model and help children acclimate to their new situation because he learns to be an Indianer, and Indianer are accessible heroes.

Lack of Contact

The premise of Janosch's text is that becoming an Indianer is a task can be learned by anyone—regardless of race, ethnicity and culture—from an existing Indianer. Therefore, the signifier "Indianer" cannot be defined in genetic, racial, ethnic, or cultural terms. The story here could be arguably compared to one of the many captivity narratives once popular in America and Europe. These narratives describe the plight of a young boy or girl who has been kidnapped or separated from his or her biological family and adopted by an Indian family. The adopted child adjusts more or less well to the new culture and new family, and either decides to stay with the new Indian family, runs away from the Indian family in hopes of returning to the biological family, or is forcefully taken from the Indian family and returned to the biological family (where the child may or may not remain). As we saw in the prior chapter, such narratives were originally written primarily for adults, but became the topics of many adolescent and children's books

through the course of the 20th century.[443] Numerous narratives of adults dropping out of white society, and then learning and adopting Indian customs by choice also exist.[444]

The current text differs in the process needed to become an Indianer from both captivity and drop-out narratives in that, while actual contact and communication with Indianer is required to learn the skills needed to survive as an Indianer in the former types of texts, Janosch's narrative requires no contact with Indianer in their home country, no contact with a traveling Indianer, and no time spent away from the hero's home and school; Hannes can learn everything about being an Indianer in his home country. While it is necessary for Hannes to learn from Joao, Joao is not physically in Hannes' homeland, has no actual contact with Hannes and his surroundings, and cannot be seen by anyone other than Hannes. One could speculate whether Joao's shadow appears to Hannes at all, or whether Joao may be a figment of Hannes' over-active childhood imagination. Another notable difference between captivity and drop-out narratives and the present text is that the former require immersion into the Indianer culture in question in order for assimilation to occur. The process may take years and involves learning the language and customs of the tribe. In Janosch's text, no emersion into the Indianer culture is necessary. Hannes can successfully become an Indianer not only without leaving his own culture and language, but also without learning the Indianer language or customs. Being an Indianer,

[443] Some examples of children's narratives include: Anna Müller-Tannowitz's *Blauvogel*, Katherine Kirkpatrick's *Trouble's Daughter: The Story of Susanna Hutchinson, Indian Captive*, Lois Lenski's *Indian Captive: The Story of Mary Jemison*, Elizabeth George Speare's *The Sign of the Beaver*, Alice Dalgliesh's *The Courage of Sarah Noble* and Conrad Richter's *A Light in the Forest* and *A Country of Strangers,* among hundreds of others. Joe Snader's *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* deals with negotiating the space between facts of captivity and fictionalization of captivity stories. This topic is so popular, it has even resulted in films, such as *The Searchers* (1956) and *Dances with Wolves* (1990).
[444] See for example James W. Schultz' *My Life as an Indian: The Story of a Red Woman and a White Man in the Lodges of the Blackfeet* and the Film *Dances with Wolves*.

then, is not bound to a geographical location, a language, or a specific culture. As we will see in the following pages, being an Indianer is as easy as learning a few skills and values.

Outsiders Everywhere

The protagonist Hannes is an outsider. He is bullied at school, his parents are not as affluent as those of his classmates, and he ultimately decides to become an Indianer. This decision moves him beyond the position of an outsider within his own culture to a position of cultural outsider. Uncle Jonas, who has decided to become an Indianer and move to South America, is an outsider at home and abroad; he is an outsider at home because of his Indianer identity and an outsider in South America because of his cultural heritage. Hannes' teacher at school is also an outsider, he bullies and fights with his students instead of functioning cooperatively as the teacher of his class. Joao is an outsider in Hanne's homeland because of his status as an Indianer and his lack of knowledge of Hannes' culture. *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* is a story about a boy who chooses to become an Indianer, but also a story about how outsiders find a way to function in society. For Hannes, Jonas, and Hannes' teacher, becoming an Indianer and learning to embrace their outsider status are intertwined. Embracing a status as an outsider means learning to become an Indianer, which in turn allows for being an outsider on one's own terms. Unlike his externally assigned role as class outsider, the agency in Hannes' decision to become an Indianer allows him to choose to be an outsider.

Anyone can become an Indianer

Once Hannes has learned the skills and values needed to become an Indianer, his uncle Jonas declares Hannes a full Indianer.[445] He became the "Klassenindianer" (class Indian), despite the fact that no one in his class knew it. As Klassenindianer, Hannes was responsible for the

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[445] Janosch, *Hannes* 1990, 61.

positive changes in behavior and scholarship on the part of the students and the more friendly behavior toward them by Mr. Baum, the teacher. The examples in the previous section speak to the theory in the text that being an Indianer is dependant on mastery of a certain set of skills and values. Since a mastery of a skill-set and respectful values are the only requirements for becoming an Indianer, Hannes (and by extension, other non-Indianer) can become as *Indian* as the Indianer themselves. This set up suggests that if Hannes becomes more proficient at this set of skills than an individual born to Indian parents, Hannes could become the better Indianer, possibly even becoming more Indian than the child born to Indian parents.

The Indianer Joao seems unable or unwilling to learn from Hannes. Joao therefore possesses only his own Indian set of skills and values. Hannes, upon completing his Indianer training, possesses not only an Indianer set of skills and values, but also an additional set of skills and values from his native culture. Joao attends, but does not learn anything at school. Hannes, in addition to his Indianer set of skills and values continues to attend school, presumably learning about and acquiring additional skills of his native culture. This sets up a dichotomy within the group defined as Indianer. There is a set of genetic, cultural Indianer who possess only the Indian set of skills and values; this set can only identify as Indian. The second Indianer group comprises of learned Indianer, Indianer who—although they were not born to Indian parents—can learn the set of skills and values of Indianer and become Indianer themselves.

This second group of Indianer is not merely defined by their Indianer identities; they are Indianer in addition to their native identity. Jonas, Hannes' uncle, also learned to become an Indianer, but did not give up his native identity; Jonas continues to communicate with his birth family and takes special interest in his nephew. Members of this hybrid Indianer group are better equipped to deal with life outside of the Indian community, and can draw upon their Indianer

skills and values and their native skills and values at will. This means that they function better than the first group of Indianer in non-Indian society, but also that they function better than non-Indianer in non-Indianer society. (Hannes' encounters with bullies at school, excellence in sports and in the classroom, and growing popularity among fellow students indicates that the second group of Indianer function better in German society than do non-Indianer.) This second group of Indianer blend the best skills and values from each culture, resulting in assured success in a globalized world—one in which knowledge and understanding of multiple cultures within the same nation becomes important.[446] The most successful individuals are also those equipped best for survival by being familiar with the skills and values of the culture they live in, in addition to those of another culture. Thus, figures such as Jonas and Hannes are best equipped for success and have an advantage over both their Indianer teachers and other members of their native cultures.

Understandable desire to become an Indian

During an art lesson at school in which the students are thrilled to create Indianer because they are colorful and easy to paint, the narrator explains that almost everyone would like to be an Indianer themselves.[447] The fact that almost everyone would like to be an Indianer themselves is self-evident; it is not worth further discussion or explanation in this text. The question of *why* such a statement can exist without any further discussion arrises. The target audience of the text certainly plays a role here. Children enjoy playing make-believe and dress-up, and playing Indianer is a common childhood game, in the USA as well as Germany and other European

[446] This theme can also be clearly seen in Welskopf-Heinrich's *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* series discussed in chapter 2. The survival of the entire tribe rests on the shoulders of Harka—who spent much of his childhood away from his Sioux village living with the Blackfeet and working for the colonizing European-Americans—and Adam Adamson, a farmer and friend of Harka's who wishes to become part of the Sioux nation.
[447] Janosch, *Hannes* 1990, 58.

countries. In the context of this text, it is notable that, even though everyone would like to be an Indianer, of all his classmates only Hannes manages this feat. In addition, of all the children present in the text, only Hannes can see Joao, and only Hannes can learn from Joao. If it is true that everyone would like to be an Indianer, it is problematic that not everyone can learn to be an Indianer. Perhaps Hannes' uniqueness in his role as class outsider enables him to occupy the unique position of understanding and empathizing with the Indianer situation, thus making him uniquely suitable to become an Indianer himself. This still does not address why in this German-language text there exists a general assumption that everyone would like to be an Indianer. There is something about German-language culture—even the children's culture—that is attracted to the idea of the Indian. The Indianer imagined through cultural representations serves a purpose for the German culture: an imagined possibility or a hero one can look up to.

The German Indianer

Two logical ways to explore a German cultural understanding of Indianer are to consider books written about Indianer—whether ethnographic, encyclopedic, or fictional—and to study closely the German Hobbyist phenomenon. Hobbyists in Germany belong to Indianer Clubs; through these clubs they: learn about the cultural traditions, values and language of a specific American Indian tribe, engage in creative replication of objects used in a traditional village, and participate in "Indianertreffen" where many clubs gather to share their knowledge and interests. Lutz is among those scholars interested in the accuracy of non-literary representations of American Indians.[448] Carlson has also done extensive research in German hobbyist culture.[449] Like Lutz, Carlson's research centers around the accuracy of the hobbyists, and she concludes her argument with the assertion that German hobbyists should not be "playing Indian." Each

[448] Lutz, *German Indianthusiasm.*
[449] Carlson, *Germans Playing Indian*.

scholar has invested in the study of the German Hobbyist movement, one of two convenient ways to develop an understanding of the German cultural definition of Indianer. The assumption that both Lutz and Carlson make is that the Hobbyist movement is about Indianer and that it tries to say something about Indianer.[450] While true that the Hobbyists do research the histories of specific American Indian tribes, memorize their stories and learn their languages, the Hobbyist movement is not capable of saying anything about actual American Indians, their tribes, or their situation. Hobbyist interest centers around preservation of 19th century Indian culture; while some awareness of current issues does exist, it is not the focus of the clubs. The clubs are interested in preservation of a European-centered understanding of historical events and groups. Their clubs and gatherings are not unlike other historical reenactment groups; the difference here is that, unlike Viking, Renaissance and Civil War reenactment groups and living history organizations, the German hobbyists are reenacting the history of a group that is their cultural other. Through this reenactment, the hobbyists shed their own German cultural identity and take on that of the reenactment group. Of course, the hobbyists do not become American Indians, they simply mimic them, portraying their own (admittedly misinformed, outdated, and inaccurate) understanding of their cultural other. This act of mimicry does not provide accurate or relevant information about the American Indians being mimicked, rather it provides information about the hobbyists who engage in the mimicry. Their motives have been discussed in previous scholarship, and are not the focus of this study.[451] The focus of the present study is to create an understanding of what Indianer look like from a German cultural perspective, in the hopes that

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[450] I agree with both author's arguments and do not wish in any way to reduce or ignore the issues of cultural appropriate at work in the German Hobbyist movement. However, these topics are not the subject of the present investigation.

[451] See the collection of essays on this topic in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*. Ed. Christian F. Feest. (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 1999).

this understanding will begin to shed light not only on the form of the Indianer in German culture, but the function as well. Janosch's text allows for the consideration of a traditionally less popular and therefore less known literary representation of South American Indians. This representation, widely available to German youth, not only informs their early understanding of South American Indians, but also provides a glimpse into adult understanding of South American Indians and their use of Indianer as pedagogical tools.

Abilities of Indianer

The narrator lists many skills necessary for being an Indianer throughout Janosch's text, which Hannes must learn in order to become an Indianer. Joao's shadow guides Hannes through his learning process, and keeps track of his progress. At first, the skills required to be an Indianer are told to Hannes by Uncle Jonas, who has been living with a group of South American Indians for several years. Despite the fact that Uncle Jonas lives thousands of miles away, Hannes can have conversations with him through letters and also through thought. Conversations between Uncle Jonas and Hannes become less frequent after the arrival of Joao, who takes over Hannes' Indianer training. Once Hannes has learned all the skills required of him to be an Indianer, Joao simply disappears.

"An Indianer must be able to do everything"[452] is the first thing we learn about Indianer in this text.[453] Hannes follows up on this observation by Jonas with a collection of skills Hannes believes Indianer (or scouts) possess, "A scout can also see through the post bag".[454] "A Scout knows and remains silent."[455] "A scout knows the future, as if it had already occurred."[456] These

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[452] Ein Indianer muß alles können
[453] Janosch, *Hannes* 1990, 21.
[454] "Ein Späher kann auch *durch* den Postsack sehen." Ibid., 23.
[455] "[Ein Späher] weiß und schweigt." Ibid., 25.
[456] "Ein Späher [kennt] die Zukunft…, als ware sie schon vergangen." Ibid., 27.

beliefs about Indianer are not grounded in Hannes' experiences with Indianer. Hannes does have contact with his uncle Jonas who lives with a tribe of Indianer in South America, but he has no personal experience with Indianer at this point in the plot of the fairy tale. While it is Jonas who proclaims that Indianer must be able to do everything, the remainder of Hannes' assumptions about Indianer are based on something other than personal experience. These assumptions must have come from somewhere, and, as they are not attributed to Jonas' or Hannes' personal experiences with Joao, they must have come from a source located within Hannes' own culture. Hannes' culture has myths about Indianer, which build Indianer up to be almost super-human. Indianer can see through things—such as the post bag—and can see into the future. Despite the fact that Indianer can see into the future and can see through things, they keep this information to themselves: they know and are silent about it. The definition of Indianer that Hannes has from his culture indicates a larger-than-life figure, a superhero, or a supernatural being. This immediately places the authority of an Indianer above the authority of mere human adults.

One of the first lessons Hannes learns upon Joao's arrival is how Indianer are different from himself. While originally unsure whether Indianer stink, as expressed through one of his first questions, "Do Indianer stink?,"[457] he willingly accepts that possibility to explain the reason his room stinks after he burns some white powder used to summon Joao.[458] The answer to his question is simple: "Indianer smell like panthers and tigers."[459] This smell, once associated with Indianer, is immediately classified as a "pleasant smell."[460] The classification of this smell—one that otherwise would be classified as stinking—as a pleasant smell not only gives readers an idea of what Indianer must smell like; it also sets the stage for a blindly positive understanding of

[457] „Stinken Indianer?" Ibid., 28.
[458] Ibid.
[459] "Indianer riechen wie Panther und Tiger." Ibid.
[460] "Schöner Geruch." Ibid.

Indianer in this text. Indianer, as defined in this text, are figures to be admired. Even a vile smell cannot shake this admiration. It must instead be reinterpreted, understood as a pleasant smell, so that it cannot shake the unwaiveringly positive view of Indianer held by Hannes and asserted throughout the narration. Joao is set up as the ultimate, superhuman authority figure in the text, the wise teacher who has the best interest of his student in mind.

Marketed for children ages eight and up, it should come as no surprise that *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* makes use of an unquestionable authority figure. Swiss biologist and psychologist Jean Piaget was one of the founders of the field of study considering moral development in children. His research indicated that children develop morals in three major age stages: 0-7, 7-11, and 11+.[461] Children in the 0-7 age stage look to authority figures to tell them what is right and what is wrong, but their behavior is motivated by rewards and fear of punishment rather than a clear understanding of right and wrong. Children aged 7-11 are in the transitional stage, they understand that intention is important in actions, but are unable to understand the reasoning behind adults making rules and understand rules as inflexible laws that cannot be changed. (This does not prevent children in this age category from breaking rules, if doing so appears to be in their own best interests.) Children above the age of 11 begin to be able to make decisions on their own and understand the moral background to rules. *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* is intended to be read by children belonging to the middle group, children who

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[461] Piaget, *The Moral Judgment of the Child* (New York: Macmillian, 1932; 1965). See also William Damon, *The Social World of the Child* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977). Moshe Blatt's research showed that children engaged in discussion groups focusing on moral behavior made significant gains in their moral development states. More information on this study can be fond in Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral Stages and Moralizations: The Cognitive-developmental Approach," In: Thomas Lickona (Ed.) *Moral development and behavior* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976). For children's understanding of the self and other, see Robert Selman, "Social-Cognitive Understanding: A Guide to Educational and Clinical Practice," In: Thomas Lickona (Ed.) *Moral Development and Behavior* (New York: Holt,Rinehart & Winston, 1976).

are beginning to understand the importance of intention in their actions and are beginning to create an understanding of right and wrong, but still look to authority figures for the final decision on behavior as well as judgment of action as moral or immoral. An unquestionable authority figure is necessary for children in this developmental phase; Joao represents precisely this unquestionable authority figure. Despite the fact that Hannes does not always agree with Joao, Joao leaves no room for discussion when Hannes has acted in an immoral way. Joao is the authority figure, the adult able to make moral judgments and guide Hannes toward a more autonomous understanding of morals.

The first lessons Hannes learns from Joao involve characteristics of Indianer that will allow Hannes to accept his life and face it with courage. The first word Hannes learns from Joao is "Hugh," translated for us as, "It is the way it is." Indianer in German literature often say "hugh"—spelled in a variety of ways—to show agreement with a statement.[462] Here, "Hugh" carries a larger meaning than a simple agreement. While "Hugh" does carry the meaning of a general agreement with previously made statement, here it also contains the idea of acceptance of a situation. "It is the way it is" offers no challenge to a prior statement; it follows up on a statement by asserting that it is the way it is. There is nothing that can change the prior statement, nothing that can argue with the condition or situation. In Janosch's text, "Hugh" is not only agreement, but also acceptance; acceptance of a situation, condition or event that might not be ideal, but exists nonetheless. Learning to be an Indianer includes learning to accept things as they are. The lesson for Hannes here is to learn to accept things as they are and then to face things with courage instead of fear. Facing things—especially changes and unexpected events—with courage instead of fear is not only a lesson for Hannes in the text, but also for the children

reading the text. The target audience of this book is children ages 8 and above. In 1993, the year of publication for this reworked text, great changes were occurring in Germany. The fall of the wall in 1989 and subsequent unification in 1990 ushered in a time of great political, social and personal change in both the FRG and the GDR. For children of the GDR, this change involved a political, social and economic reorientation and a change in the school system and structure; children reading this book at the time of publication would have been at least 5 years old at the time of unification, they would have started school and most likely become involved with the Young Pioneers. Many children would have been aware of their parents losing jobs or needing to be retrained for new jobs. Relocation was also an issue that some children faced during this time. Children whose families relocated to West Germany may have found themselves in the same situation as Hannes: a class outsider at school whose family cannot afford some of the same vacations as other families in the school district. The definition of "Hugh," "it is the way it is," and Joao's lessons concerning facing changes and unexpected events with courage instead of fear would have spoken to situations in the reader's lives and could have helped them deal with the changes in their lives they could do nothing about.

Changes might not be easy, but there is no reason to fear them. Scouts are not afraid of anything, Joao explains to Hannes during an art lesson in school: "A warrior is also not afraid of a piece of paper."[463] The sentence structure Joao uses here implies that warriors are not afraid of anything, not even a piece of paper. The conversation between Joao and Hannes, even though focused around painting and the placement of a mountain on the piece of paper, has a much more far-reaching meaning. The fact that Indianer are not afraid of anything seems to have already been established between the two. Here, it is underscored for the reader with the statement that

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[463] "Ein Kriger fürchtet sich auch nicht vor einem Blatt Papier." Janosch, *Hannes* 1990, 35.

Indianer are *also* not afraid of a piece of paper. The fact that Indianer are not afraid of anything adds to their supernatural persona defined by Hannes' cultural understanding of Indianer.

Joao doesn't only teach Hannes skills, he also works to boost Hannes' self esteem and help him feel content with his family's situation. Over the Easter holiday, many of Hannes' classmates are going out of town with their families, but Hannes and his family are not able to leave town for a short vacation of their own. Hannes learns that "A scout doesn't have to go far away. For a scout, close is far and far is very close."[464] At issue here is the idea of class distinction. Hannes and his family, be it due to financial constraints or his parents' work situation, seem to be the only ones in Hannes' class that cannot leave town on a mini-vacation over the holidays. This singles Hannes out as different and contributes to his identity as an outsider at school. His appropriation of an Indianer identity allows Hannes to justify his situation to himself, if he is a normal child, then he is missing something by not being able to leave on a brief vacation as the rest of his classmates are doing. However, if he is an Indianer, then he does not need to have a vacation, since Indianer scouts see distant places as nearby and nearby locations as distant. Hannes can thus travel a great distance without traveling at all.

Even though Hannes and his family find it impossible to leave home on a brief vacation over Easter Break, Hannes utilizes this time to learn more Indianer skills from Joao. The major lessons take place during the first day of Easter Break. First, he learns how to walk silently. Joao explains: "You must learn the silent walk of the scout. A scout always walks so that no one notices him".[465] Hannes learns this skill very quickly, an early indication of his success at becoming an Indianer. Next, Hannes learns that Indianer don't just walk so they are not noticed,

[464] "Ein Späher muß nicht weit weg fahren. Für einen Späher ist ganz nahe weit und weit ganz nahe." Ibid., 37.

[465] "Du mußt den lautlosen Gang des Spähers lernen. Der Späher geht *immer* so, daß ihn niemand bemerkt." Ibid., 38.

they behave so that they are generally not noticed: "A scout always behaves in a way that no one notices him. He is not noteworthy, doesn't make noise and only speaks when he must. Then, people will forget you, and when they forget you they also do not see you. Only scouts always see each other and recognize each other …. based on their eyes".[466] Walking silently—not an easy feat, as anyone who has tried it could testify—is only one part of the scout persona. A Scout walks silently, so he is not noticed. But a scout also generally behaves "silently." His gestures, his stance, his choice of placement within a room; all three work together to ensure no one notices him. The final choice scouts make to ensure their invisibility is not speaking. Choosing not to speak unless absolutely necessary, combined with the other silent behaviors, ensures that a scout is invisible to others. Invisibility for Hannes in school may be a positive change; if he can prevent himself from being noticed, then he will not be bullied as much. But surely this is not the message Janosch wishes to send to his young readers. Invisibility is a desirable supernatural power. The invisibility of scouts adds to their supernatural arsenal of abilities. Not only can Indianer disengage their shadows from their physical bodies, see through things and see into the future, they are also invisible.

The first day of Easter vacation is not yet complete, and neither is the list of supernatural abilities Indianer possess. According to Joao, Indianer go to a place between the world and the afterlife when they sleep. From here, they can see both worlds, and nothing can surprise them. In this in-between place, Indianer understand every language and time has no fixed meaning.[467] In this in-between world, there is no distinction between the actions of humans and those of

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[466] "Ein späher verhält sich immer so, daß ihn niemand bemerkt. Er fällt nicht auf, macht keinen Lärm und redet nur, wenn es sein muß. Dann vergessen dich die anderen, und wen sie vergessen, den sehen sie auch nicht. – Nur Späher sehen einander immer und erkennen sich….an den Augen." Ibid.
[467] Ibid., 38-39.

animals. Humans, blind moles, and honey bees all travel on the train together with their various lunch packs and luggage. An additional supernatural power that Indianer possess is the ability to travel to a place between the world of the living and the dead. The idea at work here is that non-Indianer go somewhere else when they sleep, and as a result can be surprised by things that happen in both the world of the living and the afterlife in their sleep. Indianer go to a different, superior place, for sleeping in the in-between world prevents them from being surprised in their sleep by anything that happens.

Hannes practices the skills he learned from Joao during the first day of the Easter vacation for the remainder of his break. He also practices becoming strong and fearless. Strength is a characteristic for which Indianer are well known. Joao explains that Hannes must train his weaker arm more than his stronger arm so that they are both equally strong, and he must believe he is strong so that he *knows* he is strong and only then will he be able to make use of this strength.[468] The final supernatural power Indianer possess appears to be infinite strength. The first step in accessing this power is to train muscles to be strong by lifting weights, or—in Hannes' case—rocks. However, training muscles, like non-Indianer do by lifting weights, is not enough to access the last supernatural power. The rest of the training occurs in an Indianer's head. First, an Indianer must believe that he is strong. Once he believes he is strong, he must know that he is strong. This knowing is the final step in activating the final super power. If an Indianer knows that he is strong, he will act as if he is strong, without hesitation; acting without hesitation and knowledge of the strength make Indianer strong, much stronger than non-Indianer who just train their muscles but fail to believe in their own strength.

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[468] Ibid., 46, 56.

Hannes returns to school after Easter Break, ready to test the new supernatural powers he has accessed. Joao's last instruction to Hannes before he goes back to school is, "A warrior can bear everything."[469] No matter what happens, an Indianer will not be overpowered by it. While not specifically a supernatural power, this is a trait that Hannes must also learn to embrace. Being able to bear anything does not necessarily mean that everything will go his way, but rather that, no matter what happens, Hannes will be able to bear it; he will survive, he will not give up or forget who he is, and he will not be broken.

Joao's lessons for Hannes are not always affirming of Hannes' behavior, especially when other living creatures are involved. One day, Hannes created a pickle jar aquarium, where he kept a few fish and insects. Joao's issue with this situation is twofold. First, the fish do not belong to Hannes, they belong to themselves, and therefore Hannes has no right to keep them caged for his enjoyment. Second, the fish do not belong in a pickle jar; they belong in the pond where they were living when Hannes caught them.[470] Only after Hannes has learned these important lessons and returned the fish to the pond does Joao agree to continue his other, more affirmative instruction. This situation not only underscores the value system of the Indianer Joao, but also serves to confirm his position of authority in this text.

Throughout Joao's instruction it is clear that being an Indianer requires a specific set of skills, but being in possession of these skills does not necessarily warrant the identity of Indianer. To be a true Indian, Hannes must learn to use his skills with a particular set of values and beliefs. These include being fearless, refusing to be intimidated, believing in oneself, and respecting the individuality of all creatures. Hannes has done a wonderful job of learning to become an Indianer and accessing his supernatural powers, as evidenced upon Hannes' return to school after Easter

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[469] "Der Krieger erträgt alles." Ibid., 46.
[470] Ibid., 52.

break. Hannes is suddenly stronger than the strongest bully—a boy almost twice Hannes' size—and effortlessly able to toss the bully over his shoulder into the wastepaper basket.[471] All his classmates were suddenly well behaved and the teacher, Mr. Baum, was suddenly the kind, friendly teacher every student would prefer. Due to his belief in his abilities, Hannes excels at all soccer positions. He has also perfected the supernatural ability of invisibility; the other players forget to see him, and so he is invisible. Everyone knows that Hannes is responsible for the many goals scored by his team, but no one is able to see him shoot the goals and no one is able to see him on the field after the goal has been made to see where he might shoot from in the next round.[472]

Hannes' supernatural powers and the lessons he has learned from Joao make Hannes the most mature boy in his class at school. The change in Hannes results not only in changes in his behavior and outlook, but also changes in his teacher's behavior and the behavior of the other children in his class at school. The adversarial tone that had previously existed in the class is completely wiped out; Hannes has replaced the largest bully as the strongest boy in the class, and has also taken the positions of the best artist and athlete. At the same time, because of his Indianer status and the associated values, Hannes does not become a bully; he remains silent and invisible unless it is necessary for him to speak or be seen. He does not take over and control the class and the other students—as he ultimately did not keep "his" fish in a pickle jar aquarium—but rather quietly makes sure that class continues as it should and no new bullies take over. One can say that Hannes has grown up, become more of an adult and less of a child. Learning to become an Indianer for Hannes, therefore, also means learning to become an adult. There are four other adults in the text: Joao, Uncle Jonas, the teacher Mr. Baum, and Hannes' mother.

[471] Ibid., 55-56.
[472] Ibid., 57-58.

Hannes' mother does not have a large role in the story, she is merely a background figure who makes sure that the family has meals and the dog has a place to sleep. The other three adults are all Indianer; Joao is an Indianer through birth, Uncle Jonas moved to South America and learned to become an Indianer there, Mr. Baum also learned to be an Indianer at an earlier time, but needed the presence of Joao to remember his lessons and behave as a proper Indianer should. All of Hannes' adult role models in the text are Indianer, and, for Hannes, becoming an Indianer isn't only about learning to live and think as an Indianer, but also about becoming an adult.

The "Good Guys" are the Germans who become Indianer

Hannes is not the only German who is able to become an Indianer, his uncle Jonas also became an Indianer: "Jonas was a wonderful guy. Jonas was an Indian."[473] The sequence of these sentences, Jonas was a wonderful guy, Jonas was an Indianer leads to the conclusion that Jonas was a wonderful guy *because* he was an Indianer. The text provides no other reasons as to why Jonas was a wonderful person; he sends Hannes letters from his home among the Indianer of South America, and is willing to help Hannes become an Indianer himself, but neither specifically link to Jonas being a wonderful person. Indianer, then, are wonderful people. Indianer are to be respected and admired, and make for appropriate authority figures for children aged seven to eleven.

A uniquely static image of South American Indianer is presented in this text. Hannes finds it impossible to tell the difference between Jonas and Joao. The two look alike and dress alike, with only a few surface exceptions. Jonas has a mustache and Joao wears a hat and poncho in the snapshot sent to Hannes from South America. The impossibility of telling Jonas and Joao apart is not due to Joao and Jonas being the same person, but rather due to the fact that the things

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[473] "Jonas war ein famoser Kerl. Jonas war ein Indianer." Ibid., 21.

they say have no fundamental difference: “What one says the other could equally have said.”[474] Since Joao teaches Hannes how to be an Indianer, and what he says is bound in the customs and thought processes of his culture, the fact that Jonas could have thought and said the same thing testifies to Jonas’ Indianness, and later that of Hannes.

Hannes’ teacher, Mr. Birkenpappel—one of Hannes’ main adversaries at the beginning of the text—may also be an Indianer. Hannes speculates about this on the first day Joao’s shadow attends school. Due to Joao’s presence, Hannes is more confident, and thus draws Mr. Birkenpappel’s attention. When Birkenpappel takes a seat near Hannes during the art lesson, Hannes has the opportunity to observe Birkenpappel closely for the first time. Hannes notes that Birkenpappel has squinting eyes, like a scout, and wonders whether Birkenpappel may also be an Indianer, or whether he is merely under the influence of Joao.[475] The narrator notes that, as Birkenpappel walks around the classroom, he never walks through Joao’s shadow. This further supports the suspicion that Birkenpappel can see Joao and is therefore an Indianer himself. Once Easter Break is over, Hannes once again wonders whether his teacher, who he now knows is named Hans Baum, might be a scout.[476] Hannes becomes more certain that Mr. Baum is also an Indianer toward the end of the text because he recognizes Hannes’ painting of the invisible Indian, Joao.[477] By the end of the text, Hannes knows with absolute certainty that Mr. Baum is an Indianer, because he often reads stories about Mexico and has the eyes of a scout.[478] Mr. Baum is not only an Indianer, he learned to become an Indianer from a South American Indian, as evidenced by the books about South American Indians he chooses to read in class. For why

[474] “Was der eine sagt, konnte genausogut der andere gesagt haben.” Ibid., 45, 37.
[475] Ibid., 34.
[476] Ibid., 48.
[477] Ibid., 58.
[478] Ibid., 63.

choose exclusively books about South American Indianer if he had not learned to become an Indianer from a South American Indian?

Of the four South American Indianer in this text, three: Jonas, Mr. Baum, and Hannes are actually ethnically and hereditarily German. The fact that the majority of the Indianer in the text are German and can nonetheless become Indianer makes a statement about the understanding of what it is to be Indianer. While Indian tribes were commonly known for adopting children (and adults) of other races into their tribes and considering these adopted children to fully belong to the tribe, the scenario presented in this text is different. Here, there is no adoption of children or adults into a tribe. There is no leaving the native culture or making a decision between the two cultures required of the German Indianer, although Jonas does decide for undisclosed reasons to live among the Indianer in South America. Being Indianer is truly something that can be learned, and can be learned by anyone anywhere. It does not require relocation or a negation of the past.

Indianer are Invisible

The Indianer in this text are invisible; they can only be seen by Hannes, and possibly his mother and Mr. Baum. Joao acts in this text as a shadow, whose physical body is still in Mexico. At times, the possibility exists that Uncle Jonas (who has also become an Indianer) also appears to Hannes as a shadow. Hannes himself, once he has begun to learn to be an Indianer, cannot be seen by his classmates or teammates.[479] (It should be noted that Hannes is not a shadow in this text like Jonas or Joao because his physical body and sprit are in the same location.) The picture Hannes paints of Joao in school is a picture of an invisible Indianer, done in blues. The teacher, Mr. Baum, proclaims Hannes very clever for making his Indianer invisible.[480] Joao himself told

[479] While playing soccer, Hannes is able to shoot goals without anyone noticing he was on the field. Ibid., 57, 61.
[480] Ibid., 56-60.

Hannes that Indianer are silent and behave in an unobtrusive way so that people forget to see them.[481] Hannes, after becoming an Indianer himself, often forgets to see Joao, which results in Joao's disappearance.[482] Because Hannes forgot to see Joao, Joao is no longer there. The implications of this invisibility for forgotten Indianer are not fully evident from the text. For Hannes, his invisibility is a positive thing, allowing him to go unnoticed by the bullies and excel at soccer. For Joao and other South American Indianer, invisibility may not be as positive; if Indianer, like Joao, cease to exist when ethnically non-Indianer figures, like Hannes, forget to see them, the existence of Indianer is fully dependent on non-Indianer. Indianer themselves have no control over their existence; if non-Indianer forget to see Indianer, the Indianer are simply no longer there. Or, in other words, Indianer only exist insofar as non-Indianer need them. As soon as non-Indianer are able to obtain or learn what they need from Indianer, Indianer themselves are no longer needed.

Indianer are no longer needed

At the end of the text, Uncle Jonas explains to Hannes that he no longer needs the Indianer Joao, since he has himself become an Indianer.[483] Hannes has acquired all the skills he could learn from Joao, and no longer needs Joao's guidance or assistance. Joao has taught Hannes everything he needs to know about being an Indianer, and Hannes has become a skilled Indianer himself. Joao, throughout the entire narration, teaches Hannes all he knows about being an Indianer, but does not himself learn anything about being a non-Indianer or living in Hannes' world. Joao, it appears, is either incapable or uninterested in learning any set of skills that are not strictly Indianer. Hannes, however, lives in a non-Indian, German-speaking world. After he

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[481] Ibid., 38.
[482] Ibid., 62.
[483] Ibid.

begins to become an Indianer, Hannes begins to excel in school, which suggests that, although Hannes is able to fully become an Indianer, he does not stop learning. In addition, his Indianer status does not prevent him from succeeding in the non-Indian world. He will continue to learn skills needed to succeed in his non-Indian world, and will thus have more skills and knowledge than Joao. His ability to not only become an Indianer, but to continue learning and acquiring skills needed to succeed in the non-Indian world make Hannes a more successful Indianer, a better Indianer. And if non-Indianer like Hannes can become better and more successful Indianer than the Indianer themselves, there is no need for Indianer to continue to exist.

Du bist ein Indianer Hannes could easily be dismissed as a childhood fantasy; Joao, Jonas, and the dog could be explained away as imaginary friends created by Hannes to help him deal with school, bullies, and his own lack of confidence. It would be understandable to dismiss this text as an imaginative children's book without notable significance, but when the impossible aspects of the story are stripped away (i.e. telepathic communication, spirit travel) we are left with a story that contains telling statements about what it means to be an Indianer in addition to a glimpse into societal opinions of Indianer, which may have long-term effects on German public opinion and cultural norms.

In his text, Janosch uses a cultural other, a South American Indian, to teach a child outsider how to be proud of his status as an outsider. The solution offered here required the child to appropriate the skills, values and characteristics of the cultural other, thus creating a distorted reflection of his own culture. The existence of the identity of the mimic-man embodied by Hannes nullifies the need for the existence of the cultural other; since Hannes has become an Indianer himself, he no longer needs the assistance of Joao and forgets to see or think about Joao. Joao, no longer needed, simply disappears. While the disappearance of Joao could be dismissed

as the disappearance of an imaginary childhood friend once real friends have been made, the fact that this imaginary friend was a South American Indian who, through teaching a set of skills and values, was able to turn a German boy into an Indianer remains significant. The fact that this book was written specifically for a young group of readers with the pedagogical goal of teaching children how to accept themselves even when they are treated like outsiders is also significant. In addition to teaching children how to have self-confidence when they don't fit in with other children in their class, the text teaches children that they can also become Indianer and act as cultural others within their own culture.

Illustrations

The existence of illustrations in this text cannot be ignored or dismissed. While most children's books containing illustrations feature illustrations by an artist who is not the author of the written story—with more or less collaboration, influence and decision-making by the author—*Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* was both written and illustrated by Janosch. The illustrations are in the text because Janosch wanted them to be there. Their subject matter, composition and placement was chosen by Janosch himself. They are intended to accompany the text and can contribute to the story being told, just as the written text contributes. The illustrations may depict what is being said in the written text, provide additional—but not competing—information, or subvert the claims to the story made by the written text. The illustrations in this text, I have found, do all three.

The Dust Jacket

Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes first appeared in 1990. The original edition was published under the title *Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer* in 1966. The three editions

published under this original title feature Hannes and Joao on the cover standing, sitting, or riding a horse together. The covers of *Du bist ein Indianer Hannes* shift to a color picture of Hannes with a washed out watercolor of Joao. The depictions of Joao on these versions of the text feature Joao fading away, blending into the background of the cover, or fading into nothingness, thus emphasizing the disappearance of Joao and the role of Hannes taking the place of the cultural other. The idea of the invisible Indianer is represented intact on the covers of all versions of the books. The instances in which Joao is represented as a physically present human are all found on the book covers on editions of *Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer*. Here, although the imagery portrays a physically present Indianer, the title clearly states that the Indianer is invisible. With the title change to *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes*, the imagery on the book cover also changed to maintain the idea of the invisible Indianer. Here, Joao is portrayed in light, washed out blues with no defining details, at times even without an indication of eyes. Janosch, a unique author in that he creates the illustrations found in his books and on their covers himself, chooses how his characters will be portrayed in his book illustrations. The version of the text discussed here contains not even one example of an illustration of Joao when he is not portrayed as invisible. While the images in the text will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, it is useful to note here that the author and illustrator has chosen to depict Joao as invisible throughout the entire book, even though other images from former books would have been available.

Illustrations in the text

Illustrations in children's books have been the subject of research in recent decades. "[C]ontemporary picturebooks have become a field of innovation and experimentation,

challenging the conventions and norms that have traditionally governed the genre."[484] While not specifically a picturebook, Janosch's text also makes use of innovation and experimentation, challenging commonly held assumptions about the world in which we live and even the texts we read. Illustrations in children's books can be divided into two categories: pictorial translations of the written text, referred to as translating illustration, or a reinterpretation of the text, referred to as creative illustrating.[485] Janosch's illustrations, while dealing with the content of the text, often "…reveal the new interpreting possibilities."[486] His illustrations bring Janosch's world alive.

> "…[T]here are seemingly no barriers between the human and the animal worlds. In fact, the books create a single world, accessible and enjoyable to people and animals alike. It is in this unique world that human beings are by no means superior to animals. All the inhabitants may become friends, people and animals collaborate, relax and have parties together; the only differentiating factor is the appearance of people and animals."[487]

The lack of differentiation between humans and animals is underscored in two specific illustrations of Hannes' house found in the text. In each of these illustrations, framed portraits hang on the wall. The content of these portraits is of special interest here; while the majority of

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[484] Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer, "Variety in Genres and Styles: Trends in Modern German-language Children's Literature," *Bookbird: A journal of International Children's Literature.* 46.1 (2008): 7. See also Renate Raecke, ed., *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Deutschland* (Munich: Arbeitskreis für Jugendliteratur, 1999).

[485] Sikorska, 1.

[486] Ibid., 2.

[487] Ibid., 4. While the author of this passage is referring to two other books by Janosch, namely *Komm, wir finden einen Schatz* and *Post fur den Tiger*, the tendency of a single world can be seen in the relationship between Hannes and his dog, king of bears. In this specific text, there appears to be a separation of human and animal worlds, like there is a separation of German and Indian worlds. This separation is not one of necessity or hierarchy, but rather one of location and custom. As can be seen from dog's relationship with Hannes, peaceful cohabitation and collaboration is possible, it proves no problem to dog or human, but under normal circumstances, each group is focused on their own concerns, and the two groups have no reason to cross paths, since they do not share the same living space.

the portraits have human subjects, two have frog subjects. The frog faces are positioned in the portrait frames in the same manner as the human portraits, the only difference in these portraits is that the subjects are frogs instead of humans.[488] Another illustration that points to a lack of division between the human and animal worlds can be found in the picture of the dog going to sleep lying on his back with his head on a pillow, covered with a blanket.[489]

There are many other illustrations throughout the book. Although the images generally follow the written story line, there are elements in almost all images that support interpretation of these images as creative illustrating. The storyline of the illustrations deviates from that of the written text, at times supplying more information and at others directly contradicting the narrative of the written text. Close analysis of each illustration is beyond the scope of the current project, so I have selected a few to illustrate the alternative story line in the text. In the first illustration in the text, the teacher scolds Hannes in front of the blackboard.[490] In the written text, the teacher is a bully who enjoys tormenting his poor, powerless students. In the illustration, the teacher and Hannes are both depicted with open mouths of the same shape. This illustration suggests that Hannes talks back to his teacher, and may be more of a troublemaker than the written text would suggest.

The next illustration I will consider depicts the King of the Bears leaving his kingdom. According to the written text, there was a battle for power in his kingdom between the bears and the coyotes. The leader of the coyotes had a magician, who turned the king of the bears into a dog. The written text claims that the king of the bears left his people because they could no longer understand him. The illustration depicting this scene tells a very different story. The dog

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[488] Janosch, *Hannes* 1990, 26, 53.
[489] Ibid., 15.
[490] Ibid., 5.

walks away from the bears, looking over his shoulder at them. Three bears watch him depart, one growls and holds his clawed paws threateningly out in front of him while one yells and shakes his fist at the dog.[491] The illustration suggests that the dog, king of the bears, was driven out by his own people after losing the battle to the coyotes.

The arrival of Jonas' letter to Hannes, while not clearly described in the written text, is explained in one of the illustrations. The written text states that Hannes waited every day for the mail carrier to arrive, and once he had stopped waiting, the letter from Jonas arrived. The illustration tells a different tale. Here, the mail carrier receives a sack of mail from a bus driver while Hannes looks on, the dog barks at the bus tires, and a woman walks away from the bus after disembarking. The illustration matches the written thematic of a letter being delivered by a letter carrier, but the scene portrayed in the illustration is not one that also exists in the written text.

The last illustration depicting an alternate text that I will discuss here is one of Joao and the dog walking through a field together. In the written text, Hannes forgets to see Joao and notices one day that Joao has left. He has just received a letter from his uncle Jonas explaining that Hannes no longer needs Joao because Hannes has become and Indianer himself. The illustration, rather than being one of Joao fading away and Hannes not noticing, depicts Joao walking through a field with the dog. This is the first illustration in the book where Joao is depicted as going anywhere without Hannes. The question of whether the dog returns to Hannes or continues on through the field with Joao is left open. In fact, this illustration may suggest that the dog was also an invisible participant in the story on his own shadow journey. The placement of this illustration, after the last word in the text, gives the story an open end, one that children

[491] Ibid., 14.

can imagine for themselves, or imagine themselves into. Because of Hannes' absence from the illustration of Joao and the dog walking in the field, there exists a space for readers to imagine themselves into the illustration and the story.

In addition to contradicting the written text, the illustrations also act as signposts for the plot of the story. On the basis of its illustrations, the text can be divided into four unique sections. One of four illustrations of Hannes' classroom and the classroom blackboard denote each section. The first illustration in the text depicts the teacher, Mr. Baum (aka. Birkenpappel), scolding Hannes in front of the blackboard. On the blackboard written in chalk is "9=9".[492] The blackboard is drawn in the background of three other illustrations in the text, one in the middle of the text and two near the end. The blackboard illustration found at the middle of the text accompanies a portion of the text right after the arrival of Joao. Here, Joao accompanies Hannes to school for the first time, but Hannes has not begun learning to be an Indian himself. Unlike the first illustration, here nothing is written on the blackboard.[493] The third illustration containing the blackboard is located near the end of the book. Textually, the illustration depicts the classroom on the first day back at school after the brief Easter Holiday, the first day Hannes returns to school after learning to become an Indianer. Like the first illustration containing a blackboard, numbers are again written in chalk, but this time they read "9=8."[494] The final depiction of the classroom blackboard occurs in the chapter before Jonas' declaration that Hannes has become an Indianer. Hannes uses his Indianer skills to fit in better and becomes more popular at school. Like the second illustration containing a blackboard, here the blackboard is blank.[495]

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[492] Ibid., 5.
[493] Ibid., 31.
[494] Ibid., 51.
[495] Ibid., 55.

The depictions of the blackboard can be divided into two main groupings, namely those with and those without writing on them. The blackboards with writing seem to signify the reality of the text, while those without signify change and possibility. The first blackboard states “9=9”. This is a simple mathematical equation that states a mathematical fact and avoids any space for interpretation or imagination. This board represents Hannes’ reality before Joao’s arrival. The third blackboard states “9=8”. Clearly not a mathematical fact, 9=8 is not a formula that would ordinarily belong on the blackboard of an elementary school classroom. Since it does not belong on the blackboard of a typical classroom, this formula must have a purpose beyond depicting an average classroom. This illustration is placed in the text at a point in which Hannes has acquired all of the skills needed to be an Indianer, but has not yet fully understood the value system. (In the following chapter, Joao explains why having an aquarium is not appropriate and why fish cannot belong to Hannes.) The 9=8, placed prominently on the blackboard, illustrates reinterpretation and imagination. It not only invites reflection on when nine might be equal to eight, but also underscores the new experiences open to Hannes with his new skills.

The two illustrations in which the blackboard is depicted as being blank represent times of change and possibility in the narrative. The first blank blackboard appears right after Joao’s arrival. Here, Hannes sees the possibility of a change in his situation by learning from Joao. Joao has arrived, but has not yet started to instruct Hannes on how to be an Indianer. Hannes has not yet started his lessons, and can choose to take the lessons seriously or not, to learn to be an Indianer or not; all possibilities are still open. The last illustration in which the classroom is depicted also has a blank blackboard. At this point in the text, Hannes has learned the skills and values needed to be an Indianer, but has not yet been declared an Indianer by Jonas. Joao continues to be present, but is no longer the focus of Hannes’ attention. The other students have

begun to treat Hannes kindly and Hannes is on the verge of being popular. Hannes could continue to learn from Joao, focusing his attention on him. Hannes could continue to live as an Indianer. He could also embrace his newly found popularity and stop being an Indianer. This, like the portion of the text represented by the first blank blackboard, is a time of change and possibility. Nothing has happened yet; nothing has been decided. The fact that this illustration represents the last blackboard depiction in the text may indicate that the possibilities open to Hannes the Indianer, even after Joao's departure. It is not clear whether Hannes, like his teacher Mr. Baum, will forget how to be an Indianer and need to be reminded at a later date, or whether he will continue to live as an Indianer throughout his life.

Conclusion

Janosch's *Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes* is a text that is open to many interpretations. Read as a fairy tale, it contains pedagogical lessons that teach children certain morals and values that are desirable for productive adulthood. Read as an anti-authoritarian critique of West German Society, it critiques capitalism and tackles issues of classism. Read as a book of unification, it uses the familiar image of an Indian to help children from the former GDR adjust to the new social, political, and educational system. Read through the images, it challenges the absolute authority of the written text and opens the story for children's creative interpretations. Read as a window to the larger cultural understanding of South American Indians, the text provides a vague, stereotypical, and outdated image of a cultural other. Read as a book that, through Hannes, provides a fun-house mirror reflection of German society, it offers critique of the educational system, the preparedness of teachers, and the economic conditions of a capitalist nation. Joao in this text, rather than functioning merely as an inaccurate depiction of a non-specific type of South American Indian, conforms to a stereotypical Indianer image. His role is

not representation so much as it is instruction. Hannes' role most closely resembles a role of representation; through his Indianer status, he not only reflects a distorted image of Indianer, but also a distorted image of his native culture.

Becoming an Indianer for Hannes was not a change of culture, but rather a change of maturity. Becoming an Indianer was the process Hannes went through in order to leave childhood behind and become an adult. His behavior at the beginning of the narrative is drastically different from that at the end of the narrative. Hannes develops throughout the text from a child who must rely on adult authority figures for his judgment of morals to an independent young adult capable of identifying and understanding the differences between right and wrong actions in diverse situations. Not only has Hannes learned to make moral judgments on his own, he is the silent leader in his class. Hannes, through his Indianer status, has become an authority figure in his classroom. Because of this, his status is closer to the adult status of his teacher than the child status of his fellow classmates. The process of becoming an Indianer for Hannes was not the process of cultural adoption and change, but rather the process of maturing. Hannes' new adult status is underscored by his Uncle Jonas' proclamation that Hannes no longer needs Joao. Joao, as we saw earlier in this chapter, was set up in the narrative as the ultimate authority figure. Hannes no longer needs this authority figure because, through the process of becoming an Indianer, Hannes has become an adult himself. Joao, the now unnecessary authority figure, simply disappears, leaving Hannes to make decisions and moral judgments on his own.

Conclusion: Playing Indian, Playing German, or Playing Indian to Become German?

The Indianer figure was and continues to be a prominent figure in German culture. Since the publication of the works of Karl May, his Winnetou figure has been synonymous with the German cultural understanding of an Indianer. Author/ethnographers such as Welskopf-Heinrich and Müller-Tannowitz worked within the cultural confines of the expected behavior of an Indianer hero of Winnetou's status, focusing on increasing ethnographic accuracy in their narratives. The Indianer survived cultural upheaval and national re-imaginings, most recently embodied by Hannes in Janosch's fairy tale.

Each author discussed in this study took a different approach to the tribal identity of the Indianer protagonist. Karl May's Winnetou embodied the characteristics of the perfect Indianer and, although billed as an Apache, did not differ significantly from the source text by May, in which Winnetou was a Sioux. May used tribal affiliations more as a way to explain geography within his narrative than any specific and accurate depictions of his Indianer protagonist's tribe or way of life. Welskopf-Heinrich and Müller-Tannowitz, both trained ethnographers, approached their respective narrations and tribes as a pedagogical tool for instructing children on the aspects of life specific to their respective tribes. Janosch, like May, did not concern himself with ethnographical instruction. He also did not find a need to specify any particular tribe. His definition of Joao as a "South American" Indianer speaks to the adaptation of expectations of a generalized Indianer figure. His selection of a South American Indian further frees Janosch's Indianer from many pre-concieved ideas about Joao's behavior or way of life, ensuring that Joao exist only as an unspecified Indianer, a product of German cultural imaginings, with no connection, however flawed, to any real tribe or people.

Each author also used genre and expectations of that genre as an integral part of their text. May's adventure novel was a common type of narration at the time of authorship. It lent itself well to serial publications, and, with the focus on action and adventure, did not overly concern itself with accurate depictions or character development. Welskopf-Heinrich's selection of the Bildungsroman genre more closely fits her ethnographic and instructional desires to educate young adult readers on the realities of life for a young Sioux Indian during the time of Western Expansion in the United States. This genre allows readers to follow the protagonist from boyhood to adulthood, and provides insight into his personal development and coming of age. Müller-Tannowitz's selection of the Captivity Narrative allows her the opportunity to teach young readers about the Iroquois Confederacy and adoption customs. The tension between biological and adoptive ethnicity throughout the story suggests to readers the possibility of belonging to a group one was not born to. The selection of the fairy tale by Janosch allows the author freedom from reality and offers more flexibility in the telling of the story while also making use of a genre that children would be used to interpreting from their lessons at school.

The role of the German in each of these stories changes through time, although cultural preservation and appropriation of Indianer culture and identity vary in each text and through time. In the oldest text by Karl May, the German Old Shatterhand becomes an Indianer by becoming the blood brother of Winnetou. As the only remaining brother, then, Old Shatterhand the German is solely responsible for the survival of Winnetou's tribe and cultural traditions. Welskopf-Heinrich's Bildungsroman series ends in a Utopic Indianer society in Canada made up of willing Sioux, Blackfoot, and white members. Here, common goals and values are the bindings of the tribe, and the cultural survival of the tribe is dependent upon cooperation, learning from other members of the tribe, and adaptation to a new lifestyle. In Müller-

Tannowitz's text, Georg becomes an Indianer through an adoption ceremony where his white blood is symbolically replaced by Iroquois blood. It is the time and care he receives from his adoptive parents, however, that make him an Indianer. Unlike Welskopf-Heinrich's and May's texts, the enduring survival of the tribe in some form is not a topic covered in the conclusion to the narration. Janosch's fairy tale allows for German children to become Indianer without any real contact with Indianer or tribes; they can become Indianer solely through learning a specific set of Indianer skills and values. The tribal specificity of this identiy is non-existent, and, like in May's text, the survival of the Indianer culture seems to be dependent on the super-Indianer: the Germans who become Indianer and have at their disposal the skills and knowledge of both cultures. As we see in all four texts, becoming an Indianer is associated with maturity, self-sufficiency, and adulthood. Each German protagonist begins the narration as a child or naive young man and ends the text not only as an adult, but also as a capable and mature Indianer.

The Indianer has and continues to be a central cultural figure in Germany, as indicated by the ongoing publication of texts discussed in this project, the existence and popularity of hobbyist groups, and the commonality of the Indianer in daily life. From the Karl May Grundschule in Hohenstein-Ernstthal—whose website features tipis instead of bullet points in the navigation menu and the heads of feathered scouts peering over a hill[496] on pages linked to the "Wissenwertes" section—and Indianertage[497] in German schools to the open air performances of theatrical adaptations based on Karl May's Winnetou trilogy and the many

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[496] See the appendix for screen shots from the Grundschule Hohenstein-Ernstthal website.
[497] Grundschule Quirein, for example, has photos of its 2014 Indianertage posted on the school website: http://www.snets.it/SSP-BozenStadt/Quirein/aktiv/Seiten/Indianertage-2014.aspx.

Indianertreffen[498] that occur each year, the German Indianer is as common a figure in the childhood of German speaking children as is Sponge Bob in America.

The German Indianer is a figure that was imagined into being by German authors, educators, parents, and children. The imaging originated through texts, such as those discussed in this project. The development of the Indianer through published imaginings of Winnetou, Harka, Blauvogel, and Joao testifies to the utility of the figure and the ability for the Indianer to be revised and reinvented as needed to serve the purposes of the author and the state. The ability for the Germans Old Shatterhand, Kate, George, and Hannes to become Indianer through their textual experiences underscores the importance of preservation of culture and the need for German bodies to learn about Indianer and become native so that the native culture can be preserved. The special and specific work of the hobbyist groups, namely to be as ethnographically accurate as possible in their depictions of native groups and scouring the texts of authors such as Karl May for inaccuracies that must be corrected through professional and unofficial articles, listserves, and websites, highlights the theory that it is up to the German hobbyists to preserve someone else's language and culture, independent of what the "someone else" might think about the preservation. The question of why German hobbyists believe that they have the right to preserve native language and culture cannot be answered here; it is the occurrence of this preservation itself that speaks to a larger cultural phenomenon regarding the Indianer. Also interesting to note is that this attention to ethnographic accuracy in hobbyist depictions of specific tribes and the love for finding inaccuracies in May's works does not translate into accurate depictions and representations of Indianer in the Festspiele or the Indianertage popular in Elementary schools. In these venues, it is the generic German Indianer

[498] For a listing of Indianertreffen that will occur in 2015, see: http://www.powwow-kalender.de/.

who reins supreme. The German audience seems quite comfortable with this dual Indianer identity: one that is detailed and ethnographically accurate, one that is based on stereotypical generalizations and without specific tribal identity.

Appendices

Vor einem Jahr noch sprachen wir mit ihm bei der Schriftstellerin Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich (Mitte) in Berlin, jetzt ist der Indianerführer Dennis Banks (rechts) von 15 Jahren Haft bedroht (links: Vernon Bellecourt, ebenfalls ein Führer von AIM)

Foto: Sandberg

Image 1: Welskopf-Henrich with AIM Leaders Dennis Banks and Vernon Bellecourt in Berlin

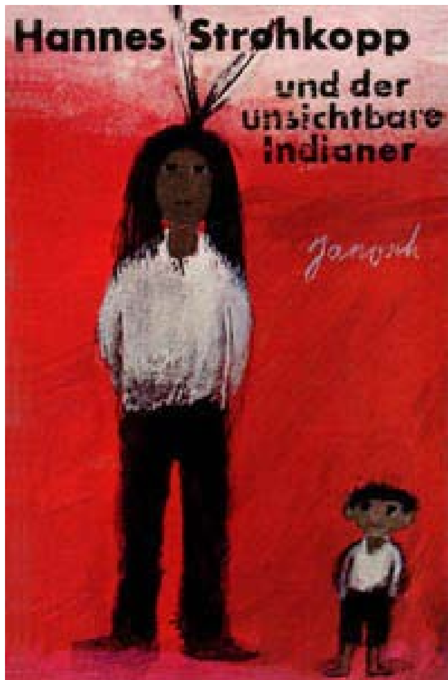

Image 2: Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer (Parabel, 1966) 14cm x 21cm, 96 Seiten

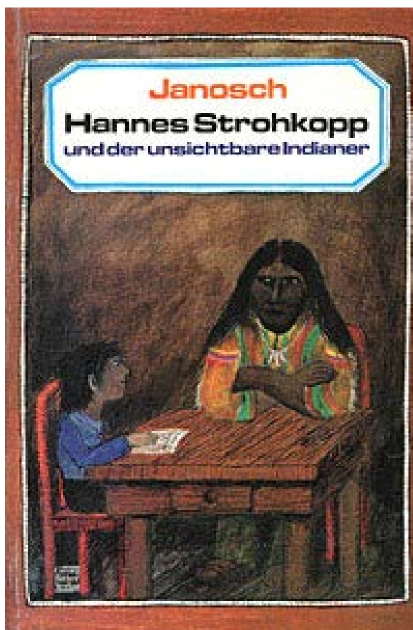

Image 3: Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer (Georg Bitter Verlag, 1972) 14cm x 21cm, 72 Seiten, gekürzte Fassung ohne das Kapitel "Die Vogelweltmeisterschaften" und mit neuen Illustrationen (siehe auch Der Mäusesheriff und andere Geschichten)

Image 4: Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer (dtv, 1978, 3. Auflage 1981, dtv junior) 11cm x 18cm, 96 Seiten

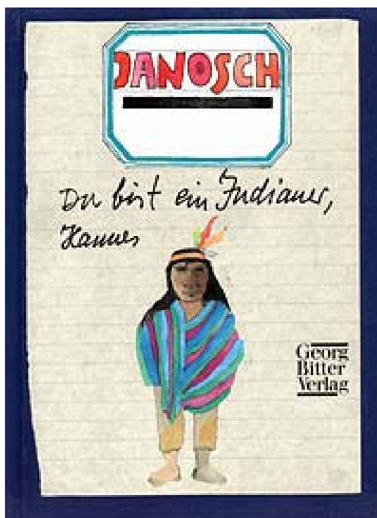

Image 5: Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes (Bitter, 1990) 17cm x 23cm, 80 Seiten (komplette Neufassung)

Image 6: Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes (dtv, 1993, dtv junior) 12cm x 18cm, 64 Seiten (Neufassung)

Image 7: Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes (dtv, 1993, dtv junior/3. Auflage 1996) 12cm x 18cm, 64 Seiten (Neufassung, mit neuem Umschlag)

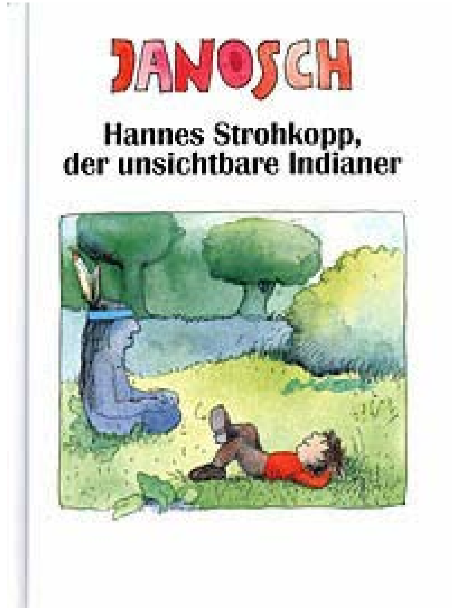

Image 8: Hannes Strohkopp, der unsichtbare Indianer (Isis, 1994) 17cm x 23cm, 80 Seiten (Neufassung)

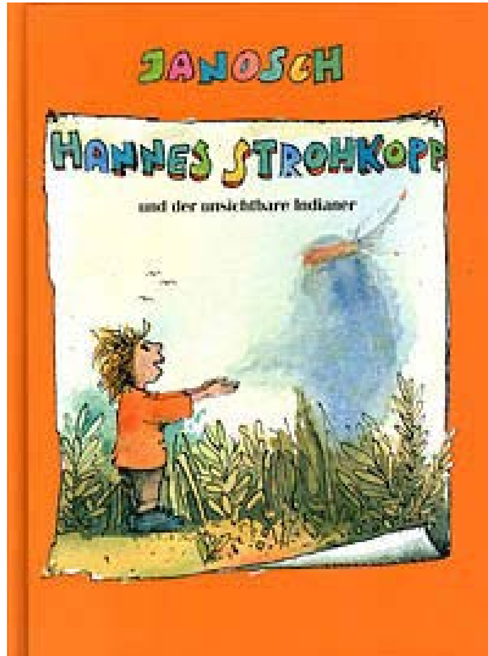

Image 9: Hannes Strohkopp und der unsichtbare Indianer (Transscripta, 1997) 17cm x 23cm, 80 Seiten (Neufassung)

Image 10: Du bist ein Indianer, Hannes (dtv, 1993, Neuauflage) 62 Seiten

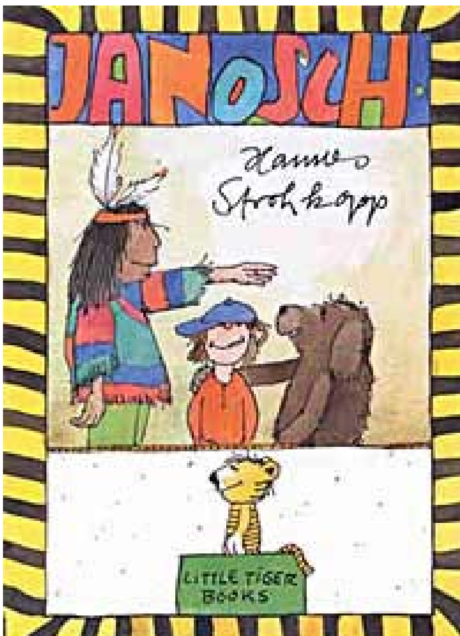

Image 11: Hannes Strohkopp (Little Tiger)

http://mitglied.lycos.de/rafuchs/janosch/cover001_050/013.htm

Accessed September 22, 2008

Image 12: Tipis on the navigation links for the Grundschule Hohenstein-Ernstthal website.

http://www.karl-may-grundschule.de/ Accesseed January1, 2015.

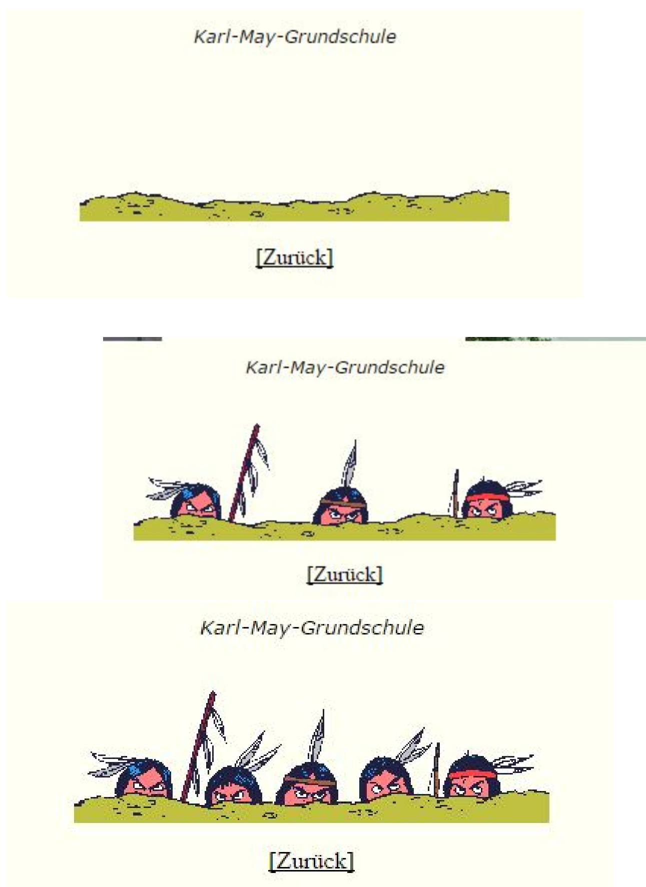

Image 13: Screenshots of annimations on the "Wissenwertes" link section of the Grundschule Hohenstein-Ernstthal website.

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