

Picture Books and Photo Albums: Visual Memory of the First World War in the Weimar  
Republic

By  
Justin Court

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
(German)

at the  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON  
2018

Date of final oral examination: 8/10/2018

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Pamela Potter, Professor, Department of German, Nordic, and Slavic  
Marc Silberman, Professor Emeritus, Department of German, Nordic, and Slavic  
Sabine Gross, Professor, Department of German, Nordic, and Slavic  
Rudy Koshar, Professor Emeritus, Department of History

## Acknowledgments

My gratitude is due foremost to my wonderful dissertation advisors. To Marc Silberman, for providing key support and guidance when needed while allowing me the freedom to grow into my own as a scholar; I am happy to have had you on my side. To Pam Potter, for graciously providing guidance and a critical eye in the latter stages of the project; I know my dissertation is better for your involvement.

I appreciate the insightful questions and comments provided by Rudy Koshar during my dissertation defense, as well as for the careful reading of Sabine Gross, whose unmatched ability to tease out bad style improved my manuscript immensely. I have learned so much as a writer from your mentorship and hope someday to achieve your mastery of language.

A warm expression of thanks is due to Jost Hermand for the many fruitful conversations about my research over coffee and lunch. You have been a wonderful role model of a socially engaged scholar, and your intellect and productivity are unparalleled.

To the members of Potter Club—Lesley, Isi, Jen, and Christy—thank you for accepting me into the gang and providing invaluable feedback on my chapters. I will miss our meetings dearly and wish you all the best as you finish your own projects.

It is no exaggeration to say that this dissertation would have been impossible without the support of the countless library professionals at UW–Madison and around the country and world who helped me obtain the necessary research materials. I have never met most of you personally but feel strongly that you deserve recognition here. Among the librarians I do know, Kevin Kurdylo stands above the rest for jumpstarting my research and showing me sources I did not know existed. Staff at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, the Bundesarchiv, and UW–Madison’s Special Collections were also especially important in aiding my research; thank you!

I am deeply grateful for financial support to complete this project provided through grants from the Center for German and European Studies, the Department of German, Nordic, and Slavic, and the Mellon–Wisconsin Summer Fellowship fund.

Sarah Reed provided helpful assistance in locating genealogical information and military records for Jakob Sitzmann and his brothers and is an amazing friend and confidante. To her and all my friends in Madison, Milwaukee, and beyond I am thankful for your moral support and needed distractions.

To Jake, who stood by my side as the dissertation grew from nothing, I owe endless gratitude and love. And to my parents, Tom and Kelly Court, I am forever indebted.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Chapter 1. Introduction: Collective Memory, Photography, and the First World War’s Legacy in Weimar Germany.....	1
Chapter 2. Private Memory and Mourning: The Photo Albums of German Soldiers .....	45
Chapter 3. Horror Unmasked: The Pacifist Plea of Ernst Friedrich’s <i>Krieg dem Kriege!</i> (1924) 72	72
Chapter 4. National Rejuvenation and Expunging Defeat: Walter Bloem’s <i>Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924</i> (1924).....	104
Chapter 5. War History as “nationale Aufgabe”: Commemorative Myth-Making in Publications from the Reichsarchiv and George Soldan .....	131
Chapter 6. Metaphysical Transformation at the Front: Franz Schauwecker’s <i>So war der Krieg!</i> (1927) and “soldatischer Nationalismus” .....	178
Chapter 7. Indicting the War’s Political Legacy: Franz Schauwecker’s <i>So ist der Friede</i> (1928) and a New German Nationalism.....	210
Chapter 8. Conclusion.....	259
Works Cited .....	268
Appendix 1. Illustrations.....	281

## Abstract

This dissertation analyzes how photographic representations in mass-market picture books and private soldiers' photo albums shaped memory of the First World War in Germany during the Weimar Republic. It begins with a consideration of amateur photography during the war and how soldiers organized their memory visually in private photo albums. In contrast to the general and often politicized interpretations of war in popular picture books, photo albums establish specific, personal narratives that attend to a fuller spectrum of lived experience. By considering private practices of photography, this study opens up lines of inquiry into how individuals remembered the past and offers photo albums as a counterpoint to popular Weimar-era war picture books, which differ radically in form and intent in their effort to shape collective memory. The study then considers an assortment of successful mass-market picture books published in the 1920s, including Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* (1924), *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914-1924* (1924; introduction by Walter Bloem), the Reichsarchiv series "Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter," "Schlachten des Weltkrieges," and the two-volume *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* (1926/28; introductions by George Soldan and Werner Beumelburg), and Franz Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg!* (1927) and *So ist der Friede* (1928). These picture books exemplify how questions of war memory tied remembrance to contemporary public debates, such as those surrounding the nature of defeat, the legitimacy of the Republic, and the future of the German nation. The study shows how authors and book editors from across the ideological spectrum mined the war's rich photographic archive to present supposedly realistic and therefore authoritative accounts of the conflict at a time when its meaning was hotly contested and weighed heavily on the outcome of political dispute.

## Chapter 1. Introduction: Collective Memory, Photography, and the First World War's Legacy in Weimar Germany

German-language picture books in the interwar period of the Weimar Republic promised to reveal to their viewers the First World War through an experiential encounter with photographs. Belief in photography's ability to accurately convey the "reality" of war was widespread and relied on an assertion of the medium's technical impartiality. As Franz Schauwecker, editor of one such volume, *So war der Krieg!* (1927), wrote:

Eingefaßt zwischen Vormarsch und Opfer, zeigen diese Aufnahmen das wahre Gesicht des Krieges, unentstellt, nicht beschönigt, und enthüllen in der unumstößlichen, harten und aufrichtigen Sachlichkeit des Lichtbildes die düstere Tragödie des modernen Krieges. Hier hat der Krieg mit Material, Mensch und Landschaft sich selbst nüchtern und wortlos in die nicht zu betrugende lichtempfindliche Schicht der Platte eingezeichnet.<sup>1</sup>

Schauwecker's claim for photography's inherent truth-telling ability, however, is inconsistent with the volume's actual composition. In *So war der Krieg!* he plays freely with the apparently obvious "truth" contained in the frames of photographs. He weaves the visual content of disparately sourced photographs into a nationalist polemic that sees new political action taking root in the experience of war:

Hier entstand jener Nationalismus, der, als er die schreckliche Größe jenes Schicksals aus Grab, Opfer und Vernichtung erlebte und begriff, aus seiner Kraft jenes Wunder erzeugte, das ihn erst zum deutschen Nationalismus machte: er erfaßte das Schicksal, er wußte es, aber er unterwarf sich ihm nicht stumpf wie einem Verhängnis, sondern er erkannte es an, er sagte "ja" zu ihm.<sup>2</sup>

Schauwecker's ideological views are not inherent properties of the photographs selected for his picture book but are ascribed to the images through corresponding passages of text. His interpretations often stretch far beyond the photographs' visual content, but careful editorial

---

<sup>1</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 5.

control allows him to omit material inconvenient for his argument at the same time he stresses visual aspects that correspond to his ideological point-of-view. Take, for example, Schauwecker's comparison of nationalism to a plant sprouting from the soil of destruction, the idea that war is a necessary cleansing of "der morsche Geist einer Vergangenheit" from which a "neue Verantwortung" is wrought from the spiritual experience of war.<sup>3</sup> The analogy of birth through destruction is visually anchored in the photographs of explosions that comprise a third of the pictured scenes found within the volume.<sup>4</sup> While the war's destruction certainly is evident in those views of violence, Schauwecker understands these documents as supporting a future-oriented, nationalist vision, as he predicts a time when those who sacrificed the most—"unsere Generation"—will awaken to create their own reality.<sup>5</sup>

A cursory overview of *So war der Krieg!* introduces the connection between the visual depiction of the First World War and the contested field of memory surrounding the conflict during the Weimar Republic, Germany's interwar parliamentary democracy from 1918 to 1933. Schauwecker's volume is just one of many German-language picture books of the 1920s concerned with crafting interpretations of the war that were inherently bound up with societal questions in the present. The picture book genre represents a microcosm of post-war memory contests in Germany, what historian Benjamin Ziemann has called in the context of veterans' groups "contested commemorations."<sup>6</sup> This dissertation analyses the war narratives presented in the text-and-image combinations of picture books through the frame of memory contests, the effort to influence public opinion through carefully constructed interpretations of the war experience and thereby shape its legacy in the present.

---

<sup>3</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Apel, "Cultural Battlegrounds," 77.

<sup>5</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 8

<sup>6</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*.

This introductory chapter begins with an exploration of foundational ideas from the field of memory studies to show how media do not merely reflect collective views of the past but influence their form in the present. The analysis of photo albums and picture books in this study follows this vein in order to understand how visual and textual representations shaped war memory, both at the private level of individual soldiers (photo albums) and at the collective level of the German public at-large (picture books). Consideration of the former category reveals how a vast archive of photographs came to be during the war and how individuals organized their lived experience and personal memories visually. It serves as a useful counter to the latter category, comprised of published works by authors of oftentimes radically different worldviews who nevertheless share the same principal goal: to craft specific visual accounts of the war and its legacy in order to influence opinion among a broad reading public and effect social/political change in the present. This chapter's second part provides an introduction to the status of photography in the 1920s and the type of theoretical questions that were occupying thinkers during the "photo-boom" during which war picture books were published. In this section, the example of Ernst Jünger's book *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* serves to highlight many of the issues running through the later chapters' analysis of popular war picture books, including questions of authenticity, viewing violence, ideological messaging, the text-and-image relationship, and reception. This introduction finally provides a broad overview of the contentious nature of war memory during the Weimar Republic, exemplified in some of the groups that were most concerned with defining the war's legacy. It considers how the war experience engendered diverse reactions that were increasingly tied up with questions of contemporary social and political life. Even if defeat was felt sorely by most and reactions did not always fall neatly along social or political lines, memory contests surrounding the war

extended commemoration of the past to a struggle of worldviews in the present. The highly visible and protracted nature of memory contests ensured that the picture books discussed in this study were and must be scrutinized as interventions in a contentious dimension of Weimar public life.

The effort to shape the post-war public's understanding of the war can best be understood through reference to foundational ideas of collective memory. Writing in *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925) Maurice Halbwachs was among the first to posit the idea of collective memory to explain how prevailing societal attitudes and frames of thinking guide how a shared vision of the past emerges.<sup>7</sup> The concept of "collective memory" does not explain the biological or psychological processes of memory *per se* but acts as a frame of reference for ordering individual memories into a group's sum conception of the past. These frames are not always "true" to history, and reconstructions of the past often entail a distortion of that past to meet the present needs of the group in asserting its desired identity.<sup>8</sup> One example from the context of post-First World War commemoration is what historian George Mosse calls the "Myth of the War Experience": despite massive loss of human life and countless individual experiences of trauma, those concerned with the reputation of the "German nation" and the idea's appeal to the public worked to construct a myth that downplayed the war's meaninglessness to justify the nation in whose name the war had been fought.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the experience of mass death is a central concern of Weimar-era picture books, whether they soften the experience of death by focusing on orderly gravesites, present gruesome facts but transform their meaning into something of a higher symbolic nature, or display it in plain detail as a shock to the viewer that is meant to

---

<sup>7</sup> Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*, 22–23.

<sup>8</sup> Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*, 381.

<sup>9</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 6–7.



motivate aversion to war. Photographs of death and destruction abound in the archive of photographs from the war, and paying attention to the way in which book editors and authors deal with such images helps to discern the ideological motives that lie beneath a veneer of claimed objectivity.

From one typical contemporary notion of the First World War that focuses on the conflict's futility,<sup>10</sup> it is difficult to grasp how war memory could have been spun for positive political purchase. In short, how were so many instances of personal suffering transformed into an affirmative collective experience? Although the effects of "shell-shock" were experienced widely among front-line soldiers during the First World War and still count among the most pronounced aftermaths of modern warfare, the sort of trauma at hand when considering post-war memory contests is better understood if the difference between personal and collective trauma is delineated. Halbwachs's idea of collective memory has been refined and developed in the almost 100 years since its first formulation, but one of the earliest objections to the term, coming from Marc Bloch in 1925, concerned Halbwachs's unartful transposition of terms and concepts from individual psychology to a collective level.<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey Alexander mounts a similar critique in his recent book *Trauma: A Social Theory* (2012). He notes the significant difference between a popular understanding of trauma to the individual (the real psychological and physical effects that plague a person subjected to extreme violence) and the ways in which a large-scale "event," such as war, is written as collectively "traumatic." The first notion of trauma is often falsely transcribed to a collective, so that violent events or cultural ruptures are thought to automatically

---

<sup>10</sup> However, as Dan Todman seeks to show in *The Great War: Myth and Memory*, the notion of the First World War as a "fight about nothing" is itself a layman's perspective supported by decades of modern myth-making more than accurate historical interpretation (xii–xiii).

<sup>11</sup> Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, 110. The methodological debate has persisted long after Bloch's criticism, as Wulf Kansteiner's 2002 essay "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies" attests.

inflict a “trauma” on a community of people. Alexander counters, however, that “events are not inherently traumatic. Trauma is a socially mediated attribution. The attribution may be made in real time, as an event unfolds; it may also be made before the event occurs, as an adumbration, or after the event has concluded, as a post-hoc reconstruction.”<sup>12</sup> This process of attributing trauma to events relies on cultural representations. Alexander writes:

For traumas to emerge at the level of the collectivity, social crises must become cultural crises. Events are one thing; representations of these events are quite another. Trauma is not the result of a group experiencing pain. It is the result of this acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity’s sense of its own identity. Collective actors “decide” to represent social pain as a fundamental threat to their sense of who they are, where they came from, and where they want to go.<sup>13</sup>

Which cultural representations are “successful” in shaping a collectivity’s sense of identity is in turn “a matter of cultural power in the most mundane, material sense: Who controls the means of symbolic production?”<sup>14</sup> In contrast to other nations, such as Britain and France, which developed uniform forms of memory and mourning that bound people together, Germany enjoyed no unanimously accepted commemorative practices or even a common semantic or language to speak about the war.<sup>15</sup> The disputed field of post-war memory in the Weimar Republic is therefore a stimulating case study for the contest of such cultural power. Furthermore, political, social, and economic upheaval in defeated Germany, coupled with continued antagonisms over questions of war guilt and reparations, meant that any move to enshrine certain interpretations of the war was tied up with rancorous questions of contemporary politics and society.

---

<sup>12</sup> Alexander, *Trauma: A Social Theory*, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander, *Trauma: A Social Theory*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander, *Trauma: A Social Theory*, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Hirschfeld, “Das historische Erbe,” 161.

Following Alexander's understanding of collective trauma as a social construct, the "Myth of the War Experience," for example, can be understood in other terms: not as a myth consciously crafted with unified intent by a unified set of actors but as a series of moments of resistance reacting to the prospect of a cultural narrative of trauma crystallizing around the war. For forces on the ideological right, the Treaty of Versailles, which apportioned full guilt to the Germans, and the accompanying feelings of national betrayal, which came to be understood under the notion of a "Dolchstoß," signified the real cultural trauma. Efforts that were perceived as writing a traumatic account of the war itself—including Erich Maria Remarque's best-selling novel *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1929) and its American film adaptation by director Lewis Milestone (1930)—were treated not only as threats to positive war memories but as casting unfavorable light on the German nation at large.

The cultural flashpoint of *Im Westen nichts Neues* exemplifies how collective memory is shaped, circulated, and negotiated in the reception of media, a central concern of the present study. More so than the psychological processes by which individuals remember and forget and how those functions might translate to a group scale, collective memory is a matter of the means of representing memories. Analyzing how media representations attain collective relevance by being structured for social settings provides the best information about how "collective" memories develop.<sup>16</sup> Leading memory-studies theorist Astrid Erll differentiates between "Gedächtnis" (memory) and "Erinnerung" (remembrance) to define collective memory from a "kultursemiotisch" approach that assumes an understanding of culture as a system of signs in which collectives relate to the past via symbols, codes, texts, media, etc. In this way, only *acts* of collective memory are truly observable, and the emphasis is placed on media, such as images or

---

<sup>16</sup> Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory," 190.

writing, as the connection between the mental and social levels of collective memory.<sup>17</sup> It follows that collective memory is impossible without media, and studies of memory are by nature studies of media constructs, which are never neutral bearers of memory and always reveal traces of their own modality. Media do not function as mere storage for the organization of information; rather, they act as vehicles that create their own “worlds” of memory aligned with their media-specific processes.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore media can be both “gedächtnisreflexiv” and “gedächtnisproduktiv,” and photography, in particular, which combines the modes of the index (the physical trace of the past; the reflection of light on the photosensitive plate that attests to the pictured object’s existence in the past) and the icon (the resemblance between image and referent), is a complicated case for understanding the construction and mediation of memory.<sup>19</sup> Because of this dual modality, photographs seem to have a privileged status in memory construction for the way they can connect first-hand experience with secondary witnessing. Daniel Sherman writes: “Sight is the only sense powerful enough to bridge the gap between those who hold a memory rooted in bodily experience and those who, lacking such ‘experience,’ nonetheless seek to share the memory.”<sup>20</sup> This study draws special attention to the way that narratives of the past are spun with an understanding of photography’s seeming authenticity (its indexical “truthfulness”) at the same time that they take advantage of photography’s openness for iconic and then symbolic ascription (the specific coming to represent the general). Blended together, these aspects of photography as a medium are used by picture-book authors and editors under review in this study to assert a war experience that is grounded in real, lived experience but also that becomes retroactively available for imagined second-hand partaking. The

---

<sup>17</sup> Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, 114–17.

<sup>18</sup> Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, 138.

<sup>19</sup> Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, 159–61.

<sup>20</sup> Sherman, *Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, 14.

manipulation of photographs clearly evident in examples of images appearing in altered forms across several post-war picture books often widens the gap from reality in the war's visual mediation.<sup>21</sup>

Erll writes that media are “producers” of memory not because of any inherent qualities, but because they speak to the social conditions surrounding their production. Historian Alon Confino makes a similar argument for memory as the outcome of the relationship between a distinct representation of the past and the “full spectrum of symbolic representations available in a given culture.”<sup>22</sup> However, Confino cautions that the extrapolation of “memory” from a representation of the past runs the risk of circular argumentation through “cultural” reading. In other words, the significance of visible signs is taken for granted unless the *reception* of those signs is systematically studied.<sup>23</sup> Wulf Kansteiner issues a similar warning when he writes that an overreliance on the media of memory in pursuit of past collective identities invites a troubling disregard for proof: “The formal and semantic qualities of historical representations might have little in common with the intentions of their authors, and neither the object’s characteristics nor the authors’ objectives are good indicators for subsequent reception processes.”<sup>24</sup> To address this methodological hurdle, the present study seeks to provide, where available, a reception history of the books discussed—including, variously, reviews in newspapers and journals, official memoranda detailing production, and reported sales figures—in an effort to contextualize their publication as interventions in the contested field of post-war memory. Taken as a whole, post-war picture books point to a highly heterogeneous collective memory of the war with many

---

<sup>21</sup> See examples in Schneider, “Narrating the War in Pictures,” and Apel, “Cultural Battlegrounds.”

<sup>22</sup> Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance*, 173–74.

<sup>23</sup> Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance*, 180.

<sup>24</sup> Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory,” 192.

complicated gradations of interested parties, but they nevertheless work together to delineate the terms and visual frames in which war memory was contested. Confino notes that a problem of method with memory, its multiplicity, can be useful to draw attention as a heuristic device to the “commingling of reception, representation, and contestation” so that the interaction between a given memory and the context of society can be articulated.<sup>25</sup> In this way, the picture books discussed in this project are not analyzed to ascertain their end effect on the identity of various collectivities, as Kansteiner might want it, but are presented as a general case study for the contest of cultural power surrounding memory and analyzed as a specific case study of the shape of post-war German society’s reckoning with the legacy of the First World War.

The reception history of *Im Westen nichts Neues* exemplifies just how powerful representations of the war were understood to be by those with a stake in shaping the war’s legacy. For example, the ideological right, which cultivated a positive history of the war through the seemingly closer-to-reality narratives of war diaries, operational reports, and officer memoirs, found Remarque’s fictional telling of the war experience to be a forgery of the truth and a threat to their perceived literary monopoly on the war experience.<sup>26</sup> Arguments for and against the book, including heterogeneous responses between and among liberals, left-liberals, and communists,<sup>27</sup> played out in both opinion pieces and news items that charted the controversy for years after the novel’s publication. In this way, the book was not confined to typical literary success but also became a societal “event” through which competing memories of the war and interpretations of its legacy were focused.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance*, 182–83.

<sup>26</sup> Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller*, 71.

<sup>27</sup> Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller*, 78.

<sup>28</sup> Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller*, 65–66.

*Im Westen nichts Neues*, like the volumes of photographs analyzed in this project, exemplifies the cultural clash around the war's memory centered on post-war media representations. Unlike the well-known novel by Remarque, however, war picture books have not received the same scholarly attention as war novels, memoirs, or letters despite a rich connection between photography and the First World War. Photography came into its own as a widespread practice in the hands of both amateur hobbyist and official record-maker during the First World War, and post-war picture books were part of a "photo-boom" in late 1920s Germany that saw a rapid increase in both quantity of images and new types of photography practices, such as illustrated magazines, traveling exhibitions, and photographic books.<sup>29</sup> Recent scholarly work by Daniel Magilow (*The Photography of Crisis*, 2015), Pepper Stetler (*Stop Reading! Look!*, 2015), and Patrizia McBride (*The Chatter of the Visible*, 2016) has deepened our understanding of the avant-garde photobook genre as practiced by important German and German-adjacent artists in the 1920s, such as August Sander, Werner Graeff, Helmar Lerski, Karl Blossfeldt, László Moholy-Nagy, and Albert Renger-Patzsch. The writings and photographic production of these artists and thinkers advanced ideas of the photographic image in largely art-historical contexts, using theoretical frames such as "Neues Sehen," "Neue Sachlichkeit," and physiognomy.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, authors and editors of picture books of the war wrote for a popular audience and exhibited less academic, if not naïve or even misleading understandings of the photographic image. For this reason popular picture books of the war remain underrepresented not only in scholarship of post-war memory contests but also in accounts of photography and the public's understanding of the medium at the time.

---

<sup>29</sup> Lugon, "Photo-Inflation", 220.

<sup>30</sup> For an overview of physiognomy, see especially Long, "Faces."

It is perhaps self-evident that the work of avant-garde photography and photomontage practitioners should comprise the majority of established research in 1920s photography. Photo books from the era, such as Blossfeldt's *Urformen der Kunst* (1928), Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit* (1929), Graeff's *Es kommt der neue Fotograf* (1929) and Lerski's *Köpfe des Alltags* (1931), are not only the most theoretically engaged but drew as well the attention of some of the most prominent contemporary German thinkers and commentators, such as Walter Benjamin, Thomas Mann, and Kurt Tucholsky. The most important example is Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön* (1928), which Ulrich Rüter claims "[n]o history of photography or publication on the photography of the 1920s fails to mention."<sup>31</sup> A brief outline of its intent and reception can serve here to highlight the cleft between the photobook, loosely defined as any artistically minded book engaged in questions of photography or new media theory, and the (photographic) picture book, a popular genre more concerned with satisfying the viewer's interest in a thematic subject, such as travel landscapes taken in exotic locales, exciting snapshots from current events,<sup>32</sup> or—the subject of this project—the war.

The aim of *Die Welt ist schön*, which contained a series of one hundred images of a vast array of subjects, from cooking pots to church spires, was "to convince [the reader] of photography's ability to capture the world consistently and thoroughly" and "to offer a reality beyond what can be seen by the naked eye."<sup>33</sup> The thematic importance of the photographed objects recedes as the connection between photography and reality becomes the main subject of consideration. As such, Renger-Patzsch's book was reviewed along art-historical and theoretical lines of argument. It was praised for showcasing the modern technology of photography and its

---

<sup>31</sup> Rüter, "The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön*," 192.

<sup>32</sup> See the chapter "The Snapshot and the Moment of Decision" in Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis*, 119–46.

<sup>33</sup> Stetler, *Stop Reading! Look!*, 62.



ability to reveal reality with technical precision (making the book an exemplar of “Neue Sachlichkeit”) at the same time it was decried for ignoring social contexts and advocating *l’art pour l’art* attitudes (Walter Benjamin’s critique of the volume).<sup>34</sup> The book was also reviewed in terms of an ongoing debate about the inflated value of photographs that was due in part to the growing popularity of photographic book series. These *Bildbände* or *Bildreihen* encouraged “the compilation of photographic books like volumes in an encyclopedia [...] often promoting euphoria for the very idea of a collection of photographs rather than a focused argument or narrative.”<sup>35</sup> Ernő Kallài, editor of the *Bauhaus* journal, wrote in 1929 of a lamentable “photo-inflation” and lauded Renger-Patzsch’s book for returning dignity and solemnity to pictures. According to Kallài, Renger-Patzsch’s photos “are filled with a persistent, emphatic, penetrating love toward things and show that awe which one finds only amongst philosophers, wise men and truly gifted artists.”<sup>36</sup> Kallài was one among many friendly reviewers of the book, including Thomas Mann and Kurt Tucholsky. In general, it found high praise among the German reading audience, who recognized the photographs’ “absolute realism” in *Die Welt ist schön* as “an achievement which had freed itself radically from the aesthetic imagery of art photography and stylistically determined a ‘new photography.’”<sup>37</sup> Detractors, such as László Moholy-Nagy, a proponent of the experimental “Neues Sehen,” still criticized *Die Welt ist schön* for its apparent “reproductive” use of photography in light of the book’s aim to “capture and classify a world of preexisting forms” that lay beyond the capabilities of normal human vision.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Rüter, “The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön*,” 192.

<sup>35</sup> Stetler, *Stop Reading! Look!*, 66.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Rüter, “The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön*,” 193.

<sup>37</sup> Rüter, “The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön*,” 192.

<sup>38</sup> Stetler, *Stop Reading! Look!*, 62.

Despite enthusiastic reviews—Tucholsky called it “the most beautiful book of all for Christmas”—and concerted efforts to advertise the book to a popular audience, *Die Welt ist schön* did not sell well.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, as the above sketch of its reception shows, the book remained stuck in intellectual discourses that likely did little to influence a non-specialized audience’s understanding of photography. Today’s scholarship takes up many of the thought-provoking art-historical questions the book and others of its kind raises, focusing on matters of realism, modernism, narration, and new media, but it fails to characterize the extent of its impact on the shaping of modern visual experiences, in other words, how influential it was in actually “training” the broader public to respond to the modern world’s visual stimuli, including, for example, the boom of photographic images in everyday life. If, as art historian Pepper Stetler posits, photography in the 1920s “provided the potential for new visual habits to be developed,”<sup>40</sup> the study of avant-garde artist’s books can be complemented by the study of less theoretically minded picture books to understand how contemporary theories on photography did or did not inform popular publications and their training of readers’ “visual habits.”

In this sense, attention to war picture books is an extension to existing work on photography in the early twentieth century. In addition to the primary goal of this study to examine photographic representations of the war and their impact on post-war memorial and political discourses, this project considers how picture books—just one theme among many that fascinated Weimar reading audiences and fueled high book sales—can elucidate popular conceptions of photography at the time of the “photo-boom.” Although they may not engage in such formal photographic debates as *Die Welt ist schön*, authors of popular war picture books

---

<sup>39</sup> Rüter, “The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön*,” 192–93, Tucholsky quotation on 192.

<sup>40</sup> Stetler, *Stop Reading! Look!*, 46.

make claims about photography that influenced non-academic readers' sense of the photographic image, readers who were otherwise attracted to the volumes primarily by a desire to see what the war looked like. Obvious similarities do exist between the genres, such as the shared basic premise of "revealing" the world through photographs. And even authors of popularly minded war picture books make some formal theoretical claims about photography, although they are not the main attraction.

Ernst Jünger's musings on photography in the essay "Krieg und Lichtbild" from the picture book *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* (1930) is an especially noteworthy example of a war author engaging with questions of photography, realism, and affect; the essay is among the foremost reasons the picture book has received more theoretical attention than other war volumes.<sup>41</sup> The consequential distinction between photobook and (photographic) picture book is in the intent and reception of the volumes. Whereas an author like Jünger may have put forth his own ideas about photography, they are largely subservient to the goal of his photographic volume: to picture and commemorate the war experience "as it really was." Likewise, contemporaneous reviewers of Jünger's volume are attuned to questions of realism and photography but ultimately judge the book based on its thematic scope. Franz Iblher wrote in the right-wing conservative newspaper *Der Ring* that *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* is more "accurate" and less political than another volume, *Kamerad im Westen* (1930), which was published by the Frankfurt Societäts-Verlag and which contains a pacifist "Tendenz."<sup>42</sup> Iblher agrees with Jünger's assessment: photographs are like fossils that leave behind a fine imprint of the past and can only act as a cue for the imagination. He attends to the gaps of photographic representation,

---

<sup>41</sup> See Encke, *Augenblicke der Gefahr*, Horstkotte, "Inkongruente Bilder," and Hüppauf, "Kriegsfotografie."

<sup>42</sup> Iblher, "Photographie und Wirklichkeit," 696.

but it is hard to ascertain whether this view was born of studied intellectual pursuit or he was merely parroting Jünger to heap praise on the highly respected conservative in the right-wing newspaper *Der Ring*, whose affiliates, such as Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, were chief ideologues of the conservative revolutionary movement in Weimar Germany.<sup>43</sup> Iblher's main objection to *Kamerad im Westen* is that it sequences photographs in an evidently manipulative way to evoke pathos among viewers and spread a pacifistic worldview. *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, on the other hand, simply organizes photographs into prominent aspects of the war experience—e.g., artillery, prisoners of war, dead horses—that show the tragedy of war in breadth and depth without sentimentality. This creates in Iblher's view a "truer" and "more valuable" picture of the war as it is without "eine bestimmte 'Gesinnung.'" <sup>44</sup> The truth, however, is that the affect engendered by the photographs of war dead, human and animal alike, in *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* remains unsettled and could invite a revulsion to the realities of war in the same way *Kamerad im Westen* might, even though Jünger's images are not ordered in any obvious way to craft an emotional appeal to the reader/viewer.

One important aspect that Iblher neglects in his review, and one that will be a recurring point of friction between stated intent, result, and reception of the picture books analyzed throughout this study, is the influence of text on the interpretation and meaning-making of photographic images. Like the avant-garde photobooks that sought to train viewers in how to see photographs and thereby perceive reality, such as *Die Welt ist schön* or Graeff's *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!*,<sup>45</sup> war picture books are never purely pictorial and contain substantial amounts of text, including introductions, captions, and shorter prose sections between photographs, to guide

---

<sup>43</sup> See Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland*.

<sup>44</sup> Iblher, "Photographie und Wirklichkeit," 696.

<sup>45</sup> See the chapter on "The New Receptivity and the New Photographer," in Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis*, 16–33.

the reader/viewer to intended interpretations of photographs of violence and war that could otherwise elicit a range of reactions. Jünger's *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* is no different and is one of the more text-heavy war picture books. Interspersed between the series of photographs organized by category are short anecdotes and personal recollections from a variety of authors that offer an inside perspective on the war experience. As noted above, the essay "Krieg und Lichtbild" by Jünger serves as the introduction to the collectively produced volume and establishes the context in which the photographs are intended to be interpreted. In the same way that Iblher assumes Jünger's understanding of photography as his own, he likely assumes the same understanding of tragic pictures of war that Jünger advances in the introduction to the volume. Jünger writes,

Da dem Leben der Hang innewohnt, die überstandenen Schwierigkeiten recht bald zu vergessen, so besitzen Bilder, die das Elend des Krieges vergegenwärtigen, einen besonderen Wert. Sie auszuschalten, kann ebensowenig der Aufgabe einer Bildersammlung entsprechen wie auf der anderen Seite das Bestreben, sich allein auf sie zu beschränken, wie es gelegentlich versucht worden ist. Denn der Appel an den Abscheu vor dem Leiden richtet sich ebensowenig an die eigentlich sittlichen Eigenschaften im Menschen wie die billige Schönfärbung einer so ernsten Angelegenheit, wie sie durch den Krieg verkörpert wird.<sup>46</sup>

Iblher reflects Jünger's assessment of the need to commemorate the war by seeing it in its full detail when he writes in his review that pictures of "die unerbittliche Brutalität des Todes und der Zerstörung," especially images of dead horses, offer the viewer "einen umfassenderen Eindruck vom Kriege," one marked by "eine staunenswürdige Objektivität und Sachlichkeit."<sup>47</sup> In praising Jünger's portrayal of the war as realistic, Iblher implicitly agrees with the way the book presents the war's violence, and he assumes Jünger's position regarding the need to find a balance in the depiction of violence. Such agreement is not preordained by the photographs themselves, or even

---

<sup>46</sup> Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 10–11.

<sup>47</sup> Iblher, "Photographie und Wirklichkeit," 696.

the way the photographs are arranged in the book; rather, the influence of Jünger's text has either truly shaped Iblher's reception of the gruesome images in the book, or Jünger's introduction is useful to Iblher for articulating praise of a book that may acknowledge the horrors of war but argues primarily for the war experience's continual positive importance in contemporary life. Jünger himself characterizes it as such: "Das große ernste Erlebnis des Krieges ist nicht mehr jene mehr oder weniger wahrhaft wiedererzählte Geschichte einzelner Episoden, sondern in jedem Menschen ist es gereizt zu einem Teil seiner selbst, zu einem Teil seiner Lebensphilosophie."<sup>48</sup>

Iblher's review also draws attention to ideological dimensions of the picture books—both in their intent and their subsequent reception by the public—that went beyond commemorating the war dead or reckoning with the experience of war. Iblher lauds *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* for being apolitical, and—in contrast to *Kamerad im Westen* with its clear pacifist overtones—it certainly does not wear its ideological "Gesinnung" on its sleeve. Nevertheless, one must question to what extent a book that stresses the importance of keeping the memory of the war experience alive as a positive reminder for the present can ever be absent of ideology. Iblher's claim that the book has an apolitical tone is complicated especially by Jünger's final prose section on the future of war, in which he blames Germany's defeat on its inability to fully mobilize and integrate its "Volkskraft" into the war effort.<sup>49</sup> In the future, Jünger prophesies, entire populations, not just soldiers, will play a part in the machinery of war. This assertion necessitates in his view an expansion of military service, and he looks to Russia and Italy as states properly rising to meet the challenges of a future war through "eine völlige Neuordnung des staatlichen Aufbaues [...], deren Kennzeichen es ist, daß die Begriffe des Arbeiters und des

---

<sup>48</sup> Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 239.

Soldaten zu verschmelzen beginnen.”<sup>50</sup> In this final section, the book fulfills an ideological goal that is only hinted at in the introduction: photographs and written testimony should create for the reader/viewer “einen Zugang für die Wertung des Krieges sowohl in seiner Eigenschaft als Arbeits- wie als Kampfprozess.”<sup>51</sup> The political, economic, and cultural attitude that must change in Germany to be ready for a future conflict is the book’s driving impulse that masquerades until the final section as a need to remember the war simply for remembrance’s sake. Here the more contemplative mode takes on strong future-oriented visions: “Wie die alten Formen durch neue abgelöst werden, ist vielleicht nirgends besser zu beobachten, als an den Erscheinungen des Krieges —, allerdings tritt der verborgene Sinn dieser Veränderung erst für das rückschauende Auge hervor.”<sup>52</sup> The “hidden meaning” of looking back at the war, then, is the lesson it can give in preparing for a future war.

The example of Ernst Jünger’s *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* and its reception has drawn out many of the main threads that will run through this study: questions of photography’s ability to depict reality; the fraught play between text and photographic image; the depiction of violence in photography and how that violence is contextualized; the ideological stakes of depicting the war; and the afterlife of war picture books in their public reception. Because the archive of war picture books from the Weimar era is rich, this study focuses on those volumes that most clearly draw connections between the war experience and the war’s enduring legacy in an array of contemporary societal controversies, from the shape of the German nation and its place in the

---

<sup>50</sup> Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 258.

<sup>51</sup> Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 10.

<sup>52</sup> Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 238.

world, to questions of war guilt and commemoration. Due to their publication success,<sup>53</sup> picture books should be considered no small part of the broad struggle of ideas to cement the war's meaning in the Weimar era. Forgoing an impartial documentary mode (although editors often made claims of remaining "true" to such a style), all the picture books discussed in this study rely on appeals to emotion, ranging from shock to pride, intended to influence contemporary ideological standpoints through an engagement with the war's past. Central to many of the picture books considered here is the promise of an experiential encounter with—depending on their editor's outlook—either the heroism or tragedy of the war. Despite these different interpretations and radically different world views, all the picture book-authors and editors discussed in this study sought to effect positive change in face of terrible defeat. Whether it be a peaceful future without war (Ernst Friedrich), an affirmation of the military spirit and a return to Wilhelmine-era ideals (Walter Bloem, George Soldan, and the Reichsarchiv), or a visionary new nation under the leadership of soldiers transformed at the front (Franz Schauwecker), picture-book authors envisioned a different present by looking at the past. These efforts extended beyond the lines of party politics and at times the more general polarization between left and right but must nevertheless be considered interventions in the highly politicized memory contests that tied the war legacy's to contemporary life.

To understand the societal context in which picture books were published and received, this introduction turns next to sketching a broader picture of the war's contested legacy in the Weimar Republic. This historical background introduces many of the key interest groups invested in shaping the war's memory as well as many of the important points of contention that

---

<sup>53</sup> Despite its high price, which made it something of a luxury good during the years of high unemployment, *So war der Krieg!*, for example, was a big success for its publisher (Hüppauf, "Zwischen Metaphysik und visuellem Essayismus," 233–34).



framed cultural debates in which picture books participated. While it goes beyond the specific matter of picture books, the background is important for understanding how the war's legacy was contested on a broad scale during the Weimar period and how the contests of memory had political, economic, and cultural significance for the present.

Historian Benjamin Ziemann writes in his book *Contested Commemorations*: “Political and cultural struggles about the war’s legacy were deeply entwined; any success in this field rested both on the ability to foster support and draw a constituency of interested people together, and on the power of textual and pictorial symbols that resonated among those who had experienced the war first-hand.”<sup>54</sup> Foremost among such constituencies were the myriad veterans’ associations that were formed or expanded during and after the war, and represented a broad spectrum of ideas on how to reckon with the war’s legacy. Although primarily founded to foster social connections among demobilized soldiers, these organizations concentrated that group’s combined political capital to address issues important to them. For one large group founded in 1917, the Reichsbund der Kriegsbeschädigten, Kriegsteilnehmer und Kriegerhinterbliebenen (hereafter, Reichsbund), the importance of securing funds from the government for the short-term treatment and long-term care of injured soldiers was the main goal of banding together.<sup>55</sup> But the group was not apolitical; principally founded by Social Democrats, it actively supported antiwar politics and demonstrated openly in the public realm.<sup>56</sup>

Among the most contested issues that motivated the political engagement of pro-republican veteran groups such as the Reichsbund were powerful right-wing war myths that not only skewered the facts of the war but threatened the legitimacy of Germany’s nascent

---

<sup>54</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 25.

<sup>55</sup> The organization still exists in Germany as the Sozialbund Deutschland, an advocacy organization for socio-economic equality and human rights.

<sup>56</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 37.

democratic Republic. Foremost among them was the so-called “Dolchstoßlegende”: the idea first propagated by high-ranking military brass like Erich Ludendorff and Paul von Hindenburg—which then resonated strongly throughout nationalist circles and media outlets<sup>57</sup>—that Germany had lost the war due to a “stab in the back” by civilian traitors. The republicans who overthrew the monarchy in the November Revolution of 1918 and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) that formed the first post-war government were held especially culpable, but the myth also came to take on strong antisemitic overtones as the war defeat was blamed on the supposed machinations of Jewish internationalism. A flood of brochures and newspaper articles from the left sought to counter the aggressive myth, drawing attention to the widespread low morale and mass desertion of so-called “Drückeberger” from the military that had played a more obvious role in Germany’s final defeat.<sup>58</sup> The armistice seemed to be widely accepted among German soldiers as a moment of liberation.<sup>59</sup> But the myth persisted, and ongoing efforts to validate or refute the supposed “stab-in-the-back” played a sizable role in the political discourse of the Weimar Republic, including official investigative committees in the Reichstag and extended debates in historical scholarship.<sup>60</sup> While the idea of the “Dolchstoß” certainly referred to the war experience, its structure was more determined by the political conditions of the post-war Republic,<sup>61</sup> that is, it encapsulated the reasons for the political polarization following the war better than the actual

---

<sup>57</sup> Exceptions can be found among groups of the right-wing conservative revolution, who dismissed the “stab-in-the-back” myth in favor of trying to find the “meaning” of the war defeat as something necessitated by fate. The fact that the power and influence of the old elites of Wilhelmine Germany crumbled in tandem to Germany’s war effort was greeted by authors like Franz Schauwecker, who wrote that “Wir mußten den Krieg verlieren, um die Nation zu gewinnen” (quoted in Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution*, 37).

<sup>58</sup> Ulrich and Ziemann, *Krieg im Frieden*, 8–10.

<sup>59</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemoration*, 51.

<sup>60</sup> Petzold, *Die Dolchstoßlegende*, 78.

<sup>61</sup> Krumeich, “Die Präsenz des Krieges im Frieden,” 9.

war defeat: “Von zentraler Bedeutung war letztlich eben nicht die Kriegserfahrung selbst, sondern ihre Interpretation im politischen Streit der Nachkriegszeit.”<sup>62</sup>

In the first half-decade after 1918, interpretations of the war experience were highly heterogeneous but to a great extent negative. Even the “Dolchstoßlegende” did not find as much resonance in the immediate post-war years as it did later. This is especially true among veterans, whose war memories—including its multitude of horrors—were still fresh.<sup>63</sup> Moderate democrats and radical socialists expressed their negative views on the war openly in the immediate post-war years. From 1918 to the mid 1920s, “a very large segment of German public opinion was indeed ready to evaluate the legacy of the war in a highly critical fashion.”<sup>64</sup> Literary representations of life in the “Etappe”—the area behind the front lines that were out of the firing range of enemy artillery and were inhabited mostly by the upper echelons of the Wilhelmine officer corps—were among the most popular pro-republican memories in the early post-war years. Descriptions of the “Etappensumpf” threw the “Dolchstoß” myth back at its originators: the military’s higher-ups.<sup>65</sup> It blamed them instead for defeat by citing the military’s social stratification and inequality, demoralizing to its front-line soldiers, who were supposedly betrayed by the callous officer classes that enjoyed a life of excess while being spared from the danger into which they so eagerly sent others. Criticisms of the military that pro-republican memories espoused in the early 1920s highlighted the class struggles of this so-called “Völkermord.”<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Schumann, *Politische Gewalt*, 360.

<sup>63</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 55.

<sup>64</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 56.

<sup>65</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 48.

<sup>66</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 41.

Such was the complaint of the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold, the largest veterans' association in the Weimar Republic, which understood themselves as the "Schutztruppe der Republik." Although non-partisan on paper, they were predominantly supported by the SPD and came to be understood by the public as that party's paramilitary wing, finding enemies to the Republic to their left (the Communist Party and the Rotfrontkämpferbund) and right (the National Socialists and the Sturmabteilung). The Reichsbanner based the legitimacy of the Republic on their front experience; as one representative wrote in their newspaper: "Für uns heißt Fronterlebnis, die Verbundenheit der Menschen im Schützengraben auf Leben und Tod weiter zu erhalten und daraus eine gleichberechtigte Verbundenheit des ganzen Volkes zu schaffen."<sup>67</sup> Founded in 1924, the Reichsbanner enjoyed both large membership numbers and many local chapters scattered across Germany. At its peak around 1926, it claimed upwards of 3.5 million members.<sup>68</sup> But despite its institutional strength, the Reichsbanner never occupied a definitive position of power in the contested realm of memory surrounding the war, whether in literary representations, public commemoration, or otherwise.<sup>69</sup> Their pro-republican, anti-war stance was largely confined by the discursive limits that were already established by earlier, better-received nationalist frameworks.<sup>70</sup>

One such limit facing the Reichsbanner in their efforts to transform the commemoration of the war into an effective anti-war politics was the right's constant exploitation of the fallen soldier to legitimize and add pathos to their own claims about the war's meaning. Obsession with

---

<sup>67</sup> *Das Reichsbanner. Zeitung des Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold. Bund der republikanischen Kriegsteilnehmer e.V.*, Nr. 38 v. 17.9.1932, Beilage für die Gaue Berlin und Halle. Quoted in Ulrich and Ziemann, *Krieg im Frieden*, 113.

<sup>68</sup> Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany*, 295.

<sup>69</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 93–94.

<sup>70</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 4. See also Krassnitzer, "Die Geburt des Nationalsozialismus im Schützengraben," 121.

the dead stood in contrast to the Reichsbanner's future-oriented activism that sought to protect the Republic's fragile democracy, and the group was never able to convincingly reconcile the two.<sup>71</sup> Another obstacle was the reluctance of the Reichsbanner's members to present themselves as soldiers in the face of more radical paramilitary organizations like the Freikorps, the Stahlhelm, and the communist Rotfrontkämpferbund, who all used outward shows of military might to drum up support and intimidate political opponents. The display of military symbols was key for establishing legitimacy in the contested field of war remembrance, especially when pro-republican, pro-democracy veterans were accused by more fervently nationalist groups of not having been at the front, or not having actually served in the war at all. The Reichsbanner's members seemed to have worn their uniforms and medals with much hesitation; they largely disapproved of any "Soldatenspielerei."<sup>72</sup>

Other mass-scale pacifist movements in Germany, such as "Nie wieder Krieg," enjoyed widespread success in the first years after the war, although they were short-lived. The first "Nie wieder Krieg" demonstration in the Lustgarten in Berlin on August 1, 1920, (the sixth anniversary of Germany's declaration of war) brought together a loose coalition of various pacifist groups: the Friedensbund der Kriegsteilnehmer (FdK), the Reichsbund, the Reichsvereinigung ehemaliger Kriegsgefangener (Reichsvereinigung), the Bund "Neues Vaterland" (BNV), the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (DFG), and others. Attendance was estimated to be upwards of 80,000,<sup>73</sup> rising the following year to 100,000 in Berlin alone and half a million across Germany.<sup>74</sup> The movement was able to bring together an array of disparate political groups for a common purpose under the broad anti-war slogan, but its expansive support

---

<sup>71</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 7; see also 94.

<sup>72</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 72–74.

<sup>73</sup> Lütgemeier-Davin, "Basismobilisierung," 55.

<sup>74</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 39.

and symbolic resonance did not translate into political currency as the organizing committee fell victim to the dynamics of its own diversity.<sup>75</sup> In addition to the lack of official support from pro-republican parties, such as the SPD and the center Deutsche Demokratische Partei (DDP), which deemed the demonstrations “parteipolitisch nicht wünschenswert,” and the marked non-participation of the labor unions and broader workers’ movement,<sup>76</sup> political infighting and harsh critique from both nationalist and communist camps weakened the movement’s efficacy. The FdK, the group that had initiated the movement, was disbanded in 1922 largely due to bitter internal squabbling.<sup>77</sup> By 1923, amid the government-sponsored passive resistance aimed at France and Belgium’s occupation of the Ruhr following Germany’s failure to meet reparation payments mandated by the Treaty of Versailles, the “Nie wieder Krieg” movement had lost most of its critical potency to the advantage of nationalist fervor.<sup>78</sup> The “Nie wieder Krieg” demonstrations “zählten zwar zu einer beachtlichen oppositionellen Strömung, ein ausschlaggebender Machtfaktor waren sie hingegen nicht.”<sup>79</sup> Even the rhetorical power of the movement’s slogan waned as it was gradually replaced by the more pro-active cry for “Krieg dem Kriege,” which is traditionally ascribed to the workers’ movement,<sup>80</sup> and which shares the name with Ernst Friedrich’s pacifist picture book from 1924 discussed in Chapter 3.

Other smaller pacifist groups—even if they could organize around a set of talking points that were less nebulous than “no more war”—did not fare any better than the FdK and the “Nie wieder Krieg” movement. The Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner (BDK), a radical pacifist organization that understood itself as “parteipolitisch und weltanschaulich unabhängig,” also

---

<sup>75</sup> Lütgemeier-Davin, “Basismobilisierung,” 57.

<sup>76</sup> Lütgemeier-Davin, “Basismobilisierung,” 72.

<sup>77</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 34.

<sup>78</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 39.

<sup>79</sup> Lütgemeier-Davin, “Basismobilisierung,” 64.

<sup>80</sup> Lütgemeier-Davin, “Basismobilisierung,” 74.

suffered from political infighting that stemmed from obvious discrepancies between their stated ideals and the translation of those ideals into reality.<sup>81</sup> Theoretical questions, such as whether they would support the use of violence in self-defense, became political ones: would they support a German war of self-defense? Questions like these contributed to the “innerpazifistischen Streitigkeiten” to which the BdK also succumbed.<sup>82</sup> While it was able to inflect the post-war peace movement with a strand of radical pacifism, the BdK remained on the fringe of Weimar political life. It counted at its peak in 1926 only 3,000 members, half of whom paid dues, and perhaps only 100 of whom were actually active.<sup>83</sup> The group’s political *raison d’être*—opposing the introduction of compulsory military service—also likely inspired little enthusiasm in a country that had a long tradition of “obrigkeitsstaatliche[ ] Gesinnung” and that found the pacifists’ perpetual warnings of coming war mostly exaggerated.<sup>84</sup>

In short, “[n]ational issues tended to become nationalist demands during much of the Weimar Republic,” historian George Mosse writes, “and pacifism was deprived of meaningful political support.”<sup>85</sup> This permeated acts of commemoration, such as the tenth anniversary of the war’s beginning. August 3, 1924, was the only day the Reich government conducted an official, unified, and nation-wide remembrance ceremony for the victims of the First World War.<sup>86</sup> A *Volkstrauertag* to mourn the heroic war dead was championed by the nationalist Volksbund deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge and was celebrated each spring from 1925 onwards, although it was not legally mandated. The day popularized a “clearly discernible revanchist rhetoric” and stymied the efforts of the Social Democrats and other pro-republican activists to establish a

---

<sup>81</sup> Grünewald, “Friedenssicherung,” 83.

<sup>82</sup> Grünewald, “Friedenssicherung,” 89.

<sup>83</sup> Grünewald, “Friedenssicherung,” 86, 88.

<sup>84</sup> Grünewald, “Friedenssicherung,” 89-90.

<sup>85</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 197.

<sup>86</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 167.

different, non-politicized national day of mourning.<sup>87</sup> Commemorations by groups like the Reichsbanner, including Constitution Day, failed to successfully counter the symbolic power of the cult of the fallen soldier dominated by forces on the right. Very few war memorials unveiled in Weimar Germany had an intentionally pacifist message, and they were found only in districts with a large majority of SPD members in government.<sup>88</sup>

Although cultural flashpoints like Remarque's novel *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1929) and its 1930 American film adaptation thematized for a popular audience the morally questionable nature of war, forces on the right were more successful in establishing themselves as the sole inheritor of the war experience.<sup>89</sup> George Mosse summarized the many cultural and political processes by which the lessons of the war were subsumed under the nationalistic ideology of the right as the "Myth of the War Experience." This myth constituted a rhetorical continuation of the mindset of war, stressing ideals of manliness, camaraderie, and a Manichean worldview of friend and enemy that now focused its hostility towards a different set of internal foes, including Jews, communists, and the left in general: "The idea of permanent war, an integral part of the ideology of the radical right, was encouraged by the belief that the Treaty of Versailles had been no treaty of peace but a challenge to continue the struggle."<sup>90</sup> This struggle manifested itself in what Mosse calls a "brutalization of politics" in the Weimar Republic. Other historians have rightly pointed out that Mosse's idea of "brutalization" was not an automatic consequence of the war experience but developed its violent tendencies within specific frames of interpreting the war

---

<sup>87</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 145–46.

<sup>88</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 133.

<sup>89</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 161. Screenings of Milestone's *All Quiet on the Western Front* were famously interrupted by Nazi Brownshirts in 1930, ensuring its short run. The film was banned after 1933 for its anti-war and supposed anti-German messages.

<sup>90</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 179.



experience.<sup>91</sup> This means that new ideological forces on the right, steeped often in violent rhetoric, were not unleashed by the war itself, but were given a new edge and dynamic by the war experience. Specific interpretations of the war provided nationalism with some of its most effective post-war myths and symbols in its effort to “rejuvenate” the nation and mobilize it for a continued—or coming—war.<sup>92</sup> “Responsible politics remained a hostage to myths about the First World War.”<sup>93</sup>

In contrast to the pacifist groups and Social Democratic veterans’ organizations, right-wing and nationalist groups perpetuated positive attitudes about war that were reflected not only in their anti-republican and conservative political ideology but also in organized violence directed against their opponents. Although most soldiers returning from the war seem to have succeeded in transitioning back to civilian life, some continued their soldierly existence during the post-war economic strife in uniformed, paramilitary organizations that promised not only gainful occupation but the familiarity of a regimented and hierarchically ordered life. The Freikorps, a loose alliance of wide-spread mercenary groups, came to espouse radical militarism and right-wing challenges to the new democratic Republic, despite being initially commissioned in part through support from high-ranking members of the SPD like Gustav Noske to *protect* the Republic during the November Revolution.<sup>94</sup> The voluntary soldier groups were also secretly appointed by Hindenburg in late November 1918 (well after the Armistice with the Western powers) to “protect” Germany’s eastern border by continuing armed hostilities against Poland

---

<sup>91</sup> See, for example, Schumann, *Politische Gewalt*, 14, and Krassnitzer, “Die Geburt des Nationalsozialismus im Schützengraben,” 124. In a similar vein, Bessel contests the idea of a collectively brutalized “front generation” in *Germany after the First World War*, 255–59.

<sup>92</sup> See Chapter 8 of Mosse’s *Fallen Soldiers* for a lengthier discussion of how these attitudes were perpetuated in the political and cultural spheres of Weimar Germany.

<sup>93</sup> Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 274.

<sup>94</sup> Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 256.

and “eastern Bolshevism” in the Baltic.<sup>95</sup> Their contempt for communism and the destabilizing threat of post-war revolution along with an emotional connection to the Wilhelmine monarchy bound together the various groups of Freikorps.<sup>96</sup> This was coupled with an extreme dislike of the new republican state that only intensified after the Treaty of Versailles was ratified.<sup>97</sup>

With the founding of a new Reichswehr (in contrast to the old Kaiserheer), many of the Freikorps divisions that had acted with little oversight during the first years after the war were seamlessly integrated into the new army, bridging German militarism across the gap of war defeat.<sup>98</sup> Limited by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, many were unable to enlist in the Reichswehr, and despite being officially dissolved, many former Freikorps members continued paramilitary activities under various guises and in local formations, such as the ultra-nationalist Organisation Consul. The Freikorps remained a clear counterrevolutionary danger to Weimar democracy, taking part in the Kapp Putsch of 1920, and already in the 1920s they were proven to be contributors in most acts of political terrorism, including the murders of politicians Matthias Erzberger (1921) and Walther Rathenau (1922).<sup>99</sup> Freikorps soldiers and officers not only built the core and leadership of the later SA and SS, but the legend of their exploits was co-opted by the National Socialist movement. One Freikorps member became a right-wing hero: Albert Leo Schlageter, a world war veteran and Kapp Putsch participant, was executed in May 1923 for sabotage against French occupying forces in the Ruhr and became a central martyr figure in the Nazi pantheon.

---

<sup>95</sup> Könnemann, “Freikorps 1918–1920,” 671.

<sup>96</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 20.

<sup>97</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 22.

<sup>98</sup> Könnemann, “Freikorps 1918–1920,” 673.

<sup>99</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 23.

For its unambiguous role in fomenting the residual militarism of the First World War, the Freikorps must be understood in the context of persisting war mentalities at the heart of representative picture books detailed in this study, like Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg!* The Freikorps were not, however, singularly a post-war phenomenon; instead, they tapped into the military traditions and mentalities of camaraderie, chauvinism, and nationalism that had reached its zenith in the unification of the German Empire in 1871.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the group was comprised of fewer war veterans than one might expect; some of the most active elements were students who had not served during the war but were now afforded a chance to act out and partake through Freikorps paramilitarism in ideals left over from the war, such as manliness, camaraderie, and service to the nation.<sup>101</sup> And although statistically much smaller than veterans' groups such as the Reichsbund<sup>102</sup> and existing (officially) only for a few brief years after the war, the Freikorps became a main signifier for the "upsurge in violence and military practices in civil politics" post-1918.<sup>103</sup>

Although the Freikorps's acts of violence and contributions to destabilizing the Republic are clear, perhaps the most important organization—in terms of the war's contested political and symbolic legacy—was a pseudo-military veteran's group, the Stahlhelm-Bund der Frontsoldaten. The organization, founded in Magdeburg during an informal meeting on November 13, 1918—mere days after the Kaiser's flight into exile and the signing of the armistice—brought together soldiers from the 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, what historian Volker

---

<sup>100</sup> Ziemann, "Die Konstruktion des Kriegsveteranen," 102.

<sup>101</sup> Rusinek, "Der Kult der Jugend und des Krieges," 183.

<sup>102</sup> At its peak in, the Freikorps could claim 400,000 members (not all actually veterans), while the Reichsbund's membership reached 830,000 at its highest in 1922. Considering the 11 million German soldiers that served in the war and survived, both these numbers are quite small yet reflect a well-organized and vocal minority (Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 256).

<sup>103</sup> Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 261.

Berghahn calls “beruhigte[] Durchschnittsbürger[],”<sup>104</sup> to form a bulwark against the threat of political violence from leftist revolutionaries and to bring order to the general social disarray stemming from the war’s end and demobilization: “Ihnen war eigentlich nur der Wunsch gemeinsam, das Leben möglichst schnell zu normalisieren.”<sup>105</sup> The initial group, however, soon grew beyond Magdeburg, attracting disaffected former soldiers stripped of their economic stability and social standing through their discharge from the military along with other ideologically like-minded supporters, who were moved by more abstract political arguments. Following the disappointment with the Treaty of Versailles in the summer of 1919, the Stahlhelm’s political position on the right hardened. Fueled by the “Dolchstoßlegende” and the “Diktat von Versailles,” the Stahlhelm was able to mobilize “die weitverbreitete Bitterkeit, Enttäuschung und Verzweiflung” vis-à-vis Social Democracy and the new “red” Republic into a political counter movement, complete with paramilitary organization and local “policing” efforts.<sup>106</sup> Perhaps initially nothing more than an informal focus group for voicing ex-soldiers’ concerns, the group grew quickly to unite the various counter-revolutionary responses of the imperial and military elite and became the “Kern- und Orientierungspunkt der konservativ-nationalistischen Wehrverbände der Weimarer Republik.”<sup>107</sup> From an initial 2,000 members in its first two years the group ballooned to a quarter million by 1928 and over a half million by 1933,<sup>108</sup> after which it was integrated into the National Socialist movement.

---

<sup>104</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 15.

<sup>105</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 16.

<sup>106</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 19.

<sup>107</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 14.

<sup>108</sup> Mahlke, “Stahlhelm-Bund der Frontsoldaten,” 145.

As an organization of former soldiers led by ex-imperial officers, the Stahlhelm served as a sort of “psychologisches Ventil” for the expression of personal war memories.<sup>109</sup> At first overshadowed by the more concrete exigencies of post-war life (including the suppression of leftist revolutionary flare-ups), the wish to share the war experience and its lessons with later generations grew with temporal distance to 1918. The personal feelings and individual experiences shared among Stahlhelm members—and certainly among those belonging to other veteran’s associations—gradually developed into a wider and more stylized frame of reference: a “Frontsoldatenideologie” that could transcend the individual, both to make political demands and orient the memories of average soldiers along certain buzzwords, no matter if their own experiences harmonized or not.<sup>110</sup> For the Stahlhelm and other right-wing groups, war was a transcendental power—“Vater aller Dinge”—through which men learned what mutual dependence was (namely, friendship and comradeship in the face of metaphysical terror) and began to long for the ultimate consummation of such dependence: the nation.<sup>111</sup> The Weimar Republic’s parliamentary system, the alleged bastard of democracy and Marxism, squandered those lessons. But the Stahlhelm’s rhetoric preserved such “lessons,” while fanning the flames against the Republic. The war had nurtured “ein[en] neue[n] Typus des deutschen Bürgers, der sich durch seinen Glauben an ein unverwässertes Erlebnis von Nation und Krieg [...] auszeichnete” and who would march with the Stahlhelm at the vanguard of a new nationalism.<sup>112</sup> And in contrast to the *schwarz-rot-gold* flag of the Reichsbanner, the anti-democratic tendencies of the Stahlhelm were unified under the marching standard of the older, imperial *schwarz-weiss-rot*.

---

<sup>109</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 91.

<sup>110</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 92.

<sup>111</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 93–94.

<sup>112</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 94–95; qt. on 94.

This symbolic contrast to the Reichsbanner and other veterans' groups who were openly against war or simply leery of continued militarism is representative of the way the Stahlhelm propagated militaristic attitudes for political power. Despite the scope of the war's horrors, militarism arose quickly in Germany, and the Stahlhelm must be considered a key component of this complex. Simply stated, "Weimar politics were stamped to an extraordinary degree by respect for, and glorification of, things military."<sup>113</sup> The military not only exercised great influence on the civilian government, "[t]he symbols of the military were everywhere, in festivals, monuments, and parades."<sup>114</sup> The Reichswehr (Germany's military from 1919 to its transformation into the Wehrmacht in 1935) was severely reduced by the Treaty of Versailles, and the Stahlhelm served as an informal gap filler for both decommissioned soldiers to continue a certain lifestyle and youth members looking for a "vollwertigen Ersatz für die verbotene militärische Dienstzeit," as one Stahlhelm member wrote.<sup>115</sup> The military training—which included not only general field drills, but practical demonstrations in things explicitly forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles, like heavy artillery—meant the Stahlhelm served as a complement to the Reichswehr more akin to a military reserve corps than a veterans' organization. The portrayal of the First World War in their newspapers (foremost among them the *Standarte*) and the picture books marketed by their publishing house, Frundsberg Verlag (Berlin), fed into this glorification and revivification of all things military. Foremost among the picture books are *So ist der Krieg!* (1927) and *So ist der Friede!* (1928), works of the one-time editor of the *Standarte*, Franz Schauwecker, who is discussed at length in Chapters 6 and 7.

---

<sup>113</sup> Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 260. See also Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 126.

<sup>114</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 121.

<sup>115</sup> Quoted in Mahlke, "Stahlhelm-Bund der Frontsoldaten," 149.

Along with its paramilitary activities, the Stahlhelm's political ideology is best characterized by its general hatred of Weimar democracy and its desire for a strong, central government—they were keen for a dictatorship “from above,” meaning the old elite—its military revanchism, and corresponding rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and other foreign mandates. Although often intimately connected to the Deutschnationale Volkspartei (DNVP) and sharing many of the same ideologies of other far-right groups (like the National Socialists and the Alldeutscher Verband), the Stahlhelm's supposed “Überparteilichkeit” meant it was successful in drawing support from various political affiliations and wide circles of the population, especially the uneducated rural communities of eastern Germany.<sup>116</sup> To trace the exact political influence the Stahlhelm had on the course of Weimar parliamentary politics, however, cannot be undertaken here. For now it suffices to say that the Stahlhelm and other right-wing groups remained, in historian Patrick Krassnitzer words, “der Hort einer mythischen Verklärung des Kriegserlebnisses und einer Verkörperung des ‘Geistes des Frontsoldaten.’”<sup>117</sup>

The militaristic tone of Weimar politics was not due solely to paramilitary organizations such as the Freikorps or Stahlhelm, but stretched as far back to seventeenth-century Prussian traditions that inflected the post-war militarism and anti-republicanism of the right. Even the Stahlhelm's founder, Franz Seldte, should be understood foremost as a “beinahe klassische[s] Produkt[] des wilhelminischen Zeitalters” who could never shed “die Vorstellungswelt und den Habitus des Vorkriegsbürgers.”<sup>118</sup> Such Wilhelmine mentalities, both spurred and reshaped by four years of war, continued to reflect the grand designs of Germany's lost elite, including the establishment of an imperial dictatorship, a war of revenge, and the securing of economic

---

<sup>116</sup> Mahlke, “Stahlhelm-Bund der Frontsoldaten,” 149.

<sup>117</sup> Krassnitzer, “Die Geburt des Nationalsozialismus im Schützengraben,” 120.

<sup>118</sup> Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm*, 26.

hegemony in Europe and abroad.<sup>119</sup> Traditions of Prussian militarism worked to preserve the military's honor despite defeat.<sup>120</sup> One of the enduring expressions in the post-war years concerning the military was that it remained “im Felde unbesiegt.” This idea amounted to the German version of the “universal loser trope that the vanquished side has not been bested in combat but rather ‘suffocated’ by the sheer mass of the enemy.”<sup>121</sup> Even politicians on the left at times espoused this idea. On December 10, 1918, Friedrich Ebert, SPD leader and first chancellor of the Republic in 1919, greeted the returning troops with the words: “Eure Opfer und Taten sind ohne Beispiel. Kein Feind hat euch überwunden. Erst als die Übermacht der Gegner an Menschen und Material immer drückender wurde, haben wir den Kampf aufgegeben.”<sup>122</sup> Although reckoning with unexpected defeat in a positive way was a face-saving measure that stretched across party lines in the immediate post-war years, ideas encapsulated in dictums like “im Feld unbesiegt” morphed with time into more pernicious myths like the “Dolchstoß” that were dominated by the right. War memory became politicized through revisionist history, and events like those in 1919 surrounding the highly contentious parliamentary Untersuchungsausschuss für die Schuldfragen des Weltkrieges raised questions about war defeat and guilt that settled increasingly along partisan lines.<sup>123</sup>

This study cannot elaborate the reasons for Germany's war defeat, but the interest groups and their rhetorical (and physical) resources highlighted above outline how post-war interpretations of defeat were intrinsically tied to questions about the shape of Germany after defeat. Those questions were furthermore compounded by severe economic crises

---

<sup>119</sup> Mahlke, “Stahlhelm-Bund der Frontsoldaten,” 145.

<sup>120</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 115. See also Dülffler, “Frieden schließen,” 34.

<sup>121</sup> Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 203.

<sup>122</sup> Quoted in Petzold, *Die Dolchstoßlegende*, 42.

<sup>123</sup> Heinemann, *Die verdrängte Niederlage*, 155–58.



(hyperinflation from 1921 to early 1924; depression from late 1929 to 1933) that put a strain on the ability of pro-republican forces to defend the government. In other words, interpretations of defeat and its outcomes were also strongly inflected by changing—and often miserable—economic conditions.

Despite the challenges facing Germany's economic transition from war (including a shortage of raw materials, the reintegration of soldiers into civilian life, and the repurposing of factories that had become dependent on military contracts), the immediate post-war recovery proceeded smoothly, largely due to inflation. But the conditions of the so-called London Ultimatum of May 5, 1921, demanded large reparations to be paid to the Allied victors, shocking even moderate Germans.<sup>124</sup> In addition to other stressors like widespread demands for wage increases, reparation payments put a hold on recovery; the economic boom soon deteriorated into hyperinflation as the government printed currency to increase the money supply, exports declined, business stalled, and unemployment rose.<sup>125</sup> While the reparations were widely felt to be unjust, the political right was ready to demand a sheer refusal to pay, letting the economy and the Republic collapse instead of admitting their war guilt and accepting the consequent punishment. Historian Eric Weitz writes that “[r]eparations was an issue handed on a silver platter to all forces opposed to Weimar democracy.”<sup>126</sup> At the same time the economic burden of reparations strained the Weimar economy and invited political dissent, the “war guilt clause” of the Versailles Treaty—Article 231, which opened the section detailing reparations—insulted German pride among all political parties and ensured that the “Diktat” of Versailles remained an enduring source of fuel for right-wing revanchism up through the Second World War. The

---

<sup>124</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 132.

<sup>125</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 134.

<sup>126</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 144.

discontent with the Treaty was not, however, limited to the right, and the political left understood it as—in the words of one SPD member of parliament—“die Fortsetzung des Krieges mit andern Mitteln.”<sup>127</sup> The Republic was constituted in a broad consensus about the Treaty’s unfair punishment of Germany, a consensus that amounted to a shared prolongation of the war experience and a continuation of war mentalities.<sup>128</sup>

The political uprisings of 1923—from both the right (Nazi-led Beer Hall Putsch of November 8) and the left (Hamburg Uprising of October 23)—reflected growing dissatisfaction with the Weimar government’s poor handling of the economy and a radicalization of politics. Only an enabling act that granted the government under Gustav Stresemann emergency powers allowed the Republic to keel its uneven course in 1924. Economic stability, following currency reform and the introduction of the Rentenmark, was coupled with relative political stability as revolutionary attacks against the Republic by the extreme right and left diminished. Nevertheless, the Weimar Republic can also be understood as a continuum, what historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch, calls “one protracted megacollapse stretching over fifteen years, only briefly interrupted by a period of economic and cultural respite [from 1924–1929].”<sup>129</sup> The financial ruin in Germany following the stock market crash of 1929 in the United States offered rhetorical parallels to the military defeat and revolutionary upheaval of 1918. Schivelbusch writes: “The reflexive understanding of the economic crisis as a resumption of the world war following a ‘truce’ (namely, the period of stability) was common not just in Germany. [...] It was but a small step from the idea, popular in the 1920s, that future war would only be fought on the level of economics to interpreting the Great Depression as a continuation of the Great

---

<sup>127</sup> Quoted in Dülffler, “Frieden schließen,” 31.

<sup>128</sup> Dülffler, “Frieden schließen,” 33.

<sup>129</sup> Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 238.

War.”<sup>130</sup> The Nazi party declared itself the best suited to accomplish what had been left neglected by the Weimar Republic, and “[t]he spring of 1933 was usually compared not to November 1918 but to August 1914, the memory of that summer filling the void left by the aborted revolution of 1918.”<sup>131</sup> The longing for imperial power and war that had shaped the Kaiserreich’s political course remained latent throughout the Weimar Republic; it needed only to be reactivated by the association of the old elites (large landowners, captains of industry, military officers, judicial leaders, media moguls) with the force of a radical political movement determined to bring down the Republic from within.<sup>132</sup>

“Every act of war commemoration in Weimar Germany had—directly or indirectly—political implications,” writes Ziemann.<sup>133</sup> The war’s legacy became entangled with views on the legitimacy of the post-war, post-imperial Weimar Republic, and the veterans’ and other interest groups that spanned the highly polarized realm of political life in the Weimar Republic competed with each other (frequently with physical violence) to develop a lasting set of symbols and rituals to commemorate the war. But the explosiveness of this power struggle to dominate the interpretation of the war—and therefore also contemporaneous political discourse—resulted less from the Weimar Republic’s political violence than it did from the perception and grave meaning ascribed to such antagonisms by the public.<sup>134</sup> In this sense, the interpretation and representation of the war played a central role in Weimar domestic politics, which in some historical interpretations has been understood even as a “latent civil war”<sup>135</sup> or as a “Krieg in den

---

<sup>130</sup> Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 239.

<sup>131</sup> Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 240.

<sup>132</sup> Wette, “Probleme des Pazifismus,” 11.

<sup>133</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 139.

<sup>134</sup> Schumann, *Politische Gewalt*, 11.

<sup>135</sup> Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 262. See also Ulrich and Ziemann, *Krieg im Frieden*, 14.

Köpfen.”<sup>136</sup> Historical scrutiny about the war, especially who was to blame for the war defeat, became inextricably tied to questions of the Republic’s legitimacy.<sup>137</sup> These matters were debated in the relatively public realm of what is called in German “Geschichtspolitik,” the “Handlungs- und Politikfeld [...], in dem konkurrierende Deutungseliten Geschichte als legitimierende, mobilisierende oder politisierende Größe im Interesse spezifischer politischer Ziele instrumentalisieren.”<sup>138</sup> Questions pertaining to the world war and defeat did not just fall under the purview of professional historians. Interest groups like the Reichsarchiv, which served as the official curator of the former wartime military, and officers, who shared their personal stories and often felt compelled to justify their actions, were important forces shaping the war’s memory in the Weimar Republic.<sup>139</sup> A third, more general component of “Geschichtspolitik,” which overlapped with most others and ensured the debates surrounding the war remained a truly public matter, were the many popular genres of mass-market history writing. But history writing was not limited to traditional forms in an era when new mass media like photography, film, and illustrated magazines were coming into their own as mainstays of popular consumption. Daniel Magilow writes of picture books during the interwar era:

[T]he debates and arguments, as well as the street fights and riots, that pockmarked Weimar Germany’s politically fractured landscape replayed themselves not just in books, scholarly journals, and other traditional intellectual venues. They also took place in the rhetorical struggles on the pages of the popular press and in a diverse array of narrative photographic forms.<sup>140</sup>

---

<sup>136</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” viii.

<sup>137</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 198.

<sup>138</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte und Geschichtspolitik*, 22.

<sup>139</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 199. For a consideration of the personal war narratives of officers, see Pöhlmann, “Typen und Funktionen von Weltkriegserinnerungen.”

<sup>140</sup> Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis*, 3–4.

Picture books of the war, which satisfied the public's lust for photographs and a seemingly unending interest in the war, are a rich body of evidence for how Weimar writers and thinkers sought to define the war's collective memory in order to shape the post-war era.

Although the majority of this study is concerned with mass-market picture books, analysis in the following chapters begins with the private photo albums of soldiers. Chapter 2 outlines the role of amateur photography during the First World War and considers how soldiers remembered the war in their personal photo albums. Attention to what soldiers pictured and how they organized their experience for posterity highlights how the depiction of war in Weimar-era picture books was markedly different from the one presented by the average soldier. The chapter also draws immediate attention to the different processes of memory that inhere in private photo albums, processes that stand in stark contrast to the aim of mass-market picture books: to intervene in ongoing public memory contests by crafting specific interpretations of the war and its meaning in the present.

Chapters 3 through 7 analyze a variety of picture books that instrumentalized war memory for various ideological and political purposes. These chapters draw out the visual strategies authors and editors used to ascribe specific meaning to the war through photographic (and textual) representation, while investigating their motivations for doing so. Although they all looked to shape the collective memory of the war, their reasons differed considerably.

Chapter 3 presents the case of Ernst Friedrich, a radical pacifist who decried the horrific material and psychological costs of war in his picture book *Krieg dem Kriege!* (1924). Friedrich offers a broadly leftist critique of the entanglement between war and profit at the same time he shocks readers by showing the war's most gruesome photographs. He uses the juxtaposition of text and image to generate sarcasm meant to incriminate militaristic mentalities and to inspire

broad societal resistance to war. Friedrich's book, however, likely inspired more action among his opponents than it did among its intended audience. It is presented first in this study not only because it is one of the first post-war picture books chronologically, but also because it came under explicit attack in right-wing picture books that followed and that tried to "correct" its horrific vision of war. With just a few insignificant exceptions, *Krieg dem Kriege!* stands alone against a mountain of right-wing, nationalist, and patriotic picture books about the war.

Chapter 4 considers the patriotic picture book *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung, 1914–1924* (1924) and its author Walter Bloem. Although published in the same year, the tenth anniversary of the war's begin, Bloem's account stands in plain contrast to Friedrich's. He looks to restore military prestige by focusing on the fighting German spirit and the nation's technological and economic superiority. Unlike the stark horrors of Friedrich's books, Bloem's visual presentation entails a certain whitewashing of the war's visual record, as it excludes most signs of violence in favor of showing the military's reach across the world. Death is similarly erased, appearing only in the orderly graves of "heroes." Bloem, a self-described nationalist proud of his lengthy military service, provided a patriotic vision of the war that sought to rejuvenate the Volk in a turbulent post-war era by turning back towards the guiding principles of the old Wilhelmine military elite.

The same holds true for the military-affirming political history championed by George Soldan and other ex-military men at the Reichsarchiv. Chapter 5 explores how military historians working for the German General Staff handled the relegation of military historiography to the civilian Reichsarchiv at war's end. Concerned with writing and endorsing positive war accounts, Soldan and others articulated a form of popular history writing that sought to maintain the military's monopoly on war history and to edify the public with uncritical patriotism.

Reichsarchiv book series, such as “Schlachten des Weltkrieges” and “Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter,” were intended to educate broad audiences about the war in a manner that defended the actions of the old military elite and created positive myths about the war experience. The two-volume picture book *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*, produced with cooperation from the Reichsarchiv and introduced by Soldan and popular war author Werner Beumelburg, extends myths about the sacrifice of Germany’s youth for the nation to a new interpretation of the war: the “birth by fire” of the front-line soldiers, who now rise to assume the nation’s mantle.

This “Frontkämpferlegende,” the front-line soldier’s metaphysical transformation into a breed of future leaders, reaches its extreme in the self-styled “soldatischer Nationalismus” of Franz Schauwecker. Chapter 6 considers how his picture book *So war der Krieg!* attempts to recreate the front’s sensory experience in order to claim political authority for the transformed soldier of the post-war era. For Schauwecker, the front was the breeding ground for a new nationalism that sweeps away old social orders and determines the future. More so than all other authors treated in this study, with the exception of Ernst Friedrich, Schauwecker ties his interpretation of the war experience to a political agenda for the present. This is most obvious in the sequel to *So war der Krieg!*, which is treated in Chapter 7. *So ist der Friede* extends Schauwecker’s positive war account and its new brand of nationalism to rail against the Weimar Republic as both a failed system of government and an unworthy successor to the spirit of wartime Germany. He understands the war as the struggle between nationalism and liberalism, personified in static portraits of the Weimar Republic’s political elite, and looks to countries across the globe to define the type of governance Germany sorely needs. The answer lies in strong, charismatic leaders like Mussolini who harness the people’s will with decisive action.

Along with a screed against liberalism, *So ist der Friede* decries rearmament around the world as Germany falls behind due to the unfavorable terms of “peace.”

However stark their ideological differences and political goals may have been, the competing visions in Weimar-era picture books shared the mission of (re)writing the collective memory of the war. While soldiers turned to their photo albums to remember the war experience in private, picture-book authors looked to gain broad influence among the public with curated visions of the war that were concerned just as much with the past as with the present and future.



## Chapter 2. Private Memory and Mourning: The Photo Albums of German Soldiers

George Soldan begins his introduction to the first volume of the picture book *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* with the assessment that “[u]nzählige Millionen von Bildern sind in dem titanenhaften Ringen unseres Geschlechtes, diesem ersten großen europäischen Krieg im Zeitalter der Amateurphotographie entstanden.”<sup>141</sup> Improved photographic technology, spurred by demand among soldiers and in many cases marketed specifically to them,<sup>142</sup> made cameras affordable and portable for the average war-participant in a previously unmatched way. Photographs taken by German soldiers alone comprise an immense visual archive of the war. Indeed, at the outbreak of war, the military press department turned immediately to their very own soldiers to picture the war. While other nations like England and France placed harsher restrictions on amateur soldier-photographers and relied on a small number of official war photographers, the German military press department claimed to have collected over 75,000 images from amateur photographers by November 1915 alone.<sup>143</sup> The military favored soldiers with their cheap, handy, and easy-to-use cameras, who did not need to be paid or organized like their professional counterparts.<sup>144</sup> This chapter takes a step back from the Weimar-era picture books to consider the figure of the amateur soldier-photographer and his role in the creation of the visual archives on which all later picture-book editors and authors relied. By paying attention to the way soldiers contextualized their own war experience in their photographs and photographic albums, this chapter sheds a different light on the distortions that took place within the visual archive of the war in mass-market picture books of the 1920s. Far removed from the ideological or political projects of post-

---

<sup>141</sup> Soldan, “Zum Geleit,” *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* 1, n.p.

<sup>142</sup> Dewitz, “Schießen oder fotografieren,” 51.

<sup>143</sup> “Die Photographie als Hilfsmittel im Krieg,” 70.

<sup>144</sup> Dewitz, “German Snapshots,” 154.

war memory contests, the counter “picture” of soldiers that emerges from photographs created by soldiers themselves reveals a use of photography that was motivated by individual meaning-making, by familial affiliation and fraternal companionship, and by personal self-reflection and self-assertion.

A rich archive of newspaper reports from trade and hobby periodicals on photography confirms the central facts about amateur soldier-photographers during the war. Already in October 1914, the weekly paper *Die Photographische Industrie: Fachblatt für Fabrikation und Handel aller photographischer Bedarfsartikel* was suggesting to its readers, industry-insiders, that the sale of small-format cameras to “unsere ‘Feldgrauen’” could boost business. The editors write that “[u]nsere Soldaten haben natürlich ein großes Interesse daran, verschiedene Momente und Situationen aus der Schlachtfront dauernd in Bilde festzuhalten und haben auch durch die in Kriegszeiten hohe Löhnung genügend Barmittel, um sich eine kleine Kamera anschaffen zu können.”<sup>145</sup> Kriegsgerichtsrat W. Weißermel, writing “im Felde” for the *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen: Zeitschrift für Freunde der Photographie*, describes the different types of cameras on which soldiers at the front could spend their pay. He regrets having brought along a bulky 9x12 camera that takes up precious space in an already full pack, so therefore recommends the more easily transportable small formats that use roll film instead of plates or packaged film: “Als Ideal einer Feldkamera sehe ich also eine Rollfilmkamera 6x6 an. Zuzugeben ist, daß die Bilder recht klein sind. Aber sie sollen ja auch nicht ‘Bilder’ sein, sondern Erinnerungen; und den Zweck erfüllen sie, wie ich mich bisher an mehr als 200 Aufnahmen überzeugen konnte, vollkommen.”<sup>146</sup> Besides the preserving of memories that Weißermel regards as the foremost function of taking photographs—more important than

---

<sup>145</sup> “Der Verkauf kleiner Apparate an unsere ‘Feldgrauen.’”

<sup>146</sup> Weißermel, “Die Feldkamera,” 181.

intrinsic aesthetic quality—Lieutenant Max Schiel writes that amateur photography offers soldiers the opportunity “sich an ruhigeren Tagen mit einer anregenden und ablenkenden Beschäftigung zur Auffrischung von Geist und Gemüt befassen zu können.”<sup>147</sup> Schiel reports on what cameras and film-types he prefers, and gives advice for jerry-rigging a simple dark room with materials available in the field, such as a flashlight or candle, cigarette boxes, and packing cord. Schiel writes: “Wenn auch das Arbeiten im Felde ein gewisses praktisches Gefühl voraussetzt, so kann man doch mit den einfachen Mitteln, wie ich sie beschrieb, sich und seinen Kamerade eine große Freude bereiten.”<sup>148</sup> Similar articles printed in the *Photographische Rundschau* provide more exact advice on setting up a portable darkroom,<sup>149</sup> or give ratios for chemical mixes comprised of materials available to soldiers for use in developing film and making prints.<sup>150</sup>

The high level of interest in photography among soldiers had massive influence on the German photography industry: the realization that the photographic plate format, although providing higher-quality images, was less favorable than its smaller, quicker, sturdier, and more transportable counterpart, roll-film, meant many factories shifted their production lines to meet demand. Existing cameras most suitable for transport into the field were quickly sold out and new designs were commissioned to fill production gaps; and the photographic industry blossomed, although it initially lagged behind in supplying the sudden shift in demand towards small-format, roll-film cameras.<sup>151</sup> Realities of war, such as interrupted trade routes and a lack of materials, added further stress on the photographic industry. But even a “Filmnot,” as *Die*

---

<sup>147</sup> Schiel, “Photographische Arbeiten im Feld,” 219.

<sup>148</sup> Schiel, “Photographische Arbeiten im Feld,” 221.

<sup>149</sup> “Photographische Behelfe im Felde,” 202–203.

<sup>150</sup> Weißermel, “Entwickeln des Amateurs im Felde,” 161–62.

<sup>151</sup> Eyer mann, “Die Lichtbildkunst und Krieg,” 190–91.

*Photographische Industrie* called it, was still used by commentators to spurn producers into inventing cheaper, alternative products for its current and future clients, to meet the demands of professional photographers and amateurs alike: “Nur heißt es rasch handeln, denn wenn die schöne Zeit [Frieden] kommt, werden unsere im Felde stehenden Kunden mehr photographieren wollen, als bisher.”<sup>152</sup> Despite complaints about bans on exports to combatant countries and the censorship of amateur photographers in public places on the home front, *Die Photographische Industrie* cites the war’s positive role in an economically flourishing industry: “Unbestreitbar hat die Photographie im Felde wesentlich dazu beigetragen, das Photographieren und namentlich die Amateurphotographie volkstümlich zu machen, sodaß der photographische Handel nicht mit Unrecht auf ein gutes Geschäft in der Zukunft hofft.”<sup>153</sup>

Soldiers not only reaped the benefits of the photography industry reorganizing to meet their consumer demands, but they also enjoyed favored treatment in terms of censorship in comparison to civilians on the home front. *Die Photographische Industrie* reported throughout the war on various state and military-led efforts to ban amateur photography, both in the field and at home, in order to relieve some of the strain on factories and free up resources for professionals. Reports from the newspaper exhibit the confusion that such controversial efforts created, as not all policies were communicated clearly or enforced uniformly across local, state, and national government or military departments.<sup>154</sup> No general ban of amateur photography seems to ever have been passed, but civilians were forbidden from photographing military

---

<sup>152</sup> “Die Filmnot,” 130.

<sup>153</sup> “Die photographische Industrie im dritten Kriegsjahr,” 4–6.

<sup>154</sup> See, for example, the following articles in *Die Photographische Industrie*: “Warnung vor dem Photographieren?” (July 14, 1915, title page), “Photographieverbot im Feld?” (December 22, 1915, title page), “Über Photographieverbote” (November, 15, 1916, title page), “Photographier-Verbote” (January 3, 1917, title page), and “Beschränkungen der Amateurphotographie?!” (July 4, 1917, page 514).

installations or other government buildings, such as the king's parks and palaces, for security reasons,<sup>155</sup> and they had to apply for special permits from the military if they wished to take photographs when visiting the front.<sup>156</sup> Soldiers were not subject to such rules and were allowed to photograph freely, if their immediate superior permitted it. Rules forbade the photographing of active combat, but the photographs and written testimonies alike attest to the frequent non-compliance with this procedure.<sup>157</sup> Even a widely known literary work like Ernst Jünger's memoir *In Stahlgewittern* provides testimony to this small fact, as the figure of Kius is said in passing to have taken pictures during the company's storming of a railway embankment.<sup>158</sup> Despite a general permission for the act of taking photographs, images created by soldiers that they sent willingly to military authorities underwent strict censorship before being allowed to appear in newspapers and magazines. The Photographische Verein für Berlin even created a "Zentralstelle für die Zensur von Photographien" to ensure that those interested in submitting their photographs for publication would send it to the correct military department so that their images would not get lost and then delayed in a flood of photographs.<sup>159</sup> Censorship rules and the convoluted bureaucracies that accompanied them, however, could not reach the images kept in the private possession of soldiers.

In addition to the aforementioned reasons that soldiers were interested in photography—to remember their service, to fill their downtime, or to find purpose by contributing to official archives—the editors of the *Photographische Rundschau* described in 1914 the amateur soldier-photographer's "Aufgaben": 1) out of security concerns, any prohibition on photographing

---

<sup>155</sup> "Aufhebung der Photographie-Verbote," title page.

<sup>156</sup> Dewitz, "German Snapshots," 154.

<sup>157</sup> Dewitz, "German Snapshots," 154.

<sup>158</sup> Jünger, *In Stahlgewittern*, 262.

<sup>159</sup> "Kleine Mitteilungen: Zentralstelle für die Zensur von Photographien," 303–304.

military positions or installations should be strictly followed; 2) service to local police or security services in photographing and identifying suspects should be offered freely; 3) soldiers should continue to take advantage of portrait-sittings at professional studios and could even lend a hand where studios have been affected through loss of personnel; and 4) when it is not possible to visit a professional studio, amateur photographers should happily make portraits of fellow soldiers they can send back to family members. The editors summarize these efforts as both an important logistical and spiritual component of the overall war effort: “Ein jeder tue also nach bestem Wissen und Können alles, was in seinen Kräften steht, um der Heeresleitung ihre schwere Aufgabe zu erleichtern, den Geist der ausziehenden Truppen zu kräftigen und die Zurückbleibenden zu unterstützen und zu trösten.”<sup>160</sup> A. Eyermann, writing from the field a year later in the same paper, adds that the amateur photographer plays a vital role in creating “unersetzliche Urkunden [...], Beweismittel, die besser wirken als viele Worte, stumme Zeugen, die reden, wo der Mund schweigt.”<sup>161</sup> Eyermann’s claim that photographs are not only documents of unique expressiveness but that they also attest to the “große[] Zeit” from which they were created, evinces the layman’s mythos of photography as an accurate and meaningful transcript of reality at the same time it anticipates the positive claims made for war photography in the popular picture books of the Weimar era.

The actual photographs created by the soldiers reveal similar motivations to the ones described by contemporary hobby and trade photography journals. Cultural historian Bodo von Dewitz, who surveyed over 30,000 images for his foundational work on amateur German photography during the war, estimates that over two-thirds of photographs taken by soldiers were

---

<sup>160</sup> “Der Krieg und der Amateurphotograph,” 242.

<sup>161</sup> Eyermann, “Die Lichtbildkunst und der Krieg,” 191.

of other soldiers.<sup>162</sup> Portraits and group shots were not only popular for soldiers to send back home to their families, but functioned as tools for “Selbstbehauptung” and “Selbstbestätigung” and as “Überlebensstrategien.”<sup>163</sup> It seems to be no coincidence, then, that most photographed soldiers stare directly into the camera, as if to declare themselves present for eternity,<sup>164</sup> either in candid snapshots taken by comrades or in the popular staged studio portraits commissioned for family members. The commemorative function of photography that Weißermel described in the *Photographische Rundschau* was therefore imbued with a far more personally significant meaning than the simple remembering of events. It is uncertain whether many soldier-photographers rendered their service to police or security authorities for sake of identification procedures, but an abundance of touristic snapshots and of ethnographic-like portraits, especially from those mobilized on the Eastern Front, display typical aspects of the war experience that were centered on a sense of adventure or “seeing the world,” aspects which exist separate from prevalent notions of war.<sup>165</sup> The picture of war that did appear in amateur photographs commonly included desolate landscapes with low horizons, mirroring the entrenched perspective on the Western Front, views of ruins or other signs of destruction that fascinated soldiers, such as the large smoke clouds that followed explosions; or objects that signified war successes, such as broken tanks or shot-down airplanes.<sup>166</sup> While soldiers shared the fascination for destruction that is common to post-war picture books, the heroic views of battle that are used to excite Weimar-era viewers are far less common than the small, hard-to-decipher pictures of battlefields that abound in amateur soldier photography. There is also a marked absence in post-war picture

---

<sup>162</sup> Dewitz, “German Snapshots,” 154.

<sup>163</sup> Dewitz, *So wird bei uns der Krieg geführt*, 263.

<sup>164</sup> Dewitz, “German Snapshots,” 157.

<sup>165</sup> Dewitz, *So wird bei uns der Krieg geführt*, 264.

<sup>166</sup> Dewitz, *So wird bei uns der Krieg geführt*, 263–65.

books of photographs that evince soldiers' main preoccupation with asserting their individual identity and place in history.<sup>167</sup>

Photographs of self-assertion and self-affirmation that are legion in the visual archive created by amateur soldier-photographers fulfill a function not unlike another common medium of memory preservation: the diary. A 1918 article in the newspaper *Photographie für Alle* notes that many soldiers carry small journals with them, “die dem Kriegsteilnehmer zu seiner späteren Erinnerung als Dokument dienen und die seinen Verwandten und Nachkommen aus Deutschlands großer Zeit Zeugnis ablegen.”<sup>168</sup> Like photographs of other soldiers, the war diary unites the double impulse for personal recollection and historical self-assertion. The two media—photography and textual chronicling—come together in the popular photo album format, for which *Photographie für Alle* provides recommendations on size, format, composition, and even strategies for ensuring that one's album lasts as long as possible, such as using a clean ink and not writing directly on images.<sup>169</sup> The article also notes that photo albums are a useful repository for all sorts of mixed media, including photographs taken with one's own camera, shared by comrades, or taken in professional studios, postcards, newspaper clippings, reports from the German General Staff, maps, and illustrations of received medals.<sup>170</sup> War albums therefore extend the photographic practice of self-representation among soldiers to a wide range of visual, textual, and graphic material, allowing soldiers to create, collect, and curate their memories and their sense of self in a meaningful way that secured present experiences for the future.

---

<sup>167</sup> Dewitz, *So wird bei uns der Krieg geführt*, 287.

<sup>168</sup> E., “Kriegstagebücher,” 132.

<sup>169</sup> E., “Kriegstagebücher,” 132–33.

<sup>170</sup> E., “Kriegstagebücher,” 133.



Individual photographs provide evidence of how soldiers pictured the war and what they deemed worthy of being pictured, including aspects that may be neglected in or even written out of the type of historical narratives presented in the post-war picture books. But when taken alone, individual photographs provide only superficial information on the context and motivation behind their creation. Art historian John Tagg warns that

one cannot “use” photography as an unproblematic “source.” Photography does not transmit a pre-existent reality which is already meaningful in itself. As with any other discursive system, the question we must ask is not, “What does this discourse reveal of something else?” but, “what does it do; what are the conditions of its existence; how does it inflect its context rather than reflect it; how does it animate meaning rather than discover it.”<sup>171</sup>

In the case of the First World War, photography found many highly varied uses that are well documented, including the first widespread use of photography to enhance battle reconnaissance.<sup>172</sup> However, as the free-wheeling selection of photographs that was made for post-war photographic compendiums reveals, photographs tempt viewers with realism and are susceptible to becoming illustrations, that is, where the specific stands in for the generic. A very basic example of this in Weimar-era patriotic or nationalist picture books are photographs of unidentified soldiers or groups of soldiers meant to represent the idea of “The Soldier.” This takes advantage of the photograph’s semantic openness in a step beyond illustration when inscribed with imagined meaning, as seen, for example, in the “Frontkämpferlegende” asserted in right-wing picture books. A trend towards illustration in historiography is a topic that goes far beyond post-war picture books or the First World War itself, and historian Peter Burke suggests: “When they do use images, historians tend to treat them as mere illustrations, reproducing them in their books without comment. In cases in which the images are discussed in the text, this

---

<sup>171</sup> Tagg, *Burden of Representation*, 119.

<sup>172</sup> See Jäger, *Erkundung mit der Kamera*.

evidence is often used to illustrate conclusions that the author has already reached by other means, rather than to give new answers or to ask new questions.”<sup>173</sup> This holds true for all the war picture books discussed in this study, in which photographs from a wide variety of sources are selected carefully to fit pre-determined meanings, their original purpose, context, and creator erased so that the images can serve as general illustrations of a theme.

Tagg writes that “Photography as such has no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it.”<sup>174</sup> By paying greater attention to the photographic collections of individuals, such as those arranged in photo albums, the way the photographic practice inflects its context becomes more fully revealed than in the individual photograph. We can understand what Tagg calls the “terms of [photographs’] legibility, and the range and limits of their effectivities,” which is determined “across the images, in what they do and do not do, in what they encompass and exclude, in the ways they open on to or resist a repertoire of uses in which they can be meaningful and productive.”<sup>175</sup> Photographs are often less realistic than they seem, and scholars who do not take account of an image’s variety of possible meanings may be misled to a distorted view of “reality.” However, as Burke writes—and as later chapters will show in their analysis of picture books that select photographs from a vast archive to fit narrower interpretations of the war—“the process of distortion is itself evidence of phenomena that many historians want to study: mentalities, ideologies and identities. The material or literal image is good evidence of the mental or metaphorical ‘image’ of the self or of others.”<sup>176</sup>

The greater clues that photo albums provide—above all, extended contexts and sequential narratives that stretch beyond single images—are able to both illuminate and circumscribe some

---

<sup>173</sup> Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 10.

<sup>174</sup> Tagg, *Burden of Representation*, 118.

<sup>175</sup> Tagg, *Burden of Representation*, 119.

<sup>176</sup> Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 30.

of the inherent problems in using photographs as a “source” of history, whether that entails a tendency towards mere illustration or an active distortion of the past. For one, photo albums exist as post hoc reconstructions of experience and must be read as the product of an individual’s version of events. That is to say, their individualism resists the definitive readings of “History,” whether ideologically motivated or not, and even draws attention to their own shortcomings through comparison with the larger events they inflect. While their unavoidable ambiguities or gaps in representation must be recognized, photo albums offer a more thorough look into mentalities of the war experience as it was visually structured and remembered by individual soldiers. They represent “an intersection between war experience and war memory,” and—perhaps most akin to memoirs—serve as objects in which the complicated process of memory inheres.<sup>177</sup> This makes any photo album a potential point of entry for understanding not only what the war actually looked like but how it was remembered visually by its participants. Along with *Feldpostbriefe*, postcards, and diaries, all once “unorthodox” historical sources that are now commonly utilized for approaches to history “from below,”<sup>178</sup> photo albums offer a counterweight to the sensationalized, ideologically laden, and often dubiously selective “picture” of the war that was presented to the German public in the late 1920s.

At the same time, many contemporary thinkers have drawn attention to the seeming silence of such photo albums. Martha Langford underscores a photo album’s potential as a cue for conversation, an “instrument of social performance” in which it serves as a “mnemonic

---

<sup>177</sup> Stiftung DHM, *100 Objekten*, 106. Taylor reminds us: “The ‘war’ was not a fixed physical or psychological entity for the individual soldier. It was something that was experienced and re-experienced on a continuing basis; it was something that was interpreted and reinterpreted as time passed and the war was viewed from differing vantage points” (*Memory, Narrative and the Great War*, 40).

<sup>178</sup> Crew, “*Alltagsgeschichte*” 395. For issues concerning military historiography “from above” and “from below,” see Wette, “*Militärgeschichte von unten*.”

device for storytelling” in a realm of orality. Once removed from the private sphere, a photo album’s “performative cord” is cut.<sup>179</sup> Gillian Rose echoes this idea by defining the genre of family photography, among which soldierly photo albums must be counted, not by the content of images but by the sort of communicative and commemorative practices in which they are embedded within the familial group. Likewise, Marianne Hirsch writes about the “unconscious optics” of family photographs that, if they are to be deciphered, rely heavily on surrounding narration. Writing more generally about memory, Aleida Assmann contends that visual documents become mute witnesses to history when their corresponding stories and memories are lost.<sup>180</sup> How soldiers’ albums from the First World War functioned in the familial sphere or among friends would therefore require supporting documents, such as diaries or letters, if they exist. But even this assumption is complicated by a case like that of German soldier “Otto H.,” whose photo album and war diary bear few direct connections.<sup>181</sup> No matter their limitations, photo albums also represent an intersection between the private and the public. Originally made for and sometimes showing a familial context, they are nevertheless a representation of the war, a phenomenon that transcends the realm of an individual and his social group. In other words, soldiers’ albums contain private experiences that can be *partially* deciphered with public knowledge. But if historical knowledge only goes so far in “reading” private albums, how can a photo album’s apparent silence be broken and what can be gained by doing so? These questions are explored in the following examples of soldier albums.

The Special Collections of the University of Wisconsin–Madison Library holds an album of First World War photographs made by the German soldier Jakob “Jako” Sitzmann.

---

<sup>179</sup> Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 223–24, 227.

<sup>180</sup> Rose, *Doing Family Photography*, 14; Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 119; Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit*, 57.

<sup>181</sup> See Krase, “Aber die armen Kerle.”

“Aufnahmen aus den [sic] Weltkrieg: 1914–1918” assembles photographs from Sitzmann’s four years of service with the Royal Bavarian Infantry Lifeguards Regiment. “History” tells nothing about Sitzmann as an individual but reveals that his company was deployed as a highly mobile unit that reacted to the fluctuating personnel needs of the larger German military forces. This meant that his regiment was constantly shifting positions between the Western Front in France, the Eastern Front in Serbia, Romania, and Hungary, and the mountain wars in northern Italy. Because Sitzmann served during the entire war from 1914 to 1918, his photo album reflects all the locales to which the regiment was deployed, including more notorious ones such as Verdun. The soldiers who served in Sitzmann’s regiment were from Bavaria, and although the album does not state from where Sitzmann came in Bavaria, his reference to two childhood friends—war casualties—who were both from Rottenburg an der Laaber, suggests that this was also his hometown. Sitzmann’s military records, which exist separately from his photo album, confirm that he was born in Weiherhof (Landkreis Kelheim), not far from Rottenburg an der Laaber. He was born in 1891, meaning he was 23 years old at the war’s start, although he had entered the military before 1914. Military records for his brothers, pictured lovingly in the album, confirm their participation in the war and provide some additional details to the story left out of the photo album, including their regiments and the locations where they served. Missing basic information like this foregrounds the potential gaps in a photo album if longer textual description is absent, as is the case throughout Sitzmann’s album. While these gaps represent frustrating obstacles to the viewer’s historical understanding today, they would have been easily bridged by shared oral testimony or other written accounts when the album was passed around the family living room.

Despite its occasional withholding, Sitzmann’s album offers a rich view into the perspective of a soldier from the First World War, and one can tell from the very first pages that

that perspective is concerned entirely with the personal. The album's inside cover contains portraits of Jako's three brothers, "Wendl," "Vali," and "Schorsch." Even though such commemorative photographs were wildly popular among soldiers and their families during the war,<sup>182</sup> such images rarely—if ever—appear in mass-market war picture books from the Weimar era; their intimate charge remains untranslatable for public audiences. The portrait of Wendl is staged in a studio; the backdrop's edge shows on the right and bottom of the image. The portrait of Vali (Figure 2.1) is similarly staged; curiously, the caption states that he is "verkleidet als Gefangener," although he is standing in a studio on an ornate rug and in front of an elaborately painted backdrop. The apparent model standing next to him, tightly gripping the shoulder of Vali's uniform, looks bored, while Vali, despite a clenched right fist, displays a slight grin, as if to divulge that he is in on the photograph's joke. Vali makes a second appearance later in the album in a commemorative portrait as an ambulance driver—the image's corners are rounded and the photograph is larger than the ones taken by Sitzmann. The third brother, Schorsch, is pictured standing naturally in a garden for what appears to be a spontaneous portrait. While these photographs could never be construed to relay the experience of individual soldiers during the war, the three portraits highlight the centrality of picturing personal relations among soldiers and establish for the viewer an empathic connection with the Sitzmann family, as one wonders about the four brothers' fate. This question is compounded when the viewer sees later in the album the image of a fifth (!) Sitzmann brother, "Sepp," posing casually with Schorsch in a snapshot portrait.

Beyond the initial pages, even a cursory look through Jakob Sitzmann's album shows just how central a role other soldiers, friends, and family alike, played in the photographs that he took

---

<sup>182</sup> Riha, "Den Krieg photographieren," 148–49, and Moriarty, "Though in a Picture Only," 36.

himself and collected from other sources. More than half the pictures in Sitzmann's album are of his companions marching, resting at camp, or posing for the camera, as Hans Gruber, Ernst Toni, Jacob Kessner, Hans Kellringer, and many others do. One figure, another Hans, makes four appearances in the album, and each time he has a differently spelled surname: Hans "Dünzel" relaxes with Sergeant Mitterer, Hans "Dünel" poses with a donkey in St. Pierre, Hans "Dünzl" sits exhaustedly with his knees to his chest, and Hans "Düzel" reclines against a building dressed as a Macedonian (as the caption states) (Figure 2.2). Again, these four photographs do not convey Hans's complete war experience (or even his actual surname), but they attest to the manifold experiences of individual soldiers—not just the "Soldier"—during the war.

Sitzmann's album is certainly not alone in its attention to fellow soldiers and their range of shared experiences. An amateur photo album in the archives of the Deutsches Historisches Museum simply labeled "Weltkrieg 1914–1918" includes 59 photographs of soldiers in various formations (commemorative portraits, posed group shots, candid pictures in the field, etc.) out of a total of 81.<sup>183</sup> Although the anonymous creator of this album provides scarce captions throughout the album (mainly dates and locations), the attention to shared memories, such as "Christmas 1917 (Russia)," reveals not only the importance of camaraderie among soldiers but the variety of lived experience during the war. Another album documents various company celebrations (beer included), such as "Forest Festival in Livercourt, June 1918" and a performance for the troops by "Clown Müller."<sup>184</sup> Dan Todman summarizes that "[l]aughter, drunkenness and camaraderie were as much a part of the war, for many men, as terror, violence and obedience." These, and many other experiences, including those of civilians, are "obscured

---

<sup>183</sup> "Album mit Fotos aus dem 1. Weltkrieg vom Kriegsschauplatz an der Ostfront."

<sup>184</sup> "Fotoalbum aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg mit zahlreichen Aufnahmen von Kriegszerstörungen in Frankreich, Belgien und Polen."

in our modern understanding by the concentration on the horrors of combat.”<sup>185</sup> The same holds true for the representation of war in many Weimar-era picture books, with their emphasis on destruction, either as a negative terror (in Ernst Friedrich’s *Krieg dem Kriege!*) or as a positive metaphysical transformation (in Franz Schauwecker’s *So war der Krieg!*). Even when post-war picture books stress a simple positive aspect of the war experience like that of camaraderie, their ideologically minded authors often heighten its significance to assert political claims; here, it was coopted in service of the *Frontgeneration* mythos that posited an elite community of soldiers forged in the sacrifices at the front.

One largely neglected aspect of First World War historiography, the Eastern Front and beyond,<sup>186</sup> comes alive through some soldiers’ albums. The visual potency of trench warfare on the Western Front or the excitement of new technologies, such as airplanes, has caused other views from what was truly a *world* war to fade from (dominant Western) memory. Anton Holzer writes that in Germany and Austria, “memory of the war is characterized by pictures that everyone knows: most of the time this means photographs from the Western Front that show the trenches, the effects of attrition warfare, the pockmarked landscape. In picture books and TV documentaries, these photographs represent ‘the’ First World War.”<sup>187</sup> While Holzer writes about the present, the trend towards consolidation of the First World War’s visual representation around images of the Western Front is evident in the post-war picture books, where it is not uncommon for introductions to state openly that everything but the Western Front is purposely

---

<sup>185</sup> Todman, *The Great War*, 5, 4.

<sup>186</sup> Winter calls the ten million men who fought on the Eastern Front “the largest group of unknown soldiers in the twentieth century” in *Remembering War*, 80–81.

<sup>187</sup> Holzer, *Das Lächeln der Henker*, 9. One recent example from popular entertainment, the film adaptation of Vera Brittain’s memoir *Testament of Youth* (published 1933; film 2014), speaks to this elision: the time Brittain served on Malta and her visits to the battlefields of northern Italy to visit her brother’s grave are excised in the film script in favor of longer attention to the horrors of the field hospitals on the Western Front.



ignored. The same does not hold true for the photo albums of German soldiers, whose actual experience stretched far beyond the trenches and further afield than northeastern France.

In comparison to the *Stellungskrieg* in the West, the Eastern Front was longer, stretching across most of eastern and central Europe, and more sparsely defended, ensuring that trenches rarely developed and front lines fluctuated more rapidly. The pictures of soldiers from the Eastern Front attest to this difference: instead of flat, cratered landscapes, mountain vistas and forests prevail; instead of bombed French churches, shots of eastern Europe's capital cities; instead of prisoners of war, locals dressed in traditional ethnic garb.<sup>188</sup> The excitement among soldiers at "seeing the world" was part of the enthusiasm with which Europeans greeted the war in general. Historian Rudy Koshar writes that "soldiers took advantage of their chance to see parts of Europe they might never have experienced were it not for war. In effect, they made up vast armies of part-time tourists."<sup>189</sup> And like any well-prepared tourist, many soldiers came outfitted with cameras: Sitzmann, for example, took the opportunity to snap a photo of the main train station in Budapest and another of that city's (old) Elizabeth Bridge. These views, too, were important enough to his overall war experience to find their place in his photo album.

The variety of experience occluded from popular memory of the First World War in post-war picture books can be seen in Sitzmann's album alone. As stated above, he served in a regiment that transitioned back and forth between the different war fronts. Accordingly, his album reflects the various locales, and the differences between them are striking. The wasted landscapes around Verdun and Douaumont stand in contrast to the natural beauty of the Roter-Turm-Pass (Romanian: Pasul Turnu Roșu), where heavy fighting occurred in fall 1916, and

---

<sup>188</sup> This "foreign gaze" is often aimed at eastern Europe's Jewish populations. Anti-Semitism in some albums from the Eastern Front hints at the First World War's consequences for later European history (Stiftung DHM, *100 Objekten*, 106).

<sup>189</sup> Koshar, "What Should Haunt Us about World War I?"

mount “Moscovul,” a location ostensibly in Carpathia but unidentifiable now. Despite the well-documented horrors of the battlefields on the Western Front, Sitzmann’s only emotional qualification of his war experience in the album’s captions is in reference to the Eastern Front: two pictures mention his company’s bivouac “nach einer sehr kalten Nacht,” and a picture of the “Moscovul” (Figure 2.3) is labeled “bei grimmiger Kälte und heftigen [sic] Schneesturm.” Among all the captions that matter-of-factly label the many depressing locations Sitzmann visited during the war, including Verdun, only these few short remarks could be construed either as a complaint or as a type of manly assertion of lived experience.<sup>190</sup> The terror of the Western Front served as the epitome of the war experience in both the negative and positive interpretations of Weimar-era picture books, but survival for soldiers meant something much more comprehensive than living under the threat of enemy fire: it included enduring the cold, boredom, lice, etc., of daily life, both at and more typically away from the front line.<sup>191</sup>

The experiences of soldiers in prisoner-of-war camps are among the most ignored aspects of the war’s retelling in popular picture books of the Weimar Republic. Several photo albums held by the Deutsches Historisches Museum attest to the manifold experiences of POWs often elided from the war’s “Big Show.”<sup>192</sup> One soldier, a doctor and officer in the army, compiled an album of photographs that traces his experience from his initial training in Germany, to the far eastern Siberian POW camps of Stretensk and Krasnoyarsk, back to Europe through stays in

---

<sup>190</sup> Koshar writes that “[n]ot only travel, but also rugged interaction with nature was an element of the experience. [...] soldiers’ letters reveal a sense of vigorous physical accomplishment in addition to their fear and homesickness. Soldiers lucky enough to return home without serious injury were often tan, had gained weight, and had the general appearance of health” (“What Should Haunt Us”).

<sup>191</sup> Todman, *The Great War*, 4–5.

<sup>192</sup> Hynes, *The Soldiers’ Tale*, 75.

Swedish and Danish hospital camps, and finally home to Germany.<sup>193</sup> His album provides many clues to the mix of misery and comradeship experienced in POW camps. One picture of the camp's theater group, well supplied with costumes, musical instruments, and stage props, is captioned: "Der Humor zeigt sich auch manchmal in schwerer Zeit, vor allem, wenn der russ. Lagerkommandant ein vernünftiger Mensch ist, und — im Felde schon hat Kugeln pfeifen hören." Such leisure activities are perhaps unassimilable to expectations of how a prison camp would function but prisoners were ultimately still subject to the whims of Russian detainers. A happy picture of a tennis game between German officers is tempered by its caption: "Nur etwa 14 Tage erfreuten sich Offiziere und Mannschaften am Sport, dann zerstörten die Russen plötzlich wieder alles – wahrscheinlich aus Wut über eine erlittene Niederlage." Loss of privileges, however, is the least serious concern, as the presence of death pervades the album. References to mass graves, forced labor, and widespread outbreaks of typhus are evidence of the suffering experienced in POW camps. Alon Rachamimov details how the POW story did not find resonance in the war's popular historiography: "despite the ubiquity of ex-prisoners in post World War I Europe (one out of every eight veterans to re-enter civilian society after the war had been a POW), despite the activities of ex-POWs organizations and despite the publication of scores of POW memoirs, the story of captivity never became part of what had been termed the Memory (or the Idea) of the Great War."<sup>194</sup>

In comparison to an emphasis on the violence of war in some post-war picture books, soldiers rarely thematized violence in their personal photo albums. In Sitzmann's album, for

---

<sup>193</sup> "Album mit Postkarten, Fotos und Dokumenten zum Leben deutscher Kriegsgefangener in russischen Lagern." The name "Dr. med. Walter Heinze / Naumburg—Saale" is penciled on the back of the album's front cover, but it is not entirely clear if he is the album's creator.

<sup>194</sup> Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War*, 4. Rachamimov considers the "familiar" nature of this type of misery one reason for the disinterest in the POW experience; all twentieth-century wars have inflicted similar hardships on soldiers and civilians alike (225).

example, there are only eight photographs (out of about 175) that show signs of destruction, and even these show only destroyed buildings; there are no corpses. Battlefields are pictured in around ten photographs, but always from a spatial and temporal distance; there are no explosions or soldiers crouching in trenches. However, some of the most striking moments of Sitzmann's album are still related to the recognizable battlefields that have become synonymous with the horrors of war. Verdun, for instance, lurks throughout the album's pages as a reminder of the grim reality Sitzmann and his companions faced (see Figure 2.4). The album thus reminds viewers of more brutal experiences through the side-door, by soberingly linking the private war experience pictured in the album to common knowledge of the war's destruction; in short, the album places Sitzmann at the scene of the action, without actually showing the action. This visual representation offers a more contemplative viewing of war that bypasses the excitement of violence (explosions, trenches, corpses) and draws attention to the ambiguity and blank spaces in the representations of other people's lived experience.<sup>195</sup> It does so in a way that does not make claims about representing "The War" or the idea of war in general, as post-war picture books often do—despite sometimes their acknowledgment of the inability to attend to the entire visual archive of the war. Instead, photo albums expand the possible frames for picturing the war by avoiding totalizing interpretations. By focusing attention on individual experience, photo albums evoke a deep sense of the war with even the most shallow amount of personal information.

This is certainly the case with the attention given to fallen comrades in many of the photo albums of German soldiers. The precise identification of the dead and their graves is frequently even more careful than that afforded to the living. The only soldier explicitly named in one anonymous photo album held by the DHM is Fritz Malisius, who is visually denoted by the cross

---

<sup>195</sup> See Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 18–19.

that stood above his grave. Another album devotes two entire pages to the depiction of a funeral procession;<sup>196</sup> this amounts to an unusual instance of an album-maker grouping photographs in a fashion that creates a short yet cohesive visual narrative. The viewer can easily trace the “story”: a casket is loaded onto a horse-drawn carriage under the supervision of men in uniform, wheeled from the camp to a neighboring cemetery, and prepped for being lifted into an open grave as a priest in white robes supervises. Although the deceased is not identified, the attention to this series of events—out of all the possible things that could be or are included in the album—contributes to the moment’s emotional poignancy. Two further albums made by former prisoners of war show the simple yet elegant memorials built for fallen comrades in POW camps. In one album, the caption “Von Kriegsgefangenen selbst erbautes Denkmal für verstorb. Kameraden” accompanies a photograph of a short, thick concrete obelisk sitting on a basic brick plinth surrounded by a short fence, and in the second album, the photograph of a similar memorial—“Unser Grabdenkmal in Radolnoje”—is given a carefully hand-drawn border of draped, ornate curtains, all topped with the gravitas-lending Roman numerals “MCMXVI.”<sup>197</sup> By photographing gravesites, surviving soldiers incorporated personal and emotional acts of commemoration into their photo albums and, as was surely true in some cases, provided some small solace to grieving families. Such *memento mori* bridged the often great distance to the final resting place of their loved ones through the photograph’s perceived visual immediacy.

The commemoration of fallen soldiers goes beyond private remembrance and pervades the picture books published in 1920s Germany. Private photo albums, however, are best able to

---

<sup>196</sup> “Album mit Fotos aus dem 1. Weltkrieg vom Kriegsschauplatz an der Ostfront”; “Album mit Fotos, Postkarten und Theaterprogrammen deutscher Gefangener in englischen Lagern.”

<sup>197</sup> “Album mit Postkarten, Fotos und Dokumenten zum Leben deutscher Kriegsgefangener in russischen Lagern”; “Album mit Fotos und Kunstexponaten aus der Kriegsgefangenschaft in Sibirien im Ersten Weltkrieg.”

attest to the emotional impact of death on a personal scale. The example of Sitzmann's album is again telling here. On the final page of his album, he includes two portraits of Max and Josef Müller (Figure 2.5), a personally motivated inclusion that indicates his reckoning with the death of his friends. Sitzmann writes under the portraits their years of death (1916 and 1918) and their occupations (plumber and locksmith). Next to the portrait of Josef, he wrote "mein Jugend Kamerad." He notes that Max Müller was "Bayerns bester Kampfflieger mit 39 Siegen; Inhaber des *Pour le Merite* und *Max-Josefs Ritters*"—heroizing information used to cast Max's death as a meaningful sacrifice. An earlier photograph in the album is a professional photograph of Josef's funeral (Figure 2.6), and another shows Max standing next to his airplane. These personal narratives, although admittedly quite basic, still forge strong empathic connections with the viewer via the bond between Sitzmann and his friends. They evince processes of grieving ("Trauer") that are separate from "Heldengedenken," which elevates war sacrifice to collective memory for national symbolism, and "Totenkult," which keeps memory of the dead alive by erasing the boundaries between life and death.<sup>198</sup> (The former is characteristic of the publications affiliated with the Reichsarchiv analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5, while the latter is typical of Franz Schauwecker's interpretation of the front experience and its legacy examined in Chapters 6 and 7.) In other words, pictures of the dead are presented in Sitzmann's photo albums as more than just representations of a national sacrifice; they are placed into the context of the photo album in which the process of memory and mourning inheres and others are bidden to take part. In comparison to the appeal made upon viewers to mourn the Fallen Soldier in nationalist, patriotic picture books, or the appeal to mobilize to prevent future depersonalized death in pacifist interpretations of the war's visual archive, the mourning process in Sitzmann's photo album

---

<sup>198</sup> Haas, "Im Schatten," 203.

remains politically uncharged and focused on a personal reckoning with the meaning of war and death that may not be by nature entirely apolitical but is devoid of predetermined interpretations.

The very act of viewing a photo album, whether for a creator's contemporaries or those who followed, is also deeply intimate. Even without the preexisting empathic bond of familial affiliations, a certain aura surrounds the album as an object. This is due in no small part to its fragility, a consequence of time and its amateur means of production. The albums mentioned above are all kept in the secure location of a library's special collections or a museum's archive for preservation's sake. With their restrictions on access, these places enhance what becomes a sort of sacred viewing: the album must be requested in writing, brought to the waiting patron, placed on a padded mat for its protection, and kept in a designated reading room while staff monitor the area. The albums' unexceptional physical characteristics do not match this sort of archival enshrinement. Sitzmann's album, for example, is simply crafted in an unremarkable book with orange, black, and gray stripes on a plush front and back cover. Four or five photographs are glued onto each page of thick, green construction paper, which are separated by sheets of preservation paper (see, for example, Figure 2.7). Most pictures in the album are taken by Sitzmann and are small, at around 5.5 cm x 8 cm. Captions are handwritten on cut pieces of ruled notebook paper pasted into the album.

Although these properties may initially seem secondary to the visual contents of the photographs found within the album, they determine the encounter with the album as a unique object.<sup>199</sup> Geoffrey Batchen writes that photo albums are "tactile objects with moveable parts, and to be experienced fully, they [...] demand that we add the physical intimacy of touch to the

---

<sup>199</sup> Brohm warns that the contemporary digitization of soldier photographs and letters alike, although it makes the documents available to a wider audience, risks a loss of their particular materiality and the corresponding signs that animate their meaning ("From *Erlebnis* to *Erinnerung*," 40).

more distanced apprehension of looking.”<sup>200</sup> In the age of mechanical reproducibility, viewing such an album anchors the enclosed photographs to a specific context in a way that mass-market picture books could not. Although pages can be skimmed over or even skipped, the album’s physicality predetermines a mode of viewing that becomes more focused and contemplative through touch. And as explained above, photo albums include much more than photographs. Postcards, official documents, and even objects like dried flowers become part of assemblages that draw attention to an album’s mediated construction; in short, dimensions of physicality invite emotional investment. In one album, a picture of “Stretensk [a POW camp in Siberia] an einem schönen Sommertage” has a dried flower glued next to it, a “Sibir. Edelweiss / gepfl. 5.6.1916.”<sup>201</sup> The object’s physicality introduces an example of what Batchen terms “doubled indexicality”: along with the photograph, the flower places the soldier in a specific place and time, creating a heightened emotional effect that reminds the viewer how “the passing of time that makes memory possible and necessary is also what makes memory fade and die.”<sup>202</sup>

Addition of text to family photographs, like the short captions in Sitzmann’s album, “can enliven images and enhance their capacity to arouse emotions,” as Batchen writes.<sup>203</sup> This is true of the way Sitzmann identifies soldiers briefly by their names, thereby erasing their potential historical anonymity and humanizing them. It is noteworthy here that almost no soldiers are mentioned by name in post-war picture books unless they count among the top military brass. Other examples of short texts in Sitzmann’s album—none longer than a few truncated sentences—add personal dimensions to the included images, as in the captions mentioning the

---

<sup>200</sup> Batchen, *Forget Me Not*, 49.

<sup>201</sup> “Album mit Postkarten, Fotos und Dokumenten zum Leben deutscher Kriegsgefangener in russischen Lagern.”

<sup>202</sup> Batchen, *Forget Me Not*, 75, 78.

<sup>203</sup> Batchen, *Forget Me Not*, 49.



terribly cold winter nights in the mountains of Romania. Drawn or written additions complement the personalized representation of the war. For example, in photographs that he did not take himself, including official group portraits, Sitzmann always draws an arrow to identify himself. In general, soldiers' albums often avoid lengthier exposition—in contrast to post-war picture books—but they offer enough tantalizing details to keep the viewer mentally and emotionally engaged. The results, although dependent on a certain amount of contemplation and piecing together of visual clues, have the potential to be emotionally stirring in a way that the anonymous death often central to mass-market picture books, no matter the ideological spin, can not achieve.

Photo albums encourage, as Batchen writes about other mixed-media photo objects, “both speculation and an empathetic, phenomenological style of historical writing that seeks to bridge the temporal and emotional gap between them and us.”<sup>204</sup> The soldier albums testify at once to a specific past and its historical events, the First World War, while they evoke the immediacy of death, loss, and grief at the time of viewing. Batchen writes: “Such shifting from past to present (and back again), and from third to first person, might begin to register the complexity of the identity we witness in [such an] object.” This demands a new type of historiography that transforms the subjects of photographs “from somebody merely seen to someone really felt, from an image viewed at a distance on the wall into an emotional exchange transacted in the heart.”<sup>205</sup> Photo albums, with their intersection between private memory and public history, reveal this tension, and therefore are significant not only for what they reveal about the war but also for how that process works, namely how visual representations can powerfully determine the very relationship viewers take to the past.

---

<sup>204</sup> Batchen, *Forget Me Not*, 93.

<sup>205</sup> Batchen, *Forget Me Not*, 93, 94.

Photo albums ultimately cannot provide more historical objectivity than other mediated forms of memory, like memoirs, or other forms of historiography, like illustrated compendiums, although the examples above show how much subjectivity is at stake in the different presentations of the war. While it may be a privilege to view a personal photo album like Sitzmann's, it opens up alternative perspectives on the war that reference popular narratives at the same time as they complement and refract them. They invite a type of contemplative viewing that stirs both past and present viewer into thinking about the war without falling into sensationalism or ideological bias typical in mass-market picture books from the Weimar era. As shown in the following chapters, those works, although they exhibit at times radically different worldviews, are united in their efforts to transform the collective memory of the war in a way that private photo albums cannot. Soldiers' personal photo albums remain limited to the visual horizon of their creators and therefore evince aspects of individual experience, whereas post-war picture books gather freely from a general archive of war images (created principally by amateur photographers) to craft interpretations of the war meant to sway broad public opinion. Private photo albums are firmly rooted in a backwards-looking mode that looks to organize and secure individual experience for personal meaning-making, whereas picture books reorganize any number of individual experiences of the past into general claims meant to influence Germany's course forward. Both categories work together to comprise the war's visual representation as a whole, but how and why they employ images to shape memory is fundamentally different. Private photo albums from the First World War are therefore not just a significant and perhaps underutilized source of understanding the historical war experience, they are also a useful analytical foil to post-war picture books, whose efforts to shape collective memory of the war are

motivated as much by remembering the past as they are by ideological visions of the present and future.

### Chapter 3. Horror Unmasked: The Pacifist Plea of Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* (1924)

Although a veritable “photo-boom” is evident during the mid- to late-1920s in Weimar Germany, the rich history of photographic war picture books begins a decade earlier in the midst of the conflict, when photography was used to shape the public view of the war and control how collective memory formed. Newly established periodicals, including soldier newspapers,<sup>206</sup> leveraged photographs to apprise an enquiring public of the war’s progression. The weekly magazine *Der Krieg in Wort und Bild* (1914–1919), published by the Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong und Co. (Berlin) with collaboration from top military officials of the German General Staff, promised a general overview of the war alongside detailed descriptions of specific battles. The editors write in the first issue: “Unser aller Sehnsucht geht dahin, einmal die Schlachten und Bewegungen unserer Heere und Flotten in ihrer Gesamtheit zu überblicken, so wie sie sich vor dem Auge des Feldherrn entrollen, dann aber auch unseren deutschen und österreichisch-ungarischen Landleuten im Geiste zu folgen und ihr Kriegerleben mit ihnen zu teilen.”<sup>207</sup> To these ends, the editors requested the submission of photographs from the front, alongside soldier letters, drawn illustrations, and textual descriptions of battles. Nevertheless, a cursory look through the journal’s more than 200 issues shows the predominance of stylized war paintings and drawn illustrations to provide the picture of war. Photographic spreads are largely limited to mundane topics, such as portraits of officers or touristic views of landscapes—a symptom perhaps both of the magazine’s carefully curated “message” aligned with German military leadership and the popularity of other illustrated histories.

---

<sup>206</sup> See Robert Nelson, *German Soldier Newspapers*.

<sup>207</sup> *Der Krieg in Wort und Bild* 1 (1914): 27.

Another category of pictorial works created during the war was exclusively photographic in nature but was aimed solely at the regiments it pictured. One such publication, *Zwischen Arras und Peronne* (1916), includes 311 photographs from the Western Front.<sup>208</sup> Members of a reserve corps deployed in France conceived and edited the book, and members of the unnamed division(s) supplied their original photographs for the volume. The final product is intended as an “Erinnerungsbuch” of places and people, a counteragent to the fading of individual memories that will occur over the course of the war.<sup>209</sup> Not intended for a wider public, it is “ein reines Ansichtsbuch ohne textliches Beiwerk” that can be appreciated only by “Angehörigen des Reservekorps.”<sup>210</sup> The photographs selected for inclusion in the book from among the more than 700 submitted show the “Korpsbereich” of areas and locales where the division was stationed, and which should hold special significance for the troops who spent the war in and around those places. But save for a few markers of war—troops in uniform, the occasional ruined building, orderly military graveyards—the picture that the volume presents of the war is tame, if not outright idyllic. For the uninitiated viewer, the photographs are a cryptic representation of war, as they appear more as an ethnographic study of the French countryside than a documentation of any violent conflict. Picturesque views of quaint French villages, rural manors, and country lanes (Figure 3.1), whose emotional potential can only be activated through the first-hand knowledge of having served in the region, dominate the volume. Simple captions, which list only the location of origin and the photographer by military rank and last name, highlight the personal

---

<sup>208</sup> Among many others, titles include: Habbig, *Eine deutsche Division zwei Jahre im Weltkrieg* (1917), *Zwei Jahre an der Westfront* (1917), and *Das 41. Reserve-Korps von der Somme zum Pripijat* (1918). These and other similar volumes have been digitized by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and can be viewed for free online.

<sup>209</sup> *Zwischen Arras und Peronne*, “Geleitwort des Herausgebers,” n.p.

<sup>210</sup> *Zwischen Arras und Peronne*, “Geleitwort des Herausgebers,” n.p.

tone. Familiarity with these provincial areas and abbreviated names served as another point of entry to the volume exclusive to military members.

Perhaps the most impressive picture book of the war era is the *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges*, which appeared from 1915–1919 in three 400-page volumes comprised of individually released installments of 40 pages, each costing 2 Marks. It is most similar to the post-war picture books in its fullness of photographic images—6,000 in total—and its claims of photographic objectivity. The editors’ goal is to show all the war’s arenas through the “wahrheitsgetreu” medium of photography. “Die unzähligen Phantasiebilder, denen man auch heute begegnet, sind streng in Acht und Bann getan.”<sup>211</sup> The editors make an exception to their own rule of “Nur Wahrheitsbilder,” however, for drawn or painted illustrations, if they convey a sense of “die haßerfüllte Stimmung unserer Gegner [...], Zeugnisse also von bewußter Lüge und Verleumdung.”<sup>212</sup> Such sentiments are just one piece of evidence of the wartime mentalities that pervade the volume’s introduction and mark the main ideological differences from post-war picture books in reasons for looking at the war in photographs. Beyond satisfying the public’s curiosity of what the war looked like as it happened, it is intended to gratify “ein[en] innere[n] Zwang” of wartime to have publications that resonate “mit der herrschenden Stimmung,”<sup>213</sup> in this case, the wave of enthusiasm that gripped Germany in 1914. The introduction speaks in a highly patriotic manner, calling the war “unsere[] neueste[] Nibelungennot” and “das schwere Schicksal,” an “Ansturm” of enemies comparable to the “Sturmlauf” against Friedrich the Great’s Prussia: “Heil dem Volke, das in den Jahren 1914/15 gut fritzisch war!” The book’s

---

<sup>211</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 1, v.

<sup>212</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 1, v.

<sup>213</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 1, v.

ideological horizon remains limited to the hoorah-patriotism of the initial war period, and its editors recognize that the volume offers little more than that:

[U]nd wenn es heute, nach anderthalbjähriger Kriegsdauer auch verfrüht ist, vom Heraufdämmern des goldenen Zeitalters zu sprechen, in dem es keinen Waffenlärm gibt, der Satz, den der Reichskanzler schon bald nach Beginn des Kampfes aussprach, ist unauslöschlich in dem ewigen Buch der Menschheitsgeschichte verzeichnet: ‘Deutschland läßt sich nicht vernichten!’<sup>214</sup>

The editors thematize the matter more explicitly, claiming that the time for history writing and interpretation will come later as “[m]an steht den gewaltigen Geschehnissen noch zu nahe.”<sup>215</sup>

The focus of such a “Bilderbericht” now should be to train the eye to perceive and come to know the war:

Durch Schauen, Betrachten und Genießen allein werden innere Beziehungen zu Bildern hergestellt; dieser Vorgang soll sich auch bei dem vorliegenden Bilderatlas wiederholen, in dem in vollendeter Form durch die unbestechliche Linse Tatsachen festgehalten sind, die unser stärkster Sinn, das Auge, auch späterhin eindeutig abzulesen und zu genießen vermag.<sup>216</sup>

Textual guidance is explicitly limited to identifying captions and section headings, but what “facts” viewers *should* take away from a consideration of the photographs is defined by the introduction’s patriotic tone and interpretation of the war: despite the Kaiser’s great efforts to keep peace through diplomacy, the world has attacked Germany, which must defend itself; any enthusiasm for war among the population was merely “der Ausdruck des Wissens um die Lebensgefahr.”<sup>217</sup> The book’s presentation as an “atlas”—an impartial compendium of facts about the world—belies its hurrah-patriotism.

Nevertheless, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* lives up to its title by presenting a far-reaching yet organized view of the war, capped off with a name and place index—an anomaly

---

<sup>214</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 1, v.

<sup>215</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 1, vi.

<sup>216</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 1, vi.

<sup>217</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 1, v.

among any post-war picture books. The first volume alone covers all fronts equally and even gives special attention in one installment to topics related to the war effort on the home front, including civilian food distribution in Berlin, the increase of women in the work force, and the collection of raw materials to be repurposed for war. In this way the volume not only depicts a general population mobilized for war but stresses to its audience, civilian and soldiers alike, the important role they play in the collective war effort. In contrast to the post-war picture books, which are driven by ideological motives that shape their manner of remembrance, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* is colored only by the patriotism of the present war situation that wide swaths of the population felt in the initial war year. Its pictorial focus aims to give as wide as possible a view of the war, including its destructive forces; the only subject it neglects is the scale and tragedy of human death, since photographs of bombed buildings and landscapes vastly outweigh those of dead bodies. Volumes 2 and 3 continue this trajectory by following the war's path across the world. Although photographs of the battles at Verdun and the Somme in the third volume clearly attest to more intense warfare, graphic pictures of bodies are with a few exceptions largely excluded.<sup>218</sup>

The first volume's overt patriotism remains intact in the third volume, published in the fall of 1919. Despite clear defeat, the editors maintain the agitated mentalities of wartime, asserting that the war was a "Verteidigungskrieg," that Germany was dishonorably portrayed as aggressor to the world through its enemies' "Lügengift," and that German soldiers remained "unbesiegt."<sup>219</sup> The editors again claim that it is too early for a proper evaluation of the war, but suggest that above all the other reasons for the war loss was the "völkerrechtswidrige[]

---

<sup>218</sup> A possible explanation for this lack is provided in the introduction to the third volume: the volumes were not only censored by civilian government agencies in Munich but were met with interference and opposition by the Reichsmarineamt in Berlin.

<sup>219</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 3, v.



englische[] Hungerblockade” that starved civilians and led indirectly to the nation’s inner collapse. Also complicit is the foreign press, without whose lies America would have remained neutral. The final section in the entire series is devoted to this critique: a collection of illustrations—sentimental paintings, satirical comics, and propaganda posters—from Germany’s enemies attest to the extravagant lies told about the apparent abnormal savagery of the German military and the singular criminality of its Kaiser, offenses that are deeply upsetting to the editors, who sardonically dub them evidence for the “hohe Innenkultur und feinen Geschmack der Feinde Deutschlands.”<sup>220</sup> And although the editors limit their critique of the post-war political and societal situation in the volume’s introduction—they wish only that Germany becomes strong again, no matter the form of government—their assessment of the war’s end in the series’ final pages is telling for the place of controversy that the war would later hold in the Weimar Republic. The third volume ends with a short and simple textual chronicle of the Treaty of Versailles, what the editors call the “Schmach- und Schandfrieden, das ungeheuerliche Dokument des Hasses und der Furcht unserer Feinde.”<sup>221</sup> Despite the combative tone, however, there is no evidence here of the “stab-in-the-back” conspiracies that would later become a cultural and political flashpoint of the Weimar Republic and turn Germans against Germans. The enemies of Germany in *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* remain definitively external. The picture of the war is therefore free of any sense that war memory will be a contentious issue of *domestic* politics and cultural life. Because of its earlier publication date, the controversies arising from the ideological—and frequently physical—clashes across the Weimar political spectrum that will color the war picture books of the late 1920s are absent.

---

<sup>220</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 3, 396.

<sup>221</sup> Konsbrück, *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* 3, 400.

The ideologically neutral, if generally patriotic take on the war means *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges* stands in contrast to later picture books for its uncontroversial reception. Reviewers do not take up provocative questions about the war's actual course or its social, economic, or cultural meaning. Instead they focus on the richness of its illustration and the unique and objective look into the war that the photographic work affords. The atlas was praised as "vorzüglich" and "prachtvoll" by the *Blätter für Volksbibliotheken und Lesehallen*,<sup>222</sup> and the review in *Die Umschau* calls it a "Prachtwerk," "das schönste, was uns dieser Art zu Gesicht kam."<sup>223</sup> The reviewer in *Das größere Deutschland: Wochenschrift für deutsche Welt- und Kolonialpolitik* writes that the "Ausführung der Bilder ist tadellos" and the photographs themselves are "ergreifend" and "prächtig." Despite initial hesitations about such a book's ability to show in photographs the "große Zeit, die wir durchleben," the reviewer is convinced of its visual power in capturing the enthusiasm of 1914 and recommends it to every family, for children and adults alike.<sup>224</sup> It seems at one point in his review for the Social Democratic newspaper *Die neue Zeit* that Edgar Steiger might veer into a criticism of the war itself when he draws attention to the book's portrayal of the war's horrible destruction, but in the end such photographs of destruction just exemplify for him the *Bilderatlas*'s unique and wide scope of visual material that makes it—in his view—"unstreitig das beste" pictorial work on the war.<sup>225</sup> Steiger assesses the book as an invaluable and objective source for the post-war historian in the same way that the reviewer in the *Kunstgewerbeblatt* calls the book "ein wohlfeiles Dokument des Krieges" (emphasis in original) that was produced with the "größter technischen

---

<sup>222</sup> "Neue Eingänge bei der Schriftleitung" 1916, 138, and "Neue Eingänge bei der Schriftleitung" 1917, 221.

<sup>223</sup> "Neue Bücher," 236.

<sup>224</sup> "Literatur," 1127.

<sup>225</sup> Steiger, "Aus unserer Bücherei," 474–76.

Vollendung.”<sup>226</sup> Questions about the truth-telling capability of photography are therefore ignored just like those about the war itself or the volume’s patriotic tone.

The picture books that followed the war’s end and reached their broadest audience in the late Weimar era must be situated in the trajectory of pictorial practices established by war representations from 1914–1918. Not only does the public’s general fascination with seeing the war that is evident in the mid-war projects remain strong a decade or more after the war but the understanding of the actual relationship between photography and “reality” is left undeveloped for a general public, this despite a growing body of theoretical work on photography in the late Weimar era from German thinkers such as Siegfried Kracauer (“Die Photographie,” 1927) and Walter Benjamin (“Kleine Geschichte der Photographie,” 1931). Statements by authors of popular picture books and the reviewers that praised them in newspapers and magazines attest to a problematic assumption of photography’s truth-telling capability—especially problematic in light of a number of evident editorial interventions like cropping and retouching, which can be found across individual photographs reproduced in multiple picture books. The most significant difference between the mid-war pictorial projects, with their general war patriotism, and the post-war picture books analyzed in this survey is that the latter group is more concerned with shaping war memory and brings more overtly ideological interpretations to bear on contemporary political and cultural life. As the editors of the *Großer Bilderatlas des Krieges* astutely noted, the task of historical interpretation fell to those who came later; but their assertion that photographs served as ironclad documents that capture the war’s truth, “Tatsachen” for a post-war era, is naïve at best. The vast ideological differences in assessments of the war’s meaning, which were crafted after all from the same archive of war photographs, not only hints

---

<sup>226</sup> “Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges. Band I [Rezension],” 200.

at the nature of photography's malleability in the service of interpretation but reveals just how contested the basic "Tatsachen" were in post-war Germany.

The history of post-war picture books and the contest of visual memory, that is, how the war was to be viewed literally and figuratively, begins most markedly with the publication of Ernst Friedrich's controversial picture book *Krieg dem Kriege!* in 1924, the ten-year anniversary of the war's beginning. The book is the most radical visual denunciation of Germany's war involvement and a screed against war in general. And as comments from other picture-book authors directed at Friedrich's pacifist message and rhetorical strategies suggest, it was not a small factor driving the publication of patriotic or nationalist picture books that sought to correct the damning message of *Krieg dem Krieg!* It is likely Friedrich whom Ernst Jünger calls out in the introduction of *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* when he writes that a representation of war cannot solely rely on images of the "Elend des Krieges,"<sup>227</sup> and it is Friedrich whom Franz Schauwecker implicitly derides in *So war der Krieg!* as someone who can see in war only "die blöde Abschachtung." Schauwecker writes: "Wer dadurch zum Pazifisten wird, der beweist dadurch, daß ihm das nackte Leben über alles geht. Ich gestehe, daß ich einen solchen Menschen für belanglos halte."<sup>228</sup> *Krieg dem Kriege!* earned its notoriety through photographs showing the worst horrors of war—dead soldiers, military executions, mutilated faces—that no other war volume presents in as great a number or with such graphic intensity. Friedrich also makes liberal use of captions, which are often playfully sardonic and biting, to connect the photographs of horror to wide-ranging accusations about war, capitalism, and national honor that present an especially damning representation of Germany in war.

---

<sup>227</sup> Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 10.

<sup>228</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7. See also Apel, "Cultural Battlegrounds," 70–76, for an analysis of the patriotic and nationalist photobook *Der Krieg in seiner rauhen Wirklichkeit* (1926) by Hermann Rex as a corrective response to Friedrich's damning portrayal.

*Krieg dem Kriege!* evinces Friedrich's deep-rooted pacifism, his progressive ideas about a pedagogy of non-violence, and his disillusionment with all forms of government that bend his political ideas towards the anarchistic. Considering the book's publication an event in itself, it is just one of the many moments of radical activism in Friedrich's life. His biography reveals an endless idealism for peace that placed him in contact with leading contemporary political movers and shakers on the left, but the self-imposed purity of that idealism meant that he could be loyal only to his beliefs, and his life mission of peace remained a singular effort largely removed from the fray of party politicking.

As a young man, he founded the Breslauer Arbeiter-Jugendbewegung, a youth organization of the Social Democrats (SPD), but he left in disgust when the party voted to support the war effort with bonds. His own experience with the war was limited to short tours he made as an actor with the Potsdam Theater, during which he traveled to the front to perform for the troops. Later he was incarcerated in an observation clinic for the mentally ill after he refused his own draft call as a conscientious objector; he spent further time in a prison in Potsdam for his involvement with an anarchist group's act of sabotage against the military. Freed by revolting soldiers during the November 1918 revolution, Friedrich was an active fighter during the Spartacus uprising, earning himself the nickname of "Barrikaden-Friedrich." He joined the short-lived "Freie Sozialistische Jugend," founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and was asked to take on the editorship of *Die junge Garde*, the party paper for the Kommunistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands, but he rejected the offer and formed his own group, Die Freie Jugend, an anti-authoritarian group that supported a "herrschaftslose[r] Sozialismus" and the cessation of violence through the dismantling of the military and police. Forty young people, members of Die Freie Jugend, lived together with Friedrich and his family in a commune that

rejected the demands of organization and other “bürgerliche” ideals as they sought to enact on a micro-scale the utopia of a collective free from state violence. Friedrich used his training as an actor to achieve moderate popularity—although financial stability eluded him throughout his life—by giving artistic recitations of the works of Tolstoy, Gorki, and Heine, along with impassioned speeches for peace to proletarian parties and youth groups upwards of 30 times a month. He organized the first Arbeiter-Kunst-Ausstellungen in Berlin to showcase “proletarian” art, including the works of Käthe Kollwitz, Heinrich Zille, Hans Baluschek, and Otto Nagel, and the two newspapers he edited, *Freie Jugend* and *Die Waffen nieder* (named after the famous 1889 anti-war novel by Bertha von Suttner), became important mouthpieces for his unique blend of youth engagement, pacifism, and anti-authoritarianism.<sup>229</sup> Over the course of the Weimar Republic, Friedrich went to prison at least 12 times for sedition and slander against the military,<sup>230</sup> cases for which he often received legal defense from his close friend Erich Mühsam, prominent lawyer, writer, and anarchist, and which left him in financial ruin by 1929.<sup>231</sup>

The exceptional—and controversial—nature of Friedrich’s mission to eradicate war and violence is best embodied by the culmination of his life’s work, the Anti-Kriegs-Museum he opened in 1923 and for which the book *Krieg dem Kriege!* served as a type of companion catalogue. Friedrich purchased a derelict house in Berlin’s Parochialstraße and renovated it on his own into the first “international” anti-war museum that combined pacifist displays of war objects and photographs in the front with space in the back for a small stage used for a variety of events. Writing from his Swiss exile in 1935, Friedrich reflected on the impetus for the museum:

Es gibt kein Land der Welt, das so bespickt ist mit Kaiser- und Kriegsdenkmälern, mit (Ab-)Schlachtgemälden, mit Fahnen und Uniformen und Orden – wie das ‘friedliche’

---

<sup>229</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 7–33.

<sup>230</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” xviii.

<sup>231</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 65, 67.

Deutschland! [...] Warum nicht ein Haus des Friedens, das unsere Kinder frühzeitig unterrichtet, wie schrecklich der Krieg ist und wie schön das Leben sein könnte, wenn die Menschen endlich aufhören würden, sich gegenseitig zu hassen und zu töten.<sup>232</sup>

Reports indicate that the museum did have a special draw for children<sup>233</sup> and, like Friedrich's literary projects *Proletarischer Kindergarten: Ein Märchen- und Lesebuch für Groß und Klein* (1921; cover design by Käthe Kollwitz) and his series *Kinder-Bibliothek*, addressed children directly with a warning about war and offered an alternative, peaceful vision of the world. In *Krieg dem Kriege!*, the first series of illustrations (Figure 3.2) is dedicated to showing how pervasive war is in the world of play. It shows military-themed board games, puzzles, paper dolls, toy soldiers, and children's books that are evidence of "[h]ow children are educated for war."<sup>234</sup> Erasing such objects and signs of war from a child's perspective of the world has an important pedagogical motive in preventing future wars. Friedrich pleads with parents to not give their children toy soldiers nor sing them soldiers' songs so that, although capital may be the cause of all wars, they refuse to make the *conduct* of war possible. "Erzieht die Kinder so, daß sie sich später weigern, Soldaten- und Kriegsdienste zu tun," he writes in the introduction to *Krieg dem Kriege!* "Wie viele übersehen allzuleicht, daß in dem eignen Hause, in der *Familie*, der Krieg freiwillig vorbereitet wird!!!"<sup>235</sup> Friedrich's pedagogical mission extended to his own leadership of "pacifist play groups" that modeled alternative modes of play. For example, he led large groups of Berlin children in the Friedrichshain Volkspark in a game of "Indians" that stressed their peaceful disposition and intimate connection to nature.<sup>236</sup>

---

<sup>232</sup> Quoted in Spree, *Ich kenne keine "Feinde,"* 41.

<sup>233</sup> Krumeich, "Ein einzigartiges Werk," xlviii.

<sup>234</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 37.

<sup>235</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 10.

<sup>236</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine "Feinde,"* 17.

Alongside the display of toys that were said to be habituating children to war, the Anti-Kriegs-Museum openly exhibited shocking photographs from the war that focused solely on the horrific physical effects of the fighting on the human body. The same photographs that would later cause a sensation when published in *Krieg dem Kriege!* were hung in the museum's front window for all passersby to see. The police objected quickly to the images, deemed offensive to the nation and obscene for public display, and, when Friedrich refused to take them down, entered the museum by force and tore them down.<sup>237</sup> The personal cost of running the provocative museum included numerous legal suits for treason and slander of the military and accompanying time spent in prison. Friedrich wrote later of his efforts: "Das kostete viel Schweiß und Geld und noch mehr Nerven. Das erforderte mit der Zeit zwei Büros für den Direktor: Eins im Museum und eins im – Gefängnis!"<sup>238</sup>

The price paid only increased as the Weimar Republic entered its twilight years. In 1932 the museum became a favorite target of Nazi street terror, keeping patrons away and the director in fear for his life. The museum's windows were smashed so frequently that insurance companies refused further coverage, and Friedrich was attacked and beaten by SA men in November 1932.<sup>239</sup> Friedrich's use of *Stahlhelme* as flower pots on the museum's outside façade and the international pacifist symbol of two hands breaking a weapon in half displayed above the front door especially offended the National Socialists. The symbols were evidence—according to the *Völkischer Beobachter*—of Friedrich's perverse desire, "die Seele und die Gesinnung des rechtschaffenen deutschen Arbeiters mit jüdisch-marxistischen Ideologien planmäßig zu vergiften." The broken gun symbol represented for them "ein Zeichen der Feigheit und des

---

<sup>237</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine "Feinde,"* 43.

<sup>238</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine "Feinde,"* 43.

<sup>239</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine "Feinde,"* 77, 79.



Willens, unserem Volke auch die geringsten Mittel zu nehmen, sich gegen jedwede Überfremdung seiner Art und gegen jeden Raub seiner völkischen Güter zu verteidigen.”<sup>240</sup>

Friedrich was arrested and placed under protective arrest on the day of the Reichstag fire, the SA ransacked the museum for a last time, and the building was soon converted into an SA-Heim. After his release, Friedrich gathered the remaining archives and photographs of the Anti-Kriegs-Museum and fled with his family first to Czechoslovakia, where he published a series of joke books aimed at Nazi Germany, and then to Switzerland, from which he was deported—“wegen Beleidigung eines befreundeten Staatmannes”—for his 1935 memoir *Vom Friedens-Museum zur Hitler Kaserne*.<sup>241</sup>

Friedrich arrived in Belgium in 1936, where he used the archives he smuggled from Germany to open a second anti-war museum with support from labor unions and the Belgian Socialist Party. The museum attracted much public interest, but its existence was short-lived; it was quickly destroyed by German troops advancing into Belgium in May 1940. During the Second World War, Friedrich was imprisoned in a Vichy-run internment camp, from which he escaped just weeks before the remaining prisoners were sent to SS camps in Eastern Europe. He briefly joined the French resistance and narrowly survived the war. Friedrich continued his peace activism and pedagogical mission after 1945 by using reparation money from the West German government to found an “Isle of Peace” in the Marne River north of Paris where French and German youth groups gathered to better understand each other and foster reconciliation among the nations. After his death in 1967 and at the height of the peace movement of the 1980s, Friedrich’s grandson founded a third Anti-Kriegs-Museum at a new address in Berlin-Wedding that remains open today.

---

<sup>240</sup> Quoted in Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 45.

<sup>241</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 95.

The picture book *Krieg dem Kriege!* reflects many of the important strands of Friedrich's singular anti-war mission embodied in his prized Anti-Kriegs-Museum and the other literary and journalistic output of his time: it is grounded in a leftist critique of capitalism, albeit one unconcerned with party politics, pedagogically minded towards stemming any glorification of the nation, war, and militarism, unapologetic in its display of horrors and blunt in its message. Extended analysis is not needed to ascertain the ideological standpoint or intent that influences Friedrich's editorial choices. The volume's style reflects Friedrich's tendency towards agitation and away from intellectual reflection. Historian Gerd Krumeich writes that

[Friedrich] wusste genau, dass die Menschen, wie er so treffend sagte, "Vergeßmaschinen" sind, und suchte Wege, seine Wahrheit unters Volk zu bringen. Dabei scheute er auch Wiederholungen und brachiale Hervorhebungen nicht. Nahezu alles, was er schrieb, unterstrich er noch und versah es mit Ausrufezeichen, manchmal mehrere in einem einzigen Satz. Für Stilistik und Ästhetik des Wortes hatte er keinen Sinn.<sup>242</sup>

The introduction to *Krieg dem Kriege!* is a broadside manifesto against the elite who direct war and the world order of international capitalism that prospers from war. Although he does not mention anything in particular, it is likely that Friedrich was alarmed by contemporary events in the lead-up to the book's 1924 publication. Hyperinflation, the question of reparations, and the Ruhr occupation, among other events that forebode further international conflict, must have weighed heavy on his mind as he tried to warn the masses about the entanglement of war and economics. Despite these assumptions, however, nuanced analysis lies beyond the scope of Friedrich's production. He presents his arguments in short, declamatory sentences, such as "Alle Kriege entstehen nur um den Besitz von Geld!" and "Kämpft gegen den Kapitalismus in Euch!"<sup>243</sup> Such slogans are akin to those found on posters in their rhetorical simplicity, and

---

<sup>242</sup> Krumeich, "Ein einzigartiges Werk," xvii.

<sup>243</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 8–9.

Friedrich's dynamic page design, which utilizes varying font sizes, spacing, and typefaces (Figure 3.3), often mirrors that of a poster. The book's overall aesthetics are inspired to some degree by the Dada and Expressionist movements that reached their heights in the lead-up to the publication of *Krieg dem Kriege*, and Friedrich's black-and-white messaging was part and parcel of Weimar political culture, characterized broadly by energetic sloganeering and agitation. "Bei Friedrich werden die argumentativen Differenzen in der Emphase des Aufschreis weggespült," writes Krumeich.<sup>244</sup>

Central to the book's appeal to a broad audience is its simultaneous use of four languages: German, French, English, and Dutch. Every piece of text in—to give the book's full title—*Krieg dem Kriege! Guerre à Guerre! War against War! Oorlog aan den Oorlog!*, including the introduction and picture captions, is repeated in each language to reach as wide an international readership as possible. This fact reflects a further aspect of Friedrich's larger mission: however grounded in the German situation his attacks on militarism and nationalism were, his peace activism was always oriented towards an international audience. He indeed had personal connections to socialist and pacifist movements across Europe and received financial support from the international labor movement. *Krieg dem Kriege!* was funded in part by the Swedish pastor Per Gyberg and his congregation,<sup>245</sup> and an abridged version was published as a pamphlet by the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1929—with a cover motif by Käthe Kollwitz. It circulated 50,000 copies across Europe by 1930. The internationalism of Friedrich's mission extended to a second project: he remodeled a small yacht on Berlin's Müggelsee with the goal of turning it into a mobile anti-war museum that he could pilot from port to port around Europe, spreading his message of peace and reconciliation. The refinished boat never fulfilled its

---

<sup>244</sup> Krumeich, "Ein einzigartiges Werk," xxvi.

<sup>245</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine "Feinde,"* 47.

purpose; it was confiscated in 1933 and—with the same twisted symbolism that befell the Anti-Kriegs-Museum—was repurposed as a police boat. The boat had been a target since Friedrich’s earlier arrest in 1930, when he was charged with agitation against the state and the planning of high treason for secretly printing the communist newspaper *Rote Fahne* aboard the vessel out of sympathy with the enemies of Hitler.<sup>246</sup>

Although the use of multiple languages in *Krieg dem Kriege!* is a significant aspect of the broad international reach intended by Friedrich, the photographs carry the pathos of his message. He utilizes primarily two rhetorical techniques to present a damning view of the war through photographic representation: first, he juxtaposes two disparate images on opposite pages, whose critical message is reinforced by sardonic or satirical captions; second, he relies on the inherent horror contained in graphic photographs of the war, including close-up images of dead bodies and mutilated faces, a choice that aggressively broke societal taboos about representation and was unmistakable in message for even the least educated. This achievement, Krumeich writes in the introduction to the book’s 2015 facsimile edition, “ist zweifellos die Leistung von Ernst Friedrich gewesen, dem es darum ging, die scheußliche Wirklichkeit des Krieges so darzustellen, dass wirklich jedermann die Botschaft klar erfassen konnte.”<sup>247</sup>

Friedrich’s critical message is most obvious in the juxtapositions he creates in *Krieg dem Kriege!*, both between single images and between image and caption. Like the writing style of his introduction, the message of such arrangements is intended to be immediately impactful and does not strive to offer nuanced arguments against war. Friedrich’s entrenched ethical position vis-à-vis war entails a black-and-white view sustained throughout the volume. The horrors of war not only undermine any attempt at its justification but are inextricably tied to the unjust

---

<sup>246</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 70–73.

<sup>247</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” xxv.

world order that caused the war and profited from it. An introductory example shows two images of dead soldiers positioned on opposite pages, the first labeled “Für die Interessen des Kapitals...” and the second “...und den Ruhm der Monarchie” (Figure 3.4). The set of images tie the anonymous war dead to a broadside attack against capitalism and the idea of monarchy. The nationality of the pictured dead remains unknown to the viewer, as it is unimportant to Friedrich’s criticism of militarism and war of any type. He writes in an afterword to *Krieg dem Kriege!* that the book may unfairly present a picture of German soldiers as criminals, but that is just a coincidence of his being German and having access to associated photographs; in truth, all combatant nations are equally culpable for the war’s “Grausamkeiten,” as militarism and capitalism are crimes of international scope.<sup>248</sup> The images rely on the unquestioned power of seeing dead bodies to create an emotional arousal of disgust that is then layered with a societal critique through the captions. Whether or not the created connection between the anonymous images and Friedrich’s message is convincing depends on whether or not the viewer is already predisposed to Friedrich’s view of war or can be swayed by such simplistic argumentation.

The critique of monarchy is extended to two other pairs of images that juxtapose the life of luxury enjoyed by the nobility after the war and the daily drudgery of the injured veteran. The first pair combines a snapshot of Crown Prince Wilhelm playing tennis—“Nach dem Kriege: Der deutsche Kronprinz als Schwerstarbeiter...”—with an image of a veteran working in the factory with his prosthetic arm—“...und der kriegsverletzte Proletarier bei seinem täglichen ‘Sport’” (Figure 3.5). The following pages show King George of England skippering a yacht, paired with a “Proletarier” putting on a sock with a prosthetic forearm, his contorted pose and focused concentration showing the apparent struggle of such a task. These and other class-based critiques

---

<sup>248</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 238.

should have resonated with the far-left of Weimar politics, but instead elicited mostly ambivalence. *Die Rote Fahne*, party organ for the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) and the same paper that Friedrich would later get arrested for printing in secret on his boat, wrote that *Krieg dem Kriege!* lacked a fundamental understanding of Marxism and was “richtungsunklar.” Although she praised “das erste große Bilderbuch vom Krieg” as “ein unauslöschliches Testament,” Berta Lask deemed the book useless for the proletariat, as Friedrich’s broadly anti-war stance necessarily precluded advocacy of a (civil) war against capitalism (although she may have forgotten or not been aware of Friedrich’s active role during the Spartacus uprising, in contradiction to his pacifist principles). Lask wrote: “Da Ernst Friedrich leider jede klare marxistische Denkweise fehlt, ist sein mühevolltes Werk um die Bedeutung gebracht, die es für das Proletariat haben könnte. Statt aufzurufen, aufzupeitschen, wird es nur die nervenschwachen Menschen abschrecken.”<sup>249</sup> The review not only evinces the type of intellectual and ideological objection to which Friedrich’s uncomplicated argumentative style opened him up, it also questions the rhetorical strategy of presenting the war’s horrors as an effective way to sway public opinion, something assumed by Friedrich.

The strategy of juxtaposing two images that Friedrich uses to accuse monarchs of callousness vis-à-vis the soldiers they sent to war is clearest in a related critique of the officer class as being favorably provisioned and safely removed from the dangerous combat to which they freely sent others. Three pairs of images in *Krieg dem Kriege!* echo the idea of the “Etappensumpf” that resonated with those critical of the war in the immediate post-war years, such as the pro-republican and SPD-affiliated veteran’s group, the Reichsbanner (see Chapter 1). The first pair of photographs (Figure 3.6) combines a snapshot of the Crown Prince “behind the

---

<sup>249</sup> Berta Lask, “Das wahre Gesicht des Krieges.”

front” with his many greyhounds in tow—a sign of the privilege he enjoyed—with a photograph taken of dead soldiers at the front. The first caption says that the Crown Prince liked to use the expression “Immer feste druff,” while the second caption states “An der Front: Der Kronprinz ist nicht dabei.” The idea that the officer class was detached from the reality of the front lines is continued in the second pair of images (Figure 3.7), which shows a group of officers having tea juxtaposed with an image of an indiscriminate number of bodies lumped together in what appear to be the trenches. The officers in the first image smile as they sit at a table, decked with a white tablecloth and proper tableware, on the decoratively adorned terrace of what was likely a French villa near the front that the military commandeered to house its headquarters or officers. It is captioned “Die Stellung wird gehalten...”, while the second image of dead soldiers is labeled “...bis zum letzten Mann.” Friedrich extends his critique of the officer class to include the special burial treatment they received in the third juxtaposition of images (Figure 3.8): the respectable military funeral for “ein[en] in der Etappe sanft entschlafene[n] General” is paired with a gruesome photograph of dead soldiers at the front being loaded onto a horse-drawn cart that is captioned “wie die an der Front abgeschlachteten Proletarier verladen wurden.” Unlike the first two sets of photographs, in which the juxtaposed images share no connection beyond the one that Friedrich asserts in his incriminations, the images in the third set share a theme and even obvious visual signs that point more convincingly to the disparity between the higher-ups and the enlisted: rows and rows of orderly arranged soldiers accompany the funeral procession of the general who “died in his sleep,” while the fallen of the battlefield die in anonymity surrounded only by rows of trees; ceremonial wreaths and flowers drape the general’s coffin, mirroring the casual draping of bodies onto the cart at the front; military men in clean and pressed uniforms and civilians with formal top hats and cloaks carry the general’s coffin with care and organized

pomp, while a few comrades in stained uniforms load the battlefield dead unceremoniously onto the wagon; and the white-gloved hands of the men who carry the general's casket contrast with the bare hands of the men who take a break while loading the nameless fallen onto the cart.

The juxtaposition between the treatment of the general and the anonymous war dead contributes to a main argumentative thread that runs through *Krieg dem Kriege!*: according to Friedrich, the pictures in the book should reveal the many lies told about the war, especially the way mass death during the war came to be falsely inscribed in glorifying terms, such as “Feld der Ehre,” “Heldentod,” “Tapferkeit,” or sacrifice for the “Vaterland.” Many of the pictures point to the war's horrors, but a series of before-and-after type juxtapositions that contrast the supposed positives of war service—honor, national pride, camaraderie—with the reality of undignified death in the field exposes the naiveté of the belief in heroic death. To do so, Friedrich imagines connections between photographs that show soldiers before and after their deaths. For example, an enthusiastic group of men mobilizing in August 1914 in one image is reduced to a group of corpses on the “Feld der Ehre” (Figure 3.9) in a second image on the opposite page. Along the same lines, an image showing a group of soldiers enjoying a drink in relative comfort, captioned “Deutsches Soldatenlied: Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen...”, is juxtaposed with a close-up image of a dead soldier, captioned “...sterben wie ein Held” (Figure 3.10). Friedrich takes the before-and-after to an extreme in two further pairs of images by proposing literal connections between the pictured “before” soldiers, happy and alive, and the dead “after” soldiers. A photograph of a smiling man in uniform that is labeled “Vatting als ‘Held’ in Feindesland (Bild für das illustrierte Familienblatt)” is paired with an image on the opposite page that shows a medic examining corpses in the field with the caption “Wie man Vatting zwei Tage später fand. (Bild, das im Familienblatt nicht veröffentlicht wurde)” (Figure 3.11). The same



literalism is used with a staged portrait of a soldier—“Der Stolz der Familie: Eine ‘interessante’, gestellte Photographie”)—and of a dead soldier in the field—“Der Stolz der Familie: (Die Kehrseite des Bildes, einige Wochen später)” (Figure 3.12). There is no easy way to check whether the subjects in the image pairs are actually matches. The task is complicated by the fact that credits for photographs do not appear anywhere in the volume, and the corpses in the “after” photographs are mangled beyond quick recognition, although the man in the second pair of images, if it is the same person, loses his moustache from the first picture to the second. It is likely that Friedrich, who collected his visual material from wherever he could find it and even sends out a request at the end of the book for more images to be sent to him, does not mean for these pictures to have an actual literal connection, and his captions are merely meant to be evocative if not satirical, although the naïve reader may make false assumptions. Like all the photographs in the book, these images are freely decontextualized to work as broad signs of horror. That the “before” pictures show real people who may have been enthusiastic about their war service and who may or may not have died during the war is inconsequential to the significance their portraits can come to bear in Friedrich’s message, when freely combined with images of other dead soldiers and re-contextualized from a strictly black-and-white anti-war position.

The idea of honor through war service and even death comes under further attack in a second type of juxtaposition characteristic of *Krieg dem Kriege!*: that between single image and caption. A picture of a debris- and body-strewn battle landscape is simply captioned “Das ‘Feld der Ehre’” and a similar photograph of bodies in a shallow trench is called “Vergessen...”<sup>250</sup> A ten-page series of photographs showing various mass graves in uncomfortable detail, some

---

<sup>250</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 80–81.

taken so close to their subject that individual faces and genitalia can be easily made out, are combined with sarcastic captions, such as “Heldengrab” and “Fürs Vaterland,” or simple declarations, such as “Das ganze ‘Heldentum’ ist Lüge.”<sup>251</sup> Through such image/text juxtapositions, Friedrich invokes the patriotic rhetoric surrounding the war effort and throws it against the obvious horrors of war documented in photographs. Other positive mentalities of war come under the same scope through the combination of gruesome images and critical captions that use the very words of Germany’s military elite to expose their apparent callousness. A photograph of dozens of dead soldiers is captioned with the quotation “Der Krieg ist ein Element der von Gott eingesetzten Ordnung” from Graf von Moltke, Field Marshall during the Unification Wars<sup>252</sup>; a photograph of skulls abandoned on the battlefield is captioned “Kaiser Wilhelm II.: – ‘Ich führe Euch herrlichen Zeiten entgegen’”<sup>253</sup>; and a photograph of three hanged soldiers is captioned “‘Mit Sentimentalitäten kann man keinen Krieg führen. Je unerbittlicher die Kriegsführung ist, um so menschlicher ist sie in Wirklichkeit’ (Hindenburg).”<sup>254</sup> The damning of such mentalities in *Krieg dem Kriege!* is meant as an exposé of patriotic notions that were assumed by the public without having been able to consider the full extent of the war’s destruction in its visual record. Photographs that were banned from general view during the war are meant now to set that record straight. A pair of photographs (Figure 3.13) showing the terribly deformed and burned bodies of crashed airmen are given captions that highlight how the horrors of war were kept from the public through withholding full information and using euphemisms cloaked in military formality. The first image is captioned, “Zeitungsnotiz: Seine Majestät der Kaiser geruhten, unserem berühmten Fliegerhelden . . . aus Anlaß seines 7.

---

<sup>251</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 113, 115–16.

<sup>252</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 57.

<sup>253</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 77.

<sup>254</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 136.

Luftsieges den Orden ‘Pour le mérite’ (für hervorragende Verdienste) zu verleihen” and, with sarcastic use of quotations marks, the second: “Ein ‘hervorragendes’ Verdienst.”<sup>255</sup>

Although the sarcastic captions of image-and-text juxtapositions most clearly embody Friedrich’s rhetorical acidity and political radicalness, the second main strategy he uses is to let the war’s horrors speak for themselves. He writes in the introduction that much ink has been spilled in both glorifying *and* attacking the war, “Doch aller Wortschatz, aller Menschen, aller Länder, reicht in aller Gegenwart und Zukunft lange nicht, um dieses Menschenschlachten richtig auszumalen.” In the place of words, *Krieg dem Kriege!* offers the “nüchtern-wahre, das gemein-naturgetreue Bild des Krieges [...] photographisch festgehalten.”<sup>256</sup> Photography’s truth-telling capability is unquestioned in Friedrich’s rhetoric; for him, the photographic lens is “unerbittlich” and “unbestechlich,” and “nicht ein einziger Mensch in irgend einem Lande kann aufstehn und gegen diese Photos zeugen, daß sie unwahr und nicht der Wirklichkeit entsprächen.” Beyond simply providing a more accurate or revealing picture of the war than what has been offered by other accounts, the photographs in *Krieg dem Kriege!* are intended to convince the public about the raw horror of war in order to steel them for the broad work of pacifism laid out in Friedrich’s introductory appeal: fighting against capitalism, raising children free from the influence of violence, and preparing for a general strike or refusing to report for military service in the event of a future war. He writes that in the face of certain conflict to come, “Es liegt in *unseren* Händen, unserer Kraft, dies Ungeheuerlichste zu verhüten, zu verhindern.”<sup>257</sup> Although he anticipates that the photographs may convince a general public—

---

<sup>255</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 74–75.

<sup>256</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 5.

<sup>257</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 12.

“Zeigt diese Bilder allen Menschen, die noch denken können!”<sup>258</sup>—it is clear from the rest of his introduction that his appeal to pacifism is aimed squarely at “meinen Brüdern, den Proleten, [...] den Klassenkämpfern.”<sup>259</sup> What effect the shock photographs in the volume had on its audience was likely pre-determined by the reader/viewer’s worldview: those open to the rhetoric of the left would have found confirmation of “Staatsmacht und Gewalt,” as Friedrich calls it, in the many photographs of twisted corpses and mutilated faces, while those who were either un-ideological or displayed the “bürgerliche Ideologie” that Friedrich so detested would likely have been repelled by the radical breaking of taboos entailed in such a frank representation of violence and death and therefore resist the intended effect. Furthermore, as Dora Apel notes in one of the few scholarly treatments of *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Friedrich’s appeal to the “humanist subjectivity of the individual” encapsulated in “idealist, moral outrage” likely doomed its capacity to create a unified collective that could counter nation-building community identities on the right.<sup>260</sup>

The litany of horrors presented in *Krieg dem Kriege!* with simple, identifying captions include: photographs showing the effect of rigor mortis, gas warfare, military executions,<sup>261</sup> starved children, a violated female corpse, and views of non-human physical destruction, including towns, forests, churches, and boats. The last group is not unlike images that appear in other war volumes and do not stand out among a larger archive of war photographs in the way the images of human injury in *Krieg dem Kriege!* do. The book reaches the zenith of its shock factor in a series titled “Das Antlitz des Krieges” that includes only close-up portraits of soldiers whose faces were disfigured during the war, the injuries becoming more gruesome from one

---

<sup>258</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 6.

<sup>259</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 9.

<sup>260</sup> Apel, “Cultural Battlegrounds,” 84.

<sup>261</sup> For a consideration of many of the same and similar execution images from the First World War, see Holzer, *Das Lächeln der Henker*.

page to the next. According to his daughter, Friedrich received the photographs from a Professor Sauerbach at the Berlin Charité hospital.<sup>262</sup> The clinical photographs, which were taken to document the various stages and types of treatment and facial reconstruction, are captioned with personal information (when available), offering readers names, ages, dates of injury, and details about the course of surgeries and other treatments. Unlike the corpses elsewhere in the volume that stand in for the horror of death generally or, as explored earlier, are sometimes connected rhetorically to mismatched living bodies, the subjects in the “Antlitz” series (Figure 3.14) are treated individually and factually. The viewer does not only feel the shock of the pictured wounds but must reckon with the reality of the soldiers who not only have a name but in many cases look directly into the camera—if their eyes are still intact. The straightforward gaze that positioned the head to be useful for clinical analysis is redirected by Friedrich as a plea for empathy. Dora Apel writes of this shift in discourse:

The new practice of medical photography created its own protocols that subordinated the human subject to the dominance of the medical institution. Friedrich, by publishing apparently pirated official institutional photographs, appropriated their medical “truth” in order to create a different kind of truth. He shifted their political role, detaching them from the power of the medical institution in which they were meant to operate, and projected the politics of pacifism. This altered discourse was not based on the assumption of neutral “scientific objectivity” that facilitated the dominance of the medical institution, but was animated by a visceral and moral reaction, a felt sense of horror and victimization that implicated the state and the military for the institution of war and its consequences on the body.<sup>263</sup>

Friedrich employs the photographs of soldier’s faces as a powerful marker of the war’s lingering effects in post-war life. The effect is compounded by the fact that the reality of crippled and injured war veterans was an unmentionable in polite Weimar society; the “Antlitz” series

---

<sup>262</sup> Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 51.

<sup>263</sup> Apel, “Cultural Battlegrounds,” 84.

was therefore an “Einbruch in eine Tabuzone.”<sup>264</sup> The soldier’s scars were not only highly personal and visible signs of the war’s destruction but also marked the injured soldiers in the “Antlitz” series—unlike any other subject pictured in *Krieg dem Kriege!*—as victims caught in the limbo of life and death long after the war ended. Friedrich writes: “Es gibt allein in Deutschland immer noch 48,000 Lazarettinsassen, die weltabgeschieden, fern von ihrer Familie, fern von Freunden und Bekannten dahinleben in der Hoffnung, daß sie vielleicht nach Jahren ein menschenähnliches Aussehen wieder erhalten.”<sup>265</sup> The photographs throw into question the ideas of “Heldentum” and “Feld der Ehre” through the indignity felt by soldiers upon literally losing their face. By considering the perpetually injured, who merely “dahinleben,” Friedrich opens up the war for contemporary scrutiny in a way that is foreclosed by other memorials, such as the war cemeteries that are pictured following the “Antlitz” series. For Friedrich, the question of how society will treat the most grievously injured in the present reflects as much an empathetic concern for victims as it does an impulse to continually agitate the public into reflecting on the unjust nature of war in general.

Considering the controversial nature of *Krieg dem Kriege!*, especially its defamation of German military honor and the images of violence it contained, Friedrich’s volume did generate a scandal upon publication. Like his anti-war museum, the book drew harsh negative responses from patriotic and nationalistic groups. Most telling is the reaction from the Bayerischer Kriegerbund, which complained to the public prosecutor at the regional court in Munich that Friedrich’s book “stellt die bodenloseste niederträchtigste Verleumdung der alten Armee dar und verfolgt durch gemeintendenziöse Gegenüberstellung die Absicht, die alte Armee herabzusetzen

---

<sup>264</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” xii.

<sup>265</sup> Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, 209.

und einzelne Persönlichkeiten derselben verächtlich zu machen.”<sup>266</sup> They entreated the courts to take action to not only ban the book but also destroy extant copies. Furthermore, the book was evidence for them of a cultural divide: “Dass dieses Buch in Berlin bereits die dritte Auflage erreichen konnte, passt zu dem Bilde, das man in Deutschland von der Sumpfatosphäre der Reichshauptstadt hat.”<sup>267</sup> The court ignored their requests, and a second volume was even published in 1926, although it aroused little interest and is difficult to find today; Krumeich suggests the first volume’s account of war calamity was “so umfassend und paradigmatisch ausgeleuchtet, dass weitere Ausführungen im Grunde überflüssig waren.”<sup>268</sup> The economic turnaround likely played a role, too; the “short period of insight”<sup>269</sup> in which the public felt the economic misery of defeat and was willing to think critically about the war’s legacy had passed after the first volume’s publication in 1924.

Although *Krieg dem Kriege!* elicited such strong responses, there is little written debate surrounding the picture book in contemporaneous newspapers and magazines.<sup>270</sup> It was reviewed positively in large left/liberal outlets like *Vorwärts* and the *Berliner Tagesblatt*,<sup>271</sup> and found a broader resonance with reviews in regional newspapers, such as the *Sächsische Volksblatt* and the *Sonntags-Zeitung* in Heilbronn.<sup>272</sup> But this handful of positive reviews marks the limit of the book’s literary sensation. Krumeich writes, “Fragt man nach der Reaktion des Publikums auf *Krieg dem Kriege*, so ergibt sich der merkwürdige Befund, dass dieses Buch zwar offensichtlich

---

<sup>266</sup> Quoted in Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 31.

<sup>267</sup> Quoted in Spree, *Ich kenne keine “Feinde,”* 31.

<sup>268</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” xxxiii.

<sup>269</sup> See Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 56.

<sup>270</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” xxxiii.

<sup>271</sup> See Apel, “Cultural Battlegrounds,” fn. 39.

<sup>272</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” xxxiii–xxxiv.

großes Aufsehen erregte, aber kaum eine schriftliche Auseinandersetzung.”<sup>273</sup> Kurt Tucholsky (alias Ignaz Wrobel) penned the best-known review in *Die Weltbühne*.<sup>274</sup> Unlike the ambivalent reviewer in the *Rote Fahne* who questions Friedrich’s purpose in showing shocking images to the masses, Tucholsky affirms Friedrich’s goals and rhetorical strategies with glowing praise and a plea for his readers to buy many copies of the book.<sup>275</sup> The audience for *Krieg dem Kriege!* should not be confirmed pacifists but those who need convincing most, their enemies—“dieses Grauen kennt ja keiner von denen.”<sup>276</sup> While Friedrich makes a direct appeal to women as the bearers of a future generation disposed to pacifism, Tucholsky takes the matter to the next level and wishes that the effect of the book’s difficult images will entail a physically felt shock: “Und man sollte das Buch auch Frauen zeigen, grade Frauen zeigen. Möglich, daß eine in Ohnmacht fällt. Aber es ist besser, sie fällt beim Anblick eines Buches in Ohnmacht als nach Empfang eines Telegramms aus dem Felde.”<sup>277</sup> In addition to the supposed persuasiveness of the “Grausamkeit,” the photographs offer “Wahrhaftigkeit” and promise to reveal “das wahre Gesicht des Krieges” in a way that not even the most talented writer could.

According to Tucholsky, it is especially important that *Krieg dem Kriege!* reaches as broad a readership as possible in light of pro-war publications being produced by and with support from the Reichsarchiv (explored in the next chapters). He writes:

---

<sup>273</sup> Krumeich, “Ein einzigartiges Werk,” xxxiii.

<sup>274</sup> It is not clear if Tucholsky was discussing the first or second volume, although the review’s publication date of 1926 suggests he may actually have been talking about the less popular second volume.

<sup>275</sup> Friedrich was surely one inspiration for Tucholsky’s own picture book, *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* (1929, with John Heartfield), which combined images and satirical text to critique late Weimar society.

<sup>276</sup> Tucholsky, “Waffe gegen den Krieg,” 312.

<sup>277</sup> Tucholsky, “Waffe gegen den Krieg,” 312.



Und weil im Reichsarchiv, das völlig in den Händen von Kriegspropagandisten ist, niemals eine derartige Publikation gegen den Krieg anzutreffen sein wird, weil dort Anreizerei für den Krieg in der schlimmsten Form eingeständenermaßen betrieben wird –: deshalb soll man sich einer Gegenwaffe bedienen, die die Bemühungen jenes von der Allgemeinheit bezahlten und überflüssigen Instituts lahm legt. Hier ist die Waffe. Wer das sieht und nicht schaudert, der ist kein Mensch, der ist ein Patriot.<sup>278</sup>

More so than any other aspect of his review—which for the most part adds little beyond a glowing affirmation of the book—this final argument by Tucholsky is a critical point in understanding the reception and legacy of Friedrich’s picture book. In addition to a scandal instigated by shocking images (think of the police forcibly removing them from the Anti-Kriegs-Museum’s windows), the book was a challenge to any and all positive war memories that were peddled, as explored in the following chapters, by a range of personally and ideologically motivated former soldiers and their sympathizers. Tucholsky recognized the book’s potential to offend this population when he wrote: “Das böse Gewissen, mit dem die Offiziere und Nationalisten aller Art verhindern und verhindern müssen, dass das wahre Gesicht des Krieges bekannt werde, zeigt, was sie von solchen Veröffentlichungen zu befürchten haben.”<sup>279</sup> While the debate about the book and its photographs may have been limited in the realm of journalism, *Krieg dem Kriege!* engendered a battle to secure the war’s legacy through visual representation and it made the first strong case for photography as a powerful medium of such contests. As mentioned earlier, authors such as Ernst Jünger, Franz Schauwecker, and Hermann Rex responded in kind, asserting the same truth-telling power of photography but to tell different truths. They not only attacked implicitly and explicitly Friedrich and his book, they also sought to correct the dystopic vision of the war embodied in the photographs of violence and death that permeate *Krieg dem Kriege*. Central to that effort was a re-inscription of the meaning of death

---

<sup>278</sup> Tucholsky, “Waffe gegen den Krieg,” 312.

<sup>279</sup> Tucholsky, “Waffe gegen den Krieg,” 312.

during the war that focused on a range of positive notions, such as sacrifice for the nation or the metaphysical transformation of the front-line soldier. Jünger, for one, chose the same title for his military-affirming book *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* as Friedrich gave the portrait series of mutilated soldiers in *Krieg dem Kriege!* In other picture books, death was simply erased from sight (again) or was partitioned off into neat rows of well-kept war cemeteries that preserved German honor while addressing the unavoidable. The final section of *Krieg dem Kriege!*, showing vandalized war cemeteries and the unequal attention paid in memorializing officers and enlisted, highlights the centrality of funerary commemoration in disputes surrounding the war's legacy.

*Krieg dem Kriege!* was not the only pacifist picture book published in Weimar Germany; other notable examples include *Kamerad im Westen: Ein Bericht in 221 Bildern* (1930) and *Wehrlos hinter der Front: Leiden der Völker im Krieg* (1931), both published significantly later by the Frankfurter Societäts-Verlag. But their effect pales in comparison to Ernst Friedrich's radical book, both in terms of the scandal that *Krieg dem Kriege!* aroused and the reverberations it caused in the world of war picture books in the Weimar Republic. In the latter sense, *Krieg dem Kriege!* is the crux for understanding how the picture book genre came to be a major factor in the discourse surrounding war memory and its meaning in the present. Other factors, such as a renewed interest in the war among the reading public during the very late 1920s/early 1930s and the general fascination with photography during the Weimar-era "photo-boom," help prepare the fruitful ground on which many later war picture books were planted, but the rhetorical practices and the terms of debate were set almost half a decade earlier by Friedrich. The picture books that followed his—and which are analyzed in the following chapters—were forced to respond, either

explicitly or implicitly, to the damning account of the war based in the destruction, deformity, and death so passionately exposed and excoriated by Friedrich in *Krieg dem Kriege!*

**Chapter 4. National Rejuvenation and Expunging Defeat: Walter Bloem's *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924* (1924)**

One of the first patriotic picture books not only to connect Germany's war experience to the post-war situation but also to "correct" the gruesome vision of war presented in Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* was *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924* (hereafter *Deutschland*). The volume was published in the same year as Friedrich's book by Otto Stollberg & Co. (Berlin) in cooperation with the Reichsarchiv. The volume's editor remains unnamed, but the book is often credited to Walter Bloem (1868–1951), who wrote its introduction. Bloem plausibly served as the volume's editor, as he had experience and interest in the photo book genre: he produced two volumes of photographs that celebrated Germany's scenic beauties, both with clear nationalist overtones, *An heimischen Ufern* (1912) and *Unvergängliches Deutschland* (1933). Although the editorial decisions in *Deutschland* concerning the photographs (selection, ordering, writing of captions, etc.) cannot be definitively ascribed to Bloem, his introduction to the volume is key in understanding the overall framework through which the photographs are meant to be seen. For Bloem, Germany's greatness was not reduced by its material defeat, and pride for the nation flourishes in a hopeful future characterized by technological and economic might. The volume's hurrah-patriotism expunges all those signs of suffering during the war that saturate Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* and instead pictures the war as a grand drama in which the German spirit prevailed across and against the entire globe. Coupled with this patriotic vision of war is a misleading account of comfort and wealth in the years between 1918 and 1924 that elides another negative consequence of the war, the significant economic misery in the first half decade after the war and before the introduction of the Dawes Plan to stabilize the economy. When one considers Bloem's own war experience as

a member of the privileged officer class, the volume also takes on tones of self-rationalization for the actions of Germany's military during the war. In sum, the titular assertion of "Größe" from 1914–1924—achieved by erasing all negative implications of war and falsely exaggerating a handful of positive aspects—is meant to preserve the honor of the military and the nation. In light of significant challenges to the war's positive legacy in the immediate post-war years, whether from specific publications like Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* or more general conditions of economic and societal instability, the volume strives to foster self-preserving, affirmative memories through an attempt to reinvigorate the Volk with the feelings of pride that were so characteristic of the fever pitch of August 1914. Bloem's introduction, titled "Zehn Jahre Geschichte!," uses the 1924 publication date to explicitly frame the volume's tenth-year anniversary commemoration in the optimistic spirit of 1914 rather than the pessimistic outlook of 1918.

Attention to Bloem's biography illuminates aspects of how his war experience and feelings of nationalism shaped the interpretation evinced in his introduction and then carried throughout *Deutschland*. Walter Bloem was a high-ranking military officer with a long record of service before and during the First World War. A lifelong writer, he became one of the most widely read and financially successful war novelists and dramatists during and after the war. In 1916 Bloem was promoted to the General Staff and tasked with founding and expanding the influential Feldpressestelle,<sup>280</sup> which controlled the shape of opinion on the war through the popular soldier-centered *Feldzeitungen*.<sup>281</sup> The Kaiser, who had read many of his pre-war militaristic and nationalist works, even invited Bloem to personally accompany him on

---

<sup>280</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 49.

<sup>281</sup> Lipp, *Meinunglenkung im Krieg*, 48.

inspection tours during the summer of 1916.<sup>282</sup> Because his patriotic literary works found a broad audience in the fever pitch of 1914's war enthusiasm, Bloem greeted the Weimar Republic as a millionaire.<sup>283</sup> In the post-war years, he remained outside the sphere of party politics, but fashioned himself as an "unbedingter Nationalist," and understood himself foremost as a "Frontkämpfer" who carried the war's legacy.<sup>284</sup> Bloem interpreted the publication of Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1929) as a disgrace towards the legacy of the front soldiers and took the work seriously as a personal insult; he wrote the novel *Frontsoldaten* (1930) as an explicit rebuke of Remarque.<sup>285</sup> In a polemical 1932 open letter responding to Heinrich Mann's explanation of the "World Committee Against War and Fascism," Bloem connected a vehement defense of the literary works of "pro-war" authors with an affirmation of the broad nationalist movement of the late Weimar period:

Wir alle [Autoren] sind weit entfernt, ich wiederhole es, den Krieg zu "beschönigen." Dazu kennen wir ihn zu genau. Aber wer es künftig wagt, unsere heiligsten und gewaltigsten Erinnerungen, den stolzesten und unerschütterlichen Glauben des "Militaristen" und des "Nationalisten" zu bespötteln und zu beschimpfen, der bekommt es mit uns zu tun.

Heute sind wir Gläubigen des Heroismus, wir Vorkämpfer des Vaterlandsgedankens nicht mehr ein verlorener Haufen inmitten einer "Geistigkeit", die unsere Ideale in den Schmutz trifft. Um uns schart sich ein erwachendes Volk.<sup>286</sup>

Although initially espousing philosemitic and anti-Nazi views during the early and middle Weimar years, such as in his book *Brüderlichkeit* (1922), Bloem drifted closer and closer to the National Socialist camp, spurred in part by the left's attack on the war's legacy.<sup>287</sup> By 1933, he

---

<sup>282</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 49.

<sup>283</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 53.

<sup>284</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 66, 53.

<sup>285</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 68.

<sup>286</sup> Quoted in Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 72.

<sup>287</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 58, 68. Other reasons for Bloem's shift to the radical right include his family's dire financial situation after the 1929 stock market crash, exclusion among his leftist

was greeting the Third Reich with “unbändiger Freude und grenzenlosem Dank,” as he wrote.<sup>288</sup> He joined 87 other authors in signing the 1933 “Gelöbnis treuester Gefolgschaft” to Hitler and on several occasions received personal preferential treatment from Goebbels, although his literary and political influence never reached the same zenith as during the era before, during, and immediately after the First World War.<sup>289</sup>

Following the reasoning of Bloem’s contemporary Carl von Ossietzky, a pacifist and Nobel Laureate in 1935 for his work exposing Germany illegal’s rearmament and extrajudicial “Femegerichte” murders by the so-called Black Reichswehr during the Weimar Republic, the biographer Peter Stauffer labels Bloem a political opportunist.<sup>290</sup> The sea change that occurred between an apolitical work by Bloem like *Der Weltbrand* (1922), which called for a post-war national reconciliation and explicitly included the proletariat and Jews, and the Nazi apologetics of *Unvergängliches Deutschland* (1933), is just one piece of evidence for the obvious radicalization of Bloem that turned him from a “gutgläubige[n] Verfechter der Menschlichkeit” to a “blindgläubige[n] Verfechter der Unmenschlichkeit,” as Stauffer critically writes.<sup>291</sup>

Bloem’s support for National Socialism, whether as a political opportunist or a dyed-in-the-wool nationalist, is outside the scope of his 1924 introduction to *Deutschland*, but it does serve to highlight the volume’s relatively subtle political nature. At the time of its publication, Bloem would have been concerned primarily with defending the war’s legacy, a personal crusade he shared with the volume’s central supporter and collaborator, the Reichsarchiv. According to his diary, in the immediate post-war years Bloem claims to have been far more upset by the lack

---

journalism colleagues in Berlin, and a gradual abandonment of his earlier philosemitism after it found little resonance with his reading public (Stauffer 65–66).

<sup>288</sup> Quoted in Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 75.

<sup>289</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 80–85.

<sup>290</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 78–79.

<sup>291</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 83.

of thanks shown to the returning troops and the disdain directed at the officer class to which he belonged than any change in Germany's political reality; the physical injuries he sustained during the war were a burden far more easily managed than post-war criticisms of the military.<sup>292</sup> Accordingly, in his introduction to *Deutschland*, there is no overt engagement in any of the party politicking, which runs through other nationalist picture books of *Deutschland*'s ilk and which defines his later work during the Third Reich.

Nevertheless, Bloem's war service, his first-hand witnessing of the November Revolution, and his front-row view in Berlin of major political moments of the Weimar Republic make him a significant literary witness to the mentalities of nationalist circles before, during, and after the war.<sup>293</sup> He writes with the authority of such a witness in *Deutschland*'s introduction of the turbulent decade from the war's begin in 1914 to the present-day of 1924. Although he perceives the First World War as a sort of penance for Germany's "Überschwang des Selbstgefühls" of the late 1800s<sup>294</sup>—a complicated issue for an author like him who actively contributed to it—he uses patriotic rhetoric to champion pride after the humiliating and debilitating war defeat and even refers to the years 1914–1924 as Germany's "stolzeste[s] Lebensjahrzehnt[]." It was "Deutschland wider die Welt!" but—in a phrase repeated multiple times throughout the introduction—"wir zerfielen nicht."<sup>295</sup> The military may have been beaten back by the Entente's "Überwucht" and the "Übermacht," yet the Volk is not only entitled to but also obliged to maintain the highest feelings of pride.<sup>296</sup>

---

<sup>292</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 53–54.

<sup>293</sup> Stauffer, *Walter Bloem*, 5.

<sup>294</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 6.

<sup>295</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 5.

<sup>296</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 6.



Bloem's patriotic vision of the war is not limited to commemoration of the past but also serves nationalist goals in the present. His introduction states explicitly the nation-building aim of the book:

Es wendet sich an jeden, aber auch an jeden Volksgenossen. Denn aus dem Gesamtgeschehen, dessen Betrachtung dieses Werk gewidmet ist, spricht keine Lehre klarer und erschütternder zu uns als diese: es ist dem Menschen unserer Tage nicht vergönnt ein Einzelleben zu führen.<sup>297</sup>

Bloem's historical reduction of the war to the phrase "Deutschland wider die Welt!" legitimizes his call for a new "Gemeinschaft" to reawaken the nation. He discounts a humanitarian vision of "Menschheit" and the international cooperation of "Europa" and instead envisions a different "Gemeinschaft" that will justify the war's legacy: "das Volk, dessen Sprache wir sprechen, dessen Wesen dem unsern Prägung und Richtung gab, dessen Gedeihen die Wurzel unseres gesicherten Glückes ist, dessen Not und Untergang die Vernichtung unseres seelischen und körperlichen Daseins bedeuten müßte."<sup>298</sup> Just as Ernst Friedrich likely saw the entanglement of military power and economics in the early 1920s as an omen for possible future war, Bloem also understood Germany's post-war situation as an existential threat, although his response is much different. While Friedrich worked to stem future conflict through international cooperation and reconciliation, Bloem beat the drums of nationalism by reinvigorating patriotism and advancing military-affirmative views of the war. In this light, *Deutschland* is largely focused on presenting the German spirit's strength in war and the economic and technological support it would have if needed for a future war. Of course Bloem could not have foreseen in 1924 the Second World War, but the sense of crisis that pervaded the early Weimar era, to say nothing of post-war

---

<sup>297</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 7.

<sup>298</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 7.

revanchist movements, were likely influences on Bloem's sense of urgency in "reawakening" the Volk from its post-war slumber.

The exact effects of defeat are largely elided in Bloem's introduction. Disarmament, the Ruhr occupation, and the fact that other countries oppress Germany, which is only accepted with "ein zähnenknirschendes Ja," are some of the few specific targets of his bitterness. Despite Germany's "beispiellos unglückliche[r], tragische[r], blut- und tränengetränkte[r] nationale[r] Geschichte," it retains its noble character.<sup>299</sup> The book's aim is to remind readers of those titular qualities—"Größe" and "Hoffnung"—that draw the Volk together in pride for the nation. Bloem claims that after a brief post-war period of "lähmende[r] Übermüdung" and an existence spent "in halbem Traume," the Germans are beginning to reawaken to their fate:

"[E]in klares Merkzeichen solcher seelischen Verarbeitung und Bewältigung unseres Schicksals ist das elementare Bedürfnis der Deutschen, das ungeheure Erlebnis dieses fabelhaften Jahrzehnts in Wort und Bild gefaßt, noch einmal nachsinnend, gedenkend, in Ernst und Treue, in Glauben und Bejahung zu durchleben."<sup>300</sup>

Bloem explicitly connects the newfound feeling of national pride and meaning in the post-war era with a conscious effort to remember and make sense of the war experience, an enterprise to which the present picture book is just one contributor, as he notes. Remembering the two million German war dead—a portion of the book's profits were even donated to the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge—is part and parcel of accepting the "Schicksal" handed to Germany after the war, a fate that entails defeat but preserves honor. Accepting the facts of the post-war situation while reaffirming German greatness ensures that "Deutschland lebt." Bloem asserts that "wir" want to regain the lost belief in greatness, a belief that can be redeemed and bolstered by simply looking back on the honorable war effort. Recalling the war experience will serve as the

---

<sup>299</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 6.

<sup>300</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 6–7.

“Wegweiser und Kamerad [...] durch die dunklen Schattenpfade hindurch, die zu wandeln [Deutschland] unentrinnbar beschieden ist.”<sup>301</sup> The exact characteristics of these “Schattenpfade” are left to the imagination of the reader, who would supply the necessary connotation with first-hand knowledge about the physical and existential suffering after 1918.

Aspects representing Germany’s titular “greatness” and “hope” are more clearly presented in the book’s photographs. Around 80 pages of images are divided into three sections:

“Deutschland vor dem Kriege,” “Deutschland im Kriege,” and “Deutschland nach dem Kriege.”

A strict uniformity in the presentation of photographs persists throughout. Photographs are reproduced either two to a page at a size of 3.75 x 6in. or occupy the entire page, more often than not turned on their side, at a size of 6 x 8.5in. A thin black line around each photograph provides a simple frame. These details are significant for the book’s reverential style, especially in comparison to other picture books that are more playful with the genre, cropping photographs at non-rectangular angles or overlaying images in collage. The volume’s captions employ no irony, sarcasm, or hyperbole; instead, they maintain a simple style that briefly identifies what is pictured. There are only a few instances that deviate from this neutral style, most of which are to praise the military. The “message” of the photographs in the book must therefore be read through attention to what is pictured (and what is not) and to the threads running between images, created through the selection and ordering of photographs.

The middle section showing Germany during the war covers 60 pages, over three-fourths of the volume’s length. It is also the most diverse section in terms of subject matter, as the predominant focus in both the first and last sections is on industrial might. The first section showing pre-war Germany provides glimpses of its technological innovation: the Hamburg

---

<sup>301</sup> Bloem, “Zehn Jahre Geschichte,” 7.

America Line passenger ship *Imperator* (the largest of its kind at the time) towers over other ships in a smoky harbor (Figure 4.1); an imposing Zeppelin enters its hangar flanked by a crowd of tiny observers (Figure 4.2); and two aerial photographs show the sprawling factory complexes of the Borsigwerke in Berlin-Tegel and the Königs- und Laurahütte in Upper Silesia (Figure 4.3). These photographs celebrate German industry through the towering presence of its physical products and facilities.

In an image in the pre-war section, the vaulted ceilings of the Krupp steel factory in Essen (Figure 4.4) appear as a modern-day cathedral in which the workers are busy casting steel. The ovens around the factory floor's periphery and the chunks of molten metal carried by the workers are the only source of light in the dark scene, and a crowd of workers assembles around a plume of ghostly smoke rising to the rafters in the middle of the expansive hall. The sum of these visual details creates a sense of visual splendor and mystery, as if the viewer is invited to glimpse some sort of modern-day, arcane ritual of man's mastery over machinery. On closer inspection, however, the image reveals itself as a painting, not a photograph. Its realistic style and lack of credit to its creator are sufficient enough to fool the undiscerning page-turner. Although captioned "Die Waffenschmiede, Krupp-Essen 1910," the work is originally titled "Tiegelstahlguss im alten Schmelzbau bei Krupp."<sup>302</sup> It was painted in 1912 by Otto Bollhagen, a turn-of-the-century artist known for his industrial landscapes, who was commissioned by the Krupp company and other firms to create flattering images of their factories.<sup>303</sup> While Bollhagen painted other views of the Krupp weapon works,<sup>304</sup> the painting in the *Deutschland* picture book

---

<sup>302</sup> The image was identified with the help of a reverse image search on Google Images.

<sup>303</sup> Grütter et al., *200 Jahre Krupp*, 164.

<sup>304</sup> See sample of his other work in Türk, *Bilder der Arbeit*, 373.

is not of “Die Waffenschmiede” but is presented as such to show how Germany’s manufacturing power was engaged for war.

Even photographs that do not primarily showcase industrial strength through physical size attest to German technological superiority and global reach before the war. This applies especially to the two-page spreads of photographs captioned “Die deutschen Kolonien” and “Deutschlands Schifffahrt.” Germany’s prewar colonies, which were revoked as a condition of surrender in a massive blow to national pride, are shown in photographs of a “Landesausstellung” in Windhoek that showcased modern wind-powered water pumps and other agricultural machinery and in an image of Qindao that features its modern shipyard and its “18,000 Tons-Dock.”<sup>305</sup> A photograph of the “Telefunkenstation in Kamina (Togo)” (Figure 4.5) combines the rapidly developing broadcast technology with Germany’s imperial ambitions: the photograph is a group portrait of around a hundred Togolese men, the majority of whom are half-naked, in front of the Telefunken station steps; at the top of the steps, seven white men in dress shirts and trousers hold power over the horde of black “primitives” beneath them. The image recalls the pernicious intersection of photography, racism, and wartime propaganda apparent in the treatment of minority POWs and colonial “subjects.”<sup>306</sup> German global influence and technological modernization is represented also in photographs of its shipping industry, such as the previously mentioned image of the *Imperator*. The focus of photographs showing “Deutsche Schifffahrt” is largely on the Hamburg America Line (Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Actien-Gesellschaft or HAPAG), with photographs of the Hamburg harbor and the St. Pauli piers, as well as the HAPAG pier in Hoboken, New Jersey, and the German pier in Manila, the

---

<sup>305</sup> *Deutschland*, 16–17.

<sup>306</sup> See Riesz, “Afrikanische Kriegsgefangene.” Riesz considers picture books not discussed in this study, including the racist propaganda book *Der Völkerzirkus unserer Feinde* (ca. 1916) by Leo Frobenius.

Philippines. “Verkehr und Technik” are embodied by a picture of new maritime locks on the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal (today the Kiel Canal).<sup>307</sup>

Pictures of people figure less prominently than technology in the pre-war series, with the exceptions of two snapshots of “Die alte Armee” during training exercises and a photograph of “Unsere Schutztruppen” in German South West Africa.<sup>308</sup> This focus in subject matter shifts immediately in the next section on Germany during the war, where the first photographs show crowds of people caught up in the war enthusiasm of 1914 and “Der Aufmarsch” of troops into Belgian territory.<sup>309</sup> The initial military success on the Western Front is represented by columns of German troops marching triumphantly into Brussels and Bruges, the destroyed cityscapes of the captured Longwy and Leuven, and a destroyed fort at Diksmuide. Such pictures of German-caused destruction are un-ironically presented next to those of “Die Leiden Ostpreußens” that show “Ueberreste eines verbrannten Dorfes” as a result of the war in the east with Russia.<sup>310</sup>

The scope of the series widens to include all fronts pictured from land, sea, and even air, as two “Fliegeraufnahmen” over Egypt and Jerusalem (Figure 4.6) show. (In a mistake that attests to inexperience with understanding the perspective of such aerial shots, the photograph of Jerusalem is reproduced upside-down in the book.) The novel photographs taken from airplanes—the aerial picture of Egypt shows the pyramids of Giza, entirely unrelated to the war—typify the selection criteria used to choose which photographs would represent the war. The series’ photographs jump arbitrarily from one locale to another, albeit in rough chronological fashion, to present a visually exciting war account. Although there are relatively few photographs of combat, a sense of adventure is established through the wide geographical

---

<sup>307</sup> *Deutschland*, 20–22.

<sup>308</sup> *Deutschland*, 12–13.

<sup>309</sup> *Deutschland*, 27–30.

<sup>310</sup> *Deutschland*, 30–35.

scope. The result is a narrative of German troops successfully traversing the world and conquering most everything in their path.

The trench warfare so characteristic of the public's understanding today, and which was also central to the contemporary narratives of other nationalist war picture books, such as those edited by Franz Schauwecker and Ernst Jünger, is outweighed by a sense of movement and progress in *Deutschland*. The military's initial, quick success conquering territory in Belgium and western France, which is presented in some of the first photographs in the series, is parlayed into a sense of progress throughout the section. Although photographs of the trenches on the Western Front are present (see Figure 4.7), they are few in number and are immediately offset by photographs connoting motion and attesting to apparent war conquest, like those of the "Vormarsch" into Poland (Figure 4.8). The book's visual representation of the war, even in its end stages, centers on the success of war exploits around the world through its focus on German troops (and cavalry, ships, and airplanes) in a wide range of geographical locations, the repetitive use of "action" words like "Vormarsch," "Anmarsch," "Einzug," and "Einnahme" in the captions, and the trope of conquering the landscape with technical expertise to advance the war cause.

The connection between Germany's technological power and its global reach, which the first section on the pre-war era establishes, is continued in the photographs representing the war effort. It is reflected in pictures of Germany's advanced naval forces, with pictures of "Torpedoboote" stationed in the Libau (Liepaja, Latvia) harbor and the "Heldengeschwader" fleet of armored cruisers under Maximilian von Spee,<sup>311</sup> the leader of the East Asian Squadron that traversed the Pacific in 1914–1915. Although not labeled as such, the image of Spee's

---

<sup>311</sup> *Deutschland*, 37.

squadron shows the fleet leaving Valparaiso, Chile, shortly after the Battle of Coronel,<sup>312</sup> the first German victory over the British Royal Navy since the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>313</sup> A dynamic photograph of “U-Boot 35 vor Perasto” (Figure 4.9) shows a sailor standing atop the deck of a U-Boot as it approaches the idyllic town of Perast in Montenegro’s scenic Bay of Kotor region. The sailor in the foreground looms over the small town in the distance, a harbinger of German mastery by sea over the provincial Entente-aligned kingdom. Photographs of the commerce-raiding submarine SM *U-9*, the blockade-breaking Handels-U-Boot *Deutschland*, and the occupation of the Estonian island of Saaremaa (German: Ösel) by the navy round out the trope.<sup>314</sup> A photograph of the SMS *Emden*, wrecked following a 1914 skirmish with the British in the Cocos Islands, is the only suggestion of German susceptibility, although due to its exceptional war service prior to its beaching, the *Emden* was one of only two ships (along with SM *U-9*) that were awarded the Iron Cross and retained a high level of public recognition and honor in defeat.

In the same way the volume emphasizes how German ships apparently conquered the high seas, it repeats how civil engineering on land enabled the advance of German troops, again drawing attention to the war effort’s positive aspects. This is the case for a photograph of an 804m-long railway bridge constructed by German forces, part of a two-page spread of photographs on the “Vormarsch” into Poland (see Figure 4.8). The caption labels the engineering feat a “Meisterwerk unserer Pioniere.” Another photograph of the reconstruction of destroyed streets in the wasteland of the Western Front in Bapaume, France, is not especially dynamic in terms of visual composition but contributes to the implicit claim of German technology

---

<sup>312</sup> “NH 59638.”

<sup>313</sup> Sondhaus, *The Great War at Sea*, 79.

<sup>314</sup> *Deutschland*, 58, 63, 65.



overcoming circumstance made throughout the series. The same assessment applies to a rather mundane image of a wooden bridge under construction over the Argeş River outside Bucharest. The photograph below it shows the work's logical conclusion and symbolic importance: German troops muster for a ceremonial guard mounting in occupied Bucharest.<sup>315</sup>

Although the technologically advanced warships and submarines can be understood as a type of superiority through weaponry, German might is represented in *Deutschland* more saliently in the geographical spread of military forces across the globe. One picture of English flamethrowers and another of a destroyed English tank are the only indications of the role that new weaponry played in the war, but the technology is cast as being the enemy's sole property.<sup>316</sup> This fits with the popular revisionist claim that Germany remained “im Felde unbesiegt” and was beaten only by the sheer “Überwucht”—as the volume's introduction calls it—of the Entente's resources. Instead of drawing attention to the reasons for defeat, which must include to some extent material disadvantages, the volume preserves German honor by shifting its focus of subject matter.

The capture of major European cities is one motif throughout the war series that attests to success during the war while avoiding a necessary reckoning with defeat on the Western Front. Like those photographs of the capture of Brussels, Bruges, and Bucharest already mentioned above, the volume includes photographs that show German forces in major cities like Warsaw, Brest, Kiev, Kharkiv, and Helsinki. The photograph of “Warschau in deutschem Besitz” (see Figure 4.8) points to the symbolic victories the book emphasizes. Unlike other photographs, such as that of Bucharest, for instance, which shows troops lining up for review on a city square, the image of Warsaw contains no obvious visual connection to the military, and there is no

---

<sup>315</sup> *Deutschland*, 54.

<sup>316</sup> *Deutschland*, 59, 61.

indication, besides its inclusion in this series, that the photograph has anything to do with the war or was even taken during the German occupation. The image shows only a rather idyllic view of the Łazienki Palace (built in 1689), its façade framed by luscious trees and reflected in the pond to its north. This cultural treasure of the Polish Baroque, which lies at the heart of the major park of the same name in central Warsaw, serves as a visual stand-in for the larger enterprise of German war success. The conquered palace does not represent any sort of tactical victory—the palace was not an important strategic position—but is pictured to stress a symbolic victory. Adding to the list of smaller locales like Perast and Saaremaa mentioned previously, the book also includes photographs of Liège, Przemyśl, Prilep, Ternopil, Bapaume, and Peronne, cities around Europe that fell to German occupation. Such a focus on the worldwide engagement of Germany’s military not only accentuates the more easily pictured victories (which are symbolically if not tactically important) but echoes the introductory claim of “Deutschland wider die Welt!”<sup>317</sup> a claim also found in other nationalist picture books, such as *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns* by Wilhelm Reetz with Werner Beumelburg.

Many of the strands that run through the series on the war, including mastery over nature, the global impact of Germany’s military, a sense of war as adventure, and the German spirit’s triumph, are combined in a telling pair of images (Figure 4.10). Positioned on the opposite page from two images of defensive forts in Przemyśl (Poland) and Brest (Belarus) that German forces reduced to rubble are two photographs of German soldiers at the peaks of mountains in the “Waldkarpathen,” a northern section of the Eastern Carpathian Mountain Range that lies mostly in Ukraine. The bottom photograph shows two smiling soldiers perched atop a pillar of rock that extends upwards from the mountain top. Considering the steep cliff and rough terrain they

---

<sup>317</sup> Bloem, “Zehn Jahre Geschichte,” 5.

navigated to reach the position high above the surrounding landscape, theirs is an apparent feat of daring. Their relaxed poses and smiling faces, however, suggest a natural talent for overcoming such obstacles and an inclination for adventure, even in the face of considerable danger. The photograph's capacity to document historically significant information about the war is limited. But that is not the image's purpose, nor, it should be argued, the purpose of the volume generally. The photograph is part and parcel of the volume's subjective war portrayal that carefully curates its contents for an ideological bent. Far more significant than the fact that two soldiers climbed to the top of a rocky outcrop is the act's symbolic nature. It serves as a metaphorical representation of the spiritual triumph that lies at the heart of many patriotic-nationalist war accounts.

The other photograph on the page can be understood in the same vein, but it recalls even more layered connotations about German nationalism. The image seems to have been taken at the same locale as the first or at a similar one in the Carpathians. The camera catches a German soldier from behind, who overlooks the mountainous landscape from a seated position. His arm is resting on his knee and his hand under his chin, a pose that is not unlike Rodin's famous sculpture of *The Thinker*, with the exception that the soldier does not stare down pensively at the ground before him, but looks forward confidently to survey his surroundings. The soldier represents many of the same spiritual qualities as his two rock-climbing counterparts, but the spirit he embodies is less adventurous than it is reflective. The photograph can be better elucidated with reference to a second work of art, the Romantic painting *Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* (1818) by Caspar David Friedrich. The obvious visual similarities that the two works share—the rocky terrain, the hazy mountainscape, the figures viewed from behind, the vertical orientation, etc.—are not the only reason a comparison between the photograph and Friedrich's

painting is apt. By sharing in visual likeness, the photograph activates the political resonances that are fundamental to Friedrich's oeuvre and shaped its reception as nationalist (in a broad sense) in the pre-war Wilhelmine era.

Although the enigmatic nature of his paintings has made him one of the most debated nineteenth-century German artists, Friedrich and his work must be considered from his political and ideological worldview.<sup>318</sup> Not just a Romantic painter, Friedrich actively incorporated politics into his compositions through symbols and allegory, revealing a position that was vehemently opposed to the occupation of Germany by France under Napoleon and that strongly supported the German Campaign of 1813 that drove out the French. In this sense, Friedrich must be understood as “ein vaterländisch-demokratischer und zugleich nordisch-protestantischer Maler [...], für den die nationale Revolutionsstimmung zwischen 1806 und 1815 das zentrale geistige, religiöse und politische Erlebnis seines Lebens war, und der in seiner Bildgebung ständig darauf reflektierte.”<sup>319</sup> His work found broad resonance during the wars of liberation for its affirmative portrayal of a “nationaldemokratische[] Sehnsucht nach einem deutschen Einheitsstaat.”<sup>320</sup>

Friedrich's political viewpoint made his paintings undesirable after the Congress of Vienna (1815), which shifted the political atmosphere in Germany as the major conservative powers of Europe opposed any national-revolutionary movements and “restored” the continent to the monarchical rule of the pre-French Revolution era. Although Friedrich died poor and bitter in 1840, his work was rediscovered in the early 1900s and was quickly coopted by nationalist reactionaries during the Wilhelmine period. While art historians debated the significance of

---

<sup>318</sup> Hermand, *Politische Denkbilder*, 15, 19.

<sup>319</sup> Hermand, *Politische Denkbilder*, 32.

<sup>320</sup> Hermand, *Politische Denkbilder*, 16.

Friedrich's often foggy and cloudy scenes in paving the way for Impressionism, nationalist circles championed his work for its underlying patriotic, political message, while eliding parts of Friedrich's worldview that were humanistic and democratic.<sup>321</sup> A bull market for his paintings arose especially in the year 1913, the hundred-year anniversary of the German Campaign, as nationalist voices pushed Friedrich's work in the service of pre-war "imperialistische Stimmungsmache" against the French.<sup>322</sup>

The history of Friedrich's reception in the Wilhelmine era makes it likely that viewers of the photograph of the soldier on the mountain in the *Deutschland* picture book would have understood the visual similarities it shares with Friedrich's *Wanderer* and be receptive to the transposition of patriotic sentiments from the German Campaign of 1813 to the world war. For example, the nationalist Altdeutsche Tracht of Friedrich's wanderer in 1818, one clear indication of the painter's national-democratic political standpoint,<sup>323</sup> is replaced by the uniform of a First World War soldier, which retained a different nationalist connotation in 1924, when pro-republican veteran's groups like the Reichsbanner were hesitant to don their uniforms for fear of appearing militaristic. Even the sense of uncertainty that Friedrich personally faced after 1815 in Germany, and which is reflected in the foggy expanse that stretches out before his *Wanderer*, can be translated to the post-war era. The editors of *Deutschland* likely saw a reflection of their own political situation in Friedrich's *Wanderer*, which combined intense national pride with uncertainty about Germany's future, for Friedrich during the so-called Concert of Europe, and for the editors following the turbulence of the immediate post-war years in the Weimar Republic.

---

<sup>321</sup> Hermand, *Politische Denkbilder*, 17, 35.

<sup>322</sup> Hermand, *Politische Denkbilder*, 17.

<sup>323</sup> Hermand, *Politische Denkbilder*, 30.

The photograph of the reflective soldier in the Carpathians was an obvious choice to tie Germany's effort during the First World War to these layers of meaning.

As stated before, the pair of photographs showing German soldiers at the top of mountains in the Carpathians, although not a representation of significant historical events during the war, has clear political and aesthetic resonances indicative of mentalities of post-war nationalism. The same must be said for the way that *Deutschland* handles the unavoidable matter of death during the war. While the volume includes examples of vast physical destruction through photographs such as those of devastated city scenes or locales near the Western Front in the districts of Ypres, Bapaume, or Peronne, its presentation of dead soldiers is typical for patriotic picture books of its sort. Death is recognized openly by *Deutschland*, and is indeed a critical impulse for admonishing readers to remember the war, but the metonymy of war graves masks the horrors of war; photographs of dead or injured soldiers are nowhere to be found. Three of the four photographs presenting cemeteries in the "Deutschland im Kriege" series (none are shown in the post-war series) give an orderly, dignified sense of dying during the war. A small military cemetery, the Sacratio Militare Di Pian Dei Salesei, is carefully built into the idyllic mountainous countryside of the Italian Dolomites (Figure 4.11). The photograph is labeled simply "Militärkirchhof von Pian di Salasei (Provinz Trento) mit 900 Gräbern." Although initially administered under Austro-Hungarian authority, the cemetery is actually the final resting place for far more Entente-aligned Italian soldiers.<sup>324</sup> Despite the factual absence of any clear tie to the German war effort and German pride, its neat rows of well-maintained graves and the sublime scenery of its location, accentuated by the camera's viewpoint, contribute to a white-washed idea of death avoiding any information that might tarnish a positive image of war honor.

---

<sup>324</sup> "Sacro Militare di Pian di Salesei."

On the same page the photograph that accompanies that of the Italian cemetery is also of a war graves site. One simple headstone stands at the head of a small square area covered in gravel and marked off by short stone pillars connected to each other with metal chains. Like the Italian cemetery, the grave site is orderly and dignified, and the photograph is framed so that the site is the only discernible man-made intrusion in the wide expanse of flat Jutland countryside. The surrounding landscape's vastness heightens the spiritual overtones of the pictured cemetery, and the caption connects the dead to acts of heroism worthy of eternal devotion: the photograph is labeled "Ruhestätte der Helden aus der Skagerrak-Schlacht bei Skagen." Not only is the caption one of the few examples in the volume where text adds meaning to an image that goes beyond mere identification, its effect is also not limited to the one photograph, but is applied to the photograph of the Italian military graveyard above it. That first photograph has a simple identifying caption that nevertheless withholds key information about who exactly is buried there and leaves the meaning of the photograph's inclusion in the volume open to interpretation. The caption of the latter photograph, which is marked as a German cemetery through its praise of the "Helden" of the Battle of Jutland, therefore extends its connotation to the photograph of the Italian cemetery, so that those readers who were not intimately familiar with the history of one small Italian mountainside cemetery would mistake it to be the scenic final resting place of German war heroes. The error is enticed through the juxtaposition of photographs and the less-than-forthright use of captions, but it is also undergirded by the volume's fundamental focus on Germany's war effort across the globe; a later photograph showing orderly "Deutsche Fliegergräber in Nazareth" (Figure 4.12) reinforces the assumption that Germans found honorable burials all over the world.

The last photograph of war graves is largely incongruous with the ones that precede it. Although it shares the same impulse “[z]um Gedenken,” as the caption states, the image of “Kriegergräber an der Westfront” (Figure 4.13) draws in the violent reality of trench warfare more so than any other image in the book. The photograph shows several makeshift graves, low mounds of gravel marked by simple wooden crosses, at the bottom of an unnatural crater amidst the ruined landscape of the Western Front. Rubble and man-made debris litter the scene, and one solitary soldier stands in the middle distance, perhaps the caretaker of the area or someone just passing through. The photograph lends gravity to one of the volume’s central impulses: the importance of commemorating fallen soldiers. Although its depiction of devastation contrasts with the neat and orderly picture of the war that the volume cultivates, it is not matched with a particular name or other identifying information and therefore can only signify a general sense of death. Like all the pictures of war graves in the volume, it recalls the common practice of sending photographs of grave markers to family members of fallen soldiers. Such a practice, as the editors of *Das Bild: Monatschrift für photographische Bildkunst* wrote in July 1918, served as a “Milderung des Schmerzes,” and grave photographs were seen as “eine wertvolle Urkunde und Andenken” for “Familien, von denen ein Mitglied den Heldentod fand.”<sup>325</sup> Re-contextualized in the *Deutschland* volume, the practice of showing grave photographs is still intended to evince the soldiers’ “Heldentod”; however, it has been twisted for reasons beyond familial remembrance, as the signified of the headstones’ signifier has been extended to the entire German “family”: the nation.

In comparison to the image of improvised graves on the Western Front, the few other photographs that show trenches do not impart the same sense of real danger or unglamorous

---

<sup>325</sup> “Grabphotographien,” 49.



violence enacted on German bodies. This can be ascribed to several circumstances of the photographs' creation. First, the majority of trench views were taken from an improbable camera position that would be entirely unsafe for the photographer, had the photograph not been staged after the fact or taken during training exercises.<sup>326</sup> Such is the case for “In den Vogesen / Deutsche Schützengraben,”<sup>327</sup> “Stellungskrieg im Westen / Ausbesserungen am Drahtverhau,”<sup>328</sup> or “Das Ringen im Westen / Sturmabteilung geht durch den Drahtverhau” (Figure 4.14), in which the photographer catches other soldiers ducking down to avoid the enemy's rifle scope, while standing openly himself in a vulnerable position above the scene to take the photograph. Other examples, such as “Die Abwehr / Verlassener russischer Schützengraben” and “Bapaume-Arras / Gestürmte englische Linie” combine the same camera perspective with the explicit indication that the photograph was made long after the referenced action posed any real danger.<sup>329</sup> Two other images, captioned “Die Kämpfe in Frankreich 1916 / Schützengrabenstellungen im Winter,” are taken from a more inconspicuous perspective close to the ground, but they only show the still surface area of a wide swath of landscape intersected by trenches, effectively masking all the less palatable details of trench warfare.<sup>330</sup>

Just one photograph in the entire volume shows a form of action that cannot be immediately dismissed as having been staged or taken from a safe temporal distance. “Zwischen Reims und Laon / Im Sturm vorgehende Abteilung” (Figure 4.15) shows several soldiers advancing up an incline through a tangle of barbed wire that is unlike the orderly set-up used for

---

<sup>326</sup> Such “faking” practices were common among both amateur and official photographers (Arendes, “Wirklichkeitsbilder,” 37).

<sup>327</sup> *Deutschland*, 30.

<sup>328</sup> *Deutschland*, 68.

<sup>329</sup> *Deutschland*, 35, 70.

<sup>330</sup> *Deutschland*, 49.

training pictured elsewhere in the volume.<sup>331</sup> The camera's perspective, anchored on the ground and looking upwards, and an unfocused object blocking a large portion of the photograph's foreground suggest an improvised snapshot taken during actual combat. (Although German soldiers were prohibited from using their personal cameras during combat, written reports and the body of photographic evidence reveal that officers did not enforce the rule uniformly.<sup>332</sup>) The photograph imparts a heightened sense of authenticity because of its close proximity to "real" combat and its obvious "shot-from-the-hip" visual style. But this type of documentary authenticity only applies to the volume's claim that one can (and should) re-experience the past, and it is largely incongruent with the volume's overall intended message. The combat photograph, like that of the improvised trench graves, invites reflection on the harsher realities of death during the war, although the volume as a whole works to elide the horrors of that death in the service of an affirmative national patriotism.

The two photographs introduce a significant source of friction in remembering and celebrating the war that inheres in most patriotic picture books of this sort: the impulse to remember the war triumphantly always runs up against the horrors of the war experience. In the case of *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung*, the way around this roadblock is to ignore the more shocking details. Bloem's introduction invites its readers to recall and relive the past "noch einmal nachsinnend, gedenkend, in Ernst und Trauer, in Glauben und Bejahung,"<sup>333</sup> but the photographic selection makes clear such an endeavor is intended to be largely one of "Glauben und Bejahung." Although it mentions the number of German soldiers who were killed in an appeal to remember the war, Bloem's introduction does not dwell on the grim details of

---

<sup>331</sup> Compare the photograph captioned "Das Ringen im Westen / Sturmabteilung geht durch den Drahtverhau," *Deutschland*, 73.

<sup>332</sup> Dewitz, "German Snapshots," 154.

<sup>333</sup> Bloem, "Zehn Jahre Geschichte," 7.

death. For instance, the closest Bloem comes to addressing the devastation of war is when he speaks of “[der] ausgeblutete[] Körper unseres jungen Reiches.”<sup>334</sup> The category of “Trauer” remains a superficial war remembrance, and is useful only as long as its political persuasiveness does not swing too far in the opposite direction of revealing the war’s cruel aspects. Bloem’s repeated claim that “wir zerfielen nicht”—“wir” referring to all of Germany, not just the “Frontkämpfer” among whom he counted himself—punctuates the introduction’s patriotism and contributes to the whitewashing of the more disturbing facts of war. He uses the phrase to champion the apparent spiritual victory of Germany not buckling under difficult circumstances, but its meaning clearly does not jibe with the physical loss of life, obvious and numerous cases of “zerfallen.” The phrase’s use in the introduction is therefore made ironic by the most clearly visible suggestions of death that slip past the careful eye of the editor(s) in the two photographs of trench combat and improvised war graves. The uniqueness of these images’ “grittiness” among all others is punctuated by the rather mundane image placed below the combat photograph, which shows a group of soldiers standing around rather aimlessly and unconcerned “Im Kampfgelände” (see Figure 4.15).

The meaning of the repeated phrase “wir zerfielen nicht,” used in the introduction to extol the triumphs of the German spirit during the war, is extended to the present of the book’s publication (1924) and into the future: “und wir werden nicht zerfallen,” Bloem writes.<sup>335</sup> In this way, the post-war situation is tied up with the outcomes of the war, and any future stress on the German spirit will require the type of admirable resolve shown during the war. Indeed, Germany’s return to its titular “Größe” was achieved effortlessly, if one is to believe the selection of photographs that appear in the book’s last section, “Deutschland nach dem Kriege.”

---

<sup>334</sup> Bloem, “Zehn Jahre Geschichte,” 6.

<sup>335</sup> Bloem, “Zehn Jahre Geschichte,” 6.

In the same manner that the section “Deutschland im Kriege” fosters an affirmative interpretation of war that—overlooking a few inconsistencies—focuses on triumphs and minimizes tragedies, the post-war series completely ignores the negative aspects of the years following armistice to present a picture of Germany’s might. Although Bloem states in the introduction that it was not just the war alone that caused (and continues to cause) consternation, the specific details are not laid out for the reader, and his language remains on the level of patriotic evangelism. He begins the introduction with the lament, “Was für zehn Jahre! Welch eine Geschichte! Solange Menschen aufrecht über unsern Planeten schreiten – nie haben sie solches geschaut, erlitten, getan, wie wir, die Miterlebenden, die Mitkämpfer dieser unausdenkbar ereignisträchtigen Dekade.”<sup>336</sup> These melodramatic opening sentences cue the reader into expecting an overt critique of the post-war situation alongside a consideration of the war, that is to say, an examination of the full decade between 1914 and 1924, not just the years between 1914 and 1918. Perhaps Bloem simply does not need to remind his readers of the post-war economic and political turmoil that was fresh in their minds in 1924, but there are no sustained socio-political critiques one might expect from a national-conservative writer addressing this time period. As stated earlier, the volume contains only a few indirect references to negative aspects of the post-war situation that were a disappointment across the political spectrum, including the Ruhr occupation starting in 1923.

The thirteen pages of photographs in the section “Deutschland nach dem Kriege” only reinforce the unexpected lack of political critique by avoiding images of all major post-war events, foremost among them the November Revolution. The volume does not engage with the typical post-war sources of national-conservative ire, such as the Treaty of Versailles, the “stab-

---

<sup>336</sup> Bloem, “Zehn Jahre Geschichte,” 5.

in-the-back” myth, the Spartacists, the Weimar Republic, liberalism, communism, or party politics of any kind. Instead, the section focuses on showing off industrial and military might, returning to the exact same patriotic message and visual material as the first series of photographs showing Germany before the war. As in the earlier section, photographs are selected to provide evidence of nautical prowess (“Die neue Reichsmarine / Wilhelmshaven 1924,” “Der Hamburger Hapaghafen,” and “‘Columbus’, das größte Schiff der neuen deutschen Handelsflotte”),<sup>337</sup> technological advancement (“Das Radiowesen in Deutschland,” “Das deutsche Flugzeug als Verkehrsmittel,” and “Die erste deutsche Turbinenlokomotive”),<sup>338</sup> and economic strength (“Die Leipziger Messe / Errichtung eines Untergrundmeßhauses 1924” and “Die Leipziger Messe / Technische Messe 1923”).<sup>339</sup> Even the global spread of the military that is so salient in the first two sections finds expression in two photographs of “Die deutsche Automobilindustrie” that show the winners of car races in Targa Florio, Italy (1924), and Mexico (1923) sitting behind the wheel of German-manufactured vehicles (Figure 4.16). Photographs of the global automobile industry act as a stand-in for the photographs of actual colonies in the pre-war section, as they communicate the imperial aspirations that lingered after Germany was stripped of its oversea territories under the Treaty of Versailles.

The selected photographs of industrial and technological might are meant as celebrations of a reborn Germany, but the militaristic connotation is carried over from the wartime series. The featured technologies—radio, trains, airplanes, cars, and ships—appear in the post-war series on the surface as products of Germany’s reorganized industrial sector that now focuses on the improvement of civilian life. Two images from 1924 show the tangible results of such a

---

<sup>337</sup> *Deutschland*, 83, 94–95.

<sup>338</sup> *Deutschland*, 88–90.

<sup>339</sup> *Deutschland*, 93.

transformation: the first shows diesel motors being built in the former Imperial Shipyards of Kiel, and the second shows locomotives being built in the former Krupp cannon factories in Essen.<sup>340</sup> Another page shows the before and after of the Hapag Harbor in Hamburg: “Nach Abgabe der Überseehandelsschiffe, 1919” and experiencing a “Neues Leben, 1924.”<sup>341</sup> Four photographs in the post-war series of “Jugendsport” and “Reichswehr,” which highlight the mass participation in those groups, as well as the aforementioned photograph of “Die neue Reichsmarine,” anchor the entire series’ connotation in the militaristic.<sup>342</sup> The volume ignores the reality of a drastically reduced military, both in terms of servicemen and weaponry, and all the feelings of hurt pride which accompanied that term of the Treaty of Versailles to present a picture of an ostensibly active military and the nation’s potential to switch back to wartime production. The volume thus ends with not only a final visual affirmation of Germany’s “Größe” and sense of “Hoffnung” for its own citizens, but also a veiled threat to Germany’s enemies. The patriotic words of Bloem’s introduction echo here in the book’s final pages. In response to the fact “daß fremde Gewalt auf unserem Heimatboden Herrenrecht übt”—a direct reference to the Ruhr occupation—Bloem warns that “wir” must reawaken from national tragedy so that “die Übermacht” of enemies does not trample Germany again. “Deutschland lebt. [...] Und weil wir es wollen, so wird es werden.”<sup>343</sup>

---

<sup>340</sup> *Deutschland*, 86–87. The latter image of the Krupp factory is the second example of a photorealistic painting being included in the volume, likely to heighten the romanticism of the pictured content. Its provenance could not be determined.

<sup>341</sup> *Deutschland*, 94.

<sup>342</sup> *Deutschland*, 83–85.

<sup>343</sup> Bloem, “Zehn Jahre Geschichte,” 7.

## Chapter 5. War History as “nationale Aufgabe”: Commemorative Myth-Making in Publications from the Reichsarchiv and George Soldan

*Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924* affirms Germany’s fighting spirit and connects the war experience to the post-war situation. One of its central implications—that the post-war era was taxing and unfair on the German spirit—is explicit in Walter Bloem’s introduction and was a belief that transcended political ideologies to be shared by wide swaths of society. His idea to celebrate the war effort as a means to bring light to the “dunklen Schattenpfade” would have been less widely recognized, however, and was a mostly new notion in 1924. Up until then, the majority of the German public had been ready to evaluate the war’s legacy critically and to reject war as an instrument of politics.<sup>344</sup> Pacifist movements representative of those feelings, such as “Nie Wieder Krieg,” had lost much of their steam by 1924, when a “short period of insight” that saw the widespread publication and successful reception of critical, republican war memories ended.<sup>345</sup> Historian Benjamin Ziemann blames the breakdown of criticism of the war after 1924 on the outpouring of jingoistic emotions unleashed when French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr in January 1923, the uneasy coalition between left liberals and the two Social Democratic parties on which many of the critical commemorative initiatives rested, and the geographically limited audience of major republican newspapers based in Germany’s large cities.<sup>346</sup> As can be seen in the picture book *Deutschland*,

---

<sup>344</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 56.

<sup>345</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 56. Ziemann borrows the term “short period of insight” from Franz Carl Endres, a former German officer who served during the war and afterwards wrote a series of books and articles on the legacy of the war, including a critique of the “stab-in-the-back” myth. He noted in 1924 that preparations seemed already underway for a persistent glorification of the war.

<sup>346</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 58–59.

published in 1924, the Ruhr occupation was certainly a driving factor, one of the few post-war issues to be referenced with any explicitness in the volume.

Beyond *Deutschland*, other patriotic and nationalist efforts to commemorate the war began in earnest around the same time as the Ruhr occupation. Foremost among the many accounts that cemented what Ziemann calls the “hegemony of the right-wing camp in the field of literary representations of the war” were novels written by former military personnel, such as Werner Beumelburg or Edwin Erich Dwinger.<sup>347</sup> Their writings not only found success in the mass-market book trade but were also legitimized through cooperation with important government institutions concerned with military history, chief among them the Reichsarchiv in Potsdam, which was founded in October 1919 following the suggestion of high-ranking military leaders. Although officially detached from the military, the state organization continued to employ a large number of former military officers and had as its first president the former major general Hermann Ritter Mertz von Quirnheim.<sup>348</sup> It undertook some of the archival and historiographical tasks that had once fallen under the scope of the German General Staff after that group was dismantled as a condition of the Treaty of Versailles. Alongside typical archival functions, the Reichsarchiv conducted research for a planned official history of the military effort from 1914–1918, and it produced popular war narratives in cooperation with established novelists and amateur soldier-writers alike. Although the stated purpose of collecting and writing military history was for practical use in training future officers, the boundary between specialist

---

<sup>347</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 246. Despite the huge success of Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts Neues* and the war-critical, or at least war-ambivalent novels by the likes of Ludwig Renn, the circulation of war books by right-wing authors portraying positive messages of war outnumbered the negative ones.

<sup>348</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 19, 82. Hermann Mertz von Quirnheim should not be confused here with his son Albrecht, one of the main conspirators in the July 20, 1944, plot to assassinate Hitler.



historical writing and patriotic propaganda was often blurred in the publications of the Reichsarchiv and its various subsections. Ziemann concludes: “Closely connected to the provision of institutional continuity was the second aim: a concerted effort to use military history to restore public recognition of the wartime army and its deeds.”<sup>349</sup> Historian Markus Pöhlmann concurs that the continuity of former military personnel in the Reichsarchiv, especially from among privileged members of the officer classes, meant that the institution was civilian in name only. Reichsarchiv employees largely retained the worldview of the Wilhelmine military elite and evinced a strong anti-republican spirit. Even Seeckt’s recommendation to move the archive from the politically volatile Berlin to the tranquil Potsdam, residence of the Prussian kings and German Kaiser until 1918, was indicative of the Reichsarchiv leadership’s self-understanding. The decision by the Interior Ministry in the early 1920s to counter the obvious anti-republican tendencies in the Reichsarchiv by hiring more civilian historians was perceived as a serious affront to the military’s monopoly on war history. The former military of the Reichsarchiv worked together to successfully marginalize their civilian colleagues to ensure that military-affirming war accounts remained standard.<sup>350</sup>

In the months following the war’s end and those preceding the Reichsarchiv’s founding in late fall 1919, however, there was a brief period when General Staff officers responsible for war history were surprisingly ready to evaluate the war in a critical light and question their role in writing its history.<sup>351</sup> According to top brass like Oberst Reinhold von Sydow, who headed the German General Staff’s Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung I (“Große Operationen”), the pre-war impulse to preserve the military’s prestige by any means was no longer an adequate way of

---

<sup>349</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 221.

<sup>350</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 158.

<sup>351</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 62.

dealing with five years of bloody war and civil war. Von Sydow suggested new historiographical approaches that shifted the focus of war writing to the psychology of individuals in an effort to provide more nuanced critiques of the war open to the reader's interpretation.<sup>352</sup> Mertz von Quirnheim, until 1919 Oberquartiermeister for war history in the General Staff and then Reichsarchiv president until 1931, even wrote that “[d]ie Schrecken des Krieges müssen in das rechte Licht gerückt [werden].”<sup>353</sup> Faced in May 1919 with a draft of the peace treaty that dismantled the German General Staff and its war historical archive, Mertz von Quirnheim advocated the founding of a civilian archival institute so that the task of writing the war's history maintained an “objektivere und der Sache zugute kommende Stellung.”<sup>354</sup> These and other accounts from officers reveal an initial post-war willingness to critically examine Germany's war effort in the official military history being prepared under the aegis of the General Staff and then under the Reichsarchiv.

A shift in mentality among General Staff historians towards less critical history writing is evident after May 1919, when the brief period of reflection among top war historian officers ended. Hans von Seeckt, the last Chief of the German General Staff and then Chief of Staff for the Reichswehr in the first years of the Republic, summarized recommendations from the department heads of the various war history subsections in a July 12, 1919, “Denkschrift” about the necessity of a new Reichsarchiv. Like his subordinates in the Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung, he was concerned with practical questions about the institutional continuity of the military's large archival collections from the war. But unlike Mertz von Quirnheim's focus on preserving a factual account, which might or might not invite criticism of the military, Seeckt advocated for a

---

<sup>352</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 63.

<sup>353</sup> Quoted in Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 65.

<sup>354</sup> Quoted in Hollmann, “Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs,” 33.

more openly propagandistic approach to writing the war's history. Perhaps this was an outgrowth of wartime propaganda practices that focused on promoting the military's "certain social order," which to fight a total war needed the support of a home front that rejected that very social order.<sup>355</sup> In his July 1919 memorandum that was sent to Chancellor Gustav Bauer's cabinet, Seeckt claimed that the primary goal of any historical account should be to reawaken the faith of the "seelisch, geistig und physisch niedergeborenen Volk[s]" through the "Wiederbelebung der Erinnerung an die Grosstaten während des Weltkrieges."<sup>356</sup> Furthermore, the state should have priority access to and critical purview over the thousands of war records:

Erst die Auswertung eines Archives setzt die toten Werte in werbende Kraft um, die sowohl ideellen als materiellen Gewinn zeitigen kann. Das geschieht nur dann, wenn die Auswertung amtlich vom Reiche betrieben wird. Die lediglich dem einzelnen Privatschriftsteller überlassene Auswertung arbeitet materiell für sich selber und ideell nur sehr bedingt für den Staat, häufig gegen ihn.<sup>357</sup>

In Seeckt's eyes, only the state could properly employ the military archive's vast holdings to counter the "Lügenfeldzug der feindlichen Propaganda" that "[vergiftet] heute bereits deutsches Wesen und deutschen Namen."<sup>358</sup> One way he saw the Reichsarchiv functioning in this manner was through the sustained production of official texts on the war that satisfied the "Verlangen [des Volkes] zu lesen, das Gedächtnis aufzufrischen und zu ergänzen."<sup>359</sup> Such a feat would not

---

<sup>355</sup> Deist, "Censorship and Propaganda," 207.

<sup>356</sup> Quoted in Hollmann, "Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs," 47. Seeckt's "Denkschrift über die Zukunft der Archive und kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilungen des Großen Generalstabes" (Bundesarchiv, BArch R 43 I/866, Bl. 2–17) is reproduced in its entirety as an addendum to Hollmann's article.

<sup>357</sup> Quoted in Hollmann, "Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs," 47.

<sup>358</sup> Quoted in Hollmann, "Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs," 49.

<sup>359</sup> This line, among others, is lifted directly from George Soldan's position statement analyzed below. It appears on page 16, fo. 65 of the Soldan text.

be imaginable with just *one* representation but would require “vor allem eine volkstümliche Darstellung des grossen Krieges.”<sup>360</sup>

The primary influence on the propagandistic tone of Seeckt’s “Denkschrift” is a 41-page memorandum prepared on May 22, 1919, by George Soldan, a lower-ranking captain in the Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung IV (Archiv).<sup>361</sup> Titled “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges: Eine nationale Aufgabe,” Soldan’s manuscript was intended for private publication outside the General Staff’s scope but was circulated within his department and then passed to Oberquartiermeister Mertz von Quirnheim by Soldan’s superior; Seeckt even lifted lines from Soldan’s manuscript for his own “Denkschrift.” It became an official position statement on the impending reorganization of the General Staff’s war history unit, one that shifted the conversation surrounding questions of a new Reichsarchiv to a more politically overt register.<sup>362</sup> The text apparently impressed Mertz von Quirnheim, as he made Soldan head of a new department for “volkstümliche Geschichtsschreibung” within the General Staff’s Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung,<sup>363</sup> a position that was almost identical to the one he then held until 1929 in the Reichsarchiv. Soldan, with his “Konzeption einer dezidiert manipulativen und volkstümlichen Geschichtsschreibung” that contained “eindeutig biologische und völkische Gesellschaftsvorstellungen,” stood in stark contrast to the prevailing mentalities of his superiors at the time, who understood themselves as representatives of an “eher konservativ-monarchistische[] Anschauung.”<sup>364</sup> Pöhlmann stresses that Soldan’s text represents the end of the brief period of relatively open critique of the war among the military’s highest historians, at the

---

<sup>360</sup> Quoted in Hollmann, “Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs,” 49.

<sup>361</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 72.

<sup>362</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 66.

<sup>363</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 68.

<sup>364</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 68.

same time that it is “ein bis heute weitgehend unbekanntes programmatisches Zeugnis nationalrevolutionärer Strömungen innerhalb der frühen Reichswehr.”<sup>365</sup> In addition, Soldan’s text is a programmatic statement for the methods of the influential section on “volkstümliche Schriften,” which was tasked—among other things—with the production of two book series: “Schlachten des Weltkrieges” and “Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter.”

Soldan’s memorandum begins with a specialist’s critique of previous war histories, taking as its main example the challenges the General Staff faced in putting together a comprehensive work on Frederick the Great’s wars against the Hapsburg Monarchy (1740–48). Along with organizational disorder, the project’s wide scope prevented its success; it suffered “unter dem Ballast von Einzelheiten [...], die einem großen Werke nur zu leicht den Überblick nehmen und die dramatische Spannung töten.”<sup>366</sup> In contrast, Soldan praises the example of the General Staff’s work on the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), which was published in many shorter installments made available to the public in a more timely fashion. He stresses the importance of historical accounts of war reaching the Volk quickly, especially for wars in which they were active, because “[a]us dieser Beteiligung, mag der Krieg gewonnen oder verloren sein, leitet das Volk seine Kraft, seine Hoffnungen und seine Ansprüche auf Ansehen ab.”<sup>367</sup> The need to publish national accounts quickly is compounded by the race among all participating countries to establish a definitive narrative of a war,<sup>368</sup> turning history writing into a continuation of war with other means.<sup>369</sup> Soldan warns at the same time of the risks in the public receiving impressions of the war too quickly, as he sees in the case of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05).

---

<sup>365</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 68.

<sup>366</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 53.

<sup>367</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 55.

<sup>368</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 67–68.

<sup>369</sup> See Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 69.

The many brochures detailing personal impressions were deemed “unbefriedigend und einseitig” for their inability to give an overall account of the war, such as its causes or the personalities of its chief combatants. This had to be corrected by “wissenschaftliche Arbeiten.”<sup>370</sup> Writing in 1919, Soldan claims something similar is happening for the world war, in which there is a strong “Verlangen nach einer zusammenhängenden Darstellung,” as the book market has been flooded by “[p]ersönliche Erinnerungen” and “Berichten von Mitkämpfern und Mitkdenkern.”<sup>371</sup> One important positive quality of general accounts of war—in contrast to individually focused narratives—is the way that larger events can be “geschickt ausgelegt” to serve “die Anfachung der Vaterlandsliebe,” which he claims the French are especially adept in doing, while the Germans lag behind.<sup>372</sup>

After considering the failures of past war-historical writings, Soldan moves to consider the present task of writing the world war’s history. The daunting endeavor has, in his eyes, clear implications for the future success or failure of Germany. He calls it the “unglückliche Volk,” whose “gesunde[] Eigenschaften” cannot be blamed for Germany’s collapse during the war, and whose “innere Kraft fortlebt, [aus der] ein neues Geschlecht erwächst, das deutschen Namen und deutsche Art wieder zur Geltung bringt.”<sup>373</sup> He understands such a reawakening of the German spirit as implicit fact, an intrinsic quality of the Volk. In referencing the book *Das Recht der jungen Völker* (1918) by Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, arch-ideologue of the conservative revolutionary movement, Soldan ensures that the Germans have no need to doubt that the “jungen Völker [...] zu ihren Rechten und schließlich zum Siege [gelangen werden].”<sup>374</sup> But he

---

<sup>370</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 56.

<sup>371</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 58.

<sup>372</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 58.

<sup>373</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 60.

<sup>374</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 62.

fails to see the irony of these statements in light of the project at hand, which seeks to actively contribute to the apparently inherent revival of the Volk through the bolstering of its weakened national spirit with tendentious history writing. In contrast with his self-assured proclamation of the Volk's reawakening stands his admonition that Germany has produced little to no war-historical works that have served as "Volkserziehung," "getragen von wahrhaft volkstümlichem Empfinden."<sup>375</sup>

The moment to correct such an oversight has never been better, in Soldan's opinion, than in the post-war present: "Niemals hat sich einem Volke in seiner tiefsten Not gleichzeitig so naheliegend ein Weg geboten, an dem es wieder emporsteigen kann zu seiner beherrschenden Höhe."<sup>376</sup> So, in the very interest of the state, history writing has three "national" missions:

ein zusammengebrochenes Volk aufrichten, ihm den Glauben an sich selber wiedergeben aus gemeinsam ertragenem Glück und Unglück[;] deutschnationales Empfinden erwachsen lassen, das die dunkelste Gegenwart durchstrahlend, den Weg zum neuen Aufstieg weist; den großen erzieherischen Wert der Geschichte ausnützen, um ein unpolitisch denkendes und empfindendes Volk zur Reife zu führen.<sup>377</sup>

The form that history writing must take to reach these goals matches the focus on appealing to the Volk in its broadest sense. To these ends Soldan develops a concept of "populäre Geschichtsschreibung" that will reach—and influence—the widest audience. He writes: "Das Bestreben, weiten Volkskreisen etwas zu geben, bewußt auf sie Einfluß gewinnen zu wollen, legt den Gedanken nahe, die zu schaffende Arbeit populär zu gestalten."<sup>378</sup>

Soldan begins by characterizing the Volk as being split into three groups based on education. For each, a different approach to presenting the war is needed. Whereas the highly educated expect "rein wissenschaftliche Darstellungen, die eine Grundlage zum eigenen

---

<sup>375</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 62.

<sup>376</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 63.

<sup>377</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 64.

<sup>378</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 69.

Weiterarbeiten und zur eigenen Urteilsbildung geben,” the least educated display “ein Bedürfnis nach dramatischer Spannung in Verbindung mit leicht faßlicher, unterhaltender Schreibart” and see the “Höhepunkt der Geschichtsschreibung in der Darstellung der Schlacht, deren kleinste Einzelheiten interessieren.”<sup>379</sup> A middle category, the somewhat educated, expect aspects of entertainment, but share with the highly educated the demand for overarching “objektive Beurteilung and kritische Würdigung,”<sup>380</sup> which is lost in the excitement of individual battle scenes. Soldan acknowledges the impossibility to address every audience at once—“Wer vielen etwas geben will, wird niemandem gerecht!”<sup>381</sup>—but sees a compromise in popular historiography. He praises past “volkstümliche” war histories: Georg Hiltl’s *Der französische Krieg von 1870 und 1871* (1873) is “leicht verständlich geschrieben und anschaulich spannend aufgebaut,” and Franz Kugler’s *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen* (1840) fits the same mold, in no small part because of the illustrations by Adolph Menzel.<sup>382</sup> The historical value of these and similar projects is negatively impacted by their “volkstümliche” quality, but the trade-off is welcome in Soldan’s view:

Populäre Geschichtsschreibung ist eben gleichbedeutend mit unhistorisch und unsachlich. Es ist mehr Unterhaltungslektüre, die aber gerade deshalb bei richtigem Abwägen zwischen populärem und wissenschaftlichem Gehalte große Befriedigung geben kann und sich vortrefflich eignet, wertvolle Erziehungsarbeit am Volke zu leisten.<sup>383</sup>

Although a “popular” presentation style would not be suited for the planned official and discipline-specific history being written by the German General Staff (and then completed by the Reichsarchiv), “popular” accounts can also not be left to the discretion of private authors: “Ohne

---

<sup>379</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 65.

<sup>380</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 65.

<sup>381</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 69.

<sup>382</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 70.

<sup>383</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 70.



amtliche Teilnahme fällt auch die Erziehungsarbeit, die geleistet werden soll.”<sup>384</sup> Pöhlmann writes that Soldan’s efforts to reach a broad audience also served the ulterior goal of securing the primacy of official government organizations, like the General Staff and then the Reichsarchiv, in the Weimar “Erinnerungskulturkampf.”<sup>385</sup>

Beyond a characterization of the Volk based on education, Soldan also differentiates between military and civilian reading publics. The technicalities of specific war events might be important for military historians to study, but they also cater to the national interests of a greater public.<sup>386</sup> For those who served during the war, regimental histories provide an important channel for memory. Although they initially appear attractive only to servicemen, Soldan claims that “[n]eben den populären Einzeldarstellungen sind gerade sie geeignet, in weite Kreise des Volkes zu dringen.”<sup>387</sup> For example, people who lost a relative or friend during the war might look to their relations’ regimental history to discover details about their war experience. He imagines that such a service, which “man nicht zuletzt den Andenken an die Opfer des Krieges schuldig ist,” would be welcomed among a broad reading public.<sup>388</sup> But writing in 1919, Soldan is unsure about the future of such regimental histories, largely due to uncertainty about the institutional future of not only the General Staff but also the entire military, which came under question in light of the war defeat and the impending peace treaty. He could hardly have known that his assertion of the potential reach of regimental histories would come true: the Reichsarchiv, and specifically the section on “volkstümliche Geschichtsschreibung” (Abteilung

---

<sup>384</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 71.

<sup>385</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 196.

<sup>386</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 68.

<sup>387</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 77.

<sup>388</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 77.

G) under Soldan's leadership, would produce 51 regimental histories by 1921 and over 250 by 1928.<sup>389</sup>

What appears in Soldan's text to be most important for the success of a "populäre" or "volkstümliche" war account is its specific form. His comments on what content is most appropriate for popular historiography are mostly limited to ideas about representing the "big picture" and the "small picture." As stated earlier, he understands the less-educated classes of readers to be interested in the smallest details of individual battles. Such attention to trivialities is anathema to the work of "der rein wissenschaftlichen Darstellung des Weltkrieges," which Soldan understands as the next step of writing the history of the war, once the "Erziehungsarbeit" of popular representations has been completed.<sup>390</sup> He writes: "Je mehr die Darstellung an Einzelheiten herangeht, desto mehr verliert sie an Zuverlässigkeit."<sup>391</sup> Details are important for the popular reader, however, because they allow audiences to connect with the human experience of war. Soldan's glib assertion that the world war affected many people—"jeder einzelne Volksgenosse, gleich ob er an der Front oder in der Heimat war, [wurde] in persönliche Mitleidenschaft gezogen"—has important outcomes for the proposed focus of popular historical accounts: "der Mensch in seiner Kraft und seiner Schwäche."<sup>392</sup> According to Soldan, historians dealing with the war will not be able to ignore its human components, and "was [der Historiker] da sah und fühlte, wird seine Arbeit unbewusst warmherzig gestalten."<sup>393</sup> In contrast to the relative minutiae of the human experience of war, a general historical overview "kann keine

---

<sup>389</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 199. The total number of regimental histories, including those produced in Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony outside the aegis of the Reichsarchiv, surpassed 1,000 by 1938.

<sup>390</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 73.

<sup>391</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 75.

<sup>392</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 74.

<sup>393</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 74.

Wärme zeigen.”<sup>394</sup> Although it may not be methodologically sound according to the standards of historiography, a form of writing that focuses on the triumphs and tribulations of individuals—today’s genre of the “human interest story”—has its own purpose. Soldan writes: “Heute handelt es sich nicht mehr darum allein das Verständnis für die einzelnen kriegerischen Handlungen zu wecken, sondern weit darüber hinaus die Geschehnisse einer gewaltigen Zeit für die Zukunft auszuwerten.”<sup>395</sup> His concept of “populäre Geschichtsschreibung” exemplifies an instrumentalization of war memory to educate the public according to predetermined messaging. The endeavor is measured as a success or failure to the extent that it is able to appeal to the Volk’s emotional heart and influence their simultaneous understanding of history and the present.

Although Soldan does not provide a programmatic outline of what content can best serve the three broad “national” goals of history writing, examples of what shape a positive, nationalist account might take are mentioned in passing throughout his text. The most prevalent and clearly specified aspect is praise of the military’s “ruhmreiche[] Tradition,” which should be portrayed “in einer versonnenden Wärme.”<sup>396</sup> This is the main strategy of the picture book *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung, 1914–1924*, which was produced in collaboration with the Reichsarchiv. As analyzed in the previous chapter, *Deutschland* elided the war’s tragic qualities and focused on a celebration of Germany’s worldwide reach, its technological superiority, and a sense of adventure during the war. Walter Bloem’s introduction to the book shares with Soldan’s memorandum the metaphor of light (remembering the war effort) breaking through dark and shadowy times (the post-war present). Soldan writes in “Die deutsche

---

<sup>394</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 73.

<sup>395</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 72.

<sup>396</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 69.

Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges: Eine nationale Aufgabe” that the Volk is currently “von Fieberschauern durchschüttelt,” but soon a time will come, “in der ganz von selber die Erinnerung hoch steigt an das große Erleben da draußen.” And with growing temporal distance, memory will become more favorable to the war: “Liebevoll und stolz wird der Blick wieder an dem eisernen Kreuze haften und gerne werden die Gedanken bei dem Schönen und Erhebenden weilen, das der Krieg reichlich neben den schneller dem Gedächtnis entweichenden Schattenseiten geboten hat.”<sup>397</sup>

Affirmations of the military—personified by the Iron Cross in the preceding quotation—do not at first glance appear political, especially in comparison to the radical messages of picture books like Ernst Friedrich’s *Krieg dem Kriege!* But the strategy espoused by Soldan and evinced in *Deutschland*, for example, intentionally uses more subtle methods to influence positive feelings about patriotism and the nation. It may not concern itself with the partisan rhetoric of the current political situation, but its praise for the war effort, even after resounding defeat, gives new life to the nationalist and chauvinistic mentalities of Germany’s old military elite. In Ziemann’s assessment, the Reichsarchiv’s publication efforts that eventually put into practice the theory behind Soldan’s 1919 manuscript, including the two “volkstümlich”-conceived book series produced by Soldan’s department—the “Schlachten des Weltkrieges” and the “Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter”—contained “hardly any outright glorification of war.”<sup>398</sup> “But that was part of their success,” Ziemann writes, “and a deliberate attempt to diffuse any remaining bitterness about the war experience.”<sup>399</sup> The popular picture book *Deutschland* stretches the limits of such a categorization, as its celebration of the war effort is inextricably tied

---

<sup>397</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 65.

<sup>398</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 223.

<sup>399</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 223.

to nationalist rhetoric about the Volk's value in the post-war era, a mode of interpreting the war that is at its most extreme in the ultraconservative picture books of Franz Schauwecker, in which the metaphysical experience of war creates a new breed of man who will carry the banner of nationalism (as will be explored in Chapter 6).

In another obvious sense, Soldan's conception of war-historical writing—spearheaded as it was by many former General Staff officers—is cast in light of adversarial mentalities that persisted even after the war ended and military historians like himself were rehoused in the civilian Reichsarchiv. He repeatedly stresses the competitive nature of war memory, in which the work of war historians must reckon with the accounts of Germany's enemies (“feindliche[] Staaten”<sup>400</sup>). Historians must keep tabs on the shape of foreign war narratives and stand ready to intervene should any misrepresentations deserve criticism and correction. Such a “Bekämpfung und Widerlegung falscher oder tendenziöser feindlicher Auslegungen” through history writing can be understood in Soldan's perspective as a type of propaganda for both domestic and foreign popular audiences that is not unlike the information warfare that accompanied the war. For this reason, history writing must stand in close cooperation with broader networks of the publishing world, which can disseminate the aforementioned “populär” and “volkstümlich” representations of war that are ideal for influencing opinion. The “erzieherische Arbeit” of history writing has the task not only of building up the Volk through such broadly accessible and positive war accounts, but it also must protect the Volk from the “unnötige Beunruhigung” of willful distortions of the truth by foreign forces.<sup>401</sup> “Die deutsche Auffassung vom Kriege [muss] sich durchsetzen,” Soldan writes.<sup>402</sup>

---

<sup>400</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 78.

<sup>401</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 80.

<sup>402</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 66.

To return to the central role of picture books in this study, the question should now be asked how the Reichsarchiv employed photography beyond their collaboration on the Walter Bloem-affiliated *Deutschland*. In George Soldan's foundational memorandum "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges: Eine nationale Aufgabe," mention of photography is limited, although the few references are illuminating as a starting point to understand how he and his colleagues in the section for "volkstümliche Geschichtsschreibung" valued the medium.

As stated above, Soldan praises Kugler's 1840 illustrated history of Friedrich the Great, which contained woodcuts by Adolph Menzel, as an example of how historiography can be "populär" and "volkstümlich." In Soldan's view, such illustrations were an important aspect of a book's form if the author wanted to speak to the "Volkssinn" and attract interest among readers.<sup>403</sup> In contrast to book packaging that is "zu kalt und zu nüchtern," if a picture was included on the cover of a book—for example, a representative scene from a battle described in the text—the book would better catch the buyer's eye.<sup>404</sup> With a title that "muß an sich etwas verheißen und zum Kauf reizen," such a "volkstümlich"-conceived book would be hard for any buyer to pass up, he claims, even for someone who was crippled during the portrayed battle!<sup>405</sup>

Soldan recognizes the broad appeal of photography and even mentions a specific example of picture books contributing positively to the mission of military-affirming history projects. He praises the use of pictures and picture albums in the official account of the Russo-Japanese War produced afterwards by the Japanese General Staff as exemplary: "[Für die militärische Geschichtsschreibung des Krieges] unterstützte [der japanische Generalstab] populäre mit reichem Bilderschmuck versehene Arbeiten japanischer Offiziere und gab selber eine

---

<sup>403</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 72.

<sup>404</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 73.

<sup>405</sup> Soldan, "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges," fo. 73.

Bildersammlung in geschmackvollen Albums heraus.”<sup>406</sup> This early praise for picture books in his 1919 memorandum on “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges” acquires special significance in this study for the way it presages many of the methods used in Soldan’s own later involvement with picture books. He introduced the first volume of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*, published in two lengthy volumes around 1926, and authored *Zeitgeschichte in Wort und Bild*, a similarly monumental visual account of the post-war era published in three thick volumes from 1930–34.

Before turning to Soldan’s own picture books, the role of photography in the two series published by his department for “volkstümliche Schriften” at the Reichsarchiv should be considered. Neither the “Schlachten des Weltkrieges” (36 volumes, 1925–31) nor the “Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter” (over 250 volumes by 1928) are primarily focused on photographic representations of the war, but they employ photography as an aid in fulfilling some of the strategies laid out in Soldan’s 1919 essay on “populär” and “volkstümlich” history writing. These include the straightforward tasks of making the volumes more attractive to a broad reading audience and showing the military in a positive light. The latter was the overall *modus operandi* of the two series, as they sought to foster—in contrast to the “fachlich und nüchtern” language of official histories—the recovery of personal experiences by focusing attention on the actions of individuals within a larger framework.<sup>407</sup> The result of such personal engagement with war memory was intended as “positive Sinnstiftung und Glorifizierung,” as Pöhlmann calls it,<sup>408</sup> and it was certainly aided by the use of photography to illustrate exciting details of the war (seen in the “Schlachten” series) and to reawaken reverential pride in one’s

---

<sup>406</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 57.

<sup>407</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 195–96.

<sup>408</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 196.

military service (seen in the “Erinnerungsblätter”). Although they did not explicitly thematize photography or deploy it in a critical manner, as is the case for other “true” picture books, these two Reichsarchiv projects used photography to reawaken and capitalize on interest in the war. This basic function is typical for any number of illustrated histories, and the two examples from the Reichsarchiv are to some measure representative of other popular publications. For one, their lack of meta-reflection on the meaning of photography in picturing and remembering the war enables a seemingly naturalistic presentation common among other popular post-war pictorial war representations. In this mode, photographs are employed as mere aids of illustration, complementing the text in ways that do not attempt to create their own meaning, e.g., through techniques of sequencing and collage or combinations of text and image. But the reduction of photography to illustration does not always follow intended routes and appears only on the surface as “realistic” or apolitical. Selective editing ensures that photographs amplify underlying messages, and even individual photographs can generate connotations that the text cannot contain. As seen in the following examples from the two “volkstümliche” book series produced under George Soldan’s leadership, the propagandistic overtones of the Reichsarchiv’s conservative, military-affirming war historiography—what Soldan theorized as a “nationale Aufgabe” in his 1919 memorandum—remain largely absent in the actual text but are nevertheless sustained by the photographs.

The first series created under Soldan’s direction in Reichsarchiv Abteilung G, the section on “volkstümliche Geschichtsschreibung,” was the “Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter.” Produced in close collaboration between the Reichsarchiv and representatives of military regiments, the “Erinnerungsblätter” served as a chronological history of the regiment during the war and as a book of memory for its members. While the volumes were initiated by outside



authors or regimental associations, the Reichsarchiv not only provided assistance in locating the appropriate archival records for the undertaking but also played an active role in the resulting manuscripts' formulation and editing. In some instances, Reichsarchiv employees, many of them former military men themselves, authored the histories of regiments in which they served. Soldan, for example, opened the series with his 1920 treatment of the 184<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and offered it to other authors as an example to be followed. External authors were required to submit their manuscripts to the Reichsarchiv for approval and even signed a contract that said they would accept any revisions. Such censorship was needed to ensure that the "Erinnerungsblätter" were free of any critique of the military and commentary on domestic or foreign politics.<sup>409</sup> Pöhlmann writes: "[V]on den nationaltherapeutisch-propagandistischen Ansprüchen des leitenden Bearbeiters [wie Soldan] war also in den Regimentsgeschichten tatsächlich wenig zu verspüren."<sup>410</sup>

At the same time that the "Erinnerungsblätter" did not put into practice the more propagandistic conception of military history envisioned in Soldan's 1919 memorandum, its role in the post-war era in fostering pride and nostalgia for the military, a type of opinion-shaping in and of itself, should not be underestimated. Following the Versailles Treaty, many regiments were disbanded in the military's radical downsizing, erasing many of the institutionalized bonds of comradeship among military men. The "Erinnerungsblätter" served to fill these gaps where the new, smaller Reichswehr could not maintain the breadth of military tradition.<sup>411</sup> The preservation of tradition was not limited to mere organizational continuity after Versailles but worked also to influence popular attitudes about the military and the war; as quoted above,

---

<sup>409</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 198–99.

<sup>410</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 199.

<sup>411</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 198.

Soldan asserted in 1919 that military traditions must be portrayed in “einer versonnenden Wärme.”<sup>412</sup> Such positive accounts were achieved partially by the Reichsarchiv’s ban on critique of the military, and partially through the reverential praise of service-men, especially the dead. Although the main bodies of text in the “Erinnerungsblätter” were devoted to the rather technical chronological recounting of a regiment’s activities during the war based on official daily records, their introductions, afterwords, and photographic illustrations are laden with the type of pathos meant to reawaken reverence for the war effort despite the great tragedy of it all. What George Mosse called the “cult of the fallen soldier” is on full display in the “Erinnerungsblätter” as devotion to the dead serves to “overcome the sense of loss many veterans felt for their fallen comrades and help fashion a new solidarity.”<sup>413</sup>

A cursory look at three of the hundreds of volumes confirms the central role that photographs played in the series’ titular project of “Erinnerung.” *Das 4. Garde-Regiment zu Fuß* (1924), *Geschichte des Garde-Füsilier-Regiments* (1926), and *Kaiser-Franz-Garde-Grenadier-Regiment Nr. 2* (1929), although all histories of important Prussian “Garderegimente,” are representative of the uniformity across the series in content and form. Along with the aforementioned chronology of events, many photographs (in these examples 50–200, depending on overall book length) are spaced regularly throughout the text. The photographs are tailored specifically to the regiment, being either general photographs from the war that cannot be tied directly to the regiment but show places the regiment stayed, or specific photographs of the regiments themselves, often with captions that identify the pictured members. Reverential portraits of regimental leaders and those of the higher officer classes are common, especially near the beginning of the books (see Figure 5.1). Just like the textual history of a regiment’s day-

---

<sup>412</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 69.

<sup>413</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 78.

to-day deployment, these photographs served veterans as cues to remember their time during the war and think of their comrades. Each book also contains four to five map inserts that provide a general overview of the arena where the regiment served and more specific views of battles pertinent to the regiment's history. These diagrams helped soldiers to situate their memory in physical space, literally mapping their memory to geography as it was represented on paper.

The maps and photographs not only served as a guide for soldiers to recall and secure their own memory, but also functioned as an explanatory aid when talking with others, such as family members. In the same way a veteran could take out the map inserts to trace and point out to others his position in the war's grand scheme, photographs stimulated the process of remembering for soldiers. They condensed memory into a handful of iconographic visual representations that were meaningful to themselves and also useful for relaying memories to others in a way that was more immediate than through the main text's long and detailed textual chronologies. In this way, photographic illustrations extended the books' possible appeal beyond the "Erinnerung" within the regimental circle, contrary to Soldan's assertion that they would be of little "Unterhaltungs- oder Bildungswert."<sup>414</sup> The series' authors are cognizant of the volumes' communicative function and often express the hope that future generations will be interested in what the series attests to. For example, the foreword to *Geschichte des Garde-Füsilier-Regiments* ends with the confirmation that the regiment no longer exists, but its "Ruhm ist unsterblich." Its author continues: "Möchten auch unsere Kinder und Enkel immer wieder von jenem herrlichen früheren Geist beseelt sein. Das walte gott!"<sup>415</sup>

Coupled with the laudatory declarations of honor directed at the fallen, the high prevalence of photographs showing regimental cemeteries, memorial plaques, and individual

---

<sup>414</sup> Quoted in Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 200.

<sup>415</sup> Schulenburg-Wolfsburg, *Geschichte des Garde-Füsilier-Regiments*, 8.

graves indicates the central memorial function of photographs in the series. Pictures of the fallen, represented through the visual metonym of their graves, served living veterans or relatives of fallen soldiers as a conduit for remembering the dead. Supplementing the ceremonies that commemorated the war and the popular pilgrimages made to war cemeteries on the Western Front,<sup>416</sup> the “Erinnerungsblätter” became accessible, personal, and emotionally charged totems of war memory. Mosse writes that physical objects and public places, such as war monuments and cemeteries, recouped the war dead’s symbolic meaning and elevated their deaths to that of a sacrifice for the nation. Following his assertion that the resting places of the dead became “shrines of national worship” and transformed the fallen soldiers into “symbols which people could see and touch and which made their cult come alive,”<sup>417</sup> the pervasive attention to the dead in the “Erinnerungsblätter” cannot be construed as apolitical. The “cult of the fallen soldier” was ultimately dominated by forces on the right, who used the myth of the war experience to help “transcend the horror of war” and “support the utopia which nationalism sought to project as an alternative to the reality of post-war Germany.”<sup>418</sup> Although the Reichsarchiv actively sought to downplay the connection between the war experience portrayed in the “Erinnerungsblätter” and post-war politics, the connection inheres in more subtle ways. In the afterword to *Das 4. Garde-Regiment zu Fuß*, Wilhelm Reinhard, regiment commander, explicitly ties the task of remembering the dead to a national rebuilding (while evincing the revisionist history of the war as a war of German defense):

---

<sup>416</sup> For a discussion of how the staging of war cemeteries and post-war tourist trips to the Western Front reinforced frames of interpreting the war as a war of defense and contributed to a masking of the harsh reality of defeat that was tied to patterns of wartime propaganda, see Brandt, “Bilder von der Zerstörung,” especially 444–49.

<sup>417</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 80.

<sup>418</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 106.

[I]hr Kämpfen und Sterben [wird] nicht vergessen werden und ihr Kampfziel im Laufe der Jahrhunderte fortleben in deutscher Jugend und Wehrkraft. [...] Wenn nicht alles täuscht, ruht tief im Herzen des deutschen Volkes die Anhänglichkeit an jene prächtigen Regimenter, die in den sonnendurchglühten Augusttagen 1914 nach Frankreich zogen und 4½ Jahre Deutschlands Grenzen zu schützen wußten. Die Sehnsucht nach ihnen bringt ein Auferstehen. Möchten nach Sturm und Winterszeit die Veilchen wieder wachsen!<sup>419</sup>

Such examples may not be found in all volumes of the series, but the photographs of cemeteries and similar tributes are always present, triggering the type of mentalities that contributed to the “cult of the fallen soldier.” One telling example from *Kaiser Franz-Garde-Grenadier-Regiment Nr. 2* is the photograph of a large “Denkmal” for the regiment, a tall, multi-tiered marble plinth adorned with the statue of a kneeling man whose gaze is directed downwards (Figure 5.2). The picture precedes the “Ehrentafel,” a list of the regiment’s fallen officers, and is captioned “Invictus – Victi – Victuri!”<sup>420</sup>—a phrase that reaffirms the connection between the war dead and a future victorious tribe, the German nation implicit in the “cult of the fallen soldier.”

Photographs played a similar role in the second series produced under George Soldan’s leadership at the Reichsarchiv, the “Schlachten des Weltkrieges.” It was focused on recounting the course of individual battles from the war as a supplement to the general history being prepared by the Reichsarchiv. A central idea of the 1919 memorandum on “Geschichtsschreibung” was that the lesser-educated classes of the Volk were fixated on the details of battles, and to provide such “Einzeldarstellungen” to readers allowed them to engage on an emotional level with the war. The “Schlachten des Weltkrieges” series translated this into practice through its content as well as its form: famous battles, portrayed in an accessible writing style by established authors, were of more universal interest than the often technical regimental

---

<sup>419</sup> Reinhard, *Das 4. Garde-Regiment zu Fuß*, 402

<sup>420</sup> Rieben, *Kaiser Franz-Garde-Grenadier-Regiment Nr. 2*. The Latin translates as “the unconquered — the (having been) conquered — the going to conquer.”

histories of the “Erinnerungsblätter,” and thinner volumes with a uniform layout that could be sold cheaply were better sellers than the Reichsarchiv’s monumental official history.<sup>421</sup>

Reichsarchiv president Hermann Mertz von Quirnheim claims in the introduction to the second edition of *Douaumont* (1925) by Werner Beumelburg, the first volume in the series, that “[d]as Bestreben, die Einzeltaten deutscher Männer vor Vergessenheit bewahren zu helfen und den Helden des Krieges ein Denkmal ihres Ringens und Sterbens zu setzen, hat überall Zustimmung und Unterstützung gefunden.”<sup>422</sup>

With a heavy emphasis on text, the 36 volumes in the series, published in five years between 1925 and 1930, do not primarily count as picture books. Nine volumes in the series, including the last three, do not contain a single photograph, and the average number of photographs per volume can be estimated around 20–30. However, like the “Erinnerungsblätter,” the majority of volumes incorporated photographs—and, as analyzed below, drawn illustrations—to complement the text, and these extend the series’ symbolic and ideological purpose. A cursory look through all 36 volumes reveals the predominance of only a few categories of photographs: wide landscapes showing the terrain of battlefields and surrounding areas, including trenches and other points of interest, such as castles, churches, and villages; views of destruction, including before and after shots of ruined forts, villages, and natural landscapes; official portraits of generals, field marshals, and other commanding officers; group shots of foreign prisoners of war, never German; and commemorative images of German cemeteries, funerary monuments, and war graves. Each of these broad categories has a role in the basic illustration of the text, but also carries, in varying proportion, secondary connotations that

---

<sup>421</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 197–99.

<sup>422</sup> Mertz von Quirnheim, “Vorwort des Reichsarchivs,” 5.

increase the symbolic meaning of the depicted battles to include, even in the cases of harsh defeat, repeated affirmations of the war experience.

The first category of landscapes is used primarily as a visual guide to orient readers into the space of the represented conflict treated with a high level of detail in the text. The category is the one most obviously linked to portraying the “facts” of what a specific battle was like, and often incorporates panoramas of battle terrain that have been marked with identifying information, like an example in the second volume in the series, *Karpathen- und Dnester-Schlacht 1915* (1925), that shows German positions on a specific day of fighting in the Carpathians (Figure 5.3). Other typical photographs in this category show the infrastructure of war, including trenches, forts, and the transport network used to support the front. At times, however, the photographs stray from the technical knowledge about the battle at hand and support a broader tourist’s view of the world. This is especially the case for volumes 4 and 16 on *Jildirim: Deutsche Streiter auf heiligem Boden* and *Der Kampf um die Dardanellen 1915*, respectively. In those volumes, which count among the series’ most richly illustrated, the visual depiction of the war becomes exoticized, for example, in the photographs of a water seller in Aleppo (Figure 5.4) or Turkish oxen and camel convoys (Figure 5.5).

The series’ voyeurism, however, is at its peak in the many views of the war’s destruction. Before-and-after shots, like the aerial images of Fort Vaux (Figure 5.6) in volume 14, *Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916, Teil II*, give a spatially and metaphorically distanced glimpse into destruction. Views of destroyed villages, such as those in northern Italy (Figure 5.7) in volume 12, *Der Durchbruch am Isonzo*, or of nature turned into wasteland, such as the forests of Argonne (Figure 5.8) in volume 18, *Argonnen*, give a similarly detached impression of conflict. The same cannot be said for photographs of dead soldiers and civilians. Although they are rare in

the overall series, the pictures have the highest potential to evoke an emotional response that would stray from largely positive messaging about the war. While the series freely acknowledges the horrors of war in its text, and it seems that the photographs of death complement this objective historical representation, it is significant that this category's images only contain photographs showing the other side's dead. Pöhlmann writes that George Soldan did not want to repress the horrors of war in the "volkstümliche" series so much as he wanted to create an encounter with the war that fostered "positive Sinnstiftung und Glorifizierung."<sup>423</sup> Accordingly, photographs of the war dead in the "Schlachten" series do not hide death or destruction from view, but they are framed in a German-positive interpretation by being labeled the effect of German military might. Three examples make this connection clearer: the caption of a picture of dead horses and French soldiers lying next to cannons states explicitly that they were killed by the 28. Feldartillerie Regiment (Figure 5.9); a photograph of "Beim Sturm aus den Daumenweg im M.G.Feuer gebliebene Franzosen" displays a German soldier looking over a line of dead Frenchmen, and the image below that shows a column of German soldiers marching onwards, apparently triumphant, when considered in relation to the photograph above (Figure 5.10); finally, a snapshot of a trench position captured by the Germans is coupled with a photograph of a dead French soldier lying on his side in the trenches—although it is labeled "Stilles Heldentum," he is marked a victim of the might implied by the above "Erstürmung" (Figure 5.11).<sup>424</sup> With no photographic representation of dead German soldiers in the entire series, "Schlachten des Weltkrieges" reinforces chauvinistic war attitudes of Germany conquering its enemies at the same time it creates space for a different, more heroic, and more dignified

---

<sup>423</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 196.

<sup>424</sup> The entry for the same photograph in the British Imperial War Museum's collection confirms it is a French soldier: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205305071>



representation of death in the photographs of cemeteries and memorials, analyzed below. The series employs photographs to attest to the unavoidable fact of mass death during the war while casting it in a meaningful way for the “cult of the fallen soldier.”

In the same way that photographs of the dead turn Germany’s enemies into the faceless byproduct of its war machine, photographs from two further categories reinforce the German-positive, chauvinistic attitudes that may otherwise be absent from the text. The first contains portraits of leading commanders in the battles, and the second includes photographs of POWs. Most of the volumes contain at least one portrait of a commanding officer; some volumes, such as volume 7, *Die Schlacht bei St. Quentin 1914*, incorporate over twenty such photographs (see, for example, Figure 5.12). These portraits give a face to the most important commanders during the various battles, a critical aspect of war historiography in the eyes of Soldan, who called it “die menschliche Seite der handelnden Persönlichkeiten” in his 1919 memorandum on writing popular war history.<sup>425</sup> Beyond a simple visual representation of the big names that controlled the course of battles described in the text, the portraits mark the men as Germany’s most honorable heroes, reinforce reverence for their authority, and hold them up as role models for a post-war era. Such a positive representation of the officer class and those above was an important goal for the former military elite, including leaders at the Reichsarchiv and the individually approved authors who penned the “Schlachten” volumes, many former officers themselves. Raising the prestige of commanders through such reverential portraits could play a part in counteracting influential republican war accounts that focused on indicting the corruption of the *Etappe*, the physical and metaphorical space between the front lines of common soldiers and the

---

<sup>425</sup> Soldan, “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges,” fo. 56. In this use of “Persönlichkeiten,” Soldan means the leading commanders of a war, not the average soldier, as he makes a parenthetical reference to Aleksey Kuropatkin, Russian Imperial Minister of War, when discussing the historiography of the Russo-Japanese war.

military's Wilhelmine officer corps, the term being used as a derisive metonym for the latter group. Republican war memory used the *Etappensumpf* idea to highlight the economic disparity between the military's classes, to paint a picture staff officers' incompetence and cowardice, and to assert the primacy of republican war accounts in the post-war memory contests. All three tasks shared in the end goal of legitimizing socialism and democracy in the new Republic, contrary to the nationalism and authoritarianism that existed in many shades among the former military elite and more extreme right-wing circles.

Photographs of POWs reinforce the message of German military might over its enemies in the same manner as the photographs of exclusively non-German victims of war. Of the 27 volumes in the "Schlachten" series that contain photographs, eight also contain photographs of foreign POWs. Although not the largest category of photographs in the series, it is one that appears frequently enough to draw attention, especially since its ability to illustrate historical facts is far outweighed by its obvious patriotic employment. Take for instance a pair of images (Figure 5.13) from volume 28, *Die Osterschlacht bei Arras 1917: Zwischen Lens und Scarpe*. At the top of the page an image captioned "Deutsche Infanterie greift an" shows German troops advancing across a flat, trench landscape, pictured from a far distance. Below it is a photograph showing English POWs, pictured from a very close proximity. The juxtaposition of the two photographs creates an implicit visible connection between them, although they are not explicitly linked to the same events by any supporting textual information. The pair attests to the apparent fact of victory in the top photograph's action by proudly displaying the bounty of said action, the English prisoners of war, in the bottom image. What explanatory worth either picture alone has in a series that is devoted to an accessible yet technical account of military tactics is open to debate. However, the connotation created between the photographs as a pair goes beyond

objective information to generate the type of military-affirming, patriotic message that was expected under Reichsarchiv historiographical theory and practice.

In summarizing the role “Schlachten des Weltkrieges” had in shaping war memory, Pöhlmann dismisses the series as partaking in revisionist discourses surrounding the state of politics and governance after war defeat and the Treaty of Versailles. He calls the texts “unspektakuläre taktische Kriegsgeschichtsschreibung,”<sup>426</sup> and he understands the series’ pleas to remember the war dead, often found in the volumes’ introductions and dedications and cast as a call of reinvigoration for a future national greatness, as largely posturing.<sup>427</sup> The series does not trade in the techno-futuristic and nihilistic myth of the “Frontkämpfer,” born from the industrial war of attrition at Verdun and the Somme, for example, that would pervade later, more extreme nationalist accounts (including Franz Schauwecker’s picture book *So war der Krieg!*). In contrast, the “Schlachten” series adheres to an earlier strand of interpreting the war: the contemplative, quasi-religious myth of the heroic victimhood of fallen soldiers, like those from the disaster at the Battle of Langemarck, whose deaths early in the war were used to transform physical defeat into a symbolic moral victory.<sup>428</sup> However, because the series was written and produced by former military staff—many carrying names from the Wilhelmine nobility—with a near monopoly on the military files held by the Reichsarchiv, the publications were, in the assessment of historian Alan Kramer, “not surprisingly tendentious and generally uncritical of the army” and exhibit a certain amount of “distortions and suppression of evidence.”<sup>429</sup>

While text in the “Schlachten” series remains removed in most ways from contentious post-war debates about the conflict’s legacy, including the “stab-in-the-back” and the founding

---

<sup>426</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 216.

<sup>427</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 214.

<sup>428</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 214–15. See also Hüppauf, “Schlachtenmythen.”

<sup>429</sup> Kramer, “The First World War,” 388.

of the Weimar Republic, Pöhlmann notes correctly that the illustrations in the series sustained the influential nationalist “cult of the fallen soldier” that was monopolized by right-wing commemoration practices.<sup>430</sup> Of special note are the many pen-and-ink drawings made by a handful of artists in a plain graphic style that adorn the beginnings and ends of chapters. They feature predominantly the work of Albert Reich, a war painter whose glorification and romanticization of the war experience matched neatly with the right-wing ideology that would later lead him to become an eager National Socialist and even the co-designer of the first-edition book jacket for *Mein Kampf*.<sup>431</sup> Pöhlmann describes the work of Reich and others found throughout the “Schlachten” series:

Diese stellten zum einen Genre- und Kampfszenen aus den beschriebenen Kämpfen dar. In den Schlußvignetten aber versinnbildlichten sie in ihrer Ikonographie eindeutig den kontemplativen Mythos mit religiösen Anleihen, sei es die Skizze eines Soldatengrabs unter einem Baum, der Blick auf einen Friedhof, eine auf dem Stacheldraht sitzende weiße Taube oder ein über das Schlachtfeld hinwegschreitenden Sensenmann. Zweifelhafte Höhepunkt dieser Verquickung von religiöser und militärischer Symbolik bildete ein zum Christus-Kreuz verlängertes Eisernes Kreuz, das von zwei Seitengewehren gekreuzt und von einem Palm-Lorbeer-Gebinde umkränzt wird.<sup>432</sup>

The religious overtones Mosse characterizes in the “cult of the fallen soldier”<sup>433</sup> are thereby embodied in the compact visual symbols of drawn illustrations in the “Schlachten” series. The war effort is made meaningful with reference to principles of Christian religious tradition, including the analogy of youthful sacrifice in war to the Passion and resurrection of Christ.<sup>434</sup> Visual signs of such rebirth can be found in an illustration showing cemetery crosses silhouetted by a radiant rising sun, an image that is repeated in multiple variations across the series (Figure 5.14). In one transparent example (Figure 5.15) from volume 14, *Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916*:

---

<sup>430</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 214.

<sup>431</sup> Schweizer, *Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben*, 111.

<sup>432</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 214.

<sup>433</sup> See his chapter by the same name in *Fallen Soldiers*, especially 75–80.

<sup>434</sup> See Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 74.

*Das Ringen um Fort Vaux*, three graves of soldiers, marked by crosses with helmets atop, are paralleled by three crosses on a distant hill, recalling those at Christ's crucifixion. Radiant light beams emanate from the hill, drawing the soldiers' graves towards the Christian crosses and the concomitant promise of resurrection.

The "cult of the fallen soldier" is not limited to the idealized visual representation of the drawn illustrations and is complemented less abstractly by the final prominent category of photographs in the series: those of graves and memorials. These comprise cemeteries and monuments ranging from the modest "Soldatenfriedhof in der Schlamm-Mulde" (Figure 5.16) to the monumental "Kreuz auf der Höhe des Ehrenfriedhofs vor Gorlice" (Figure 5.17). No matter the complexity of their design, however, the memorials all serve the same function of honoring the dead, and the photographs of them extend the reach of their memorial message beyond their fixed physical location. As in the "Erinnerungsblätter," the photographs allow readers to make a repeated and easy virtual pilgrimage to important sites commemorating the sacrifice of Germany's fallen. In activating the emotional investment of readers, photographs of cemeteries and memorials, more so than any of the previous categories of photographs in the "Schlachten" series, are inconsequential for the technical description of battles in the text. Their purpose goes beyond a historically objective recounting of the war to foster continued admiration and respect for the fallen soldiers in the post-war era. In this regard, the space for emotional identification opened up by the photographs of war memorials actually went hand-in-hand with the text, which "encouraged [its] readers to situate their own war memories in the complex dynamics of the major battles."<sup>435</sup> By extension of their positive, emotionally invested interpretation of death, the photographs of war memorials can be said to stand in service to the myth of Langemarck, which

---

<sup>435</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 224.

interpreted the death of Germany's youth as a willing and heroic sacrifice for the nation in order to turn physical defeat into moral victory. Even when contemporary political issues were actively rejected from the Reichsarchiv series, photographs opened up alternative spaces for connoting the "cult of the fallen soldier," a realm of commemoration that was dominated by the political right for purposes that extended the ideological meaning of remembering the war dead.

The two popular publication series coordinated by George Soldan's department on "volkstümliche Geschichtsschreibung" at the Reichsarchiv may not have completely fulfilled the theoretical ideas on war history as propaganda that can be found in his 1919 memorandum and other contemporaneous statements from the Reichsarchiv's directors, but they engaged photography and other visual media to shape the form of war memory into one that was more affirmative towards the military and perpetuated influential conservative myths about Germany's war dead. The task was not initially an easy one for the Reichsarchiv, which not only struggled with organizational challenges after its founding but also faced a noteworthy opponent in the war-critical and pro-republican memories that found popular resonance in the first five years after armistice. Soldan wrote to his superior in 1924 about the uphill struggle nationalist circles faced in trying to circulate positive reminiscences about the war. Not only leftist newspapers but those supporting more moderate parties like the Center Party and the German People's Party (DVP) seemed hesitant to publish anything positive about the war experience.<sup>436</sup> Ziemann writes that "[a]ny efforts to utilize war remembrances for 'nationalist publicity work' had in fact only increased the 'reluctance' of left-leaning and moderate newspapers to print them."<sup>437</sup> However, a shift in outlook occurred with the Ruhr occupation, creating a national mood that allowed more nationalist, military-friendly mentalities to prevail, not just in the realm of daily politics but also

---

<sup>436</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 57.

<sup>437</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 57.

in the contested arena of war commemoration. The Reichsarchiv capitalized on the shift, as popular series like the “Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter” and “Schlachten des Weltkrieges,” among others produced by the Reichsarchiv,<sup>438</sup> were initiated around the same time (the first volume in the “Schlachten” series was published in 1925). Ziemann writes: “With their comprehensive coverage of events, the writings of the Reichsarchiv clearly had a hegemonic position in the popular historiography of the war, at least from the 1920s.”<sup>439</sup> The reach of the “Schlachten des Weltkrieges,” for example, can be measured in concrete numbers: by 1928 there were 40,000 to 50,000 copies of each volume in circulation.<sup>440</sup>

George Soldan, whose leadership of the department for “volkstümliche Schriften” and his own theories on war historiography as propaganda were foundational to the memory politics of the influential Reichsarchiv, left the institution in 1929 and took over the editorship of the military newspaper *Deutsche Wehr*.<sup>441</sup> His influence in the realm of picturing the war expanded beyond his functions at the Reichsarchiv, which itself continued to play a central role in the depiction of the war as it held a principal collection of photographs used by independent authors and editors in their own picture books and other war publications. In 1925, Soldan wrote the introduction to the first of two volumes in the series *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* (1926), a monumental collection of photographs from Germany’s and the Entente’s official war archives, and he authored and edited the similarly monumental *Zeitgeschichte in Wort und Bild*, a history of the Weimar era that appeared in three thick volumes from 1931 to 1934.

---

<sup>438</sup> See Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, especially Chapter 5, “Das publizistische Instrumentarium,” 162–247.

<sup>439</sup> Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, 223.

<sup>440</sup> Linder, *Princes of the Trenches*, 183.

<sup>441</sup> Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 195.

Soldan's lengthy history of the post-war era in *Zeitgeschichte in Wort und Bild* can be seen as the culmination of some of the theories on popular historiography he put to paper a little over a decade earlier. Although he makes only brief mentions of photography in his 1919 memorandum on "Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Krieges," in the introduction to the first volume of *Zeitgeschichte*, Soldan acknowledges the power of photographs: "Das Werk bedient sich zum erstenmal einer Darstellungsart, die in Hinsicht auf die unerhört vollkommen entwickelte Photoberichterstattung unserer Zeit für jede Geschichtsschreibung der Zukunft, die verständlich und überzeugend gestalten will, gegeben sein dürfte."<sup>442</sup> The first volume is indeed richly illustrated: photographs take up over half of the space of more than 500 pages, with every right-hand page devoted to larger images (with the exception of the beginning of chapters) and smaller photographs frequently mixed in with the text of the left-hand pages. At first glance, the book's inner design is far more dynamic than other picture books, including *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*. Photographs are variously sized and arranged on the page, and their cropping is far from uniform; two typical techniques have photographs cropped into circles or background information completely cut from images so that the photograph's focal point, often figures, pop out from the page's white background (see both techniques combined in Figure 5.18).

The relative dynamism in the book's use of photography does not necessarily enhance the book's self-proclaimed mission. Soldan writes that he, someone who loves his Volk and his Vaterland, created the book "[i]m festen Glauben an die ewige Größe Deutschlands." Its intention is to reveal the tragic nature of recent history, to show how events like world war, revolution, inflation, etc. are connected. "Aus der Erkenntnis aber," he continues, "möge jene

---

<sup>442</sup> Soldan, *Zeitgeschichte in Wort und Bild*, "Zum Geleit," n.p.



Kraft erwachsen, die allein in der Einigkeit des Volkes ruht.”<sup>443</sup> The political program that this endeavor entails unfolds only in the subsequent chapters, which hint at the most prevalent sources of post-war conservative ire: a weak and revolutionary home front, personified by leftists like Karl Liebknecht and moderate parliamentarians like Philipp Scheidemann alike, is blamed for the war effort’s collapse, even as the military retained its honor through decisive defeats; the Russian revolution spawned harmful ideas unfit for Germany yet instigated revolution at home; the Kapp Putsch was a laudable expression of the people’s national will, which had been defamed by criticism of the war effort; the Treaty of Versailles had disastrous consequences for the shape of post-war governance, military, and honor, and so on and so forth.

The exact argumentation of these issues, which touch on only a fraction of the themes present in the book’s first of three volumes, cannot be fully reviewed here, but it suffices to say that photography does not seem consciously employed to support the text’s conservative, nationalist, or military-affirming program. Instead, photographs are presented with neutral identifying captions, and although the body of Soldan’s text, meant as an objective history of recent times, is tinged by his ideology, the photographs’ role in the book is most akin to the illustrative role of impartial press photographs. Such a use of photography, of course, is not by nature apolitical, but certain editorial choices confirm photography’s relative nonparticipation in Soldan’s ideology as the volume’s rule. Take, for example, the photographs accompanying a chapter on the Spartacist uprising. Among other photographs showing the street fighting from the perspectives of both the military and the revolutionaries, the chapter includes photographs of funerals for the fallen of each side. Photographs of Karl Liebknecht’s and Rosa Luxemburg’s funeral processions are presented without difference to those showing government soldiers

---

<sup>443</sup> Soldan, *Zeitgeschichte in Wort und Bild*, “Zum Geleit.”

burying a comrade; none are framed as evidence for a political argument and merely add illustration to the events explained in the text. One juxtaposition on a single page (Figure 5.19) is telling for the unbiased use of photography in *Zeitgeschichte*: a photograph of 80 Spartacists being arrested—perhaps to the delight of pro-government, conservative forces—has its potential political boast counterweighted by a reverent photograph taken at the funeral of Spartacists who died in Dresden. The second photograph displays a large crowd of mourners that is undeniable evidence of the support enjoyed by the Spartacist movement among the public. There are also relatively few instances when text is used to subvert the impartial illustration of the images. One exception to the rule is comprised of quotation marks around the word “Kriegsverbrecher” in the label to a photograph of three English representatives arriving for the Leipzig War Criminal Trials. The caption questions the fairness of the Entente-mandated trials, which drew skepticism from large swaths of the German public. The one example, however, remains insignificant in the book’s larger composition.

Soldan’s use of photography in *Zeitgeschichte in Wort und Bild* is not concerned with the war’s visual record and its role in shaping the post-war understanding of the war. The book’s relatively dynamic design is not employed for political messaging and at its most insidious is used to authenticate the text’s political claims. Consciously or not, Soldan adds an air of legitimacy to the historical arguments of his text through his uncritical claim of photography’s objectivity. The way he describes photography in the introduction asserts the relay of factual information through images. As quoted above, he welcomes photography for its natural ability to lend any historical writing its “understandable” and “convincing” nature. His phrase “unerhört vollkommen entwickelte Photoberichterstattung unserer Zeit” extols photography as technically perfect and places it in the realm of impartial reporting, marking it as implicitly trustworthy.

Soldan made a similar claim about photography in his introduction to an earlier picture book: volume one of the monumental collection of war photographs *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* (1926), which was compiled from the Reicharchiv's holdings of the former Kriegs-Bild- und Filmamt (BUFA). According to Soldan, the richness of photographic illustration in *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* ensures that “de[r] wirkliche[] Krieg” will be portrayed in “überzeugender Stärke.”<sup>444</sup> In contrast to the earlier “Prachtgemälde” that soldiers used to imagine what war was like when they were called to duty in 1914, even if their creators strove for a true “Wiedergabe der Wirklichkeit,” photographs are far more capable of delivering the “Tatsachen” of “den lebendigen Krieg.” He asserts that words alone cannot represent the full experience of the modern *Materialschlacht*, implicitly assigning photographs primacy in rendering the “real” war for the present. Furthermore, he welcomes the special authenticity of photographs made by the BUFA, which represented “our” side and was tasked with capturing (“festhalten”) the war experience for the edification of future generations. This propagandistic allusion matches the very reason the BUFA took over the central collection and censorship of amateur and official photographs alike in 1916: the first war years saw the uninhibited sale of photographs from the front to various publication outlets, a considerable risk to the military's careful management of public perception of the war.<sup>445</sup> Soldan praises the BUFA photographic collection for supplementing the personal collections of amateur photographers, who were not able to capture the essence of battle for the practical reason that “[j]e wilder die Schlacht tobte, desto mehr vergaßen wir jenen kleinen Apparat.” In this sense, Soldan, at the time still employed at the Reichsarchiv, privileges the “official” archive of photographs over the amateur, and he faults the

---

<sup>444</sup> Soldan, “Zum Geleit.”

<sup>445</sup> Dewitz, “Schießen oder fotografieren,” 53. For the censorship conditions imposed on reporters and the illustrated press during the war, see Keller, “Der Weltkrieg der Bilder.”

latter with a gap in its representation of the war, however spurious the claim of lack is: “Wenn wir [Soldaten] aber an der Hand jener [persönlichen] Bilder eine Vorstellung von der Ungeheuerlichkeit unseres Erlebnisses bei denen, die den Krieg nicht aus persönlicher Anschauung kennen, erwecken wollen, dann wird uns nur zu sehr die Unzulänglichkeit unserer Sammlung klar.”<sup>446</sup>

In this assessment, the BUFA photographs collected in *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* will not only be welcomed for the way they supplement the record of soldiers who missed out on recording their front experience because they were too busy trying to survive it, they will also enact a post-war memorial function that is tied to an implied political agenda. Soldan describes the photographs’ meaning in terms that easily recall some of the main components of “soldatischer Nationalismus” propagated by Franz Schauwecker and others:

Für das überlebende Geschlecht steht im Vordergrund, daß aus dem Getöse der Schlacht über den Krieg hinaus herbe, kraft- und willensvolle Gestalten erwachsen, die auch nach dem Schicksalsschlage des Zusammenbruchs, nach vierjährigem Ringen nicht den Glauben an sich selber und an eine Zukunft ihres Vaterlandes verlieren wollen. Die Bilder jener allein im Kriege rein und edel sich entwickelnden Kameradschaft mahnen dazu, in einer kaum weniger großen Not der Gegenwart den Gedanken der Einigkeit aller, die zum deutschen Vaterlande sich bekennen, nicht verkümmern zu lassen.<sup>447</sup>

Soldan espouses conservative ideals of the organic community that arises from the camaraderie of the front-line experience and should play an active role in securing the “Zukunft ihres Vaterlands” from the “Not der Gegenwart.” To legitimize this implicit claim, he supports the “Frontkämpferlegende” interpretive framework, which heroized an *übermenschlich* breed of front-line soldiers, born of the war of attrition in the trenches (Verdun, Somme, etc.). To be counted among such a “rein und edel sich entwickelnden Kameradschaft” is only possible through a sort of baptism of fire at the front line (“Getöse der Schlacht”). The myth legitimized

---

<sup>446</sup> Soldan, “Zum Geleit.”

<sup>447</sup> Soldan, “Zum Geleit.”

and elevated the position of former soldiers and conservatives alike in the post-war political debates. By 1933 the “Frontkämpferlegende” had largely supplanted an earlier interpretation that framed the heroic sacrifice of Germany’s youth in the first war years (Yser Front, Langemarck, etc.) as a moral victory born of military defeat.<sup>448</sup> In comparison to this earlier myth, the “Frontkämpferlegende” sought to stake out a specific political position interested in post-war political and societal discourses that stretched far beyond simply remembering the sacrifices of soldiers.

The first volume of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* not only carries the dedication “Den Frontkämpfern gewidmet,” but its visual focus is also squarely aimed at the front line. It also gives preference to the “Westlicher Kriegsschauplatz,” which occupies the book’s first 250 pages; “Übrige Kriegsschauplätze” are haphazardly lumped together and consigned to the book’s last 100 pages. Although it is unclear if Soldan himself played a role in selecting and ordering the images, a cursory overview of the 400-some photographs included in *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* reveals that they bolster the rhetoric of the “Frontkämpferlegende.” Although there is no formal organization to the book beyond a differentiation between the Western Front and everything else, the first 30 pages of photographs focus on the technologically advanced weapons employed during the late-war “Materialschlacht”: flamethrowers, tanks, and massive artillery guns (Figure 5.20). Soldan describes the effect of these weapons in the introduction as “jene[s] verworren[e] Knäuel von Eisen, Feuer, Rauch, Lärm, Schrecken, Wildheit und Tod,” visually represented by photographs showing the aftermaths of their destruction. Along with a few images of actual explosions, photographs of bombed-out buildings and “characteristically” pockmarked landscapes prevail throughout (see, for example, Figure 5.21). The book also does not shy away

---

<sup>448</sup> See Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, 213–14.

from including grisly photographs of animal and non-German human bodies reduced to wreckage, to which a pair of images from *Etaires* (Figure 5.22), one coldly labeled “Artilleriewirkung,” can attest. This sort of physical destruction is central to the positive understanding of the war’s violence—the metaphysical transformation of soldiers into a new breed of men—that inheres in the “Frontkämpferlegende.” This is evident when Soldan writes in the introduction that “krafts- und willensvolle Gestalten” arose out of the “Getöse des Schlachts.”

Throughout the volume, a focus on soldiers photographed in groups, like those marching in columns (Figure 5.23) or working together to man a large artillery gun (Figure 5.24), emphasizes the ideological concept of the community born from war. Not only are individual soldiers created anew in the fire of battle, they are forged into a group through the bond they cemented by their war experience, what Soldan calls “ihre[] schwerste[], aber auch zugleich erhebenste[] Lebenserinnerung.” The many veterans’ organizations that arose after the war testify to the importance of companionship and solidarity among soldiers, but Soldan’s introduction—and to some extent the photographs in *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*—deepens the bond between soldiers from one of friendship and mutual support to one of a deeply felt shared understanding of coming close to death in the storm of the Western Front. Although not as unequivocal as Franz Schauwecker, the introduction shares ideological tendencies with those of “soldatischer Nationalismus,” because his implicit claim is that such a war experience will inspire love of the fatherland in those who survived. (Organizations like the Reichsbanner proved this conservative sentiment to be flawed in reach.) Soldan claims explicitly that the volume will reconnect the fighters through shared in-group memories at the same time that it will tell future generations of “jenem einzigartigen unvergänglichen deutschen Heldentum.” The photographs

seem not only to attempt to visualize the powerful and transformational impressions of war, as noted above, they depict as well how a shared group experience might arise out of it. Take, for example, a photograph of a column of marching soldiers winding their way through the wasted landscape of the Western Front (Figure 5.25). Pictured from a considerable distance, the group of soldiers appears small and as if swallowed by the ruined landscape of trenches, busted fortifications, and dead trees. Their incorporation into the landscape is further enhanced by the row of men visually mirrored in rows of burned trees and the wooden stakes of *chevaux de frise* obstacles. The soldiers stand out only in the foreground because of their darker uniforms, but even those become melded with the landscape as the eye traces the winding column into the darker background. The wasted landscape, its foreboding atmosphere heightened by smoke and fog in the distance towards which the men march, gives an impression that the soldiers are descending into hell. The photograph is one of many that work as visual evidence of the bond forged among soldiers in hardship and peril.

Photographs showing groups of soldiers in true “Kameradschaft” spirit complement—in comparison to some war picture books, and perhaps only second to Schauwecker’s *So war der Krieg!*—a relatively high number images of soldiers “in action” at the front, firing cannons, advancing through trenches, and storming enemy lines. These photographs, such as the ones captioned “Sturmtrupp im Angriff auf eine sturmreif geschossene Ortschaft unter dem Schutze von künstlichem Nebel” (Figure 5.26) and “Im Trichterfelde vorstürmende Infanterie” (Figure 5.27), are some of the closest existing views of actual fighting in the First World War. Although they may seem—for lack of a better word—dull to viewers today, who are accustomed to the work of professional, embedded war photojournalists, the photographs stand out among the larger archive of images printed in Weimar-era picture books for their “authentic” look at the

war's violence. Such photographs were intended to be powerful glimpses into the dangers and heroics that are part and parcel of the "Frontkämpferlegende."

Soldan openly admits in the introduction, however, that such a photographic representation does not automatically match the intended worldview. He writes: "Keineswegs erkenne ich die Gefahr, die aus dem Anblick jener zahlreich hier vertretenen düsteren Kampfbilder erwachsen kann, die das ganze Elend des Krieges in teilweise grausiger Form vor Augen führen."<sup>449</sup> There exists a danger in showing photographs of destruction, as they could invite a skeptical assessment of the war's purpose that runs contrary to his intended vision: one that reaffirms the military's honor and understands the transformational experience of those who served at the front as positive. Beyond removing the war's violence completely from view, a tactic most plainly seen in *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung*, Soldan needs interpretive strategies to circumvent the possibility that the war's visual record and its unavoidable evidence of large-scale traumatic violence might be understood in a negative light. To a certain extent, *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* already erases some of the more radically violent images, like those graphic portraits in Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* that present the mutilated and shattered faces of soldiers. But the volume does not shy away from corpses (if always labeled as non-German), destroyed city- and landscapes, and even presents extreme destruction as typical (see, for example, Figure 5.28: "Ein typisches Straßenbild aus dem Bewegungskampfe"). Some photographs give an impression of human mastery over the destruction of war, such as an image of an "Eisenbahnbaukompagnie" leveling new streets through the highly upturned terrain somewhere near the front (Figure 5.29) or another image showing a group of soldiers attending to an injured horse in the unfavorable surrounds of smoke

---

<sup>449</sup> Soldan, "Zum Geleit."



and rubble from what the caption says was a bombed-out dressing station (Figure 5.30). In any case, Soldan condemns in the introduction any negative reaction to the volume's pictured violence as one that fails to grasp the war experience's foundational meaning:

Aber der Krieg darf und kann nicht lediglich eine Begeisterungsangelegenheit mehr sein, nachdem das Elend unseres Zeiterlebens der Geschichte angehört. Wohl werden weiche, pazifistisch, welt- und menschenfremd eingestellte Kreise allzu bereitwillig, diese Bilderfolge für ihre Zwecke auszunutzen, bestrebt sein. Ihrem Unwirklichkeitssinn gegenüber steht die auch aus diesem Buch sprechende Geschichte, die trotz aller menschlichen Auflehnung die bedeutendsten Abschnitte ihres Werdeganges mit Blut zu schreiben pflegt.<sup>450</sup>

He repeats a claim about photography in this passage that is characteristic of conservative frameworks for interpreting the war: the ascription of a deep, almost sacral significance to the war experience rests squarely on an assumption of the photograph's authenticity. Potential rebuttals to positive interpretations of the war—even when “das ganze Elend des Krieges” is openly acknowledged—can be dismissed outright as detached from the pictured situation's reality, which remains only truly knowable to those on the inside, or, as Soldan calls them, the “Eingeweihten” of the front.

The pacifist rebuttal to Soldan's claims is best represented by Gerhart Seger, writing for the preeminent peace journal *Die Friedens-Warte* in July 1927. He lauds the first volume of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* for its technically superb production but laments the lack of organization, the deferential treatment of Germany vis-à-vis the Entente in its discussion of military capability, death, and defeat, and the twisting of basic historical facts to support a nationalist and affirmative vision of the war. Echoing the earlier critique of Kurt Tucholsky in his review of Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Seger writes:

Niemand wird von den zahlreichen alten Offizieren, die im Reichsarchiv mit der Bearbeitung des von der früheren Heeresleitung übergebenen Materials beschäftigt sind,

---

<sup>450</sup> Soldan, “Zum Geleit.”

pazifistische Publikationen über den Krieg erwarten, obwohl sich diese Behörde der Republik ein Verdienst mit der Aufklärung über das wahre Gesicht des Weltkrieges erwerben könnte. Dagegen kann man fordern, daß die amtlichen Publikationen des Reichsarchivs nicht in so hohem Maße antipazifistisch und wissenschaftlich unzulänglich sind, wie das vorliegende Buch.<sup>451</sup>

He recognizes the potential of photography to reveal the “wahre Gesicht des Weltkrieges,” but dismisses the efforts in *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* as “eine klägliche Leistung [...], um so kläglicher, als die äußere Ausstattung verrät, wie reiche Mittel dem Reichsarchiv zur Verfügung stehen.”<sup>452</sup>

The same objections would likely apply to a second volume of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* (ca. 1928) that contained only photographs taken from the side of the Entente but which was constructed almost identically to the first. With over 400 photographs, the second volume was as richly illustrated as the first, but—despite a chronological progression—it similarly lacked any organization by theme, meaning its resulting kaleidoscopic view makes it difficult for the reader/viewer to draw threads through the book. A general overview of the photographs reveals that it is also centered on the same themes as the first volume: the destruction of landscapes and buildings is prevalent, but corpses are absent; the group struggle of the front-line soldiers is emphasized through the many photographs of groups of soldiers at work and the absence of individual portraits; and the material superiority of Germany’s enemies is on display through photographs of their large artillery guns and “riesige[] und unerschöpfliche[] Munitionslager,” as one caption has it (Figure 5.31). The last point is central to the introduction written by Walter Beumelburg, a popular war author representing “soldatischer Nationalismus” (see Chapter 6), whose work included four volumes in the Reichsarchiv series “Schlachten des Weltkrieges” and the third and last volume of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*. Titled *Die stählernen Jahre* (1930), it was a monumental version of his war novel *Sperrfeuer um Deutschland* (1928) that included a

---

<sup>451</sup> Seger, Review of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*, 222.

<sup>452</sup> Seger, Review of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*, 222.

dedication by Hindenburg and infrequent, drawn illustrations and fewer photographs.<sup>453</sup>

Beumelburg writes in the introduction to the second volume of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* that it was impossible for the German soldier to see the enemy at the front, and the present volume should provide a peek “hinter den Vorhang des Niemandslandes.”<sup>454</sup> In his estimation, the most important revelation that comes from considering the pictures taken on the other side of the front is the Entente’s material superiority:

Wir erkennen die ungeheure, beinahe phantastische Fülle des Artilleriematerials, das man in tagelangem Trommelfeuer auf uns niederprasseln ließ. Die zerschossenen Gräben, die Trichter, die zerfetzten Waldstücke tauchen lebendig vor uns wieder auf, wie man sie uns damals mit einer gewaltigen Überlegenheit entrissen.<sup>455</sup>

Beumelburg praises the ability of photography, among all other forms of depiction, to capture the past in “naturgetreu” detail and keep it alive in “einer unheimlichen Lebendigkeit.” It opens up a new visual horizon to those who served at the front. Taken as a collection, the photographs do provide a strong sense of the type of destructive power that was unleashed upon Germany—or all combatants for that matter—during the war. But Beumelburg reads a special meaning into the photographs that lies far outside photography’s documentary capability, despite his problematic over-exaggerations of the medium’s “handgreifliche Wirklichkeit.” The picture book has in his eyes a “besondere Bedeutung”:

Sie ist bedrückend und erhebend zugleich. Bedrückend in der Erkenntnis, gegen welche unerschöpfliche Materialfülle wir zu kämpfen hatten. Erhebend, weil uns gerade diese Beobachtung mit Stolz erfüllen muß. Denn selbst eine solche Überlegenheit hat nicht ausgereicht, uns im Felde zu schlagen.

So wird auch diese Sammlung wie die erste zu einem lebendigen, erschütternden und wahrhaftigen Denkmal für die Größe dessen, was von deutschen Männern in vier Jahren gefordert und getragen wurde.<sup>456</sup>

---

<sup>453</sup> See his bibliography entry in Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution*, 442–44.

<sup>454</sup> Beumelburg, “Vorwort,” 6.

<sup>455</sup> Beumelburg, “Vorwort,” 6.

<sup>456</sup> Beumelburg, “Vorwort,” 7.

In the same way that Soldan frames the first volume of photographs as evidence of an experience inscribed into the front-line soldier and enduring into the present, Beumelburg asserts photography's authenticity as unassailable for his claims about the war's meaning more than a decade after its end. Echoing the widespread post-war slogan of "geschlagen aber unbesiegt," he affirms the German national spirit despite its material defeat. By connecting the "wahrhaftig" nature of photography with the "lebendig" legacy of the war experience, he brings to the fore the war's contemporary meaning, which has an "erschütternden" ripple effect on the present.

The techniques used by the Reichsarchiv and its affiliates, including George Soldan and Werner Beumelburg, are evidence of the effort to transform the war's negative outcomes into something positive through a reworking of photographic archives. The two series produced by the Reichsarchiv's department of "volkstümliche Schriften" gave military accounts that presented death in a matter-of-fact manner, embodied in the orderly cemeteries and regimental monuments that preserved German military honor. The two volumes of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* took the effort to deal with the obvious realities of death and destruction to a further level. They freely acknowledged the aspects of war a picture book like *Deutschland* worked hard to conceal, even though *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* lacks any reckoning with human destruction, let alone at a level as frank or horrific as Ernst Friedrich's earlier *Krieg dem Kriege!*. Death is re-inscribed in *Der Weltkrieg im Bild* as a necessary component of the "Frontkämpferlegende," one that may bring physical ruin but cannot hamper and even emboldens the German national spirit. The reasons for such arguments coming from the former military brass of the Reichsarchiv and its partners were likely personally and professionally motivated. Authors like Bloem, Soldan, and Beumelburg, all war veterans believing in the rightness of their own actions and Germany's place in the world, had individual reasons to justify and make sense of their war service as much

as they had career incentives to keep their accounts central to public discourse. Political motivations are also evident, especially in the fashioning of the war experience into a positive national legacy for the present, in which former soldiers will carry the banner for a new Germany. The picture books treated in this chapter largely avoid outright discussion of such politics, making only allusions to this interpretation that nevertheless comprise a clear appeal to sympathetic readers. The strand of nationalism arising from the war experience that authors like Bloem, Soldan, and Beumelburg implicitly represent in these picture books reaches its fever pitch in the polemical picture books of Franz Schauwecker treated in the following two chapters. There, the transformation of war defeat into a positive experience crystallizes around the concrete political aim of scrapping the Weimar system and ushering in a new style of nationalism, soldier-centered and authoritarian, for a Germany that squandered the legacy of the front.

## Chapter 6. Metaphysical Transformation at the Front: Franz Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg!* (1927) and "soldatischer Nationalismus"

The self-styled "soldatischer Nationalismus" that developed in the work of authors and commentators such as Franz Schauwecker was initially not overtly anti-republican, but as the economic and social situation in Weimar deteriorated in the late 1920s, the front experience was deployed as a pillar of the demand for a conservative revolution aimed against Germany's nascent democracy.<sup>457</sup> Drawing on long, pre-First World War traditions that viewed war more as a force of nature or a matter of fate than an aberration of human judgment,<sup>458</sup> authors supportive of "soldatischer Nationalismus," such as Ernst Jünger, Franz Schauwecker, Werner Beumelburg, Ernst von Salomon, and Edwin Erich Dwinger, all of whom served during the war—or, in the case of Salomon, in the post-war Freikorps—and fashioned themselves as part of a "Frontgeneration," idealized not only the recent war experience but the idea of conflict in itself. War was as a spiritual source of *Bildung* for the individual and the nation.

Although numerically represented by only a small group of authors, the "soldatischer Nationalismus" movement was highly active in producing literary and journalistic representations of the war that were almost uniformly subsumed by the wider national-conservative movement during the Weimar Republic.<sup>459</sup> Among the most important accounts produced by "soldatischer Nationalismus" authors were the early works of Ernst Jünger (the

---

<sup>457</sup> Krumreich, "Die Präsenz des Krieges im Frieden," 8. Prümm provides greater detail to why "soldatischer Nationalismus" must be understood as part of a larger, more nebulous "Konservative Revolution" that—after the failed Kapp Putsch in 1920—split with an "older" style of nationalism that sought the restoration of the Wilhelmine monarchy. See his characterization of both terms and their mutual development throughout the 1920s in *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 1–77, especially 26–28 on the aftermath of the Kapp Putsch.

<sup>458</sup> Wette, "Von Kellogg bis Hitler," 150.

<sup>459</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 8.

autobiographical novel *In Stahlgewittern* [1920], the essay “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis” [1922], and the expansion of episodes from *In Stahlgewittern* in *Das Wäldchen 125* [1925] and *Feuer und Blut* [1925]).<sup>460</sup> Franz Schauwecker’s *Aufbruch der Nation* (1930), Ernst von Salomon’s trilogy of *Die Geächteten* (1929), *Die Stadt* (1932), and *Die Kadetten* (1933), along with Edwin Erich Dwinger’s trilogy *Die Deutsche Passion* (1929–1932), comprise “das eindrucklichste Zeugnis dieses ‘soldatischen Nationalismus.’”<sup>461</sup> As with other currents of the conservative revolution, “soldatischer Nationalismus” first found its “geistige Initialzündung” in countless magazine and newspaper articles, which crystallized into a more distinct ideology in later anthologies like *Krieg und Krieger* (1930; edited by Jünger).

Literary scholar Karl Prümm characterized the influence of “soldatischer Nationalismus” on the larger conservative revolutionary movement as follows: “Die Verwendung des Kriegserlebnisses in der politischen Diskussion der Weimarer Republik bildet eine relativ geschlossene, einheitlich strukturierte Komponente im Gewirr der sehr differenten und oft kontroversen konservativ-revolutionären Ideologien und ideologischen Ansätze.”<sup>462</sup> The glorification of war and the front experience did not, however, exist solely to be co-opted by other groups, but was coupled by “soldatischer Nationalismus” with its own distinct conception of nationalism that had, for example, “imperialistische Wunschträume, die jene der Alldeutschen von 1914 weit hinter sich ließen,”<sup>463</sup> and “unüberhörbar politische Herrschaftsansprüche für die

---

<sup>460</sup> Although the main figure of “soldatischer Nationalismus” in his early work, Ernst Jünger developed his ideas over the course of the Weimar era, eventually veering towards National Bolshevism in his lengthy philosophical essay *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gewalt* (1932) (Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 331). The transformation can also be traced in the many articles Jünger contributed to publications—often also edited by him—like the *Standarte* (Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 294).

<sup>461</sup> Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 444.

<sup>462</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 38.

<sup>463</sup> Wette, “Von Kellogg bis Hitler,” 165.

Elite der Frontsoldatengeneration.”<sup>464</sup> Positive aspects of the war experience—such as deeply felt camaraderie, the military’s hierarchical structure, and the imposition of a strong leader to whom the unruly masses should submit—inflected the political demands of “soldatischer Nationalismus.”<sup>465</sup> It seemed every political problem could be solved by referring to the practiced ideals of the soldierly experience and translating them into peace time.

The shared front experience was indeed enough to bind the proponents of “soldatischer Nationalismus” together, as the group lacked anything reminiscent of an actual organization. “Members” were often only loosely connected through informal circles of like-minded ideologues that crystallized around leading figures, like Ernst Jünger,<sup>466</sup> or certain publications, such as the *Standarte*, which initially belonged to the influential veteran’s group the Stahlhelm (see Chapter 1).<sup>467</sup> And although the group lacked a political organization and did not neatly correspond to any one political party, the ideas of “soldatischer Nationalismus”—foremost the war experience’s politicization—meshed easily with the more overt anti-democratic and anti-republican sensibilities characteristic of groups like the Stahlhelm: “Was sie verband und zu einer Gruppe werden ließ, war eine bestimmte, durch den Krieg geprägte Geisteshaltung, die es nach ihrer Überzeugung auch nach dem Ende des Krieges in irgendeiner Weise zu bewahren galt.”<sup>468</sup>

In the realm of war commemoration and remembrance, works by authors of “soldatischer Nationalismus” aimed to erase the individual suffering and destruction from war accounts and preserve “nur das Lebendige, Große, Fortzeugende,” as one proponent, Wilhelm von Schramm,

---

<sup>464</sup> Wette, “Von Kellogg bis Hitler,” 164.

<sup>465</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 42–43.

<sup>466</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 9.

<sup>467</sup> Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 285.

<sup>468</sup> Wette, “Von Kellogg bis Hitler,” 160.



wrote in the volume *Krieg und Krieger* edited by Ernst Jünger.<sup>469</sup> In this sense, political, social, or economic analyses remained outside the purview of “soldatischer Nationalismus,” which instead favored “intuitives Schauen und Fühlen, [...] wirklichkeitsentrücktes Verklären.”<sup>470</sup> One obvious exception, though, was the constant suggestion that the Entente had won the war only because of their superior mass of resources, and that the Germans had remained, at least in spirit and pride, “im Felde unbesiegt.” The war was largely understood by “soldatischer Nationalismus” thinkers as an anthropological phenomenon—a human predisposition for war that recalled the philosophy of Nietzsche<sup>471</sup>—and a matter of *Schicksal*. The verbal imagery of natural disasters, for example, pervades “soldatischer Nationalismus” descriptions, enlarging the war’s scope to gigantic proportions that, despite a lack of moral or rational explanation, offered a metaphysical and formational experience to the Soldier. The war experience could therefore be fashioned into an “emotional wirksame Ideologie.”<sup>472</sup> This approach—which will become more obvious in the analysis to come of Schauwecker’s picture books—was central to the irrationalism of the right’s depiction and instrumentalization of war memory.

Irrationalism was prized by proponents of the conservative revolution in their approach to politics, leading to a black-white thinking that negated any position not their own. Schauwecker wrote in the nationalist journal *Vormarsch*: “Die Politik ist keine Angelegenheit der Willkür. [...] Sie rollt in ihrem geschichtlichen Ablauf ab nach den inneren Gesetzen des Blutes, des

---

<sup>469</sup> Schramm, “Schöpferische Kritik des Krieges,” 35.

<sup>470</sup> Wette, “Von Kellogg bis Hitler,” 162.

<sup>471</sup> Prümm writes about the appropriation of Nietzsche by proponents of a conservative revolution: “Nietzsche habe die zunehmende Nihilisierung des ‘Lebens’ als Verherrlichung des Schwachen und Unkriegerischen erkannt und ihr ein ‘verzücktes Jasagen zum Gesamtcharakter des Lebens’ entgegengestellt. Er gehe davon aus, daß dieses ‘Leben’ notwendigerweise ein gewalttätiges und kriegerisches sein müsse und bejahe den Krieg als Lebensprinzip” (Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 36).

<sup>472</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 9.

Geistes, der Kulturgegebenheiten, nach denen sie angetreten ist.”<sup>473</sup> Rational thinking and analysis were harangued as elements of a corrupt intellectual caste, who spoiled the community’s “Blut” by forcing rules and mechanisms onto what otherwise would be an organic system of unfettered freedom and self-realization. This irrationalism followed clearly from the so-called “Lebensphilosophie” that developed in the late nineteenth century in the philosophical writings of the Frenchman Henri Bergson and the German Wilhelm Dilthey, who were inspired by the critique of rationalism to seek new modes of knowledge in the human realms of intuition and instinct.<sup>474</sup> Initially a concern of academic philosophy, conservative thinkers, such as Oswald Spengler, borrowed such antirational elements from earlier metaphysicists and developed and accentuated them in the first decades of the twentieth century. In the ideas of “soldatischer Nationalismus,” the antirationalism of “Lebensphilosophie” morphed into a cultural and political understanding of the post-war era in which politics “jedem Praxisbezug entzogen und als ‘Verwandlung im Geiste’ in metaphysische Zusammenhänge hineingestellt [wird]. Die eigentliche konkret-politische Aktion wird als Endpunkt eines rational nicht-faßbaren Vorganges gesetzt.”<sup>475</sup>

These beliefs were amalgamated to support the aforementioned rejection of any political organization among “soldatischer Nationalismus” proponents, which clearly set it apart from other Weimar-era political movements/groups. In Ernst Jünger’s words: “Der Nationalismus ist keine Organisation, jeder Versuch, ihn zu organisieren, ist von vornherein zum Scheitern verurteilt. Er ist eine Verschwörung geheimer und gefährlicher Art.”<sup>476</sup> In contrast to concrete goals and political programs, emphasis was placed on the permanent nature of tried-and-true

---

<sup>473</sup> Schauwecker, “Südland,” 8.

<sup>474</sup> Pflug, “Lebensphilosophie,” 140.

<sup>475</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 33.

<sup>476</sup> Jünger, “Der unsichtbare Kern,” 329.

“Persönlichkeiten,” whose moral character outlasted changing political motives.<sup>477</sup> For “soldatischer Nationalismus” authors, the front-line soldier represented the truest of all “Persönlichkeiten,” and, in the words of one Stahlhelm propagandist, “Deutschland muß von seinen Frontkämpfern regiert werden!”<sup>478</sup> The front experience became a measure to gauge the legitimacy of all war experiences and subsequently the rightfulness of claims to power after the war. Historian Kurt Sontheimer writes of the exclusionary tactics employed to police the movement: “Nur wo das [Kriegs]erlebnis [...] zu einer Haltung führte, die das Wesen des Frontsoldatentums, nämlich ‘Kampfgeist, Opferbereitschaft, Uneigennützigkeit und Nationalismus’ in sich aufgenommen hatte, wurde das Kriegserlebnis als echt anerkannt.” Those who did not experience the transformational experience at the front were not ready to transform the post-war world as it so desperately needed; those who did not feel the bond of the trenches could not feel the bond of a prototypical “Volksgemeinschaft.”<sup>479</sup>

A marked increase in the reading public’s interest in “soldatischer Nationalismus” works and a flood of publications on the war in general coincided with the economic crisis of 1929.<sup>480</sup> Prior to that juncture, during the Republic’s stabilization phase starting around 1924, war accounts—especially politicized ones that addressed issues like the question of war guilt—did not occupy as central a position in public discourse as they did in the war’s immediate aftermath. Despite their marginal position during that time, “soldatischer Nationalismus” authors continued their activity with a missionary zeal, writing in friendly newspapers like *Arminius* and *Vormarsch*.<sup>481</sup> The newfound public resonance of 1929 meant that many previously ignored

---

<sup>477</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 33.

<sup>478</sup> Kleinau, *Stahlhelm und Staat*, 34.

<sup>479</sup> Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken*, 124–25.

<sup>480</sup> Wette, “Von Kellogg bis Hitler,” 169.

<sup>481</sup> Wette, “Von Kellogg bis Hitler,” 161.

works were rediscovered and new works could find wide interest across class divides.<sup>482</sup> The political dimension of fictional war novels in the late Weimar era by nationalist authors like Werner Beumelburg and Franz Schauwecker is clear. They were not written to work through traumatic war memory nor intended to provide a purely factual account of the war; rather, as Sontheimer characterizes it: “Das waren keine wahrheitsgetreuen Reportagen des Kriegseinsatzes mehr, sondern Romane, die den Kameraden der Grabenlandschaft des Weltkrieges das politische Credo des später entstandenen Nationalismus in den Mund legten. Diese Art der Kriegsberichterstattung war politische Tendenzliteratur.”<sup>483</sup>

A boom in novels with military themes (from around 200 in 1926 to more than 400 in 1930) came with a concomitant decline in pacifist works. Despite the success of Remarque’s novel *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1929) or Arnold Zweig’s *Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa* (1927), which itself enjoyed increased sales after the publication of Remarque’s war tale, the renewed interest in the war—or the exploits of the post-war Freikorps, to which many “soldatischer Nationalismus” authors belonged<sup>484</sup>—signaled a discernible shift in the political mood of the late 1920s and early 1930s, what historian Wolfram Wette calls a “Remilitarisierung der öffentlichen Meinung.”<sup>485</sup> Pacifist works challenged the right’s presumed authoritative version of the war story, and perhaps served more to vitalize the production of further heroizing accounts than they changed the public’s attitude about war in any measurable way. This is true for the flood of nationalist picture books about the war, whose authors were spurred in part by

---

<sup>482</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 64. “Soldatischer Nationalismus” writings in the stabilization phase of Weimar Germany had an expressed aristocratic nature, which attempted to separate the movement from the lower-class masses by articulating a qualitatively higher political program that ensured the prestige of the *Bildungsbürgertum*.

<sup>483</sup> Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken*, 136.

<sup>484</sup> Prümm, *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus*, 19.

<sup>485</sup> Wette, “Von Kellogg bis Hitler,” 170.

Ernst Friedrich's damning *Krieg dem Kriege!* (1924) into constructing their own positive versions of the war with text and image.

In the realm of picture books, Franz Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg!* (1927) and its successor *So ist der Friede* (1928), published by the Stahlhelm-affiliated Frundsberg Verlag, are the most characteristic forays of "soldatischer Nationalismus" into the interpretation of the war's photographic record and its visual depiction in Weimar Germany. *So war der Krieg!* will serve as the main example in this chapter and *So ist der Friede* will be discussed in Chapter 7, as they typify best the ideological extremes of "soldatischer Nationalismus" while utilizing many of the same representational strategies as other contemporary picture books, like *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*. Schauwecker's picture books intervene in the war's visual representation by curating a specifically soldier-oriented version of the conflict that asserts an unassailable authenticity. The books combine commemoration with a loosely defined political agenda shared by wide swaths of Weimar national-conservatives, including replacing Germany's fledgling democracy, disregarding the Treaty of Versailles, and preparing for a coming war. In this sense, the "soldatischer Nationalismus" picture books are a prime case study for understanding how war memory—as constructed in its post-war visual depiction—was very much historically conditioned, culturally determined, and politically charged.

Franz Schauwecker was a prolific national-conservative author and essayist in the Weimar Republic and Third Reich, best known for his war stories, including his famous novel *Aufbruch der Nation* (1929), and his frequent contributions to various newspapers, including the *Stahlhelm* and its more radical pullout *Standarte*, which Schauwecker produced with Wilhelm Kleinau. Disappointed by university study, Schauwecker had met the war with a new sense of purpose in life; although his family did not come from a military background, he enthusiastically

enlisted as a volunteer in November 1914.<sup>486</sup> Excepting time needed for recovery from two separate incidents in which he sustained serious gunshot wounds to his leg and to his hand, he served the war's entire duration, first as an infantryman on the Eastern Front and later as a lieutenant on the Western Front. Looking back on his discharge in December 1918, after which he struggled to find employment and suffered feelings of despondency, Schauwecker wrote: "Es folgte eine jahrelange Zeit der Einsamkeit und des Verzichts, die schwer zu tragen war. [...] Sie galt der Klarlegung und Ordnung der durch das Erlebnis des Großen Krieges erweckten Ahnungen und Gefühle."<sup>487</sup> After another abandoned attempt at university study, he established himself as an independent author, an endeavor that was likely motivated by the need for gainful employment as much as for a psychological and intellectual outlet for processing the war.

Schauwecker leaned heavily on his own war experience to write a score of war stories during the Weimar Republic, including edited versions of his personal diaries published under the titles *In Todesrachen* (1919) and *Das Frontbuch* (1927), the latter praised by Erich Ludendorff and Erich Maria Remarque alike for its authentic war testimony.<sup>488</sup> His war stories attest to the strong impact that the front experience had not only on his personal life but on his political worldview, too. Although his earlier works are concerned more with entertaining the reader through the adventure of war, his later fictional work and commentary takes on strong political aspirations, as he transformed his war experience from something personal into something rife with symbolic and ideological meaning for the German nation at-large. He sought to shape the meaning of the war's legacy in open attacks on the Weimar "system"—democracy, parliamentarianism, pacifism—and he championed national-conservative ideas of the nation,

---

<sup>486</sup> Bengsch, "Franz Schauwecker," 177.

<sup>487</sup> Quoted in Bengsch, "Franz Schauwecker," 180.

<sup>488</sup> Bengsch, "Franz Schauwecker," 180.

such as the claim to leadership for the battle-tested former soldiers who knew the meaning of sacrifice.<sup>489</sup> An article appearing in 1926 in the *Standarte* that praised the murderers of Walter Rathenau and Matthias Erzberger as “nationalist martyrs” earned the outlet a three-month ban. Important collaborators, including Ernst Jünger, quit their work on the paper as a result, and Schauwecker was prosecuted in court, although he was acquitted for the spurious reason that there was no definitive proof he knew of the article’s content before its publication.<sup>490</sup>

Schauwecker also left the *Standarte* in 1927, but continued publishing in national-conservative papers, such as *Widerstand*, *Das Reich*, and *Der Vormarsch*. His novel *Aufbruch der Nation* (1929), which told the coming-of-age story of a soldier in the First World War as a spiritual and political awakening to nationalism, sold with moderate success and reviewers often contrasted it with Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts Neues* from the same year.<sup>491</sup> Elements of “soldatischer Nationalismus” in the novel blended with motifs that later characterized National Socialism, and Schauwecker did enjoy a successful career beyond the Weimar Republic, writing more about the war as well as the need for a new national “Wehrhaftmachung” under the Nazi regime. He was among the 88 authors who publicly attested loyalty to Adolf Hitler in 1933 and was lauded as the first “Dichter [der] Nation, welche die Führung im Wettstreit der Nationen sucht” in a glowing biography published by the Frundsberg-Verlag in the same year.<sup>492</sup> He was similarly hailed by the press as the “Dichter des heldischen Lebens” seven years later on his fiftieth birthday in 1940,<sup>493</sup> but accordingly fell into obscurity after 1945.

---

<sup>489</sup> Bengsch, “Franz Schauwecker,” 182–83.

<sup>490</sup> Bengsch, “Franz Schauwecker,” 184–85.

<sup>491</sup> Bengsch, “Franz Schauwecker,” 192–93.

<sup>492</sup> Claasen, *Franz Schauwecker*, 70.

<sup>493</sup> Bengsch, “Franz Schauwecker,” 195–98.

Among Schauwecker's publication successes in the Weimar Republic are the picture books he produced in the late 1920s, *So war der Krieg!* and *So ist der Friede*. Both books are evidence of the more politically minded author, who sought to fashion the front experience as the starting point of a new nationalism that honored the legacy of the dead by reshaping a corrupt Weimar society to fit the bold, yet vague vision of a nation ruled by its "Frontgeneration." *So war der Krieg!* imparts this idea by focusing on the experience of the front-line soldier, who is metaphysically transformed for the better by surviving the tribulations of the trenches. The picture book is divided into thematic sections covering elements of the front experience, from "Granateinschläge, Trommelfeuer und Gas" and "Stoßtrupp, Angriff und Abwehr," to "Materialzerstörungen" and "Verwundung und Tod." As such, the book addresses only "den Krieg als solchen. Etappe, Paradebesichtigung und Rekrutendepot, Übungsfeld und Garnison sind ausgeschaltet. Maßgebend allein ist der Krieg als Landschaft und Material und ist der deutsche Mensch als Kampfsoldat."<sup>494</sup> A section on "Die Zivilbevölkerung" was removed in an updated version for the seventh print edition in 1929; its pictures of displaced civilians fleeing their homes and a sympathetic vignette of a French child mourning her dead mother ("Dies sah man nicht oft, aber man sah es genug. Genug, um zu wissen, zu fühlen: wie, wenn der Krieg bei uns im Lande wäre—!"<sup>495</sup>) did not belong to the stated goal of recreating just the "Kampferlebnis der vordersten Linie."<sup>496</sup>

That this section was included in the first place is questionable, since it is so incongruent to the book's central notion of "Erlebnis": one of incredible auditory and visual stimulation through which the front-line soldier's primal instincts are awoken and the soldier is made to feel

---

<sup>494</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 3.

<sup>495</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 108.

<sup>496</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 3.



as if he stood “unter einem höheren Zwang.”<sup>497</sup> Schauwecker writes of the front-line experience: “Die Schleusen der Bewußtheit sind irgendwie ins Höhere und unsere Fähigkeiten sind in ein anderes Bereich [sic], in eine neue Gültigkeit erhoben,” moulding soldiers into “höhere Menschen in einem ganz besonderen Sinn, dessen Urgrund diese gepeinigte Erde ist, Vorläufer, Vorkämpfer für einen neuen deutschen Menschen.”<sup>498</sup> He clearly restricts this “Kampf als inneres Erlebnis” (to quote the title of Ernst Jünger’s 1922 essay) to the front soldier; that other groups of people like displaced civilians or those safe on the home front could have experienced a similar transformational suffering during the war diverges sharply from the political purchase he wishes to assert for the “Frontsoldat” as the sole inheritor of meaning derived from the war experience. Schauwecker writes of “eine widerstandsunfähige, kranke, aufrührerische Heimat, von der nichts zu erhoffen war”; the “entsetzliche Gegensatz” between the front experience and the home front gives a “richtendes, mahnendes und nicht zuletzt ein tröstendes Bild” that is “unlöslich in das Gedächtnis eingebrannt” and “[steht] nun wie ein Symbol vor [dem Frontsoldaten].”<sup>499</sup>

That the “Fronterlebnis” should translate into a political agenda is self-evident for Schauwecker in *So war der Krieg!*, and the claim is made explicitly:

Hier entstand jener Nationalismus, der, als er die schreckliche Größe jenes Schicksals aus Grab, Opfer und Vernichtung erlebte und begriff, aus seiner Kraft jenes Wunder erzeugte, das ihn erst zum deutschen Nationalismus machte: er erfaßte das Schicksal, er wußte es, aber er unterwarf sich ihm nicht stumpf wie einem Verhängnis, sondern er erkannte es an, er sagte „ja“ zu ihm [...].<sup>500</sup>

---

<sup>497</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 43.

<sup>498</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 43–44.

<sup>499</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 115–16.

<sup>500</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 5.

The landscape of No Man's Land was for Schauwecker "das Geburtsland des Nationalismus,"<sup>501</sup> and the soldiers who fell there embodied "[d]ie Hingabe des geringeren Ich für die Erhaltung des Höheren, der Nation."<sup>502</sup> Despite the war loss, the military was "[g]eschlagen, aber unbesiegt,"<sup>503</sup> and the reasons for the war loss are ultimately inconsequential to Schauwecker, who skirts around rational explanation or a critical engagement with defeat by reducing the outcomes to a matter of an irresistible *Schicksal* that did not favor Germany, despite it having "das beste Heer der Welt."<sup>504</sup> Such irrationality—one broad characteristic of "soldatischer Nationalismus"—allows him to understate the enormous price Germany paid for its war loss and still to find meaning in the conflict.

Schauwecker's interpretation of the war's legacy is not just concerned with the type of patriotic nationalism found in the Reichsarchiv-affiliated publications, which sought to preserve the positive ideals of the old Wilhelmine military elite; Schauwecker extends similar patriotic and nationalist sentiments into a distinct ideology for a new era. Foremost among his positive interpretations is the spiritual birth of a *new* nationalism in war, spearheaded by a *new* brand of "Persönlichkeit": the battle-hardened German front soldier. "Und sowie wir dies erkannt haben," Schauwecker writes, "ist es gleichgültig, was in diesem Gefecht, in dieser Schlacht rein tatsächlich geschieht. Da ist für uns schon diese Schlacht und dieser Krieg immerhin gewonnen, wenn er auch äußerlich verloren ist."<sup>505</sup> The front-line metaphysical experience has elevated a group of people—"unsere Generation"<sup>506</sup>—beyond the realm of mere soldiers into a new breed of political fortune makers. In other words, although it is on its surface a book to commemorate

---

<sup>501</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 5.

<sup>502</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 134.

<sup>503</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 44.

<sup>504</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 10.

<sup>505</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 44.

<sup>506</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 8.

and remember the First World War through the Soldier's "objective" eyes (here equated with the photographic lens), *So war der Krieg!* is far more concerned with a contemporary struggle about the war's enduring legacy:

Nach dem Friedensschluß da kam die Zeit der Besinnung für den Frontsoldaten. Da begann er zu grübeln. Da suchte er nach jenem Sinn, nach jener Antwort, die er da draußen unter dem Geißelschlage des Krieges nicht gefunden hatte. Und da fand er einen neuen Sinn und eine neue Antwort: Nationalismus.<sup>507</sup>

*Schicksal* prevented Germany from defeating its many enemies, but the legacy of the war is still up for grabs, as Schauwecker summarizes: "Heute bemühen wir uns um den Sinne jenes dunklen, rätselvollen Schicksals."<sup>508</sup> What Schauwecker's combination of text and image in *So war der Krieg!* contributed to the contested commemoration of the First World War was a heroic vision that accepted the war's brutalities—wide-scale human casualties and material destruction—as a cleansing of "der morsche Geist einer Vergangenheit."<sup>509</sup> The overwhelming amount and variety of physical destruction pictured in the volume is framed, therefore, not as senseless violence, but as a necessary purging of the old: "Dieses Werk zeigt fast in jedem seiner Bilder die Vernichtung, und zwar die Vernichtung einer vergangenen Welt."<sup>510</sup> The violence of the trenches were "Krämpfe[], die sowohl der Todeskrampf einer absterbenden wie der Geburtskrampf einer kommenden Zeit waren, deren Erschütterungen noch heute weitergehen und deren endgültige Gestaltung heute erst sich vorbereitet."<sup>511</sup> Although explosions, devastation, and death pervade the volume, *So war der Krieg!* attempts to crystallize a perspective on the war that finds spiritual triumph in tragedy, metaphysical transformation in physical destruction. In doing so, it instrumentalizes the heroic memory of war in service of a

---

<sup>507</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 11.

<sup>508</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 10.

<sup>509</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 8.

<sup>510</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 8.

<sup>511</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 20.

particular claim of authenticity for the “Frontgeneration” representation of war and a position of moral legitimacy for that group in the larger political and cultural debates of the late Weimar Republic.

The understanding of the war at the heart of *So war der Krieg!* stands in clear contrast to competing interpretations by pacifists, and its political agenda is framed in contrast to democrats and communists alike. Schauwecker criticizes all these groups explicitly. He espouses radical nationalist views, including a willingness to serve the nation at all costs, to submit to the will of *Schicksal*, even if that fate entails death. Such a fate is beyond the grasp of pacifists, whom he decries as ignoring the metaphysical experience of the war’s violence by concentrating on the hard facts: “Der Pazifist sieht im Weltkrieg nur einen Maschinenkampf der Kanonenfabriken gegeneinander unter Ausschaltung des Persönlichen und Seelischen und sieht die Entscheidung nur den technischen Qualitäten des Kampfmittels anheimgegeben.” *Schicksal* does not reveal itself “in der substanzlosen Spekulation des klügsten Berechners,”<sup>512</sup> as pacifists are guilty of in stressing the number of men killed or the amount of money wasted in war. For Schauwecker, someone who counts the destroyed homes, or translates the manpower of troops at the front into the number of new homes that could have been built, or estimates the liters of lost blood “wird fraglos den Wert einer Statue nach ihrem Gewicht, die Gültigkeit eines Bildes nach seiner Größe und die Wahrheit einer Behauptung nach der Zahl der Gläubigen, die sie finde, bemessen. So ist die deutsche Demokratie entstanden, so denkt sie und so wird sie untergehen.”<sup>513</sup> This type of cold rationality or intellectualism is anathema to Schauwecker’s insistence on an emotional and metaphysical transformation through war, although he does not see the irony in the various instances throughout the book in which he interrupts his melodramatic prose with lists of facts

---

<sup>512</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7.

<sup>513</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 8.

and figures, including the number of casualties among combatant nations, shown so “daß sie in der Geschichte wirksam werden und daß sie Zukunft verbürgen.”<sup>514</sup> His claim that “Tod für das Land verpflichtet die Überlebenden. Tod zeugt Tat,”<sup>515</sup> is not rhetorically much different from the pacifist cry for “Nie wieder Krieg”; it is simply a matter of seeing the same numbers from a contrasting vantage point. But, as he insists, “Wer im Kriege nur ‘die blöde Abschachtung’ sieht, der beweist damit, daß er selber im Kriege nichts anderes sah.”<sup>516</sup>

Ad hominen attacks on pacifists as “belanglos” and “feige und weibisch,”<sup>517</sup> with a “Loch im Charakter,”<sup>518</sup> round out Schauwecker’s emotionally-laden argument, and he casts soldiers into a type of victim role made familiar by the phrase “geschlagen aber unbesiegt.” Despite their extraordinary merit and sacrifice, soldiers could only stand by helplessly in November 1918 as they were betrayed by the ilk of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and then Matthias Erzberger and Philipp Scheidemann: “Da senkte der Frontsoldat, blutend aus hundert Wunden, todmatt, mit bebenden Knien den Kopf und stütze sich auf den verbrannten Pfosten eines zerschossenen Hauses. So war Deutschland und so war das Ende. Keiner von uns war schuldig. Und doch kam Sühne über Deutschland.”<sup>519</sup>

Because of this supposed betrayal and the “intellektuell-geschäftliche[] Interessen” of democratic groups that ran counter to the war effort, there is only one movement that grasps the “Sinn des deutschen Schicksals”: “Es ist allein der Nationalismus, dem dazu die Kraft in der Zukunft und damit die deutsche Zukunft als eine ungeheure Verantwortung vom Schicksal

---

<sup>514</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 124.

<sup>515</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 124.

<sup>516</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7.

<sup>517</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7.

<sup>518</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 8.

<sup>519</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 11.

gegeben wird.”<sup>520</sup> These are the words that immediately precede the book’s very first photograph, labelled “So marschierte die Infanterie 1918 zur Front” (Figure 6.1).<sup>521</sup> It shows a long column of German soldiers winding their way through an unspecified countryside. The photographer is positioned relatively high above the scene, perhaps standing on a cart or a nearby embankment, enabling him to capture the line of soldiers stretching into the distance. The photographer’s position also means the soldiers who do pay the camera any attention must look up towards it. Their expressions are mostly blank, but their chins are held hopefully high, despite the photograph’s origins in the war’s later stages. The preceding text concerned with “die deutsche Zukunft” casts this image, which shows up in other picture books in different contexts, as the embodiment of both a storied past and a sign of what is to come. No longer just a visual document of one particular march during the war, the photograph is employed to commemorate soldiers and assert the group’s political purchase in the concerns of the late Weimar Republic. Schauwecker’s claim that nationalism is the only force suited to “give expression” to the “Sinn des deutschen Schicksals” in the post-war era is made literal through the suggestion that the legacy of the soldiers pictured marching to the front in 1918 is taken up by nationalist factions, such as the paramilitaristic Stahlhelm, which jostled for political and symbolic power in the late 1920s.

Although it is rife with highly quotable rhetoric, it is not enough to simply quote the text of *So war der Krieg!*, as Schauwecker’s book takes pride in its apparent success in (re)creating the war’s “Erlebnis” in both text *and* image. The title page sets the tone: “Das Buch stellt zwei Bücher in einem dar: das Erlebnisbuch des Frontkämpfers im Wort und in Bildern. Beide Teile

---

<sup>520</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 12.

<sup>521</sup> The same photograph appears in Ernst Jünger’s *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* with the less charged title “Ablösung” (21).

verschmelzen zu einem geschlossenen Ganzen, wie es in den Erlebnisbüchern bisher unbekannt ist.”<sup>522</sup> “Erlebnis” is key to understanding the book, which—more than a “Tagebuch in Bildern” for the “Frontsoldat,”<sup>523</sup> as it claims—is closer to a virtual immersion into the front-line experience (at least as Schauwecker fashions it) for those who missed out on the real thing. In this regard, text and image work together to immerse readers in his vision of the war. As stated above, *So war der Krieg*’s thematic sections are all divided into two parts: in each, he provides several pages of text—often a curious mix of historical facts and figures with bombastic narrative prose and ideological ruminations—followed by several pages of photographs illustrative of the theme at hand. The photographs are given only short, descriptive captions—“Minensprengung” or “Tankgeschütz geht in Stellung,” for example—devoid of Schauwecker’s characteristic pathos. Photographs are only sporadically attributed to a specific date or location, and no credit is given to individual photographers. This, combined with the fact that Schauwecker groups together photographs that have similar content matter and share formal qualities like perspective and framing, allows him to ignore the particularities of what is being pictured in favor of his more general, curated version of the war.

For the less astute reader, historical exactitude and verifiable authenticity will not be an issue, and text and image *will* “verschmelzen zu einem geschlossenen Ganzen” as intended; simply put, it is not a stretch to imagine readers becoming engrossed by Schauwecker’s oftentimes melodramatic prose accompanied by the photographs’ visual excitement. On the surface, the thematic correlation between the texts he wrote and the photographs he selected and arranged is enough to tie these elements together. The lack of meta-reflection on the visual mediation of war serves this harmony, which goes hand-in-hand with a naturalistic presentation

---

<sup>522</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, title page.

<sup>523</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 3.

style that conceals the means of production for its illusion of reality. For example, Schauwecker's captions never directly infringe on the photographs' meaning in a satiric, ironic, or clearly falsifying way that would draw attention to the fraught relationship of connotation and denotation between text and image. Rather, he crafts the textual sections in a particular way so they could fit any of the corresponding photographs that follow. Conversely, photographs are constrained to function on the level of resemblances to cement this relationship to the text; the photographs' indexical moment is eclipsed by their iconic status, which is ensured by short, imprecise captions like "Stoßtrupp geht im Schrapnellfeuer vor" (50), meant to impart an impression of what battle was like more so than to point to a specific historical moment. Pictures that share a likeness are grouped together to typify a theme and further trigger the photographs' iconic potential, as do those on pages 29–36 (Figure 6.2), taken on many different dates and at many different locations but all showing explosions of some sort and together giving an impression of "Granateinschläge, Trommelfeuer und Gas." The symbolism is provided by the text: along with his typical metaphysics of the "Fronterlebnis," Schauwecker adds an account of poison-gas usage, which at first glance appears quite factual due to statistics cited from another publication, but ends up being entirely revisionist in its claim that the French were the first ones to use gas in the trenches.

That Schauwecker's writing style frequently shifts between hyperbolic, emotive descriptions of battles and rational, distanced presentation of statistics, although their exactitude can be called into question, is indicative of the relationship between fact and fiction at the book's core, and, as we have seen, plays out prominently in the constructed relationship between text and image. Lists of the number of casualties at sea among all belligerent nations or statistics



about the explosive power of different grenades and artillery munitions,<sup>524</sup> to name two examples, add another layer to Schauwecker's authoritative voice in *So war der Krieg!*, which strives to be a reliable source of factual knowledge about the war at the same time it evokes an emotional testimony ultimately meant to shape political mentalities. If the first voice is concerned with the reproduction of "facts" and figures to impart an air of truth, the second voice is limited specifically to a more literary prose style, which mines that "truth" for its symbolic meaning.

Instead of reporting accounts of the front in a diary style à la Ernst Jünger's *In Stahlgewittern*, Schauwecker writes in a first-person narrative present that masquerades as his own actual experience while also standing in to represent a generic lived experience at the front. This can be seen as he effortlessly glides between an "Ich"-perspective and a "Wir"-perspective, grounding the narrative in his own lived experience while also allowing him to speak as the representative of an (imagined) "Frontgeneration." An obvious example of this is in the section titled "Stoßtrupp, Angriff und Abwehr," which details the anxious motions of his autobiographical narrator as he awaits an attack: "Ich laufe durch den Graben, ich presse mich gegen die Grabenwand, ich hocke auf einer Munitionskiste, ich klettere in einen Unterstand, ich mache kehrt und steige nach oben, ich starre auf die Uhr, [...]"<sup>525</sup> But when the ordained minute comes to attack, the narrator switches to the first-person plural: "Wir klettern aus dem Graben und laufen vor" (39), as if the very movement of attack had united the disparate individuals into one body. Although he slips back into the first-person singular, by the end of the passage the "wir" of his company has consolidated into one perceptive body that sees, thinks, and acts in unison, driven not by individual concerns but pulled by the fate of battle: "Wir bewegen uns in

---

<sup>524</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 92, 87.

<sup>525</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 39.

einer nur wenige Meter breiten Rennbahn des Sieges vorwärts, getrieben von dem unwiderstehlichen Instinkt, vorgerissen von diesem Vakuum, das uns mit einer unwiderstehlichen Anziehungskraft in sich hineinsaugt.”<sup>526</sup>

More than a personal “Tagebuch,” *So war der Krieg!* functions as a repository of impressions in which the historical recounting of the particularities of certain battles is not as imperative as demonstrating the transformative impact of the war’s visual, aural, and haptic stimuli on the sensorium of the “Frontsoldat.” This is accomplished by an elision of most identifying information, with the exception of lists of statistics, and highly stylized textual descriptions of generic battle scenes from the perspective of an entrenched front-line soldier. Throughout the book, Schauwecker’s expository voice, which provides the distanced historical overview of the war and his political interpretation thereof, slips freely back and forth into an expressionistic prose style that seeks to convey the front-line experience. Action and its effect on the body are emphasized in present tense as dramatic descriptors accumulate to impart a vision of hell, such as in this account of artillery fire: “ein unaufhörliches Geballer und Gedonner, ein endlos eintöniges Erdaufreißen und Umwühlen, ein Furioso aus Wut und Raserei, in dem ein Krach hinter dem andern Jagd macht, ein Einschlag in den andern hineinbirst, ein Qualm in den andern rollt.”<sup>527</sup> Ellipses frequently interrupt the narrative to mark instances when he hears the voices of other soldiers speaking around him (see, for example, page 25), emphasizing a sense of shared experience. These rich textual descriptions are included in the picture book to give meaning to the soldier’s emotions, which are largely closed off to the photographic lens. While photographs may show reality (according to Schauwecker’s estimation), his lengthy passages of expressionistic prose reveal that he does not completely trust photography’s power to convey the

---

<sup>526</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 42.

<sup>527</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 26.

emotions he wishes to ascribe to the war experience; the realm of feeling is too important to his cause to leave it up to the surface appearance of photographs.

Take, for example, the section titled “Stoßtrupp, Angriff und Abwehr,” which begins *in media res* as front-line soldiers wait for friendly artillery to flatten enemy defenses for a planned attack. There is no indication of where or when this particular skirmish is taking place, and that information is largely inessential, as the text does not intend to narrate a historical occurrence but rather relay an experience. Schauwecker notes, “[es ist] gleichgültig, was in diesem Gefecht, in dieser Schlacht rein tatsächlich geschieht.”<sup>528</sup> It is worthwhile to quote him at length here to give both a sense of his language style and the way his descriptions transcend the mere factual to become something more evocative:

Allmählich dringt diese unablässige Brandung der zu einem einzigen Schwall zusammenströmenden Geräusche durch alle Poren bis in die letzte Faser hinein und bewirkt zusammen mit dem Gefühl, daß es um ganz Großes hier geht, eine unerhört sonderbare, einzigartige, übersteigerte Trunkenheit aller Sinne, aller Gefühle und aller Gedanken. Das ungeheure Präludium der Schlacht erhebt einen wie eine brausende Schleuse um ganze Stufen des seelischen Erlebens höher. Das macht sich auch körperlich bemerkbar. Man glaubt plötzlich all dies Getöse weniger als Laut mit dem Trommelfell zu vernehmen, sondern es als glühenden Druck mit der Haut des ganzen Körpers aufzufangen, unter ihm zu vibrieren und eine Veränderung der inneren Organe zu höchster Reizbarkeit zu erleiden. Man sieht die Bilder der alle Vorstellungskraft übertreffenden kilometerlangen Front von Qualmgemäuer der Einschläge kaum mehr als Wirklichkeit an, sondern starrt sich die Seele aus dem Leibe in sie hinein und steht da mit einem Körper, durch den minutenlang alles hingehet wie Wasser durch ein Rohr, und plötzlich wird alles Vision, Erscheinung aus einem anderen, höheren Bereich, in dem alles, was geschieht, seinen unaussprechlichen Sinn durch furchtbare Erscheinungen verhüllt.<sup>529</sup>

That the soldiers cannot process the surplus of stimuli during the artillery barrage—their bodies becoming like water pipes through which impressions flow—typifies Schauwecker’s metaphysics. The war escapes rational explanation and can only be understood as “alles Vision,

---

<sup>528</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 44.

<sup>529</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 37–38.

Erscheinung aus einem anderen, höheren Bereich.” By the end of the narrative, the “Vorkämpfer für einen neuen deutschen Menschen” are making their way into battle. Unconcerned with the outcome, they are “[g]eschlagen, aber unbesiegt.”<sup>530</sup> On the next pages, photographs show German troops caught up in the front line’s (meta)physical tumult: troops rush over explosion craters into flattened wastelands where smoke and fire envelop them. Again, captions impart little emotive quality and serve only to clarify what is pictured, for example, “Stoßtrupp geht im Schrapnellfeuer vor” (Figure 6.3). However, the preceding text lingers in the reader’s mind as he sees photographic—and therefore seemingly incontrovertible—evidence of the intense stimuli of battle, which, of course, were felt exclusively by the “Frontsoldat.” Text and image thus stand in a subtle reciprocal relationship, in which the text activates the pathos of the photograph’s icon (“What the Soldier pictured here has experienced is unimaginable!”), while the photograph’s index authenticates the text’s political testimony (“We are the Front Soldiers; to what ends have we suffered greatly?”).

Another way of thinking through this mutual relationship is by paying attention to the way Schauwecker navigates around the limits of the two media forms. At stake in *So war der Krieg!* is the claim that the internal *Bildung* of the “Frontsoldat” in war awoke a new political consciousness. Representations of this transformative spiritual encounter will necessarily be impeded by the cleft between surface appearances and the inner world of the mind, spirit, etc. Unable to satisfactorily convey the new German *Mensch*’s internal qualities, photography, because it is limited to a surface representation of objects in a single moment, seems best accompanied by written description, a form better suited to develop the entire gamut of emotions, thought, impressions, etc., which are waiting to be unfurled in the imagination. As we

---

<sup>530</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 44.

see in *So war der Krieg!*, Schauwecker is quite at home in giving shape through writing to the more intense emotional and physical experiences of war that a photograph on its own is not certain to engender. Photography does contribute, however, a connection to reality that is stronger than words alone. His writing style in *So war der Krieg!* is often bombastic and in many instances skirts the bounds of believability through its melodramatic nature. This type of language works, however, much differently when combined with photography, which as a medium—especially in a popular sense—is tied more closely to reality (although this relationship has been scrutinized by theorists). Instead of reading like the hyper-stylized fiction it is, the text (and its ideological undercurrent) gains an air of authenticity through the combination with photography. And conversely, the text activates the photographs' emotional potential, allowing Schauwecker to shape his own vision of the war experience and draw the intended meaning from it.

Schauwecker both claims to portray the front experience authentically and authoritatively and develops the narrative and visual strategies to implement the claim. Foremost among them is his insistence that the photographs in the book represent, in a sort of direct translation, the “Frontsoldat” experience. The title page asserts: “Die 200 Aufnahmen, die das Werk enthält, sind aus 25 000 Photographien ausgesucht, die Frontkämpfer zur Verfügung gestellt hatten”; and the introduction states: “Maßgebend für die Gliederung und die Reihenfolge der Aufnahmen war das Erlebnis des Frontkämpfers.”<sup>531</sup> He employs an acritical approach to photography that elides questions of its capacity for presenting reality in the service of an apparently self-evident realism. Schauwecker bases the authenticity of his picture book on an exaggeration of the camera's technical properties: “Eingefaßt zwischen Vormarsch und Opfer, zeigen diese

---

<sup>531</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 3.

Aufnahmen das wahre Gesicht des Krieges, unentstellt, nicht beschönigt, und enthüllen in der unumstößlichen, harten und aufrichtigen Sachlichkeit des Lichtbildes die düstere Tragödie des modernen Kriegs.”<sup>532</sup>

A notable comparison between photography and memory also serves to authenticate the soldier’s war account as unassailable. In the section “Stoßtrupp, Angriff und Abwehr,” in the middle of an attack, Schauwecker writes:

Und wenn wir manchmal seitwärts sehen, dann nimmt die Netzhaut des Auges unbewußt wie eine photographische Platte die Landschaft dort auf und stellt fest, daß auch dort Soldaten sich vorbewegen, etwa auf einer Höhe mit uns, doch wenn wir wegblicken, so ist jener Eindruck wieder erloschen, völlig verwischt. Erst später, viel später stehen solche nebensächlichen Dinge, wie von einer Scheinwerferlampe auf eine Leinwand geworfen, mit umrißschärfster Deutlichkeit vor dem Gedächtnis.<sup>533</sup>

This passage can serve as a summary of the many different threads tying together photography, memory, and authenticity that Schauwecker employs in *So war der Krieg!*: it reiterates the technological perfection of photography made in the introduction; it exemplifies the primal yet ultimately transformative state soldiers experienced at the front, becoming mere receptors for overwhelming sensory information; and it asserts the authoritative memory of the front soldier, who remembers “mit umrißschärfster Deutlichkeit.” This last point also speaks to a central concern of *So war the Krieg!*: the war’s cultural meaning was still hotly contested even ten years after its end. The socio-political ramifications of the war’s interpretation had too wide an impact for Schauwecker to just give his own account à la Jünger’s *In Stahlgewittern*. Rather, he was compelled to stake the claim to be the *sole* inheritor of the war experience, the authenticator of the “Fronterlebnis,” which was, all things considered, specific to his highly constructed vision of the war that proceeded from an acritical utilization of photography.

---

<sup>532</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 3.

<sup>533</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 43.

Beyond the simple question of the extent to which photography accurately represents lived experience, let alone the experience of millions of soldiers idealized into one “Frontsoldat,” is the dubiousness of Schauwecker’s claim that the photographs in his volume were supplied by amateur cameramen in the trenches. Bernd Hüppauf has found reason to suspect a fair portion of the photographs were actually taken by official war department correspondents for propaganda purposes, including a spectacular shot of a messenger dog leaping across the gap of a trench (Figure 6.4), a well-known photograph used to soften the image of war for a domestic audience in the effort to sell war bonds.<sup>534</sup> Bodo von Dewitz makes the general claim about the First World War that “[g]enuine scenes of battle did not appear in photographs, though snapshots taken of individual explosions, often of one’s own artillery fire, could convey an impression of the war.”<sup>535</sup> While this might be overgeneralizing, it is clear that many photographs in *So war der Krieg!* fit this category. Take, for example, “Der Franzose greift an” (Figure 6.5). It is hard to imagine a photographer exposing his position in such a vulnerable way in the middle of an enemy’s attack for a photograph; it was more likely taken during a routine training exercise. Other photographs, especially aerial views of the destroyed landscape of battlefields, clearly suggest that Schauwecker is lying about the photographs’ quotidian origins. To trace the provenance of every image in the volume would be an unnecessarily burdensome undertaking, yet it suffices to state here that the reason the photographs and text “verschmelzen zu einem geschlossenen Ganzen” is because Schauwecker has obscured any details surrounding the individual photographs. They are transplanted from a variety of sources and contexts—without attribution—to become illustrative pieces of his version of the war.

---

<sup>534</sup> Hüppauf, “Zwischen Metaphysik und visuellem Esayismus,” 234.

<sup>535</sup> Dewitz, “German Snapshots,” 157.

The connection asserted between the “nicht zu betrugende lichtempfindliche Schicht der Platte”<sup>536</sup> and the veracity of *So war der Krieg!* is clear; whether it was enough to persuade its readers is another matter, although many reviewers found Schauwecker’s picture book to be highly convincing. Xaver Schaukroff, writing in *Der Gral*, praises the entire enterprise as “vorbildlich,”<sup>537</sup> and a “Dr. L.” extols in *Deutschlands Erneuerung* Schauwecker’s ability “den volkserzieherischen Gehalt der Bilder auszuschöpfen.”<sup>538</sup> The book is for him “ein unschätzbare Besitz für jeden, der sich den Stolz auf sein Soldatentum bewahrt hat und bereit ist, seine Kinder im Geiste dieses Frontkämpfertums zu erziehen.”<sup>539</sup> At the same time that he criticizes the sometimes hyperbolic and long-winded prose of *So war der Krieg!*, Oscar Illing writes in *Die neue Zeit* (New Ulm, Minnesota) that when one looks at the photographs in the book, “[man] steht sofort mit dem Frontkämpfer im Tumult und Gebraus des Weltkrieges.”<sup>540</sup> According to Illing, photography “wirkt realnatürlich” and relays “den lebendigsten Einblick in die nun zur Vergangenheit gewordene Wirklichkeit.”<sup>541</sup>

These reviews duplicate Schauwecker’s own stance on the power of photography and reflect attitudes of the popular reading audience who expected the immersive, authentic experience of a picture book. Indeed, the book must be taken seriously as a publication success; despite its price, which made it an unaffordable luxury item for many consumers, it sold well and had seventh and eighth editions published in 1928 and 1929. Schauwecker writes in the introduction to the seventh edition: “Ich begrüße diese Neuauflage eines durch den nicht geringen Preis an sich schwer verkäuflichen Buches als ein Zeichen des erwachsenden

---

<sup>536</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 3.

<sup>537</sup> Schaukroff, Review of *So war der Krieg*, 735.

<sup>538</sup> L., Review of *So war der Krieg*, 328.

<sup>539</sup> L., Review of *So war der Krieg*, 328.

<sup>540</sup> Illing, “Buecher- und Schriftschau,” 12.

<sup>541</sup> Illing, “Buecher- und Schriftschau,” 12.



Nationalismus. Der Weltkrieg, diese gewitternde Grenzscheide zweier Zeitalter, enthält schon die Gegenwart in seinem kreißenden Schoß und ist als Keimpunkt für die Zukunft bedeutsamer als manche vielleicht meinen.”<sup>542</sup> Alterations made for the seventh edition of *So war der Krieg!* heightened many of the book’s themes discussed up to this point, including its emphasis on soldiers as the “Träger der Ideen einer unweigerlich kommenden Zeit des Nationalismus.”<sup>543</sup>

Schauwecker decries attempts by “d[ie] liberale[] Demokratie in Deutschland [...] in literarischen Dingen etwas zu machen, das für den weniger mit Instinkt Versehenen beinah so aussehen könnte wie Nationalismus.”<sup>544</sup> What this veiled attack specifically refers to (likely the ilk of Ernst Friedrich and other authors such as Remarque and Arnold Zweig) is less important than the fact that even 10 years afterwards, the war’s legacy was still contested with political ramifications for different approaches.

For the seventh edition, *So war der Krieg!* was revised and eighty new photographs were added—some new, others replacing “weniger wirksamere Photographien”<sup>545</sup>—for an increased total of 230 (the original had 200). As stated earlier, the section on “Die Zivilbevölkerung” in the first editions did not lend itself to Schauwecker’s soldier-centered, nationalist interpretation of the war experience, and it was accordingly excised in the revised edition in favor of new sections on “Verdun” and “Das Material.” The latter perpetuates a standard line of argument among proponents of “soldatischer Nationalismus”: the front line was defeated mainly by its material disadvantage, yet the spirit of the front line (Schauwecker criticizes the home front and the “Etappe”) lives on. Seeming evidence of the Entente’s material superiority is quite effectively illustrated in six photographs (new to the seventh edition) that show, for example, stacks of

---

<sup>542</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 1.

<sup>543</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 1.

<sup>544</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 2.

<sup>545</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 1.

English artillery (Figure 6.6), or rows upon rows of Entente vehicles that stretch from the foreground to the horizon (Figure 6.7). The new section on “Verdun” continues many of the same lines of thought from the original edition that support the “Frontkämpferlegende.” A short narrative of a company sent to the front lines quickly descends into the quintessential Schauweckerian experiences of battle: the mental and physical confusion occasioned by artillery barrages and other explosions, the whole-body perception of nature’s forces (here, fire and rain), the fragile metaphysical balance between life and death, and the indubitable heroism of the front soldier in embracing fate: “Warum blieben wir? Warum liefen wir nicht weg? [...] Wir selber wissen: das Schicksal wollte es, und wir müssen das wollen, was das Schicksal will.”<sup>546</sup> Many of the pictures in the “Verdun” section are rearranged from other parts of the original edition, and added photographs simply contribute to the archive of visual destruction by showing the wasted landscapes of Verdun with short, identificatory captions (see, for example, Figure 6.8).

One addition, however, is meant to be more effective in a poetic manner: “Der Gang in das Schicksal” (Figure 6.9) shows an unidentified group of four soldiers in the middle-ground making their way through a flattened, cratered field, ostensibly churned up by repeated bombardments, in which smoke largely obscures the horizon and blends sky with ground into an otherworldly landscape. A smaller group of soldiers further in the distance scrambles through the destruction, which visually dwarfs all the figures in the photograph, subjecting them to its enveloping might and terror. The caption suggests the soldiers are marching to their fate, however, the direction of the soldiers’ movement is indiscernible by the photograph alone; the less careful reader will accept the caption without considering that the soldiers might be running from their fate, the smoke (artillery barrage?) in the background. This photograph encapsulates a

---

<sup>546</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 56.

central tenet of Schauwecker's war interpretation: the seemingly contradictory smallness of the individual soldier swallowed by the endless devastation of war and his heroic grandeur in submitting to the deadly circumstance around him ("wir müssen das wollen, was das Schicksal will"). While many photographs in *So war der Krieg!* are consigned to a page with two to upwards of six other images (often unstylishly cropped or even encroaching into other images so that only the most important piece of content captured in a photograph is relayed), "Der Gang in das Schicksal" is given a whole page to itself. The image is not stretched to fill the entire page space, but is rather given "breathing room" that other pages in the book do not enjoy. The effect is double: 1) the page's white space and the distance between caption and photograph break up the fast visual rhythm of earlier pages, inviting the reader to linger on the one image, while 2) the image is presented with added reverence—as a work of art is framed, hung, and didacticized in a museum gallery—completed by the memorial significance connoted by the caption. It is one of the few instances where Schauwecker's captions veer from a sort of documentary style that plays into his claim to represent an authentic and authoritative war history, to a more direct creation of meaning between caption and photograph. The alternating blocks of text and image are the main bearer of Schauwecker's interpretation of the war throughout the book, and the relationship between the text and image is often subtle, but here his engagement with photography transcends the mere historical facts to complement the more expressive passages of his text that heroicize and make fantastic the front experience. If the polemics of his text did not make it clear enough, the careful reader can see in "Der Gang in das Schicksal" how this understanding of the war experience does not just rely on bombastic written language but also directly intervenes in the war's visual record, shaping it to a specific vision of soldiers and their fate during *and* after the war.

Although *So war der Krieg!* is largely focused on the perspective of the front-line soldier who was transformed through the war experience and lived to claim the war's legacy, even those soldiers who did not escape death are included in Schauwecker's vision of nationalism. He elevates death on the battlefield to a symbolic sacrifice for the nation, as many other patriotic and nationalist thinkers do, but he does so also with a message for the present, for those who may have to follow suit in a "künftige[r] Krieg," as he calls it elsewhere.<sup>547</sup> He uses the figure of the upturned war grave to show the physical nexus between life and death, thereby asserting a metaphorical connection between the living and the dead, united in the life of the nation.

Schauwecker writes in "Grab," the last section of *So war der Krieg!*,

"Oft riß der Krieg die Gräber wieder auf, zerrte die Toten heraus und schleuderte sie umher. Die Gräber öffneten sich. Die Toten stiegen heraus, und zwischen die Toten fielen die Lebenden und stürzten neue Tote. Leben und Tod waren ineinander verschlungen, und dazu dröhnte das riesenhafte Nocturno der Schlacht, der düstere Totentanz. Hier wurde Letztes offenbar."<sup>548</sup>

This apocalyptic vision of the living, dead, and soon-to-be-dead physically merging on the battlefield serves not only the broader idea that the front-line soldier's brush with death has steeled him for the present age but also suggests a future-oriented argument that death is not to be feared as it is a natural aspect of life; by extension, death for the nation is not to be feared, as it is a natural aspect of life as a member of the nation. This is the meaning of those who died during the war: "Es stehen viele Worte auf den kümmerlichen Holzkreuzen der Frontgräber. Ihr Sinn ist: 'Das Leben lieben, das heißt nicht, den Tod fürchten.'" <sup>549</sup>As will become clear in the next chapter on Schauwecker's picture book *So ist der Friede*, the follow-up to *So war der Krieg!*, the nationalism born of the war experience is a powerful force that extends beyond 1918 to shape

---

<sup>547</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 67.

<sup>548</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 133.

<sup>549</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 134.

Germany and the world. In the unstable post-war world of *So ist der Friede*, in which political, social, and economic upheaval anticipates future conflict, the war dead remind the living that the nation relies on death for life. In Schauwecker's words: "In der Verbundenheit mit dieser Ganzheit der Nation beruht für uns unweigerlich und notwendig das Mitleben mit dieser Ganzheit. Mitleben aber, das kann eines Tages heißen: mitsterben."<sup>550</sup>

---

<sup>550</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 133.

## Chapter 7. Indicting the War's Political Legacy: Franz Schauwecker's *So ist der Friede* (1928) and a New German Nationalism

The follow-up to Franz Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg!* was published in 1928 by the Frundsberg-Verlag under the title *So ist der Friede: Die Revolution der Zeit in 300 Bildern*. As the rhetorical connection between the two titles suggests, the "peace" described in *So ist der Friede* is highly interwoven with the war's legacy and Schauwecker's interpretation thereof. The picture book continues the text-and-image strategies of *So war der Krieg!*, which make its visual form almost identical to his first picture book and its clear thematic successor. Many of the incriminating arguments directed against the Weimar "system" made in passing in the first book are developed fully in the follow-up, foremost among them the denunciation of liberalism, the championing of nationalism in an era of international uncertainty, and the need for Germany to remilitarize in the face of the weapons race among other world powers. In contrast to Walter Bloem and George Soldan, whose military-affirming accounts of the past reinforced only broad patriotic and nationalist mentalities in the present, Schauwecker's account of the war's legacy stakes out a far more explicitly political standpoint. He understands the First World War as "die erste Auseinandersetzung zwischen Liberalismus und Nationalismus, die im weiteren Ablauf nur die Niederlage des Liberalismus mit sich bringen kann."<sup>551</sup> The political issues of the late 1920s are entirely refracted through this interpretation of the war's legacy posited by the author, who decries the inability of liberalism—broadly construed as democracy, parliamentarianism, individualism, and internationalism—to both govern effectively and attend to the nation's inner soul that was awakened through the sacrifices at the front. He understands all evidence presented in *So ist der Friede* to signal the impending rise of German nationalism, which the political

---

<sup>551</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 7.

morass of the Weimar Republic represses, but which is now posed to reassume political authority and the mantle of German-ness so valiantly fought for during the war. He writes in the introduction: “Wer das Ohr auf den Boden der Ereignisse und Tatsachen legt, kann den Schritt der Zukunft vernehmen.”<sup>552</sup> In this sense, the book offers an argument for looking back to the war for lessons and inspiration, all the while remaining future-oriented and offering veiled warnings to political enemies about the coming rise of nationalism (which is provisionally tied to National Socialism at the book’s close). Beyond a post-1933 historical perspective that recognizes in Schauwecker’s claims the trajectory of the Weimar Republic as it collapses into the Third Reich, *So ist der Friede* yields powerful evidence for how contemporaries established frames of meaning for understanding and making connections between the First World War, the Weimar era, and the anticipated future.

The book begins with an original poem by Schauwecker that signals the connection between the war’s legacy and the failure of Germany’s government to attend to the war’s meaning, an argument used to bolster the supposed moral authority of nationalism that pervades the book. “Diese Zeit” is comprised of three rhyming stanzas with four lines each. The first stanza introduces the war’s unmarked graves: “Über fernen Gräbern steht kein Zeichen. / Hügel schweigen kreuzlos. Erde fällt. / Trümmerfeld und Schädelstätte bleichen, / Über denen niemand Wache hält.”<sup>553</sup> The stanza relates most directly to the photograph placed above the text, which shows a flat, muddy field with a few young trees breaking the horizon (Figure 7.1). There are indiscernible shapes in the far background, perhaps the hint of other trees, or even the chimneys of a small village, but the field that fills the majority of the photograph’s space is largely barren and unused. As the poem suggests about many former sites of combat during the war, there are

---

<sup>552</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 7.

<sup>553</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 3.

no obvious visual signs that the pictured field necessarily was once a battlefield, as trenches or grave markers might indicate.

Despite the lack of such visual cues, the text bestows on the unassuming pictured field an apparent sacred status through its mere proximity beneath it. Amplifying the interpretation of the field as hallowed ground is the recognizable photographic manipulation of the cloud-filled sky that fills over two-thirds of the image. When the photograph was printed, the sky's upper portions were—in the parlance of darkroom photography—"burned in," meaning this section of the photographic paper was exposed to the light projected through the negative longer than other parts in order to enhance the contrast in the clouds and increase the image's general visual dynamism. The result is a dramatic play of light and dark in the sky that draws the viewer's eyes upwards, calling to mind both a foreboding storm (or a passing one, as the muddy ground might attest to) and the presence of some higher power. Schauwecker's text does not support any traditional religious connotations of "God" or "heaven," but the darkened clouds echo the natural and supernatural forces of the front-line experience characterized by Schauwecker in *So war der Krieg!*. That the field remains unconsecrated by any typical markers of commemoration, like cemetery crosses, reinforces the idea that humans are neglecting the spiritual meaning of the fallen soldiers' sacrifice in the face of some higher purpose.

The photograph's darkened clouds are assigned a more specific metaphor in the second stanza of "Diese Zeit." It pairs the unattended war gravesites from the first stanza with the supposed directionless politics of the present: "Keine Fahne flattert über'm Volke, / Weiten Scharen geht kein Schritt voran. / Massen murren, eine schwere Wolke, / Die nicht Blitz noch Regen werfen kann."<sup>554</sup> The stormy, foreboding cloud does not only hang over the unmarked

---

<sup>554</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 3.



former battleground, but casts its impenetrable shadow over the present-day situation in Weimar Germany. The introduction that follows the poem makes some of the references from the second stanza clear. As in *So war der Krieg*, Schauwecker understands the war positively as an “Aufbruch von Idealismus, Tat, Nation, Opfer, Hingabe, Tod, Gemeinschaft, Willen” wasted by the political elite following the war.<sup>555</sup> Instead of nation-building based on the Volk, revolution, chaos, and greed reigned, the polarization of class identity was aggravated, and politics was made hostage to economics. The political corruption of parliamentarianism and the occupation of German lands by the war’s victors are two of the most egregious post-war transgressions in his view.

Criticisms of the post-war situation alluded to in “Diese Zeit” and then explicated in the book’s introduction are wide-ranging, and Schauwecker incriminates opposing ideologies like socialism and capitalism often in the same sentence. Blurring the political lines of “right” and “left” that govern the thinking of “older” nationalist groups, he represents a new brand of nationalism that mixes freely from political ideologies, while striving foremost for the creation of a new order.<sup>556</sup> Armin Mohler has characterized a group of writers who share Schauwecker’s new nationalist impulses as the “Nationalrevolutionäre.” Among its most prominent “members” are Ernst Jünger, Friedrich Georg Jünger, Ernst von Salomon, and Ernst Niekisch. Mohler’s category also encompasses representatives of paramilitary *Wehrverbände* and their publishing organs, such as the Stahlhelm and its newspaper *Standarte*, as well as other publications, such as *Arminius*, *Vormarsch*, and *Widerstand*.<sup>557</sup> Authors most representative of “soldatischer Nationalismus,” like Schauwecker or Werner Beumelburg, constitute a more specific subset

---

<sup>555</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 8.

<sup>556</sup> Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 145–46.

<sup>557</sup> Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 295.

within the broader “Nationalrevolutionäre” category. The larger grouping, however, encompasses authors who were born between 1890 and 1905 and had their most foundational coming-of-age experiences during their war service.<sup>558</sup> The “Nationalrevolutionäre” group is set apart from older strands of nationalism that also were present after the war, such as the “Völkisch” and “Bündisch” movements or the “Jungkonservativen” around Arthur Moeller van den Brueck, as much through generational differences as through new revolutionary convictions. Based less on specific ideas—for example, the way “Völkisch” ideology was centered around race theory—the “Nationalrevolutionäre” envisioned a modern, dynamic, and radical movement towards grander yet oftentimes less clearly defined ideals, like the rebirth of the “nation.”<sup>559</sup>

Indeed, although he reveals his political viewpoint more freely than other authors addressed in this study (Ernst Friedrich excluded), Schauwecker is not concerned with exact political diagnosis of the post-war situation in *So ist der Friede*. An analysis of the book’s introduction is best guided by lines in the second stanza of “Diese Zeit,” in which the Volk, leaderless and directionless under no flag, stagnates as the “Massen.” What is most important in his understanding of the war’s legacy is the very lack of a single motivating principle that could unite the German nation and address the war’s economic, political, and, most important, spiritual impact: “Die Masse hatte in hundert Revolten nach Führung geschrieen — aber ihr hatte keine Stimme geantwortet. Da blieb es bei der plündernden Revolte. Die Masse blieb Masse. Es wurde keine Nation daraus. Es wurde ein Staat mit Volk. Aber kein Volk fand in seiner Staatsform sich als Nation wieder.”<sup>560</sup> Furthermore, the task of unifying the masses into a true Volk would have to take its lead from a single charismatic leader. The introduction ends with the claim that

---

<sup>558</sup> Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 142.

<sup>559</sup> Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 143–44.

<sup>560</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 8.

soldiers, the ones most betrayed by the mishandling of the post-war situation, wait patiently for “der entscheidende Führer” to lead the movement of nationalism that arose among their ranks.

The final stanza of “Diese Zeit” reinforces the idea of a lost legacy and elevates its apparent seriousness to dramatic heights: “Schuld in lang und leicht vertanen Jahren, / Schuld an Erbe und an neuem Gut. / Wie Gesetze steh’n die Kriegerbahnen. / Dunkel um die Wurzeln kreist das Blut.”<sup>561</sup> It seems that for Schauwecker, the war never truly ended, and old wounds have not healed. Any mention of the war’s victors in the book’s introduction are surrounded by quotation marks—“Sieger”—used sardonically to alert the reader to the adage that Germany was “geschlagen aber unbesiegt,” and the war was lost not because of some spiritual or motivational deficiency on the part of soldiers. Schauwecker not only rehashes the typical issues that were especially onerous for patriotic Germans, including the bottomless anger over the occupation of German lands by foreign powers; his entire frame of understanding the Weimar Republic’s political and social conflicts is also the continuation of mindsets of war and myths about the war. He pines for the camaraderie among soldiers as much as he imagines the soldiers to comprise a unified political front, a group uniquely betrayed by the war’s outcome but now occupying the moral high ground in a new conflict of “us” versus “them.” While hostilities with old war enemies linger, an internal set of foes he mentions by name—liberalism, capitalism, communism, parliamentarianism, indeed whatever force he perceives to stand in the way of nationalism—represents the new antagonist. The Soldier must now fight the “Herrschaft der Verantwortungslosen,”<sup>562</sup> which, like the enemies of the war, similarly seeks to impede the true German nation from flourishing. That this conflict should spill blood, as the poem attests, not

---

<sup>561</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 3.

<sup>562</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 9.

only speaks to the fact of violent revolutions and putsches post-1918 but to a militarized mindset of seeing the world that remains a decade later.

Moving beyond the poem “Diese Zeit” and the book’s introduction, the first set of photographs, titled “Revolution, Kommunismus, Besatzung,” testifies to the war-like nature of the Weimar Republic’s early days. Over a little more than 20 pages, Schauwecker presents a photographic account of the post-war political situation that ties disparate matters, such as the Spartacus uprising, the proclamation of the German Republic by the social democrat Philipp Scheidemann, the Ruhr occupation, the Hungarian Council Republic under Béla Kun, and the effects of Bolshevism in Soviet Russia, into one series of incriminating images. The captions that accompany the photographs succinctly identify the pictures, but in no case do they elaborate any of the pictured contents’ nuances or how the various issues might be related. The effect is at times disorienting. Take, for example, two pictures that are captioned “Panik am Pariser Platz” (Figure 7.2). Both show a crowd from the high perspective of a neighboring building. Whether the people were gathered there intentionally or were just passing through is unclear, but they are pictured running from the aftermath of some sort of explosion or gunfire, denoted by clouds of smoke near the Brandenburg Gate’s north portico. The second picture, which is placed below the first and therefore must be read as a moment after, shows that some people are now lying on the ground. Perhaps they have tripped while running away or were shot. What the exact commotion was, who or what caused it, and who were the people affected all remain unstated. That the exact facts of the occurrence could likely be traced in other archives is inconsequential here, as this analysis must focus on the two photographs’ function in the series of images in which they are embedded. Readers hoping to understand the enigmatic photographs would naturally look beyond the two images and their brief caption to the pictures that precede them on the opposite

page. There one finds a collage of three images (Figure 7.3): a larger picture of an unidentified “socialist speaker” from behind who looks over a vast and dense crowd of tiny heads straining to hear him, above which two smaller pictures, one of a group of Spartacist troops on Unter den Linden, the second a candid image of Karl Liebknecht addressing a crowd, cut into the larger image’s frame along an irregular, jagged line, itself suggesting instability through visual form. The collage works to make a plain connection between Spartacist violence, denoted by their pictured weapons, and the apparent broad support for (undifferentiated) leftist politics, denoted by the large crowds gathered to hear the speakers. With the book open to these two pages, i.e., the collage of Spartacists and socialists and the “Panik am Pariser Platz,” the commotion on the Pariser Platz is ascribed new connotations. The crowds of socialist supporters gathered on the left page are dispersed visually on the right. The political weight suggested by the gathered masses supporting the Spartacus movement on the left page has clear violent potential, as we see it (or something like it) explode on to the Pariser Platz in the images of the right-hand page. Even if the pictures do not document the same series of events, it is easy to imagine the book’s viewer drawing causal or quasi-causal connections among the photographs’ surface information, despite their connection being a metaphorical construct of Schauwecker’s design.

This sort of incrimination by visual proximity is characteristic of Schauwecker’s proclivity to play loose with facts, and it typifies the first series of images in the book. The end effect of this jumble of photographs is an almost breathless damning of post-war Germany that brings together the many targets of his ire and entangles them in a combination that provides an undifferentiated view of the post-war situation. The series is in no way intended to historicize the events it depicts; rather its focus remains largely on perpetuating a sense of continued, acute

crisis, in which political instability, street violence, and mass movements weaken Germany from within.

Beyond the “Panik am Pariser Platz” example, one telling page in this first series (Figure 7.4) combines three photographs: 1) villas in Falkenstein (Saxony-Anhalt) that were burned down by radical anarchist communists under Max Hölz during the “Märzaktion” of 1921; 2) government troops in Bottrop (North Rhine-Westphalia); and 3) a parade for the famed war general Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, who held Germany’s positions in Africa against larger British contingents and was celebrated for remaining undefeated in the face of such staggering odds.<sup>563</sup> The page is characteristic of the seemingly haphazard combination of photographs, whose relation can only be understood by connecting the various threads of Schauwecker’s perspective through the series. The individual photographs are representative parts of some of the most significant themes that wind through the series: street violence of the radical left, the law and order desired by the government forces fighting against revolts, and the glorification of the military and its record during the First World War. Even though the visual content on this one page relates only tangentially, the combined impression feeds into one of the author’s central assertions: the war, manifested both in an ideological struggle and in actual violence, has not truly ended. In addition to continued antagonisms between France and Germany, epitomized by the Ruhr occupation early in the decade, the conflict has taken on new shapes. Inner political enemies, like the Spartacists, fight against government troops and bring violence and destruction to the home front, and external forces, like the ascendant communism of states to the east (apparent in the final images of the series), threaten German security through political discordancy and the legitimization of dangerous ideologies that could spread across national

---

<sup>563</sup> Schauwecker, *So war der Friede*, 15.

borders. Whereas the title of Schauwecker's first picture book, *So war der Krieg!*, refers literally to the war, the title of *So ist der Friede* takes on its first shade of ironic meaning in the initial series of photographs: the peace that followed the war was no peace after all.

For Schauwecker, the German "spirit" has been especially betrayed in the post-war realm of politics by a cold and calculating liberalism, combined with the rigid organization of parliamentarianism that has extinguished all potential life-giving energies of the German nation:

[A]lles, was heute an Politik irgendwelcher Art von den offiziellen und offiziösen Stellen gemacht wird, hat den Zusammenhang mit der organischen Welt *über* dem Menschen und mit jener *in* ihm ebensogut verloren wie es nicht mehr teilhaftig ist des Rhythmus mit den Gesetzen, Lösungen und Bindungen, die diese polare Welt zugleich ausdrücken, bestätigen und beherrschen.<sup>564</sup>

In the second series of *So ist der Friede*, "Das Gesicht des Liberalismus. Der große Gegensatz," he compare the political calculation of liberalism negatively with the metaphysical awakening of the German spirit so characteristic of *So war der Krieg!* Liberalism, for Schauwecker, represents an unnatural "Apparat" imposed by cold-minded technocrats and motivated purely by money; both capitalism and socialism, then, are "Geschöpfe des reinen Geldes."<sup>565</sup> In a six-page preface to the photographs in this section, he writes: "[Der Liberalismus] führt alles auf die Berechnung oder auf das Seziermesser oder auf die Taktik oder auf die Verhandlung, auf das Dogma, auf die Schule, auf das Experiment zurück. [...] Deswegen hat er im Grunde keine Liebe und keinen Haß, sondern nur eine Verliebtheit und eine Gehässigkeit, und seine Glut ist die eines glühenden Ofens, heiß und seelenlos." In contrast to liberalism, which Schauwecker derides as the "Weltanschauung des Materialismus" that turns the Volk into the "Massen," there are natural forces proving that "jenseits des Mechanismus noch Leben wohnt."<sup>566</sup>

---

<sup>564</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 35.

<sup>565</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 36.

<sup>566</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 38.

Schauwecker introduces the case of the Novarupta volcano in Alaska's Katmai National Park that erupted for the first time in 1912, leaving a crater equal to the area of Berlin and Potsdam combined. The volcano's physical destruction is testament to the extraordinary forces of nature and it reveals the sense of wonder masked by the apparatus of science, technology, and civilization that reaches its pinnacle in an age of liberalism. The moment of the volcano's eruption compels man to think beyond materiality; a moment sometimes felt, but which nevertheless quickly vanishes, as a sort of simmering of real life below the surface of daily reality ruled by the automatons of business. "[Der Aufbruch des Katmai-Vulkans] ist der überwältigende Anblick der Ursprünglichkeit, der glühenden Substanz des Innersten, die uns bis zu den Sternen erhebt, indem sie uns zermalmt. Aber der Zauber des Intellekts ist nur imstande, uns mit einem Fahrstuhl auf einem Funkturm zu befördern."<sup>567</sup> The power of a volcano, that is, its latent potential to destroy life in a flash of violence, reminds man of his precarious reality between life and death. The realization is otherwise masked by science's supposed conquering of nature, embodied sarcastically by the radio tower elevator's triumph over gravity.

The cold-thinking, money-minded parliamentarians of Weimar Germany have, according to Schauwecker, destroyed a sense of the opposing forces—taken to its extreme, life and death—that give birth to ideas and action. The post-war government has become "Organisation statt des Organismus," the shell of a body "aus dem der Ton einer Grammophonplatte schallt, welche die Menschen heute noch glauben macht, da spräche ein Mensch."<sup>568</sup> Whereas parliamentarianism and liberalism are false constructs that impose irrational limits on the human soul through a claimed rationality, the generation of front soldiers have learned better from the "glühenden

---

<sup>567</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 38.

<sup>568</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 35.



Bereichen des Lebens.”<sup>569</sup> Like the eruption of a volcano, or the ephemeral feeling that life resembles an automobile speeding towards a cliff, driven by someone who refuses to turn or brake, there exist moments that unmask “Leben” from “Konstruktion.”<sup>570</sup> No one knows this better than the “Frontkämpfer,” who stood for years on the precipice between life and death. In the continued crisis of the post-war era, the front-line soldiers have special knowledge that enables them to see through the failings of the present with a future-oriented vision: “In dieser Zeit der Übergänge und Vorbereitungen auf das Entscheidende, Kommende, ist die seelische Haltung und Selbstständigkeit ein entschlossener Drang zum Eigentlichen und ein bewußter Vorstoß zum Kern der Dinge, Vorgänge, Erscheinungen und Menschen. Anders ist es an der Front nie gewesen.”<sup>571</sup>

The answer for the callous, economically driven calculations of parliamentarianism is for Schauwecker “Politik,” which unleashes “alle lebendigen und schöpferischen Kräfte ... des gesunden Gegensatzes, der im Kampf der Spannungen zeugerisch und empfangend wirksam ist.”<sup>572</sup> He understands “Politik” as something larger than “Tagespolitik,” and the term has clear ties to the brand of nationalism he advocates. The subordination of “Politik” to “Wirtschaft” in post-war German governance—the characterization is as broad in the original as it is in this brief summary—has entailed the “Unterwerfung der Nation unter rein materielle Interessen.”<sup>573</sup> Complicit in inhibiting the nation’s potential to flourish are international trade, banking, and finance. To fight against the apparent banner of liberalism—“Wirtschaft ist Schicksal”—is the greatest challenge facing the nation today, because where economics drives history and politics,

---

<sup>569</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 39.

<sup>570</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 38.

<sup>571</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 39.

<sup>572</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 35.

<sup>573</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 39.

“da hört das Leben auf und es beginnt der Apparat.”<sup>574</sup> “Auch diese Forderung galt an der Front,” Schauwecker concludes, again linking the war experience to the post-war situation.

What photographs, then, exhibit “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus”? In the introductory text, Schauwecker posits that liberalism’s “Apparat,” “Konstruktion,” or “Mechanismus” inhibits the sort of natural forces that comprise the “Kern der Dinge,” in the sense of both the physical power of nature over man and the soul’s longing for the nation. This “Gesicht” of liberalism masks the nation’s true spirit through the soulless economic decisions of parliamentarians, which were in many cases forced upon the Germans through the terms of surrender. The idea of a “Gesicht” takes on a more literal meaning in a series of honorific portraits featuring the socially prominent individuals that follow the introductory text. Pictured in the series are former and current ministers of the Weimar Republic, Reichstag members, and international statesmen. The German politicians include predominantly members of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD), the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (DDP), the Catholic Deutsche Zentrumspartei (Zentrum), and the center-right Deutsche Volkspartei (DVP, successor to the Nationalliberale Partei), all political parties that were active in forming and sustaining the Weimar Republic and that in Schauwecker’s eyes embodied the sort of soulless liberalism plaguing Germany. Foremost among those pictured are Matthias Erzberger, Gustav Stresemann, and Philipp Scheidemann, whose portraits prominently begin the series (Figure 7.5). All three men had important ties to both the war’s legacy and the economic realities during the Weimar Republic. Schauwecker does not criticize these or any of the politicians in the series by name, nor do his captions include anything but simple identifications, but upon consideration of their

---

<sup>574</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 40.

roles in Germany's response to the war and its aftermath, it becomes clear why these politicians are so obviously tied to the preceding text's polemics.

Matthias Erzberger of the Catholic Zentrumspartei was the bogeyman of conservative and national liberal parties on the right and the target of inflammatory and violent right-wing propaganda, not least because he was a principal signer of the Armistice, advocated for the Treaty of Versailles, and pushed social reforms that disadvantaged the wealthy. He was assassinated in late August 1921 by two former navy officers, members of the ultra-nationalist "Organisation Consul," which formed from the remnants of a Freikorps unit when that organization was officially disbanded following the failed Kapp Putsch in 1920. The "Organisation Consul" was responsible for the murder of more than 350 of their political opponents, including the foreign minister under Joseph Wirth (DVP), Walter Rathenau. He was murdered after angering national extremists by supporting Germany's obligations under the Treaty of Versailles and his negotiation of the Treaty of Rapallo (1922), which normalized relations with the Soviet Union and bilaterally renounced all territorial and financial claims made against the other from the war. Rathenau was assassinated in 1922, and his portrait is included on a later page in Schauwecker's series "Das Gesicht des Liberalismus."

Along with Erzberger, Gustav Stresemann and Philipp Scheidemann receive a primary position in the series of portraits of apparently undesirable liberal politicians. Despite the deep fractionalization of party politics during the Weimar Republic, the differences among the various parties are inconsequential to Schauwecker's larger argument against those who "sold out" the nation for peace.<sup>575</sup> Stresemann, Chancellor for a few short months in the fall of 1923 and then

---

<sup>575</sup> This accords with the general characterization by historian Dirk Schumann of political violence in the Weimar era: "[I]n den Konfrontationen zwischen gegnerischen politischen Gruppen bzw. zwischen ihnen und den staatlichen Ordnungskräften [ging es] im Prinzip immer

Germany's foreign minister from 1923 to 1929, was criticized from the right as a "Vernunftrepublikaner," someone who remained a monarchist at heart but who obliged to openly accept the reality of a democratic Republic for the sake of reasonableness. He drew conservative ire for his actions on the international stage, perceived as too willing to cooperate with Germany's former—and bitter—rivals and too unconcerned with the nation's own interests by taking a pragmatic, internationalist economic stance.

Stresemann's co-laureate for the 1926 Nobel Peace Prize, the French prime minister Aristide Briand, is pictured near the end of the series of portraits, where two pages are dedicated to non-German statesmen who affected the post-war Germany economic situation or represented a new breed of cooperative European diplomats who were understood by Schauwecker and his ilk to be undermining German nationalism. Among portraits of Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi (the central figure in the Paneuropean Union), Alfonso Costa (League of Nations Chairman in 1926), and various French prime ministers and diplomats, the British statesman Austen Chamberlain is pictured. Chamberlain worked with Stresemann and Briand to negotiate the Locarno Treaties, which guaranteed post-war peace in Western Europe by settling lingering border disputes, normalizing German relationships with its neighbors, and affirming that Germany would never again declare war on any of the treaty's signatories. Stresemann, Briand, and Chamberlain are indicative of the type of internationalists incompatible with Schauwecker's brand of fervent nationalism, which was explicitly tied to the war experience and relied on a continuation of war attitudes and antagonisms for its moral legitimacy.

The final politician pictured on the first page of "Das Gesicht des Liberalismus" is Philipp Scheidemann (SPD), who became for many on the far-right the face of the hated

---

um die Grundlagen des politischen Systems [...] und nicht bloß um Detailforderungen" (Schumann, *Politische Gewalt in der Weimarer Republik*, 17).

democratic Weimar Republic. On November 9, 1918, hearing that the Spartacist leader Karl Liebknecht planned to declare a German Soviet Republic out of the administrative confusion and violence of the November Revolution, Scheidemann declared the German Republic from a balcony in the Reichstag: “Das Alte und Morsche, die Monarchie ist zusammengebrochen. Es lebe das Neue; es lebe die deutsche Republik!” The action was largely spontaneous and went against the wishes of then Chancellor Friedrich Ebert, Scheidemann’s SPD colleague, who wanted to preserve the imperial system if possible. Even though Scheidemann served for less than half a year and surrendered the Chancellorship over his cabinet’s indecision regarding the Treaty of Versailles, his “betrayal” of Germany through the proclamation of the Republic was remembered well by right-wing forces.

Erzberger’s, Stresemann’s, and Scheidemann’s roles in the ending of the war, the Weimar Republic’s foundation, and the post-war economic situation make them representative of the “Gesicht” of liberalism that, from Schauwecker’s perspective, had killed the German national spirit. Despite the lack of any specific textual support differentiating the various pictured politicians, a moderately informed contemporary reader could have reconstructed the motivation for the portraits’ inclusion by considering the text of his broad polemic. Among many other biographies that illuminate the actual specifics of Schauwecker’s complaints are a slew of German chancellors: Gustav Bauer (SPD), Hermann Müller (SPD), Constantin Fehrenbach (Zentrum), the aforementioned Wirth (Zentrum), and Wilhelm Marx (Zentrum). In one of the only extended captions in the series, he notes that Müller (as secretary of state) and Johannes Bell (Zentrum; a Reichstag Vice President from 1920–26), who are pictured with Ebert and Marx on the second page of the series (Figure 7.6), were “die beiden Unterzeichner des

Versailler Friedensvertrags.”<sup>576</sup> In a caption for Ebert, he quotes the Reichspräsident on June 18, 1919, saying, “Wir werden diesen Frieden nie und nimmer annehmen, mag kommen was will; wir lehnen ihn ab.”<sup>577</sup> The effect is sarcastic, as the Treaty of Versailles was signed eleven days later following Scheidemann’s resignation on June 21 and Ebert’s insistence that Bauer form a new government and accept the Treaty’s terms.

The photograph of Ebert’s speech quoted above is one of the exceptions in the series that is not an official-looking posed portrait, although such a photograph of Ebert is also included on the same page. The visual stasis of the staged portraits positioned around it on all four sides make the photograph of Ebert’s speech initially seem out of place. A dense crowd gathered below Ebert, who speaks from a window balcony (recalling Scheidemann’s proclamation of the Republic), connotes a level of movement or commotion before and after the photograph’s particular moment. However, any sense of political action suggested by the pictured speech is undercut by the irony of the quotation in the caption; Ebert’s words were an empty promise, and the government accepted the Treaty of Versailles in the end.

The photograph of Ebert’s speech stands out in the “Gesicht des Liberalismus” series precisely because it offers a sense of action or movement beyond the photographic moment that the other portraits cannot. One can imagine Ebert’s hand gestures and facial expressions as he speaks as well as the crowd’s movement as it raises and lowers signs, calls back to the speaker, and shuffles in place. Although they are in the end also normal photographs capturing just one instant in time, the posed portraits, often cropped or framed to show just the subject’s face or bust, have a strong sense of frozen time. This visual stasis is the echo of claims Schauwecker makes in the introductory text: the “apparatus” of liberalism and parliamentarianism has

---

<sup>576</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 42.

<sup>577</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 42.

extinguished “alle lebendigen und schöpferischen Kräfte der Polarität, des gesunden Gegensatzes, der im Kampf der Spannungen zeugerisch und empfangend wirksam [sind].”<sup>578</sup>

The subject’s faces are also predominantly expressionless, reflecting the criticism of the “seelenlos” calculations of the ruling political class.

The portraits’ sedate nature is all the more noticeable in comparison to the images in the first section on “Revolution, Kommunismus, Besatzung.” Whereas the portraits in the second series suggest a quiet, interior realm of political thought, the first series presents the exterior realm of political action, including public speeches, mass demonstrations, and street violence. Take, for instance, the contrast between two photographs of Scheidemann, one found in each of the sections. In the series “Revolution, Kommunismus, Besatzung,” he is seen addressing a large crowd from a window of the Reichkanzlerhaus (Figure 7.7), visually similar to his proclamation of the Republic from the Reichstag. He is standing on the windowsill, is “am Rockschoß gehalten,” and has both arms stretched wide as he speaks.<sup>579</sup> Schauwecker does not provide any more context than this, but it is clear from the tightly packed crowd, some holding placards, and Scheidemann’s dramatic gesturing that he associates this picture with the titular “Revolution,” a time of “Unklarheit, Unfähigkeit, Unwesentlichkeit,” in which one singular voice did not rise to guide the national will.<sup>580</sup> Taken together with the other photographs of competing forces during the time, Scheidemann’s image here could be understood as representing the power of the many political parties during the time, which Schauwecker decries for their ability to punt the blame among their members instead of being held responsible as a group or even as a mode of

---

<sup>578</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 35.

<sup>579</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 16.

<sup>580</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 8.

governance.<sup>581</sup> In contrast to the second Scheidemann photograph from “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus,” it is clear he typifies for Schauwecker the sort of politician who “successfully” harnessed the chaos of revolution for his own political goals. He writes in the first section of the immediate post-war situation’s squandered potentials:

Die letzte Kraft der Nation erschöpfte sich vergebens in Streiks, Demonstrationen, Versammlungen, Reden, Revolten und Putschen. [...] Inzwischen machten die Klugen das Geschäft ohne viel Aufsehen. Der Staat wurde notdürftig wieder eingerichtet und neu abgefaßt. Als die leidenschaftlich Glühenden aus ihren Träumen erwachten, fanden sie den Staat fix und fertig neugeordnet vor [...]. Im ersten Chaos wäre die Nation im Staat neu zu schaffen gewesen, aber nun, in der Neuordnung war es denen, die es im Chaos nicht einmal zuwege bringen konnten, erst recht unmöglich.<sup>582</sup>

The photograph of Scheidemann in the second section (see Figure 7.5), “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus,” echoes the textual argument from the first section. In this photograph he is sitting at his work desk, holding a pen in his right hand and a few papers in his left. His face is expressionless; if not tired, he is calm. Whereas the gesticulating orator Scheidemann was part and parcel of the post-war political chaos in the first section, the bureaucrat Scheidemann typifies the “Klugen” who “machten ... das Geschäft ohne viel Aufsehen”<sup>583</sup> and stymie now any alternative political rearrangement.

That the photographs from the first section on “Revolution, Kommunismus, Besatzung” were all taken outside, most showing city scenes and many large crowds of people, seems at first to be a basic observation of little consequence—after all, most revolutions will be pictured by the public acts they engender. The portraits that follow in the “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus,” because of their marked contrasting interiority, add additional layers of meaning to the first series by exemplifying the sort of political elite who has ignored the impulses of the Volk and

---

<sup>581</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 10.

<sup>582</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 8.

<sup>583</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 8.



has left the public to grumble as the mere “Massen.” Schauwecker’s argument about liberalism being an “Apparat” or “Mechanismus” imposed from above, which he makes in the introductory text to “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus,” finds its visual equivalent in the contrast between the public realm’s dynamism pictured in the first section, in which the masses gather and violence is enacted (part of those “lebendigen und schöpferischen Kräfte der Polarität”) and the static, constrained interior realm of the political elite typified by their portraits. Armin Mohler, editor of the handbook on *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, assigns the key term “Bewegung” or “In-Bewegung-Sein” to the national-revolutionary authors,<sup>584</sup> and the idea of movement figures powerfully in *So ist der Friede* in the visual contrast between political action in the first section and political stultification in the second. It will also reappear in the section on “Abrüstung,” in which the rest of the world moves forward rapidly with technological advancements and rearmament while Germany falls behind.

Beyond a contrast between the first and second series, there is evidence in individual photographs for the type of political detachment from the heartblood of the Volk that Schauwecker denounces. In the second photograph of Scheidemann (his posed portrait in “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus”), we see visual representation of his separation from the outside world’s pulse. His desk is situated next to a window, through which sunlight illuminates his face and the papers spread out before him. It suggests initially that his decisions are informed by the outside world, but his relationship to it is severed by the photograph’s visual composition. By nature of the camera’s optical limitations the photograph was exposed for what was likely a dark interior, meaning the photograph’s right third including the window is overexposed. Anything that the photographer would have seen outside the window is rendered as white space for his

---

<sup>584</sup> Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland*, 144–45.

viewer. The interior realm of Scheidemann's office is visually cut off from the realities of the outside world, and is perhaps merely a blank canvas on which Scheidemann crafts his policies as he pleases. His firm grip on the pen and paper reinforce the emotionless rationality that is so antithetical to Schauwecker's fiery *Weltanschauung*. The portraits of Erzberger and Stresemann, to return to the two other extended examples offered above, perpetuate the same sense of isolated political calculation as the second Scheidemann portrait: a closely framed portrait of a bespectacled Erzberger with his chin resting in the grip of his right hand suggests a self-absorbed political thinker, and a portrait of Stresemann standing with his hands folded over the back of a chair, staring off into the distance, gives the impression of an out-of-touch daydreamer.

The photograph of Ebert's speech, then, although it is subverted by its ironic caption, is a clear exception to the politician's stodgy interior world represented among the classic studio or studio-like portraits in the section "Das Gesicht des Liberalismus." A group shot of over two dozen men standing impromptu for the camera (Figure 7.8) is another one of the few exceptions. The caption identifies just three among the pictured men, who all at different times served as police commissioner for Berlin: Bernhard Weiß (DDP, and of liberal Jewish heritage), Albert Grzesinski (SPD, and later Interior Minister), and Karl Zörgiebel (SPD). The three men were of the rarer breed of higher police administrators who supported the Republic and were forced to deal with—using such measures as demonstration bans and police force—the opposing political extremes that threatened each other and government stability. The photograph of Weiß, Grzesinski, and Zörgiebel among the nameless others, likely bureaucrats too, is tilted in a disorienting manner within a collage of four other portraits. The group shot's horizon line is slanted at a 45 degree angle, its top edge (cropped close to the men's heads) cuts through the frames of two portraits above it, and the upper left corner of a rectangular portrait below it cuts

into the space of its foreground. Perhaps Schauwecker cropped and positioned the photograph this way simply to fit it within the page's space. The photograph nevertheless stands out in a more unsettling way. The visual effect of the photograph's dis-orientation on the page contrasts obviously to the stability of the four-cornered portrait photographs around it. That the pictured men were all functionaries of the Weimar "system," ties the visual instability of the photograph's position in the layout to Schauwecker's screed against liberalism and the Weimar government.

On all but two other pages in the series, the borders of the rectangular portraits overlap and corners jut into each other (see, for example, Figure 7.9). Again, the intent of this arrangement could have been purely functional to fit the images into the assigned pages. The end effect of this manner of simple collage, though, is a visual layering of portraits that echoes Schauwecker's critique of an interconnected "system" among the various liberal parties. Similar to his textual arguments, he glosses over the gradations of political thought among and even within the parties for a denunciatory view of liberalism in which all participants are guilty by nature of their participation. Germany's integration into international diplomacy and economic markets, another target of his ire in the text, is visually represented with the subtle overlapping of portraits of foreign statesmen in the series' last pages.

The portraits of leaders of international diplomatic organizations, such as the Paneuropean Union and the League of Nations found on the last page of "Das Gesicht des Liberalismus," segues into the next section on "Abrüstung," which encompasses the book's lengthiest series of photographs. Like the other sections it begins with several pages of text. In it Schauwecker decries the League of Nations as "die Hochburg des Liberalismus," which "betreibt keinen Pazifismus, sondern vorsichtshalber nur Kriegverhütung."<sup>585</sup> In contrast to his

---

<sup>585</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 49.

disappointment over the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which remained largely in the first two sections' peripheral vision, his hatred of the League of Nations in "Abrüstung" is clear and focused. Although both issues reflect Schauwecker's aversion to internationalism and the central impulse of his nationalism—the German Volk's self-determination—the first two sections' rhetoric finds some sort of empirical support in this section. While the accusations in "Das Gesicht des Liberalismus" are strikingly broad and its targets problematically undifferentiated, the "Abrüstung" section raises a specific concern: unchecked post-war rearmament.

Of course Schauwecker's attack on the League of Nations is still politically motivated: international economic interests are denounced and liberalism remains in his line of fire. Furthermore, he casts the issue in the sense of a continuing war:

Eine der infamsten Lügen aber ist [...] [die] unentwegt erlogene und bewußt erlogene Behauptung von der Abrüstung. [...] Die Sitzungen des Völkerbundes, auf denen dieses liberale Manöver eines „Nie wieder Krieg“ mit einem Wall von Paragraphen als bitterer Ernst hingestellt werden soll, und zwar mit Paragraphen, von denen jeder einzige bewußt mit einem Loch versehen ist, so wie der Matratzenreiniger geschäftshalber eine Wanze in der Matratze läßt, damit für alle Fälle die Möglichkeit offen gelassen sei, mit der moralischen Rechtfertigung im Bedarfsfalle den nächsten imperialistischen Krieg vom Stapel zu lassen, einen Krieg, der jetzt schon mit allen Kräften vorbereitet wird.<sup>586</sup>

Despite the League's intention of ensuring the self-determination of all nations, Schauwecker offers examples that ran counter to that ideal: the quick negotiation of hostilities during the Polish-Lithuanian War (1920) to neither side's preference, the "rape" of Morocco by France, of the Middle East by England, and of China by the Entente powers combined.<sup>587</sup> Germany, a co-founder of but not a participant in the League of Nations, likewise was deceived by the Entente's demands, foremost that Germany have a democratic Republic, while "Amerika aber ist völlig

---

<sup>586</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 50–51.

<sup>587</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 50.

autokratisch, England ist Monarchie,” and the League averts its eyes from such disparities.<sup>588</sup>

The title of *So ist der Friede* takes on another shade of ironic meaning in “Abrüstung” to show how Germany—long after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919— continues to be duped by its acceptance of surrender while the world seemingly prepares for another war. As Schauwecker writes: “Es ist die Methode der liberalen Sieger des Weltkrieges.”<sup>589</sup>

The League of Nations’ international collusion to protect the Entente’s spoils of war, which flies in the face of the world’s stated pacifism, is most obviously self-contradictory in the present rearmament of nations. Unlike Schauwecker’s broadsides at America’s and England’s political systems above, however, the larger section finds some evidential support for its argument. Over nine pages of text, he details a myriad of post-war developments in military technology. He lists the numerical strength of militaries (both their personnel and equipment) from nations across the globe, gives the technical details of innovative American and French tanks, describes the more powerful artillery classes of new British destroyers, and sheds light on the advancement in chemical warfare. Especially America has proven adept at taking advantage of gas armament, “wie sie gleichfalls an der Spitze aller Bestrebungen gegen den Krieg stehen,” Schauwecker notes sarcastically. “In der Heuchelei waren die Vereinigten Staaten immer voran, wenn es materielles Interesse galt.”<sup>590</sup>

In contrast to the many nations of the world whose armies and navies are sized consistently to their population, or even beyond proportion, Germany (and Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary) are disadvantaged by “peace.” Germany is limited to just 100,000 men, possesses no heavy artillery, and is not permitted to have tanks or airplanes—all terms of the Treaty of

---

<sup>588</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 50.

<sup>589</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 54.

<sup>590</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 54–55.

Versailles. In light of rapid developments in chemical and air warfare, and the preparation of systems to protect civilians from gas attacks and air raids, Germany is particularly disadvantaged “für einen künftigen Krieg.”<sup>591</sup> The writing is on the wall in Schauwecker’s perspective, which was shared by many dissenting voices across the German political spectrum, but concentrated on the right: “Und es besteht eine unumstößliche Gewißheit, daß diese Rüstungen nicht umsonst sind, daß eines Tages diese riesigen Heere klingend auf marschieren, daß die kolossalen Flotten sich stampfend und rauchschleudernd gegeneinander in Besetzung setzen werden.”<sup>592</sup>

In addition to the facts and figures that bolster Schauwecker’s argument about the unrestrained arming happening across the world, the section on “Abrüstung” ironically includes around 40 pages of photographs of global “Aufrüstung”: the newest tanks, artillery, warships, airplanes, and military recruits of the world powers. In face of the international effort to preserve peace through the League of Nations and accords like the Kellogg–Briand Pact (1928), which denounced war as an instrument of settling international disputes, the photographs are meant to show the realities of “Abrüstung.” Compared to the “Deckmantel der Unehrllichkeit” of international conferences, speeches, and agreements,<sup>593</sup> the photographs reveal concrete evidence that the military establishment endures and regenerates itself during peacetime. Although some individual photographs are dynamically composed and give a sense of the pictured weapon’s distinctive power, the 40 pages of images are best understood together as one mountain of evidence. Schauwecker notes ironically: “In den folgenden Bildern erhält man eine Überzeugung, nämlich die Überzeugung von der allgemeinen Abrüstung, die sich in der ganzen

---

<sup>591</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 56.

<sup>592</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 60.

<sup>593</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 51.

Welt radikal Bahn bricht. Man sieht: Nie wieder Krieg!”<sup>594</sup> Captions differentiate among the various pictured militaries, but, as is often the *modus operandi*, an undifferentiated impression of the post-war situation prevails. That the series brings together photographs of English tanks and American airplanes with Swedish submarines and columns of marching Greek infantry means the images add up to a general visual impression of the claim that “Eine bis an die Zähne bewaffnete Welt steht sich gegenüber,” as Schauwecker notes in the introductory text,<sup>595</sup> perpetuating the common sentiment that it was Germany against the world (as seen also prominently in Walter Bloem’s *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung*).

America, however, occupies a predominant role in the series of photographs, just as its apparent war-motivated economic interests are especially called out in the introductory text. (America is denounced in the text particularly for its booming trade in gas warfare technology.<sup>596</sup>) Whereas the vast majority of captions in the series are neutral identifications of the pictured content, the most sarcastic captions are directed against American militarism, if in a subtle manner. For example, U.S. Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis is caught by the camera as he “lächelt aus dem Innern eines neuen amerikanischen Riesentanks” (Figure 7.10), and the caption “Die Amtseinsetzung des Präsidenten Coolidge” accompanies a photograph showing only American infantry marching in the inauguration parade (Figure 7.11). Both are subtle suggestions of America’s thriving and joyous militarism. “Das einzige wirkliche Abrüstungsbild,” as Schauwecker claims, is a photograph of a row of American ships set to be dismantled (Figure 7.12). It is compared sarcastically to Germany: “Der Kampfwert dieser

---

<sup>594</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 51.

<sup>595</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 60.

<sup>596</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 55.

Alteisenschiffe dürfte dem der deutschen republikanischen Kriegsflotte beinahe gleich sein.”<sup>597</sup>

American military entanglement across the world is also evident in the photographs: American tanks are unloaded in China by “Kulis” for use during the Chinese Civil War<sup>598</sup>; American troops are recognized by a French general for aiding the colonial forces in fighting native Berber tribes during the Rif War (1920–26)<sup>599</sup>; and the American navy flexes the might of its warships from San Diego to Cuba.<sup>600</sup>

The only collage of photographs in the “Abrüstung” series (Figure 7.13) reinforces the threat of an undifferentiated remilitarizing world. Seven images of artillery, tanks, airplanes, submarines, and military parades overlap each other in an almost haphazard way. A photograph of a submarine cuts across the middle of the page at a 45 degree angle, and the corners of some pictures jut into their neighbor’s frame. The technique mirrors the page from “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus” that included the group shot with police commissioners Weiß, Grzesinski, and Zörgiebel, and the submarine image’s visual skew reflects much of the same sense of unsettlement as that group shot. A photograph of airplanes flying high under a darkened sky serves as the bottom or background layer of this collage, reflecting a threat from the air with which Germany would not be able to contend, as Schauwecker also warns in the text. In contrast to all the other images in the series, none of the photographs in this collage have captions. Only a true military buff would be capable of discerning the national identity of the pictured equipment or armies. Like Schauwecker’s own politics, the details of the matter are largely irrelevant, and the collage functions more as a final overall impression of the “Abrüstung” that the pictures prove has played out much more akin to “Aufrüstung.”

---

<sup>597</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 82.

<sup>598</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 67.

<sup>599</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 88.

<sup>600</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 81.



After the collage, the final two pages turn the series' attention to the German situation. Contradicting his own claim that the photograph of the soon-to-be dismantled American warships discussed above was the only image of actual disarmament, Schauwecker includes two photographs of Germany's efforts to disarm. Directly opposite the general collage of the world's growing military might, two photographs are meant to reveal the pathetic reality of Germany's post-war military. A large photograph captioned "Deutschland allein rüstet wirklich ab: Deutsche Munition, zum Einschmelzen bestimmt" (Figure 7.14) shows large piles of useless munitions set to be destroyed. Below it, a smaller photograph of the "Zertrümmern eines großen Geschützes in den Spandauer Heeres-Werkstätten" shows two men hammering away at an artillery cannon. In contrast to the newest, most elite technology pictured on the opposite page, these two photographs show Germany's wasted potential and military backwardness. The pile of munitions appears as a sort of abstract landscape, a sad wasteland of Germany's former military might now neutered by the terms of surrender. The two men at work dismantling the artillery gun appear as rubes who are incapable of even handling that task; from the photograph it seems they have only managed to open a crack in the cannon's bore by sheer dint of their rudimentary tools. Furthermore, their plain laborer clothes seem provincial and dingy in contrast to the sharply dressed military men who parade across the preceding pages, and a third man who stands by aimlessly gazing at the two workers adds to the photograph's sense of helplessness and incompetence. If the cracked cannon and the broken munitions capsules are read as phallic symbols, they evince Germany's castration, and the long, sleek submarine titled at a 45 degree angle in the collage on the opposite page takes on a different sexualized connotation.

The final page of the series cements the argument about German military inferiority in the face of world remilitarization. On that page is a single photograph, captioned "Deutsche

‘Tanks’ im Gefecht auf dem Vormarsch” (Figure 7.15). The quotation marks are meant ironically as the pictured “tanks” are fakes. The tanks’ obviously shoddy construction points to the subpar materials used to create them—certainly not steel—and the two pairs of feet poking out from their undercarriages reveal the tanks’ true source of power. These are the “Papptanks auf Soldatenbeinen” mentioned in the section’s introductory text. They are one more pathetic consequence of the “diktierte Kürzung der Heeresstärke bis zur Wehrlosigkeit” and one final damning piece of visual evidence in the series of “das moderne Deutschland als liberale Republik, als Reich im Zeichen von Versailles und als Land unter der Weltanschauung des Liberalismus,” as Schauwecker has it in the section’s introductory text.<sup>601</sup>

The dynamism present in the book’s first section recurs in “Abrüstung” after the marked static nature of “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus.” Troops march, battleships fire, and tanks roll across the landscape. But Germany has been forced into a disadvantaged position, betrayed by the liberals who accepted the terms of surrender and forged the Republic. The sense of “In-Bewegung-Sein” that is central to the works of national-revolutionary authors is evident in the “Abrüstung” series but, to the chagrin of Schauwecker, not in Germany, where the unfavorable post-war situation has constrained the nation’s flourishing. German guns have been physically dismantled, leaving the nation metaphorically neutered, and German technology has been confined to a realm not much more advanced than that of a child’s playthings. The contrast between the very first image in the series, showing the “Übungskampf bewaffneter Tanks im Fort Wadworth [sic], Vereinigte Staaten” (Figure 7.16), and the very last image of Germany’s cardboard tanks pushed by manpower (Figure 7.15), visually clarifies Schauwecker’s accusations. It is conceivable that the “Abrüstung” series would incite the intended feelings of

---

<sup>601</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 57–58.

indignity, even in a reader who was not already sympathetic to Schauwecker's nationalist rhetoric. After almost 40 pages of photographs showing the military might, innovation, and dynamism of former war rivals, the final two pages showing the present situation of Germany's military would be a massive source of shame.

The final section of *So ist der Friede* continues one of the book's central arguments: the open warfare may have ended, but war mentalities continue in an ideological struggle between liberalism and nationalism. Titled "Der Nationalismus aller Länder," the section presents a broad history of post-war nationalism as evidenced in various countries around the globe. Whereas the world war was incited by liberalism, imperialism, and capitalism and brought Europe to its knees, countries outside of Europe are experiencing the dawning of a new age, Schauwecker explains:

Im Weltkrieg bereitete sich der Liberalismus selbst sein Ende. Etwas Neues erstand. Der Nationalismus aller Länder wurde geboren. Schon vor dem Kriege waren hier und dort Anzeichen dafür vorhanden. Der Weltkrieg entschied darüber: von nun an wird die Welt anders aussehen als im Zeitalter des Liberalismus. Von nun an wird die Welt dem Nationalismus angehören.<sup>602</sup>

Nationalism is a new "Weltgefühl" finding expression in different forms across the globe, from China to Egypt, in Germany as in India. Its manifestations are united by a simple driving impulse: "Die Menschen einer Zusammengehörigkeit in Geschichte, Sprache, Kultur, Landschaft und Gefühl der Welt wollen mit Leidenschaft und Sehnsucht unabhängige Gemeinschaft und die Selbstbestimmung, von der der Liberalismus schlau und taktisch berechnend in seinen verlogenen Friedensschlüssen geredet hat."<sup>603</sup> For Schauwecker, nationalism will bring a true end to imperialistic wars, like that of the world war, as nations will respect each other as nations made legitimate by the will of their peoples. He imagines a future "Internationale des

---

<sup>602</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 101.

<sup>603</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 101–102.

Nationalismus” that will restore the lost dignity of nations and ensure that any future wars will only be those necessary to realize the people’s will. Because it replaces the international bonds of class and clears away the systems of global capitalism, effectively reorganizing the world based on ties of existing communities, nationalism both reveals communism to be the “Dung auf dem Acker der Nationen” while freeing the people from the “internationalen Sklaverei des Geldes.”<sup>604</sup>

Schauwecker’s characterization of nationalism, which proclaims “den wahren Schrei der unterdrückten Nationen in die Welt,”<sup>605</sup> is still firmly rooted in the war experience, as he established in *So war der Krieg!*: “[Nationalismus] entsteht mit der unwiderstehlichen Gewalt der Ursprünglichkeit, aus der [er] im Kriege zwischen Tod und Leben hervorbrach. [...] Es geschieht aus dem Boden, dem wir alle unsere Kraft verdanken, aus der Erde, die das Blut getrunken hat und von ihm befruchtet ist.”<sup>606</sup> He assigns a sense of inevitability to the rise of nationalism, saying it was born with the “unwiderstehlicher Kraft organischen Wachstums” and promising that there is no use in trying to impede its growth.<sup>607</sup> After the section on “Abrüstung” that is more carefully reasoned (at least for his standards), here he slips back into his characteristic style of argumentation: emotionally charged, metaphor-laden, and stubbornly narrow-minded in its assertion of the war’s enduring legacy. Schauwecker’s picture books are certainly not meant as treatises of political science, and, from his own account, intellect is anathema to the spiritual feelings of nationalism. Not only does nationalism create a “Verbundenheit des Charakters, des Geistes, des Gefühls” that places “die Nation über die Partei, die Gesinnung über den Intellekt, de[n] Geist über den Verstand,” but the well-spring of

---

<sup>604</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 102–103.

<sup>605</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 102.

<sup>606</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 104.

<sup>607</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 103

nationalism also could have never been pure reason, “denn der Intellekt verleugnet die Erde und lebt aus der Konstruktion.”<sup>608</sup>

The sketches following the short introduction present the story of nationalism’s rise in countries around the globe. Schauwecker characterizes the successes and failures of nationalism in Italy, Turkey, Poland, Spain, Hungary, Ireland, Morocco, China, India, Saudi Arabia, Macedonia, America, and Germany. He also considers Zionism, outlining a positive plan for the Jews’ survival as a nation, while also regurgitating many antisemitic clichés. Each sub-section comprises a few pages of introductory text and then short photographic series. Without summarizing the particularities of each sub-section, there are several patterns that Schauwecker brings forth across the larger series and that should be addressed here as they bear significance on his assessment of the German situation, which is, after all, the core issue of his picture book and this study.

“Der Nationalismus aller Länder” begins with Italy and Mussolini. One of the most defining characteristics of Schauwecker’s brand of nationalism, “soldatischer Nationalismus,” is embodied in the story of Mussolini’s rise to power: “das Wunder der Persönlichkeit.”<sup>609</sup> Amidst the economic and political chaos in Italy following the war, Benito Mussolini broke through as the charismatic leader of a people’s revolution—“urtümlich geboren aus unhaltbaren, unnatürlichen Zuständen”—that conquered the communists, marched against the state, and inspired the Italian people: “Die Persönlichkeit strahlt auf und herrscht unbedingt. Die Masse ist die Tat seines Willens, weicher Stoff, den er formt.”<sup>610</sup> Schauwecker’s praise for Mussolini is boundless. He is a “glänzender Diplomat,” an “eingeborener Genius,” and an “unbeirrbar

---

<sup>608</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 104.

<sup>609</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 105.

<sup>610</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 109.

sichere[r] Staatsmann.”<sup>611</sup> Even the brutality engendered by Mussolini’s movement is normalized as necessary action against forces that threaten the Italian nation, especially communism.

Mussolini is the epitome of the Schauweckerian “Persönlichkeit.” Part of this is pure charisma: “Ein Zauber geht von ihm aus und vereinigt einer Sammellinse gleich alle Blicke auf ihn.”<sup>612</sup> But not only is his image a “Symbol des Neuen”<sup>613</sup> for the people, Mussolini has the essential characteristics of “ein flammendes Herz” and “ein kaltdenkendes Hirn,” a rare combination of character types uniting the energy and sheer willpower to force change and the know-how to guide it to fruition.<sup>614</sup> Schauwecker admires Mussolini for his political intelligence, but is careful to avoid attributing this characterization to “Intellekt” or “Verstand.” He understands the essence of Mussolini’s “Persönlichkeit” more as a future-oriented vision: “Mussolini sieht immer was ist, aber er sieht auch zugleich, was sein kann und sein muß, und er beschließt, daß es sein soll.”<sup>615</sup> His leadership of the fascist takeover in 1922 is the prime example of his ability to combine the nation’s emotional impulse with the *Realpolitik* know-how necessary to organize and govern. Mussolini’s achievements are tied directly to his character and role as “Motor und Führer in einem doppelt gebauten Körper.”<sup>616</sup> He is “der Mann des Schicksals, und sein Werk ist es auch.”<sup>617</sup>

The photographs following the text visualize Mussolini’s “flammende Persönlichkeit.” The first image (Figure 7.17), “Mussolini spricht,” is a dynamic photograph of Mussolini

---

<sup>611</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 110–12.

<sup>612</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 109.

<sup>613</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 106.

<sup>614</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 106.

<sup>615</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 106.

<sup>616</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 111.

<sup>617</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 112.

delivering a speech, and it clearly served as the inspiration for a passage of text that came about five pages earlier. In it, Schauwecker dips into the expressionistic writing style that was so characteristic of his first picture book:

Mussolini! Da steht er. Über der Menge. Er spricht. Er flammt. Er durchschlägt eine Spannung mit einem Armhieb von oben nach unten. Zuhauend. Er schleudert die Entzündung. Mitten im Satz schweigt er. Sekunde. Die Menge bebt vor Grimm. Und da schlägt er die straffe Leidenschaft durch, wie man ein gestammtes Seil kappt. Und in die Stille steigt seine Stimme, klingend, metallend, eine flackernde Flamme: "Wozu die Worte! Kommt mit mir!"<sup>618</sup>

The photograph catches Mussolini with mouth open and his right arm outstretched in front of him, suggesting the passion he is lending to his speech. His left arm, however, is relaxed at his side, the top of his hand perched naturally on his hip. The physicality of these gestures evinces Schauwecker's idea of Mussolini's dual impulses: the fiery dramatics of his speech and his raw charisma are made reasonable by a sense of natural composure and confidence.

Mussolini's speaking position described in the text is mirrored in the photograph's visual perspective. The camera, positioned below Mussolini, pictures him as "Über der Menge." Whom he is addressing is not apparent from the photograph, though, as the shot is framed quite closely. Besides a few shapes suggesting the outline of a speaking platform, Mussolini looms large against a blank sky. The photograph is also printed large to cover most of the page. The visual effect of these qualities is meant to inspire awe and reverence; the viewing position of looking up *at* Mussolini becomes a metaphorical looking up *to* him.

The photograph of Mussolini is clearly far more visually dynamic than the formal, almost somber portraits in "Das Gesicht des Liberalismus." Even when compared to two other photographs of speeches that came earlier in the book and were mentioned above, this image captures the vigor and feeling of the individual to a far greater extent. Both the photograph of

---

<sup>618</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 108–109.

Scheidemann speaking from a window of the Reichskanzlerhaus and the other of Ebert addressing a crowd from an unidentified balcony are framed from a distance, bringing both speaker and crowd into one image. Scheidemann and Ebert appear therefore as the same size as the people in the crowd, special only because of their raised position, echoing a critique from the text that their rank over the Volk is a construct, a nasty symptom of liberalism's apparatus. Both men are visually positioned above the masses, suggesting their leadership, but the text asserts that they lack the sort of vital connection to the people to truly shape the masses, something Mussolini in contrast achieves effortlessly, by his nature. In the first photograph, Scheidemann spreads both his arms wide as he speaks and he must be held by the coattails of his jacket so he does not fall from his perch. In contrast to Mussolini, who unites passion and reasoned thought, Scheidemann's speech appears precarious and desperate. The caption of the Ebert photograph explains that the politician is decrying the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, when common knowledge tells the viewer that he accepted the terms just ten days later. The caption reveals the disconnect between the man's promises to the crowd below him and his actual actions. Although these two photographs seem initially to show the actions of charismatic leaders, the text subverts the visual content as artifice. Mussolini, by contrast, is pictured from a close distance and from a perspective in which he towers over the crowd. The viewer takes on the crowd's perspective through the camera and is drawn into the cult of personality characteristic of Italian fascism and lauded by Schauwecker.

The remaining five pages of photographs that follow the dynamic portrait of Mussolini in the series on Italy continue the idea of Mussolini's personality being central to the fascist movement. In all but a few of the pictures, he is the central figure, and even if he is not pictured, as in some of the photographs showing the famous March on Rome in 1922, his presence is still



felt. The other sub-sections in the “Nationalismus aller Länder” series continue the pattern of tracing a nation’s success or failures through the personalities of its leaders. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Turkey), Miguel Primo de Rivera (Spain), and Mikló Horthy (Hungary), although they are men of different natures and circumstances and are in Schauwecker’s estimation certainly not of the high caliber of a Mussolini, are praised as decisive leaders who ended periods of unrest and restored the dignity of their respective nations. Correspondingly, they are all represented with photographs that are intended to inspire confidence in their leadership model; take, for example, the dramatic photograph of Horthy saluting his men atop a white horse after his forces have reclaimed Budapest from the Hungarian Soviet Republic under Belá Kun (Figure 7.18).

Even the otherwise static studio portraits of Atatürk and Horthy found in the series are meant to exude an air of unflappable and honorable leadership. Initially they appear to share the same static interiority of the portraits in “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus,” but Schauwecker seems to be aware of any perceived inconsistencies in representation. His laudatory text and the careful selection of accompanying images ensures the interpretation of the portraits will be received as planned. Horthy’s portrait is followed by two photographs of him dramatically retaking Budapest, and Atatürk’s portrait is positioned above a photograph of a celebratory parade of his troops after the taking of Constantinople (Figure 7.19). The intended positive reading of the portraits, and by extension the two leaders’ characters, is bolstered by their heroic actions, which are tied visually to the men’s very faces. The context created by the text and accompanying images is also the reason why the portraits in “Das Gesicht des Liberalismus” are not seen by the viewer as they otherwise would be; instead of the typical reverent portraits of important members of society, they become in this context the face of ineffective, corrupt, and uncaring politicians. In this sense, too, Schauwecker shows an understanding that from a physiognomic point of view,

photography is a second-order form of signification, and signifying power is not inherent in the face but vested in the effects of photographic representation.<sup>619</sup> In this sense, J.J. Long's assertion about the discourse of physiognomy being a "flexible discourse" in the Weimar era rings clear: "[physiognomy] cannot be thought of without reference to its performative dimension."<sup>620</sup>

As a counterexample to the positive nationalism centered around a strong leader, the situation in Poland is lambasted in the text and mocked through the selected photograph of Józef Piłsudski, the "First Marshal of Poland." According to Schauwecker,

Polen verdankt seine Existenz seinen Feinden [Deutschland und Österreich-Ungarn]. Das sagt alles für die Zukunft dieses unmöglichen Staatsgebildes, das schon früher existiert und noch niemals gelebt hat. Nach dem Kriege verdankte es seine Weiterexistenz den egoistischen Interessen Frankreichs, das einen östlichen Gegenspieler und Bundesgenossen gegen Deutschland braucht.<sup>621</sup>

Placed next to a photograph of Spain's Primo de Rivera looking magisterial with the sun hitting his profile as he stands atop a balcony, the photograph of Piłsudski (Figure 7.20)—the only one in this sub-section representing Poland—is highly unflattering. He is pictured in a contorted posture, with his right arm bent upwards in front of him as he turns his face towards the camera. It is not obvious what the picture is actually showing, as the image has evidently been cropped to focus on his upper body and face, although the photograph seems to have been a candid shot. This fact is clear in Piłsudski's unbecoming facial expression, with eyes half open to the camera, making him appear either drunk or feeble-minded. The evident absence of Schauweckerian "Persönlichkeit" in the photograph of Piłsudski resonates with the negative characterization of the Polish post-war situation in the text, even if the leader is not called out by name there. The

---

<sup>619</sup> See Long, "Faces," 201.

<sup>620</sup> Long, "Faces," 213.

<sup>621</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 122.

selection of this unflattering portrait reinforces the idea that Schauwecker was keenly aware of the power of photographic representation to shape an assessment of character only if that visual representation was complemented by interpretive text.

The stories of Ireland and Morocco introduce another pattern to the section on “Der Nationalismus aller Länder” that is significant for understanding how Schauwecker sees attitudes of war simmering into the post-war era. Both comprise hard evidence for his critique of the Allies’ continued violent exploitation of other nations. The national movements of Sinn Fein in Ireland and of the Berber-speaking Rif tribes in Morocco under the leadership of Mulai Ahmed er Raisuli and Abd el-Krim represent the oppression of ethnic populations by English and French imperialists, respectively. The pictures of Ireland show English military forces occupying Dublin, and those of Morocco include French airplanes bombing Ajdir (then capital of the Republic of the Rif, 1922–26) as well as images of other native tribes loyal to France outfitted with French weaponry. The intervention of world powers to stop uprisings of local peoples who seek independent status clashes with the stated principles of the post-war peace, including the self-determination of countries and the disarmament of the world outlined by Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points. Schauwecker writes of the Rif: “Dieselbe ungeheure Übermacht, die im Weltkrieg auf seiten der Entente gewesen war, erdrückte auch hier durch ihre ungeheure, formlose Masse den um sein Leben kämpfenden Gegner, die um ihr Dasein kämpfende Nation.”<sup>622</sup>

The story is similar for China. Schauwecker quotes Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Kuomintang: “Wessen Kolonie ist China? Es ist die Kolonie aller Mächte, die mit uns Verträge

---

<sup>622</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 135.

geschlossen haben. All diese Länder sind die Herren Chinas.”<sup>623</sup> Sun is no “Persönlichkeit” in the vein of Mussolini—“[i]hm fehlt der Wirklichkeitsblick für die Gegebenheiten und Möglichkeiten”<sup>624</sup>—but the nationalist doctrines he brought to China ensured that it might become “Herr im eigenen Hause.”<sup>625</sup> Although he quotes Sun’s writings at length in the text, the pictures representing Chinese nationalism turn their focus to the military forces of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, in particular, who although not even mentioned in the text is visually positioned as the implementer of Sun Yat-Sen’s ideas. A solemn portrait of Sun and his wife in civilian garb (Figure 7.21), which labels Sun as the founder of the “nationalistischen passiv eingestellten Kuo-Min-Tang-Bewegung,” is placed above two portraits of Chiang in military uniform. The first shows Chiang standing with KMT General Bai Chongxi, the second shows him on a horse, speaking with his right arm raised into a fist. A second page in the series shows various military personnel and serves as a continuation of the idea that the “passive” ideas of Sun were crucially translated into military action by the KMT’s generals, especially Chiang, who led Sun’s pivotal Northern Expedition campaign to reunify China in 1928.

In the Indian context, Mahatma Gandhi receives a similar treatment as Sun Yat-Sen. Gandhi advocates the big ideas that drive nationalism, such as self-rule, but lacks the “Persönlichkeit” himself to cut through the political morass. Like Sun, Gandhi may be the spokesman for the nationalist cause but does not have an eye for the practicalities of politics that would otherwise allow him to implement his grand ideas. Schauwecker praises Gandhi for so fully embodying his political ideas in his personal life, and although that combination gives him

---

<sup>623</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 144.

<sup>624</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 143.

<sup>625</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 144.

“eine wahrhaft göttliche Macht,”<sup>626</sup> those ideals, such as organized nonresistance, do not translate so easily onto a national stage, where “[d]er wuchernde Trieb der indischen Masse spottete jeder Ordnung, und die dumpfe Wut ließ sich nicht zur Gewaltlosigkeit glätten.”<sup>627</sup>

People like Gandhi were given the rare ability to shape the world through their example, but their influence remains limited in the spiritual realm, closed off from practical application. In this sense, Gandhi’s “Persönlichkeit” is of a different, less powerful nature than that of Mussolini’s. Schauwecker even calls Gandhi a “Franz von Assisi, der plötzlich zur Rolle eines Mussolini verdammt ist, ohne sich zu dessen Mitteln entschließen zu können.”<sup>628</sup>

Schauwecker predicts that despite Gandhi’s apparent fame and influence, “die nationale Befreiung Indiens wird nicht durch, noch gegen Gandhi, sondern abseits Gandhi geschehen und die liberale Schwäche Englands wird mit am Werk sein.”<sup>629</sup> His understanding of Gandhi’s role in the Indian independence movement is certainly limited by his viewpoint from the year 1928, almost a decade before Gandhi actually led India to independence. Furthermore, his characterization of Chittaranjan Das, another leader of the Indian independence movement, is objectively wrong, as he claims the “Politiker” promoted the opposite of Gandhian non-violence. Although the text is focused solely on the scope of Gandhi’s “Persönlichkeit,” Das is the subject of three out of four photographs (Figure 7.22) in the sub-section on India; the first is a portrait, and the other two show his funeral. In the text, Schauwecker characterizes in passing the deaths of Das and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an early Indian revolutionary who *did* advocate violence against British rule, as the moments that cast Gandhi into the role of the preeminent Indian

---

<sup>626</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 153.

<sup>627</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 152.

<sup>628</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 155.

<sup>629</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 155.

leader, which he calls a “rätselhaft und grausam” act of “Schicksal.”<sup>630</sup> Schauwecker’s assessment of Das is impossible to pin down through this single brief mention in the text, but the special attention to him in the photographs suggest that he saw in Das a politician who could have united the grand ideas of Indian self-rule with the *Realpolitik* intelligence to achieve it. Two photographs of his funeral (again, out of only four on the topic of India) suggest a lost opportunity for India. The fourth photograph, a portrait of a laughing Gandhi, shirtless and partially toothless, echoes the man’s portrayal in the text as a happy but helpless, spiritually enlightened but politically ineffective leader, unable to rise to the occasion of his circumstances. He remains “eine idyllische Gestalt, die im Schatten einer Tragik steht.”<sup>631</sup>

To what extent Gandhi’s biographers would disagree with Schauwecker’s characterization of the man is less important to this study than what it tells us about the ideals Schauwecker is trying to tease out of the example for application to the German situation. For Schauwecker, nationalism demands bold ideas and strong leaders to implement them. Although he fully embodies the political practice he endorses in his daily life, Gandhi lacks a certain eye for the essential to translate ideas into reality. Schauwecker ascribes this partly to a defect in Gandhi’s character, which he calls the “wahrhaft große[] Kindhaftigkeit seines hochgesinnten Menschentums.”<sup>632</sup> Additionally he recognizes India’s political reality as a land of diverse languages, ethnicities, religions, and classes, which he labels “die chaotische Massenseele Indiens.”<sup>633</sup> The strong community bonds that make nationalism such a self-evident recourse for other peoples are absent in India. Schauwecker also highlights the competing Western and

---

<sup>630</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 154.

<sup>631</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 154.

<sup>632</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 155.

<sup>633</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 152.

Eastern influences to claim (perhaps in a moment of racist orientalism) that India is not disciplined enough to adopt European political ideas.<sup>634</sup>

Schauwecker continues a line of argumentation against pluralistic societies in his characterization of Zionism as well as American nationalism in the form of the Ku Klux Klan. Although he perpetuates typical antisemitic tropes, including a matter-of-fact characterization of Jews as the puppet-masters of international finance, as shape-shifters willing to change nationalities for financial gain, and as linked not through religion but through blood and race, he also decries antisemitism's "Lautheit, Grobheit und Ungeistigkeit" as inadequate responses to the Jewish question.<sup>635</sup> He decries violence towards Jews, calling instead for "ein beiderseitiges Entgegenkommen" that would lead to "eine glückliche und dauerhafte Lösung" of tensions.<sup>636</sup> Schauwecker even shows sympathy for the plight of Jewish immigrants—"Es gibt kaum einen hoffnungsloseren, müderen, gehetzteren Anblick"<sup>637</sup>—and seems genuinely concerned about a potential "catastrophe" that could befall the Jewish people.

Schauwecker writes, "Der Liberalismus mit seiner Betonung der Allgemeinheit, des reinen Staatsgedankens, der Gleichheit" ensured that any talk about a Jewish nationality was politically taboo, yet the issue was now becoming more pressing.<sup>638</sup> He goes on to conclude: "Wenn es irgendeine Rettung für das Judentum aus seiner hoffnungslosen Isoliertheit gibt, dann ist es das mit Selbstverständlichkeit und Freimut vollzogene Bekenntnis zur Nationalität des Jüdischen."<sup>639</sup> What impedes the realization of a Jewish nation is the apparent fact that Jews refuse to accept the label "Jew" as a nationality and instead are content with being

---

<sup>634</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 152.

<sup>635</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 165.

<sup>636</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 165.

<sup>637</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 165.

<sup>638</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 164.

<sup>639</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 167.

“unorganische[] Fremdling[e]” in other nations.<sup>640</sup> “Das Einzigartige dieser [jüdischen] Nation ist es, daß sie sich selbst als Nation nicht kennt, nicht anerkannt sind und sich nicht als Nation bezeichnen lassen will. Andererseits gibt es kaum eine Nation, die hinsichtlich ihrer selbst nationaler, ja: völkischer sich verhält als eben diese von allen andern deutlich unterschiedene Nation.”<sup>641</sup> Schauwecker points to five different “types” of Jews (Eastern European, assimilated or “liberal,” Zionists, Orthodox, and messianic) to underscore a plurality of Jewish identities. Coupled with a basic failure to understand themselves as a nationality, this diversity negatively impacts Jewish self-determination. For Schauwecker, Zionism represents a welcomed first step in solving the “Judenfrage,” but it will remain constrained if it is pushed through by a second party or if it fails to include “sämtliche Juden” in its message.<sup>642</sup>

Questions of the connection between race and nationality continue in Schauwecker’s short depiction of the American Ku Klux Klan. After providing a history of their early existence, he links the fact that blacks fought alongside whites in the First World War to the Klan’s rejuvenation. Furthermore, its anti-black rhetoric and actions were expanded to encompass broader matters of race and immigration—a general “Rassenfrage”—as the group concerned itself more and more with the question of who belonged to the “hundertprozentigen Amerikanern.”<sup>643</sup> Schauwecker writes that the Klan is “eher als eine amerikanische Abstrusität, denn als eine ernste politische Gemeinschaft zu werten. Das Nationalgefühl des amerikanischen Volkes ist so groß, seine Aufsaugungs- und Einverleibungsfähigkeit anderer Völker so stark, daß jede Sonderbestrebung dieser Art eine Überflüssigkeit bedeutet.”<sup>644</sup> He writes nothing more

---

<sup>640</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 164.

<sup>641</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 163.

<sup>642</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 166.

<sup>643</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 172.

<sup>644</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 172.



substantial beyond this diagnosis, so it is not entirely clear how he assesses the situation of race and nationalism in America. The idea that America incorporates many diverse peoples under one national banner runs counter to Schauwecker's most basic definition of nationalism as a "Zusammengehörigkeit in Geschichte, Sprache, Kultur, Landschaft und Gefühl der Welt,"<sup>645</sup> and his ideas about nationality tied to race, which appear in the section on Zionism, suggest America will never experience "true" nationalism due to its acceptance of diversity. In this sense, although he calls the Ku Klux Klan an "Abstrusität" and "Überflüssigkeit," Schauwecker's dismissal of that group can also be read as a rejection of the American system outright. American society is simply not receptive to nationalism and perhaps doomed to liberalism because of its ideals and the mixture of its political constituency. The many layers of India's vast population, after all, ensured that Gandhi would be unable to push through nationalism there.

The photographs representing America in this sub-section of "Der Nationalismus aller Länder" (Figure 7.23) bolster an interpretation of the Klan as dupes of the American system. The Ku Klux Klan are pictured in two photographs that show them on parade. The images give the group a visual sense of stateliness and present an idea of strength through their gathered number. The second parade picture even shows the group commandingly marching down a main thoroughfare in Washington D.C., their lines stretching to a vanishing point beneath the Capitol building. The third picture of "Amerika" shows a third parade, an unidentified military "Festfeier." Although the photograph is not of the Ku Klux Klan, the lines of marching men and the many American flags visually mirror the other two of Klan marches. This visual parallel casts the Klan in the same vein as the military as the legitimate standard-bearers for the war's legacy and, by extension, nationalism. The fact that the Klan's positive visual representation is

---

<sup>645</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 101.

subverted by the text's dismissive attitude, especially since one could think of alternative, unflattering images that would match Schauwecker's characterization of them as an "Abstrusität," suggests that the group is running up against a larger "System." While the Klan's "Sonderbestrebung" might in theory be admirable for the championing of a racially based nationalism, their efforts are stymied by America's pluralist society.

The final sub-section in "Der Nationalismus aller Länder" and the final seven pages in *So ist der Friede* concerns Germany. After around 80 pages of considering other nations around the globe, Schauwecker returns to the heart of the matter: "eine eingehende Darstellung dieser bei uns hart umkämpften Dinge in einem Buch, das sich die mit Knappheit wirksame Darstellung des Zustandes der ganzen Welt nach Krieg, Versailles und roten Revolution gesetzt hat."<sup>646</sup> The series' introductory text decries the cozy relationship between Reichstag members and big business ("Der Demokrat Dr. Hermann Fischer hatte für sich allein 20 Aufsichtsratsposten inne"), the costs of a liberal government ("Alle [Minister] haben die Pension angenommen, obwohl das Volk hungerte"), and the inefficacy of parliament ("Die Nationalversammlung hat ein Buch von 5733 Seiten geredet, der erste Reichstag ein Werk von 12 830 Seiten, der dritte, der kürzste, einen Schmöker von 11 050 Seiten").<sup>647</sup> In Schauwecker's eyes, German nationalism was born in the life-and-death experience of war, but the post-war disappointments have strengthened and emboldened nationalism.<sup>648</sup> He provides a brief overview of the various groups that arose in the national movement, including the National Socialist Party and many paramilitary veteran's organizations, such as the Wehrwolf, the Jungdeutsche Orden, the Reichsflagge, and the Wicking, many of which were formed from members of disbanded

---

<sup>646</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 180.

<sup>647</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 179.

<sup>648</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 179.

Freikorps divisions. Although he is likely biased by writing for the Frundsberg-Verlag, the author assigns the Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten, a primary role among these *Wehrverbände*, characterizing it as the largest and the most politically active of them all. Many of the smaller organizations, then, as well as the public at large, look to the Stahlhelm for “die Verwirklichung der ‘inneren und äußeren Befreiung Deutschlands.’”<sup>649</sup>

The photographs in the “Deutschland” series support Schauwecker’s claim to political legitimacy for the “Frontgeneration” and avow typical indignation over nationalist *causes célèbres*, such as the execution of Albert Leo Schlageter, which is shown in the first photograph in the series (Figure 7.24). The photograph is ascribed special sacral meaning as the “Einzige Aufnahme” of the event.<sup>650</sup> Beyond the Schlageter photograph, the overwhelming majority of images in the series are intended to show the nationalist movement’s strength in Germany, embodied foremost by the Stahlhelm, and to a lesser extent by the Nazi party. The second page, showing three photographs of “[e]hemalige Frontkämpfer im Kapp-Putsch (März 1920),”<sup>651</sup> announces the militaristic nature of the nationalist groups’ strength, and the message is carried through the end of the series. “Frontkämpfer der Stahlhelm-Bundes,” dressed in military uniform, are shown across four pages gathering for massive “Frontsoldatentag” rallies in early May 1927 on Unter den Linden, in front of the Berliner Dom, and in the Berliner Stadion.

Two photographs of demonstrations by the National Socialists (Figure 7.25) mirror the Stahlhelm march and visually link the groups under one movement. The first photograph shows Adolf Hitler in uniform, standing stately among other higher-ups and looking out of frame to the right. The picture is positioned so that it cuts into the top left corner of a photograph below it,

---

<sup>649</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 180.

<sup>650</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 181.

<sup>651</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 182.

which shows a Nazi rally in the Ruhr. The perspectives of the two photographs do not merge, but the positioning suggests that Hitler is looking out over the rally in the second picture. The visual effect is a clear assertion of Hitler's role as "Führer" of the Nazi movement. The same characterization is applied to Franz Seldte, "Führer des Stahlhelm-Bundes," who is shown in military uniform inspecting participants of the "Frontsoldatentag" demonstrations on the next page (Figure 7.26). The groups' strong leaders, their militaristic nature, and, perhaps most important, their masses of supporters, are united visually in the photographs following the text's assertion that the two groups are the standard-bearers of German nationalism. The only obvious visual cue of the groups' difference is the swastika flags seen in the crowd of the Nazi rally and the *Reichskriegsflagge* carried by Stahlhelm supporters.<sup>652</sup>

*So ist der Friede* ends with a picture of "Die graue Armee ehemaliger deutscher Frontkämpfer in der deutschen Republik des deutschen Parlamentarismus" (Figure 7.27). The crowd, photographed from a distance, fills the image's entire frame, giving a strong final impression of the movement's support. Under the photograph, written in large capital letters, is the slogan "Nicht Masse, sondern Volk; nicht Klasse, sondern Nation."<sup>653</sup> The phrase sets an exclamation mark on many of the politicized arguments made by Schauwecker throughout the book and correlates directly to the poem that began the book, "Diese Zeit." There, the Volk are left leaderless after the war, consigned to grumble as "masses" under "eine schwere Wolke."<sup>654</sup> The squandered legacy of the war introduced in "Diese Zeit" (which is typified by the unmarked graves of erstwhile battlefields) is "proven" in the apparent failures of liberalism and parliamentarianism. The war's fallen soldiers have been betrayed by the Weimar situation but

---

<sup>652</sup> For a consideration of how photographs from the First World War were employed as part of National Socialist propaganda from 1926–39, see Protte, "Das 'Erbe' des Krieges."

<sup>653</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 186.

<sup>654</sup> Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, 3.

receive their deserved redemption in the nationalist movement spearheaded by former front-line soldiers (and, to a lesser degree here, the Nazi party). These groups represent a positive wave of nationalism and as such they alone provide the answers to the problems plaguing Weimar Germany that are laid out from the start of the picture book. For the Stahlhelm, their asserted legitimacy to reshape the country in a nationalist image is firmly anchored in the war experience. That Schauwecker freely applies aspects of the war experience to a post-war vision of Germany, including the need for decisive and inspirational authoritarian leaders and the continued agitation of international rivalries, is a natural extension of mentalities of war that persisted a decade after 1918 and contributed to the unstable Weimar political landscape.

Such mentalities are voiced in the widespread positive reception *So ist der Friede* received in the conservative press. The editorial board of the *Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitung* praised the picture book as “[e]in sehr zeitgemäßes Buch, das der heuchlerischen Fratze des modernen Pazifismus in seiner ganzen Verlogenheit die Maske herunterreißt.” With its “nackten, nicht verblühten Wahrheit” and “unübertreffliche[m] Bildmaterial,” *So ist der Friede* offers a clear lesson for the present: “Bereit sein, heißt alles.”<sup>655</sup> A reviewer under the abbreviation “G. Sch.” writes in *Der Ring* that the book proves “wie auch das Lichtbild als eine wirksame Waffe im nationalen Kampf seine Verwendung finden kann.”<sup>656</sup> Xaver Schaukroff, also writing in *Der Gral*, similarly praises the book’s factual nature and the “correctness” of its anti-Marxist, anti-liberal message for the present. He goes a step further and recognizes the book’s community-building potential: “Die Ehrlichkeit des Buchs und der Bilder sind mehr als lesenswert; ihre Objektivität wird der neuen Bewegung leicht zu begeisternde Anhänger

---

<sup>655</sup> Review of *So ist der Friede* in *Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitung*, 358.

<sup>656</sup> Sch., Review of *So ist der Friede*, 220.

schaffen.”<sup>657</sup> Richard Neumann claims in *Deutsche Blätter für erziehenden Unterricht* that Schauwecker’s “Idee der Nation wird einmal die neue nationale Substanz bilden helfen, die in den am meisten Betroffenen, den Soldaten des großen Krieges, die schweigsam sind, ihre Keimzelle hat.”<sup>658</sup> And a review in the national revolutionary *Vormarsch* recommends it to “jedem Nationalisten,” claiming “[e]r wird mit einem neuen Blick in die Welt wiederkehren.”<sup>659</sup>

Schauwecker’s picture book *So ist der Friede* is strong evidence of the way nationalists assessed the war’s meaning in the post-war era and envisioned a radically different state than the Weimar Republic. The work is unique for the strong relationship it shares with its precursor, *So war der Krieg!* Together, the books assert a highly specific version of the war experience that is meant to have political purchase after the war. They achieve this through the careful selection, editing, and arrangement of photographs, which at times must be guided by textual explanation and at other times develop meaning beyond the text through specific sequencing, juxtaposition, and patterns. In this way Schauwecker’s works share aspects of the genre common to other picture books discussed in this study, but the way in which war experience is tied so explicitly to an indictment of the Weimar Republic is unique to him. Both *So war der Krieg!* and *So ist der Friede* are representative of “soldatischer Nationalismus” specific to a subset of the “Nationalrevolutionäre” that drew on myths of the “Frontkämpfer” and the “Frontgeneration” to reckon with the war’s aftermath. The picture books are highly revealing not only for how mentalities of the age were shaped by the war but how they also sought to shape the post-war era.

---

<sup>657</sup> Schaukroff, Review of *So ist der Friede*, 956.

<sup>658</sup> Neumann, Review of *So ist der Friede*, 156.

<sup>659</sup> Review of *So ist der Friede* in *Vormarsch*, 253.

## Chapter 8. Conclusion

Werner Beumelburg asks in the opening lines to the picture book *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns* (1934): “Ein neues Buch mit Bildern aus dem großen Krieg? Warum?”<sup>660</sup> As is clear from the rest of his introduction, the rhetorical question is meant to address the war’s enduring legacy, but it seems the book’s editor, Wilhelm Reetz, is worried that it might be taken as an invitation to challenge the book’s release in an already satiated market of war picture books. In a separate preface he offers a practical answer to Beumelburg’s question that appeals to the reader who might have had enough of the genre and war pictures: he claims that most of the photographs in the book have not been seen in Germany or even previously published elsewhere, and he assures the reader that he personally looked through over 60,000 images to find the strongest ones possible.<sup>661</sup> Despite his more apparently marketing-minded outlook, Reetz nevertheless shares with Beumelburg the intention to draw from the war experience lessons that can be applied in a post-war era. Beumelburg evinces strands of “soldatischer Nationalismus” that define Franz Schauwecker’s earlier picture books—foremost the lauding of the front-line soldier’s virtues as exemplary for the nation—when he writes:

Ihn, den deutschen Frontsoldaten, zeigen diese Bilder, nicht um ihm ein Denkmal zu setzen und um einen Anspruch an die Dankbarkeit und an die Gesinnung des Volkes zu stellen, sondern um diesem Volke immer und immer wieder darzutun, wo die tiefen Wurzeln ruhen, aus denen seine lebendigen Kräfte stammen. Bescheiden, grau, an männlichen Tugenden und an Wunden überreich, ein Symbol und doch eine handgreifliche Wirklichkeit, steht er da auf der Grenze zweier Epochen, sicherster Bürge einer besseren und gerechteren Zukunft, sofern nur die Tugenden, die er sich und uns erwarb, Gemeingut seines ganzen Volkes werden.

---

<sup>660</sup> Reetz, *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns*, 5.

<sup>661</sup> Reetz, *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns*, 11.

And Reetz takes the future-oriented vision one step further in his preface, writing that the book should encourage later generations, if needed, to freely accept becoming *Frontsoldaten* themselves.

*Eine ganze Welt gegen uns* was published in 1934, after the end of the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist rise to power. As such, it does not engage in the sort of political posturing in the hotly disputed field of war memory that one contemporary characterized in 1929 as a political contest of “-ismen” between antipodal “Rechtfertigungs- und Anklageliteratur.”<sup>662</sup> Because of its post-1933 publication date, Reetz’s book stands clearly apart from the war picture books of the 1920s, which were, as seen throughout this study, concerned as much with shaping the memory of the war as with shaping the uncertain future of post-war Germany. For Reetz and Beumelburg, the war memory contests, including an increase of politicized war novels in the post-1929 crisis years,<sup>663</sup> have largely been settled. Their book is as far removed from the uncertain political horizon of Ernst Friedrich’s *Krieg dem Kriege!* as it is from the military-affirming patriotism of Walter Bloem in *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung* or the self-legitimization of Reichsarchiv publications, all concerned with explaining war for immediate application in a turbulent post-war era. And although the book still intervenes in assessing the war’s legacy and asserting the front-line soldier’s centrality as an example for the nation, it is not in the terms of radical societal or governmental change, as it is in the works of “soldatischer Nationalismus” authors such as Franz Schauwecker, George Soldan, or even an earlier Beumelburg. Furthermore, although photography from the First World War had a role in the self-fashioning of the NSDAP, it was significantly less important than it was to “soldatischer Nationalismus” thinkers. Katja Protte writes: “Ein Bildband, der zum Inbegriff eines

---

<sup>662</sup> Weniger, “Das Bild des Krieges,” 7.

<sup>663</sup> See Gollbach, *Wiederkehr des Weltkrieges*.



nationalsozialistischen ‘Kriegserlebnisses’ geworden wäre – wie Hans Zöberleins Frontroman *Der Glaube an Deutschland* (1931) in der Literatur – findet sich nicht.”<sup>664</sup> The handful of war picture books published after 1933, including Otto Danz’s *Der Weltkrieg: Ein Bildwerk aus dem großen Kriege, zusammengestaltet aus dem Bildmaterial des Reichsarchivs Potsdam* (1934), Hermann Ziese-Beringer’s *Das Antlitz von Verdun* (1936), and Erich Otto Volkmann’s series *Die unsterbliche Landschaft: Die Fronten des Weltkriegs, Ein Bilderwerk* (1934–35), confirm as the norm the relatively apolitical nature of picture books like *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns* in comparison to those of the 1920s.

Yet even if many of the photographs included in *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns* were previously unpublished, if Reetz’s claim is true, they are not unlike what appears in earlier nationalist picture books (and some are, in fact, obvious repeats). The images show the war in its many facets, focusing like Schauwecker on a sense of action that hides the harshest aspects of (German) death on the front. Reetz’s claim that he picked only the “strongest” images is evident in the book’s preponderance of dynamically composed photographs. A variety of formatting techniques unseen in earlier works, such as the stretching of photographs to occupy entire pages and a more robust variety of image size and shape, increase the visual appeal but do not contribute to additional meaning-making. Brief, identifying captions are set in an attractive modern typeface but are free of ideological commentary—with the exception of an expected critical stance towards the Treaty of Versailles. These aesthetic details are evidence of a certain technical advancement in the war picture book genre in the half-decade following Schauwecker’s *So ist der Friede*, but the differences to those earlier books are slight. The example helps

---

<sup>664</sup> Protte, “Das ‘Erbe’ des Krieges,” 19.

nevertheless to draw out commonalities in the war's visual representation in picture books, even across such different political contexts.

Like the picture books before it, *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns* can only provide a general interpretation of the war experience. It distills from a massive collection of war photographs a message that, although notably less political, seeks to encapsulate The War into something easily and universally understood. By drawing freely from a general archive, all picture-book authors and editors covered in this study erased the photographs' respective creators, perspectives, and contexts from consideration to craft specific interpretations of the war that were then presented as paradigmatic. Unlike personal albums of photographs taken by German soldiers, which, despite their own gaps in representation, offer a richer impression of actual lived experience, picture books can only offer the typical as such. The process is shared between such radically opposed contemporaries as Ernst Friedrich and Franz Schauwecker, who both saw something emblematic in the war experience: for one, horror, and for the other, heroism. Although both have their respective nuanced presentation style (Friedrich's sarcastic juxtapositions, for example), the basic method of drawing specific visions of war from general archives highlights how the flexibility of the war's visual record can be instrumentalized for a variety of purposes, even ones on opposite sides of such entrenched political divides. The same holds true for less blatantly political practitioners, such as the Reichsarchiv's historiographers, who crafted the war's visual history in terms that reaffirmed the social order of the military as it came under threat at the end of monarchical rule. That war would engender such diverse reactions is not surprising, but the fact that the war's photographic archive was so malleable—in large part due to its myriad contributors and sheer amount of created images—offers a warning to any viewer trying to understand history through the camera's lens. This study has made the case against

photography as mere illustration and has modeled how careful consideration of photography's use often reveals more about the mentalities and ideologies ascribed to images than their inherent ability to produce knowledge. The matter is of concern for historians of any decade, but the case of First World War memory in the Weimar era is an especially fraught example of how visions of the past competed for authoritative status in an ideological contest.

The pitfalls of such selective memory have been made clear throughout this study and include processes of distortion, censorship, and erasure. Although other media are certainly prone to similar abuse in shaping collective memory, photography was positioned by picture-book authors as unique in representing reality with perfect technical reproduction. Reetz, for one, carries the popular belief into the post-Weimar era when he calls photographs "ernste, wahrhaftige Dokumente" in the preface to *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns*. Other accounts, like the memoirs of military higher-ups popular in the immediate post-war years, made similar claims to represent the war authoritatively, but their effect was countered by alternative narratives, including Remarque's later *Im Westen nichts Neues*, that presented the war in a similarly convincing way. Among the authors and editors discussed here, there is rarely nuanced thinking about photography's representational limits, and little to nothing was included in the realm of popular picture books to question or counter the supposition of photography's authority. Ernst Friedrich believes in the shock power of photography to change hearts in the same way that Walter Bloem sees definitive proof of Germany's greatness in pictures of its ships and zeppelins. Yet all authors betray to a certain extent their uncertainty about the ability of photography to "speak for itself"; captions or lengthy passages of text are found in all picture books to frame or guide intended interpretations. The authors, however, do not reflect upon the contradiction. They remain either unaware of it, or fear naming it would undermine their purpose.

Although theoretical discussions about photography were occurring in other forums during the Weimar era, popular war picture books and their reviews indicate that general audiences were to a certain degree unaffected by the critical efforts of avant-garde photography practitioners like Albert Renger-Patzsch to “train” viewers to be more discerning in their consumption of images. The work of some German visual artists in the post-war era, such as the abstract photograms of Christian Schad or the photomontages of John Heartfield, was a direct response to the prevailing uncritical understanding of photography at the time. Their work sought to assert “individual creativity in the face of a dominant mechanical medium and the ostensibly absolute authenticity of its imagery.”<sup>665</sup> In a longer trajectory of artists responding to the challenge photography posed to the traditions of painting and drawing, other visual artists occupied with the war, such as Otto Dix, championed the expressive power of the classical media. He wrote: “Photography can only record a moment, and that only superficially, but it cannot delineate specific, individual form, something that depends on the imaginative power and intuition of the painter.”<sup>666</sup>

The enduring appeal of antiwar work by Weimar visual artists, among them Heartfield, Dix, Käthe Kollwitz, and George Grosz, is certainly due in part to the evocative nature of their visual representations. Analysis of what effect they had on the Weimar public’s perception of the First World War is outside the scope of the present study, but their example offers a significant counterpoint to the military-affirming, patriotic, or nationalist visions of war that prevailed in the realm of picture books. (Friedrich, for one, moved in the same circles as Kollwitz and shared with Dix and Grosz both a pacifist worldview and a fascination with the grotesque.) It would be difficult to assess definitively which genre, picture books or the fine arts, had a larger impact on

---

<sup>665</sup> Eberle, *World War I and the Weimar Artists*, 14.

<sup>666</sup> Quoted in Eberle, *World War I and the Weimar Artists*, 46.

the public's impression of the war, but due to the success and widespread availability of generally right-wing or patriotic war picture books, it is quite possible that the positive spin provided by picture books reached a broader audience. Even Friedrich's book was more of a curious, albeit sensational exception to the otherwise dominant right-wing affiliated interpretations. It goes without saying that contemporary perception of the First World War is far more influenced by the work of avant-garde artists, not only because of their artistic inventiveness but also because their political message is far more tenable in a post-Second World War era. It is the same reason Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* was rediscovered during the peace movements of the 1980s and is re-printed even today. Both the Anti-Kriegs-Museum in Berlin, run by Friedrich's grandson, and the Spokesman Press, the publishing imprint of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, have released editions of the book in the last five years. The pacifist view of war stressing the excess of physical carnage coincides also with modern myths about the First World War as a senseless fight about nothing,<sup>667</sup> while the Second World War has clearer narratives of good versus evil.

Why picture books or the photographs within them have failed to influence contemporary perception about the First World War in a way that Weimar-era fine artists continue to do could also be explained by photography's unrealized potential at the time. Working from an English context, Jorge Lewinski cynically observes that no photographer in the First World War captured both the "grandeur and the depths of the calamity" of the war experience, and no photograph seems to capture the harsh realities of life in the trenches.<sup>668</sup> He writes:

They have a descriptive clarity, but very few show passion or commitment on the part of the photographers. [...] The photographers do not attempt to make a point, as if they did

---

<sup>667</sup> See Todman, *The Great War*.

<sup>668</sup> Lewinski, *The Camera at War*, 68–69.

not expect that their pictures would be looked at. The power of the photograph to communicate a deeply felt emotion had not yet been realized.<sup>669</sup>

It is true that no photograph from the First World War has reached the same iconic status as later war photographs. No single image encapsulated the conflict in the way that Margaret Bourke-White's photographs of the liberated concentration camps summarized the Second World War and the Holocaust or Nick Ut's infamous photograph of Phan Thi Kim Phuc, the "Napalm Girl," came to represent the horrors of the Vietnam War. The fact is due in no small part to both the far more limited and censored nature of war reportage during the First World War,<sup>670</sup> and the photographer's dug-in vantage point in the trenches of the Western Front, which Bodo von Dewitz credits with a surplus of images that show spectacularly wasted landscapes from ultimately unspectacular perspectives.<sup>671</sup> The horrible images of mutilated faces in Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* are among the photographs that have come the closest to becoming icons of the First World War, but even those are known only to a narrow audience.

While photographs from the period can at times seem mundane to the modern viewer, there is no discounting the visual excitement they elicited among early-twentieth-century audiences, especially during the "photo boom" of the 1920s. The channeling of the public's interest in photography, coupled with their engagement in contentious public debates surrounding the war's enduring legacy, explains the publication success of war picture books. Photographs and their textual frames were powerful tools for shaping collective memory of the war, and the variety of approaches to doing so reflects as much the divisiveness of the debate as the openness of photography to being coopted for ideological ascription. Picture books from the Weimar Republic are therefore significant testimony both to the ways that the First World War was

---

<sup>669</sup> Lewinski, *The Camera at War*, 70.

<sup>670</sup> See Koszyk, *Deutsche Pressepolitik*.

<sup>671</sup> Dewitz, *So wird bei uns der Krieg geführt*, 263.

remembered visually and how those frames of interpretation sought to shape a turbulent post-war era.

## Works Cited

### ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

- “Album mit Fotos aus dem 1. Weltkrieg vom Kriegsschauplatz an der Ostfront.” Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, Do2 98/236.
- “Album mit Fotos, Postkarten und Theaterprogrammen deutscher Gefangener in englischen Lagern.” Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, Do2 89/148.
- “Album mit Fotos und Kunstexponaten aus der Kriegsgefangenschaft in Sibirien im Ersten Weltkrieg.” Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, Do2 89/237.
- “Album mit Postkarten, Fotos und Dokumenten zum Leben deutscher Kriegsgefangener in russischen Lagern.” Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, Do2 89/149.
- “Fotoalbum aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg mit zahlreichen Aufnahmen von Kriegszerstörungen in Frankreich, Belgien und Polen.” Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, Do2 2013/186.
- “Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918.” Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin–Madison, MS 411 no. 10.
- Soldan, George. “Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des Weltkrieges: Eine nationale Aufgabe.” Bundesarchiv, R 1506, 41, fos. 49–90.

### BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- Berhmann, Franz. *Die Osterschlacht bei Arras 1917, I. Teil: Zwischen Lens und Scarpe* (=Bd. 28, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1929.
- Beumelburg, Werner. *Douaumont* (=Bd. 1, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925.
- . *Loretto* (= Bd. 17, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1927.
- . “Vorwort.” In *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 2: Frontaufnahmen aus den Archiven der Entente*, 5–7. Berlin; Munich: National-Archiv, ca. 1928.
- Bloem, Walter. “Zehn Jahre Geschichte!” In *Deutschland: Ein Buch der Grösse und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit dem Reichsarchiv*, 5–7. Berlin: Otto Stollberg, ca. 1924–25.
- Bose, Thilo von. *Deutsche Siege 1918* (=Bd. 32, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1929.



---. *Das Marnedrama 1914, Teil III: Die Kämpfe des Gardekörps und des rechten Flügels der 3. Armee vom 5. bis 8.* (=Bd. 24, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1928.

---. *Wachsende Schwierigkeiten 1918* (=Bd. 33, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1930.

Claasen, Oswald. *Franz Schauwecker: Ein Leben für die Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg, 1933.

Danz, Otto. *Der Weltkrieg: Ein Bildwerk aus dem großen Kriege, zusammengestellt aus dem Bildmaterial des Reichsarchivs Potsdam*. Mettmann: Immalin-Werke 1934.

*Das 41. Reserve-Korps von der Somme zum Pripjat: mit 438 Bildern*. Munich: Piper, 1917.

Dellmensing, Konrad Krafft von. *Der Durchbruch am Isonzo, Teil I: Die Schlacht von Tolmein und Flitsch* (= Bd. 12a, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1926.

*Deutschland: Ein Buch der Grösse und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit dem Reichsarchiv*. Berlin: Otto Stollberg, ca. 1924–25.

Friedeburg, Friedrich von. *Karpathen- und Dnester-Schlacht 1915* (= Bd. 2, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925.

Friedrich, Ernst. *Krieg dem Kriege!*. Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015.

Habbig, Ernst, ed. *Eine deutsche Division zwei Jahre im Weltkrieg: Erinnerungsblätter aus West und Ost*. Bremen: Franz Teuwer, 1917.

Heydemann, Kurt. *Die Schlacht bei St. Quentin 1914, I. Teil: Der rechte Flügel der 2. deutschen Armee am 29. und 30. August* (=Bd. 7a, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925.

Jünger, Ernst. *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges: Fronterlebnisse Deutscher Soldaten*. Berlin: Neufeld & Henius, 1930.

---. *In Stahlgewittern*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014 [1924].

Kalm, Oskar Tile von. *Gorlice* (= Bd. 30, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1930.

Kleinau, Wilhelm. *Stahlhelm und Staat: Eine Erläuterung der Stahlhelm-Botschaften*. Berlin: Stahlhelm-Verlag, 1929.

Konsbrück, Hermann. *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges, Band 1*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1915.

---. *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges, Band 3*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1919.

*Der Krieg 1914 in Wort und Bild*, Heft 1. Berlin; Leipzig: Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong, 1914.

Mertz von Quirnheim, Hermann. "Vorwort des Reichsarchivs zur 2. Auflage." In *Douaumont* (=Bd. 1, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), edited by Werner Beumelburg, 5–6. Oldenburg; Berlin: Stalling 1925.

Mühlmann, Carl. *Der Kampf um die Dardanellen 1915* (= Bd. 16, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1927.

Reetz, Wilhelm. *Eine ganze Welt gegen uns*. Berlin: Ullstein, 1934.

Reinhard, Wilhelm. *Das 4. Garde-Regiment zu Fuß* (=Bd. 100, *Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter*). Oldenburg; Berlin: Stalling, 1924.

Rieben, Heinrich von. *Kaiser Franz-Garde-Grenadier-Regiment Nr. 2*. (=Bd. 279, *Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter*). Oldenburg; Berlin: Stalling, 1929.

Schauwecker, Franz. *So ist der Friede: Die Revolution der Zeit in 300 Bildern*. Berlin: Frundsberg, 1928.

---. *So war der Krieg! 200 Kampfaufnahmen aus der Front*. Berlin: Frundsberg, 1927.

---. *So war der Krieg! 230 Kampfaufnahmen aus der Front*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Berlin: Frundsberg, 1928.

Schmidt, Ernst. *Argonnen* (= Bd. 18, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1927.

Schramm, Wilhelm von. "Schöpferische Kritik des Krieges. Ein Versuch." In *Krieg und Krieger*, edited by Ernst Jünger, 33–49. Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1930.

Schulenburg-Wolfsburg, Carl Hans Gebhard von der. *Geschichte des Garde-Füsilier-Regiments nach den amtlichen Kriegstagebüchern und persönlichen Aufzeichnungen bearbeitet* (=Bd. 157, *Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter*). Oldenburg; Berlin: Stalling, 1926.

Schwenke, Alexander. *Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916, Teil II, Das Ringen um Fort Vaux* (= Bd. 14, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1928.

Soldan, George. *Zeitgeschichte in Wort und Bild*. Berlin; Munich: National-Archiv, 1931.

---. "Zum Geleit." In *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 1: Originalaufnahmen des Kriegs-Bild- und Filmamtes aus der modernen Materialschlacht*. Berlin; Munich: National-Archiv, 1926.

Steuber, Werner. *Jildirim: Deutsche Streiter auf heiligem Boden* (= Bd. 4, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*). Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925.

Volkman, Erich Otto. *Die unsterbliche Landschaft. Die Fronten des Weltkriegs, Ein Bilderwerk*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Verlag, 1934–35.

Ziese-Beringer, Hermann. *Das Antlitz von Verdun*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1936.

*Zwei Jahre an der Westfront: 323 Bilder aus Artois, Pikardie und französisch Lothringen*. Munich: Piper, 1917.

*Zwischen Arras und Peronne: Mit 311 Bildern herausgegeben von einem deutschen Reservekorps*. Korpsverlagsbuchhandlung Bapaume and Munich: Piper, 1916.

#### NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, BOOK REVIEWS, AND ESSAYS

“Aufhebung der Photographie-Verbote.” *Die Photographische Industrie*, December 11, 1918.

E., H. “Kriegstagebücher.” *Photographie für Alle* 15/16 (1918): 131–34.

Eyermann, A. “Die Lichtbildkunst und Krieg,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 52 (1915): 190–91.

“Die Filmnot.” *Die Photographische Industrie*, February 10, 1915.

“Grabphotographien,” *Das Bild: Monatsschrift für photographische Bildkunst* 14, no. 4 (July 1918): 49.

Iblher, Franz. “Photographie und Wirklichkeit. Anlässlich zweier Bücher vom Weltkriege.” *Der Ring* 4, no. 37 (1931): 695–96.

Illing, Oskar. “Buecher- und Schriftschau,” *Die neue Zeit* 9, no. 27 (1927): 12–13.

Jünger, Ernst. “Der unsichtbare Kern.” *Vormarsch* 2 (1928/29): 329.

“Kleine Mitteilungen: Zentralstelle für die Zensur von Photographien.” *Die Photographische Chronik* 74/75 (1915): 303–304.

“Der Krieg und der Amateurphotograph.” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 51 (1914): 241–42.

L. Review of *So war der Krieg*, by Franz Schauwecker. *Deutschlands Erneuerung* 2, no. 7 (1927): 328.

Lask, Berta. “Das wahre Gesicht des Krieges.” *Die Rote Fahne*, September 21, 1924.

“Literatur.” *Das größere Deutschland: Wochenschrift für deutsche Welt- und Kolonialpolitik* (1916): 1127.

“Neue Bücher.” *Die Umschau: Wochenschrift über die Fortschritte in Wissenschaft und Technik* 20 (1916): 236.

“Neue Eingänge bei der Schriftleitung.” *Blätter für Volksbibliotheken und Lesehallen* (1916): 138.

“Neue Eingänge bei der Schriftleitung.” *Blätter für Volksbibliotheken und Lesehallen* (1917): 221.

Neumann, Richard. Review of *So ist der Friede*, by Franz Schauwecker. *Deutsche Blätter für erziehenden Unterricht* 56, no. 20 (1929): 156.

“Die Photographie als Hilfsmittel im Krieg.” *Photographische Kunst* 15 (1916/17): 70.

“Photographische Behelfe im Felde.” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 52 (1915): 202–203.

“Die photographische Industrie im dritten Kriegsjahr.” *Die Photographische Industrie*, January 3, 1917.

Review of *Großer Bilderatlas des Weltkrieges*. Band I, by Hermann Konsbrück. *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 27 (1916): 200.

Review of *So ist der Friede*, by Franz Schauwecker. *Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitung* 75, no. 7 (1929): 358.

Review of *So ist der Friede*, by Franz Schauwecker. *Vormarsch* 22, no. 2 (1928): 253.

Sch., G. Review of *So ist der Friede*, by Franz Schauwecker. *Der Ring* 8, no. 11 (1930): 220.

Schaukroff, Xaver. Review of *So ist der Friede*, by Franz Schauwecker. *Der Gral: Monatschrift für Dichtung und Leben* 24 (1929–30): 956.

---. Review of *So war der Krieg*, by Franz Schauwecker. *Der Gral: Monatschrift für Dichtung und Leben* 21 (1927): 735.

Schauwecker, Franz. “Südland.” *Vormarsch* 1 (1927/28): 8.

Schiel, Max. “Photographische Arbeiten im Feld.” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 53 (1916): 219–20.

Segger, Gerhart. Review of *Der Weltkrieg im Bild*. *Die Friedens-Warte* 27, no. 7 (July 1927): 221–22.

Steiger, Edgar. "Aus unserer Bücherei." *Die neue Zeit: Wochenschrift der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* 36, no. 1 (1916): 474–76.

Tucholsky, Kurt. "Waffe gegen den Krieg." *Die Weltbühne*, February 23, 1926.

"Der Verkauf kleiner Apparate an unsere 'Feldgrauen.'" *Die Photographische Industrie*, October 14, 1914.

Weißermel, W. "Entwickeln des Amateurs im Felde." *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 53 (1916): 161–62.

---. "Die Feldkamera." *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 52 (1915): 180–82.

Weniger, Erich. "Das Bild des Krieges: Erlebnis, Erinnerung, Überlieferung." *Die Erziehung: Monatsschrift für den Zusammenhang von Kultur und Erziehung in Wissenschaft und Leben* 5, no. 1 (1929): 1–21.

## SECONDARY LITERATURE

Alexander, Jeffrey C. *Trauma: A Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2012.

Apel, Dora. "Cultural Battlegrounds: Weimar Photographic Narratives of War." *New German Critique* 76 (1999): 49–84.

Arendes, Cord. "Wirklichkeitsbilder? Fotografie und die Erinnerungen an den Ersten Weltkrieg." In *Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Folgen*, edited by Óscar Loureda Lamas, 25–46. Heidelberg: Winter, 2016.

Assmann, Aleida. *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*. Munich: Beck, 2006.

Batchen, Geoffrey. *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004.

Bensch, Nadja. "Franz Schauwecker – der 'Dichter des heldischen Lebens.'" In *Dichter für das "Dritte Reich,"* Band 2: *Biographische Studien zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Ideologie*, edited by Rolf Düsterberg, 175–205. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2011.

Berghahn, Volker R. *Der Stahlhelm. Bund der Frontsoldaten 1918–1935*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1966.

Bessel, Richard. *Germany after the First World War*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Brandt, Susanne. "Bilder von der Zerstörung an der Westfront und die doppelte Verdrängung der Niederlage." In *Kriegserfahrungen: Studien zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*, edited by Gerhard Hirschfeld et al., 439–55. Essen: Klartext, 1997.

Brohm, Holger. "From *Erlebnis* to *Erinnerung*: Rereading Soldiers' Letters and Photographs from the First World War." In *German Life Writing in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Birgit Dahlke, 39–53. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 2010.

Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Confino, Alon. *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Crew, David F. "Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History 'From Below'?" *Central European History* 22, no. 3/4 (1989): 394–407.

Deist, Wilhelm. "Censorship and Propaganda in Germany during the First World War." In *Les Sociétés européennes et la Guerre de 1914-1918*, edited by Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Jean-Jacques Becker, 199–211. Nanterre: Université de Nanterre, 1990.

Dewitz, Bodo von. "German Snapshots from World War I: Personal Pictures, Political Implications." In *WAR /PHOTOGRAPHY: Images of Armed Conflict and its Aftermath*, edited by Anne Tucker et al., 152–61. Houston, TX: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2012.

---. "Schießen oder fotografieren? Über fotografierende Soldaten im Ersten Weltkrieg." *Fotogeschichte* 12, no. 43 (1992): 49–60.

---. *So wird bei uns der Krieg geführt: Amateurfotografie im Ersten Weltkrieg*. München: Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1989.

Diehl, James M. *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Dülffler, Jost. "Frieden schließen nach dem Weltkrieg? Die mentale Verlängerung der Kriegssituation in den Friedensschluß." In *Der verlorene Frieden: Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, edited by Jost Dülffler and Gerd Krumeich, 19–38. Essen: Klartext, 2002.

Eberle, Matthias. *World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix, Grosz, Beckmann, Schlemmer*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.

Encke, Julia. *Augenblicke der Gefahr. Der Krieg und die Sinne*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006.

Erl, Astrid. *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen: Eine Einführung*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011.

Gollbach, Michael. *Die Wiederkehr des Weltkrieges in der Literatur. Zu den Frontromanen der späten Zwanziger Jahre*. Kronberg/Ts.: Scriptor, 1978.

Grünwald, Guido. "Friedensicherung durch radikale Kriegsdienstgegnerschaft: Der Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner (BdK) 1919–1933." In *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik*, edited by Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, 77–111. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981.

Grütter, Heinrich Theodor et al., eds. *200 Jahre Krupp: Ein Mythos wird besichtigt. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Ruhr Museum vom 31. März bis 4. November 2012*. Essen: Klartext, 2012.

Haas, Claude. "Im Schatten der 'Unbekannten Soldaten': Trauer, Heldengedenken und Totenkult in der deutschen Literatur des Ersten Weltkrieges." *Weimarer Beiträge* 61, no. 2 (2015): 202–28.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*. Translated by Lutz Geldsetzer. Berlin: Luchterhand, 1966. (Original: *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris, 1925.)

Hermann, Jost. *Politische Denkbilder von Caspar David Friedrich bis Neo Rauch*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2011.

Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Hirschfeld, Gerhard. "Das historische Erbe des Ersten Weltkrieges im 20. Jahrhundert." In *Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Folgen*, edited by Óscar Loureda Lamas, 139–64. Heidelberg: Winter, 2016.

Hollmann, Michael. "Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs im Jahre 1919." In *Erinnern an den Ersten Weltkrieg: Archivische Überlieferungsbildung und Sammlungsaktivitäten in der Weimarer Republik*, edited by Rainer Hering, Robert Kretzschmar, and Wolfgang Zimmermann, 29–61. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2015.

Holzer, Anton. *Das Lächeln der Henker: Der unbekannte Krieg gegen die Zivilbevölkerung 1914–1918*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008.

Horstkotte, Silke. "Inkongruente Bilder: Ernst Jüngers Pferde." *Monatshefte* 109, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 215–228.

Hüppauf, Bernd. "Kriegsfotografie." In *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse*, edited by Wolfgang Michalka, 875–909. Munich: Piper, 1997.

---. "Schlachtenmythen und die Konstruktion des 'Neuen Menschens.'" In *Keiner fühlt sich mehr als Mensch... Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkrieges*, edited by Gerhard Hirschfeld and Gerd Krumeich, 43–84. Essen: Klartext, 1993.

---. "Zwischen Metaphysik und visuellem Essayismus. Franz Schauwecker: *So war der Krieg* (1928)." In *Von Richthofen bis Remarque*, edited by Thomas F. Schneider, 233–48. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003.

Hynes, Samuel. *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War*. New York: Viking, 1997.

Jäger, Helmut. *Erkundung mit der Kamera: Die Entwicklung der Photographie zur Waffe und ihr Einsatz im 1. Weltkrieg*. Munich: Venorion VKA, 2007.

Kansteiner, Wulf. "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies." *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (2002): 179–97.

Keller, Ulrich. "Der Weltkrieg der Bilder: Organisation, Zensur und Ästhetik der Bildreportage 1914–1918." *Fotogeschichte* 33, no. 130 (2013): 5–50.

Könnemann, Erwin. "Freikorps 1918–1920." In *Lexikon zur Parteiengeschichte: Die bürgerlichen und kleinbürgerlichen Parteien und Verbände in Deutschland (1789–1945)*, Band 2, edited by Dieter Fricke et al., 669–676. Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1984.

Koshar, Rudy. "What Should Haunt Us about World War I?" *Guernica*, February 6, 2014, <https://www.guernicamag.com/daily/rudy-koshar-what-should-haunt-us-about-world-war-i/>.

Koszyk, Kurt. *Deutsche Pressepolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1968.

Kramer, Alan. "The First World War and Germany Memory." In *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War Studies*, edited by Heather Jones, Jennifer O'Brien, and Christoph Schmidt-Supprian, 385–415. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Krase, Andreas. "'Aber die armen Kerle, die in diesem Feuer sind!' Tagebuch und Bildchronik des Otto H. aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg." *Fotogeschichte* 11, no. 41 (1991): 15–30.

Krassnitzer, Patrick. "Die Geburt des Nationalsozialismus im Schützengraben: Formen der Brutalisierung in den Autobiographien von nationalsozialistischen Frontsoldaten." In *Der verlorene Frieden: Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, edited by Jost Dülffer and Gerd Krumeich, 119–48. Essen: Klartext, 2002.

Krumeich, Gerd. "Ein einzigartiges Werk: Einführung zur Neuauflage von 'Krieg dem Kriege.'" In *Krieg dem Kriege*, edited by Anti-Kriegs-Museum Berlin, vii–xxxvii. Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015.

---. "Die Präsenz des Krieges im Frieden." In *Der verlorene Frieden: Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, edited by Jost Dülffer and Gerd Krumeich, 7–18. Essen: Klartext, 2002.

Langford, Martha. *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.



- Lewinski, Jorge. *The Camera at War: War Photography from 1848 to the Present Day*. Secaucus, N.J.: Chartwell Books, 1986.
- Linder, Ann P. *Princes of the Trenches: Narrating the German Experience of the First World War*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996.
- Lipp, Anne. *Meinungslenkung im Krieg: Kriegserfahrungen deutscher Soldaten und ihre Deutung 1914–1918*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.
- Long, J.J. “Faces: *Antlitz* and *Gesicht* in the Weimar Republic Photobook.” *Monatshefte* 190, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 201–14.
- Lugon, Olivier. “‘Photo-Inflation’: Image Profusion in German Photography, 1925–1945.” *History of Photography* 32, no. 3 (Autumn 2008): 219–34.
- Lütgemeier-Davin, Reinhold. “Basismobilisierung gegen den Krieg: Die Nie-wieder-Krieg Bewegung in der Weimarer Republik.” In *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik*, edited by Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, 47–76. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981.
- Mahlke, Bernhard. “Stahlhelm-Bund der Frontsoldaten (Stahlhelm) 1918–1935.” In *Lexikon zur Parteiengeschichte: Die bürgerlichen und kleinbürgerlichen Parteien und Verbände in Deutschland (1789–1945)*, Band 4, edited by Dieter Fricke et al., 145–158. Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1986.
- Magilow, Daniel. *The Photography of Crisis: The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.
- McBride, Patrizia. *The Chatter of the Visible: Montage and Narrative in Weimar Germany*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2016.
- Mohler, Armin. *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1918-1932, ein Handbuch*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989.
- Moriarty, Catherine. “‘Though in a Picture Only’: Portrait Photography and the Commemoration of the First World War.” In *Evidence, History, and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914–18*, edited by Gail Braybon, 30–47. New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2003.
- Mosse, George. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Müller, Hans-Harald. *Der Krieg und der Schriftsteller. Der Kriegsroman der Weimarer Republik*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1986.
- Nelson, Robert L. *German Soldier Newspapers of the First World War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

“NH 59638 German Vice Admiral von Spee's cruiser squadron.” Naval History and Heritage Command. Accessed June 1, 2018. <https://www.history.navy.mil/our-collections/photography/numerical-list-of-images/nhmc-series/nh-series/NH-59000/NH-59638.html>

Petzold, Joachim. *Die Dolchstoßlegende: Eine Geschichtsfälschung im Dienst des deutschen Imperialismus und Militarismus*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963.

Pflug, G. “Lebensphilosophie.” In *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* vol. 5, edited by Joachim Ritter und Karlfried Gründer, 135–40. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980.

Pöhlmann, Markus. “‘Daß sich ein Sargdeckel über mir schlosse’: Typen und Funktionen von Weltkriegserinnerungen militärischer Entscheidungsträger.” In *Der verlorene Frieden: Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, edited by Jost Dülffler and Gerd Krumeich, 149–70. Essen: Klartext, 2002.

---. *Kriegsgeschichte und Geschichtspolitik: Der Erste Weltkrieg. Die amtliche deutsche Militärgeschichtsschreibung 1914–1956*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002.

Protte, Katja. “Das ‘Erbe’ des Krieges. Fotografien aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg als Mittel nationalsozialistischer Propaganda im *Illustrierten Beobachter* von 1926–1939.” *Fotogeschichte* 60 (1996): 19–41.

Prümm, Karl. *Die Literatur des Soldatischen Nationalismus der 20er Jahre (1918–1933): Gruppenideologie und Epochenproblematik*. Kronberg Taunus: Scriptor Verlag, 1974.

Rachamimov, Alon. *POWs and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front*. Oxford, UK: Berg, 2002.

Riesz, János. “Afrikanische Kriegsgefangene in der deutschen Propaganda.” In *Gefangene Bilder: Wissenschaft und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*, edited by Benedikt Burkard, 58–71. Petersberg: Imhof, 2014.

Riha, Karl. “Den Krieg photographieren.” In *Kriegserlebnis: Der Erste Weltkrieg in der literarischen Gestaltung und symbolischen Deutung der Nationen*, edited by Klaus Vondung, 146–61. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980.

Rose, Gillian. *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010.

Rusinek, Bernd-A. “Die Kultur der Jugend und des Krieges: Militärischer Stil als Phänomen der Jugendkultur in der Weimarer Zeit.” In *Der verlorene Frieden: Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, edited by Jost Dülffler and Gerd Krumeich, 171–98. Essen: Klartext, 2002.

Rüter, Ulrich. "The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön*." *History of Photography* 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 192–96.

"Sacratio Militare di Pian di Salesei." Ministero della Difesa. Accessed June 1, 2018. [http://www.difesa.it/Il\\_Ministro/ONORCADUTI/Veneto/Pagine/PiandiSalesei.aspx](http://www.difesa.it/Il_Ministro/ONORCADUTI/Veneto/Pagine/PiandiSalesei.aspx)

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *The Culture of Defeat*. Translated by Jefferson Chase. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003.

Schneider, Thomas F. "Narrating the War in Pictures: German Photo Books on World War I and the Construction of Pictorial War Narrations." *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 4, no. 1 (2011): 31–49.

Schumann, Dirk. *Politische Gewalt in der Weimarer Republik 1918–1933: Kampf um die Straße und Furcht vor dem Bürgerkrieg*. Essen: Klartext, 2001.

Schweizer, Stefan. "Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben": *Nationalsozialistische Geschichtsbilder in historischen Festzügen*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007.

Sherman, Daniel. *Construction of Memory in Interwar France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Sondhaus, Lawrence. *The Great War at Sea: A Naval History of the First World War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Sontheimer, Kurt. *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933*. München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1962.

Spree, Tommy. *Ich kenne keine "Feinde": Der Pazifist Ernst Friedrich, Ein Lebensbild*. Berlin: Anti-Kriegs-Museum, 2013.

Stauffer, Peter. *Walter Bloem: Biographie eines Verfechters, Geschichte eines Gekränkten*. Hilden: WJK Verlag, 2009.

Stetler, Pepper. *Stop Reading! Look! Modern Vision and the Weimar Photographic Book*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015.

Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum. *Der Erste Weltkrieg in 100 Objekten*. Darmstadt: Theiss-Verlag, 2014.

Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Taylor, David. *Memory, Narrative and the Great War: Rifleman Patrick MacGill and the Construction of Wartime Experience*. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2013.

- Todman, Dan. *The Great War: Myth and Memory*. London: Hambledon and London, 2005.
- Türk, Klaus. *Bilder der Arbeit: Eine ikonographische Anthologie*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, 2012.
- Ulrich, Bernd, and Benjamin Ziemann, eds. *Krieg im Frieden: Die Umkämpfte Erinnerung an den Ersten Weltkrieg. Quellen und Dokumente*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1997.
- Weitz, Eric. *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Wette, Wolfram. "Militärgeschichte von unten: Die Perspektive des 'kleinen Mannes.'" In *Der Krieg des kleinen Mannes: Eine Militärgeschichte von unten*, edited by Wolfram Wette, 9–47. Munich: Piper, 1992.
- . "Probleme des Pazifismus in der Zwischenkriegszeit." In *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik*, edited by Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, 9–25. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981.
- . "Von Kellogg bis Hitler (1928–1933). Die öffentliche Meinung zwischen Kriegsächtung und Kriegsverherrlichung." In *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik*, edited by Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, 149–72. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981.
- Winter, Jay. *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Ziemann, Benjamin. *Contested Commemorations: Republican War Veterans and Weimar Political Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

## Appendix 1. Illustrations



**Figure 2.1** “Vali verkleidet als Gefangener,” *Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918, MS 411 no. 10*. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.



**Figure 2.2** “Hans Düzel als Mazadonier,” *Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918, MS 411 no. 10*. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

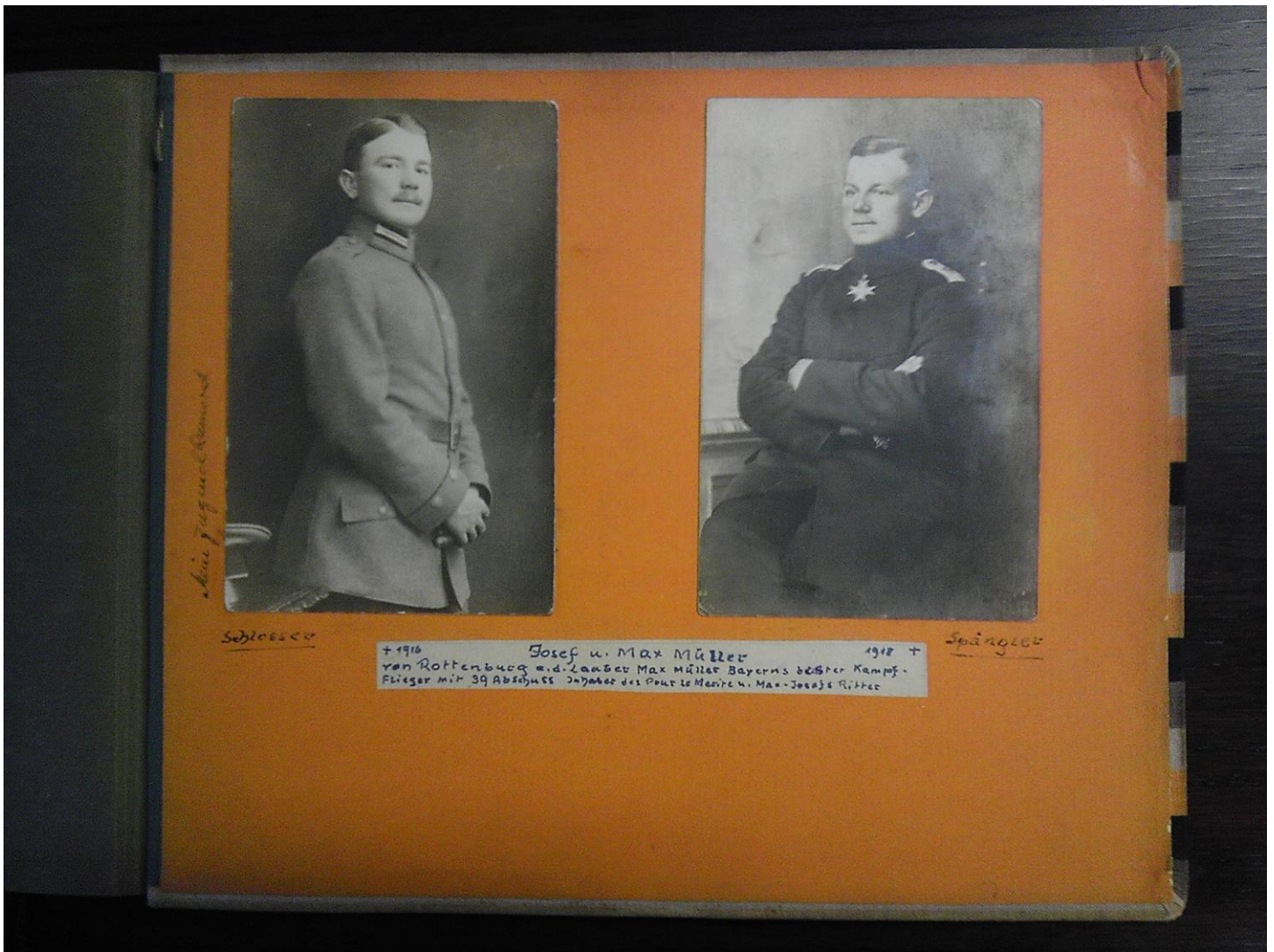


**Figure 2.3** “Bei grimmiger Kälte u. heftigen Schneesturm auf den Moscovl,” *Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918, MS 411 no. 10*. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.



**Figure 2.4** “Verdun,” *Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918, MS 411 no. 10*. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

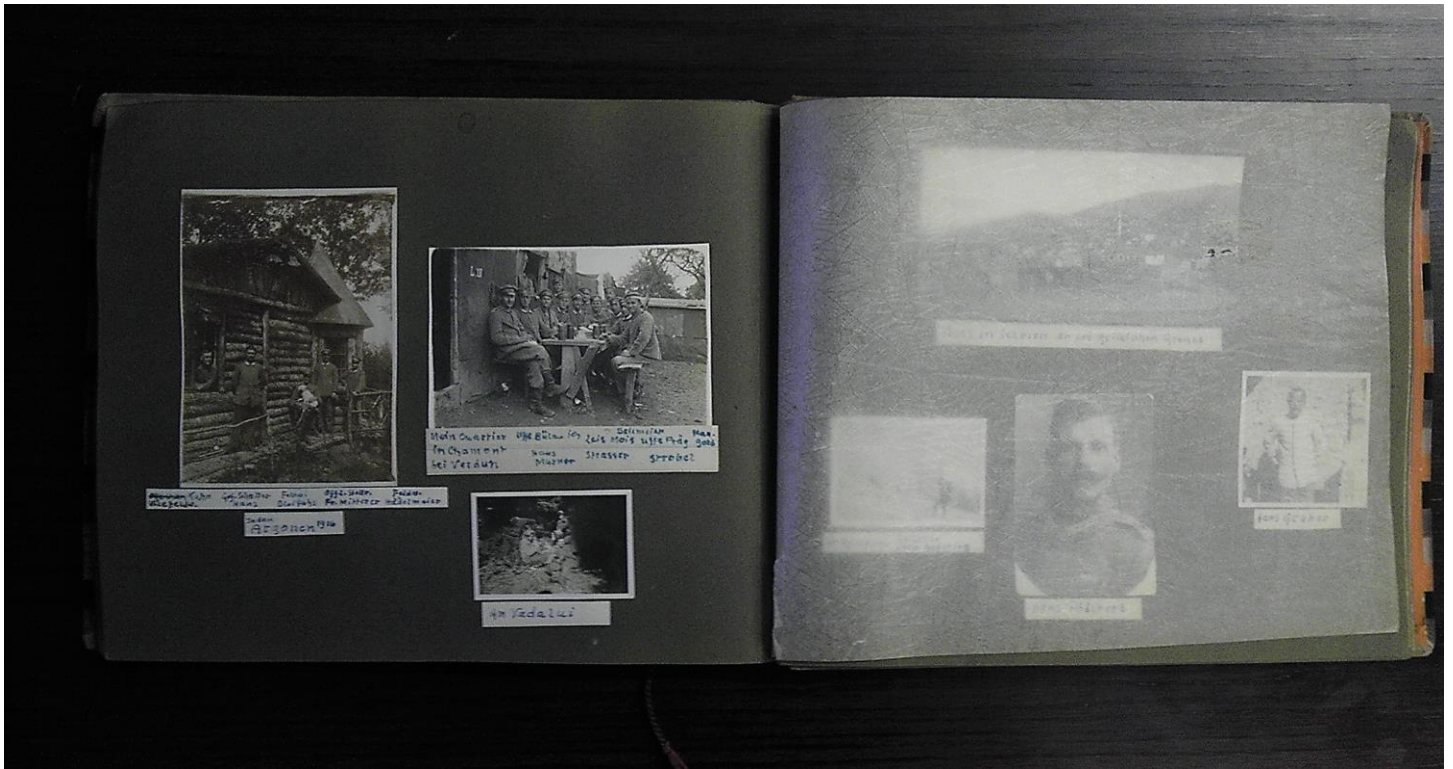




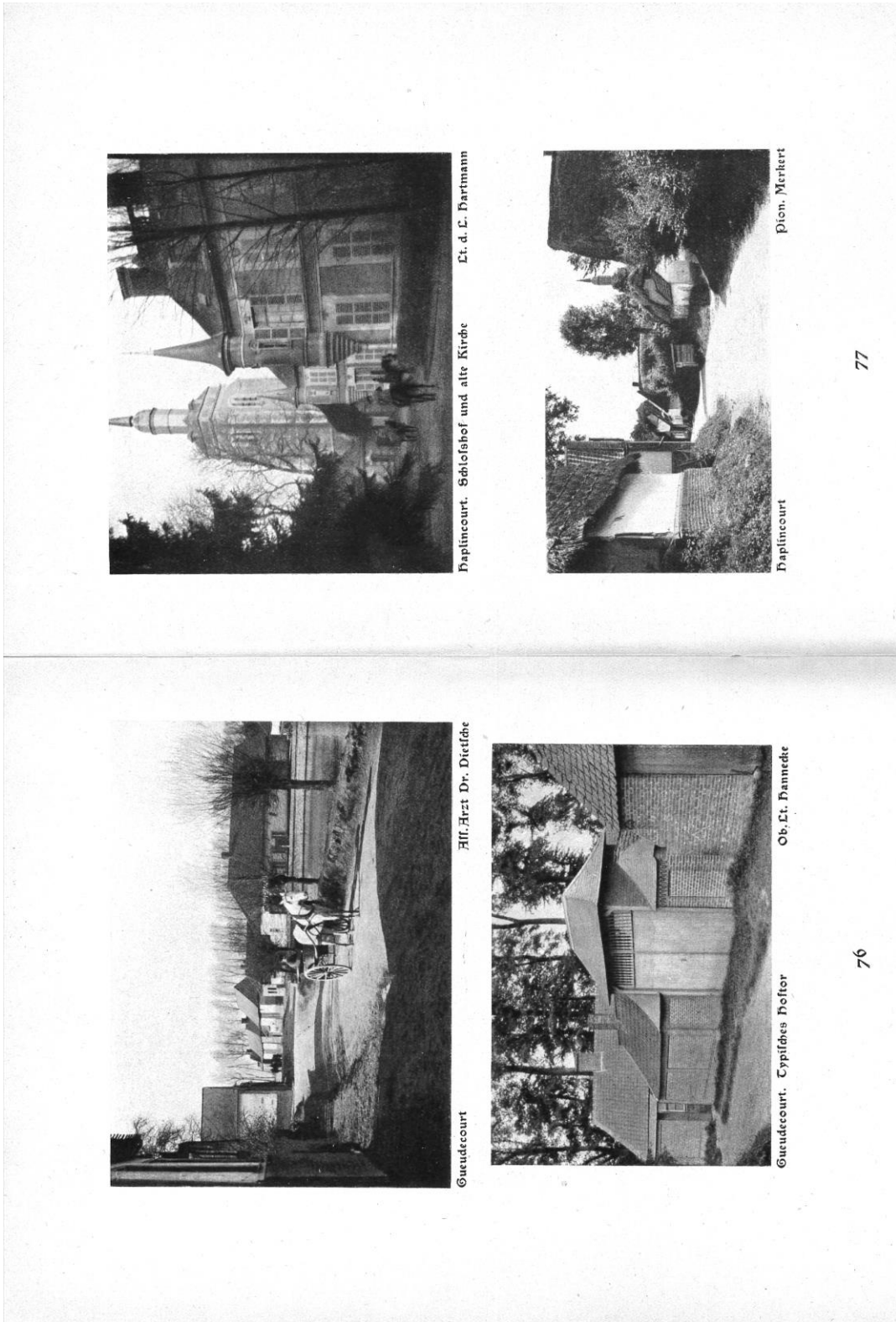
**Figure 2.5** Inside of back cover, *Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918, MS 411 no. 10*. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.



**Figure 2.6** “Die Beerdigung des Kameraden Josef Müller,” *Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918, MS 411 no. 10*. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.



**Figure 2.7** Example page overview, *Jako Sitzmann, Photo Album, 1914–1918, MS 411 no. 10*. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.



**Figure 3.1** *Zwischen Arras und Peronne. Herausgegeben von einem deutschen Reservekorps. 311 Lichtbilder zur Erinnerung and die Zeit des Stellungkampfes und der Abwehr der englischen Offensive, Korps-Verlagsbuchhandlung Bapaume 1916, pages 76–77.*

Geef jullie kinderen niet dergelijk speelgoed.

Do not give the children such toys.



Gebt den Kindern nicht solche Spielsachen.

Ne donnez plus aux enfants de tels jouets.

Also heißt Krieg dem Kriege:  
**Krieg der Geschobenen gegen die Schieber!**  
**Krieg der Betrogenen gegen die Betrüger!**  
**Krieg der Bedrückten gegen die Bedrücker!**  
**Krieg der Gepeinigten gegen die Peiniger!**  
**Krieg der Hungernden gegen die Satten!**

### **Kriegsverhinderung**

Wohl ist das Kapital Ursache jedes Krieges!  
 Doch Schuld am Kriege sind wir selbst!!  
 An uns Proleten liegt es, Krieg zu führen,  
 und ebenso liegt es an uns, die Kriege zu verhindern!

Weigert den Dienst!

Erzieht die Kinder so, daß sie sich  
 später weigern, Soldaten- und Kriegsdienste zu tun!

Wie viele übersehen allzuleicht, daß in dem eignen  
 Hause, in der Familie, der Krieg freiwillig vorbereitet  
 wird!!!

Und hier liegt aller Laster Anfang,  
 hier liegt der Anfang auch des Krieges.

Die Mutter, die dem Kind auf ihrem Schoß, Soldatenlieder singt, bereitet Krieg vor!

Der Vater, der Soldatenspielzeug seinem Kinde  
 schenkt, mobilisiert das Kindchen für den Kriegsgedanken!

Soldatenspielzeug ist der Judas, den Du Dir selbst ins  
 eigne Haus holst, ist Verrat am Menschenleben!  
 Bedenk dies eine stets:

Das kleine Helmchen von Papier gefertigt,  
 wird einst der Stahlhelm auf dem Kopf des Mörders!  
 Und hat das Kind erst mit dem Luftgewehr geübt, wie  
 selbstverständlich wird es später mit der Flinte schießen!  
 Das Säbelchen aus Holz geschnitzt,  
 wird einst das Schlachtenmesser, das sich bohrt in eines  
 Menschen Leib!

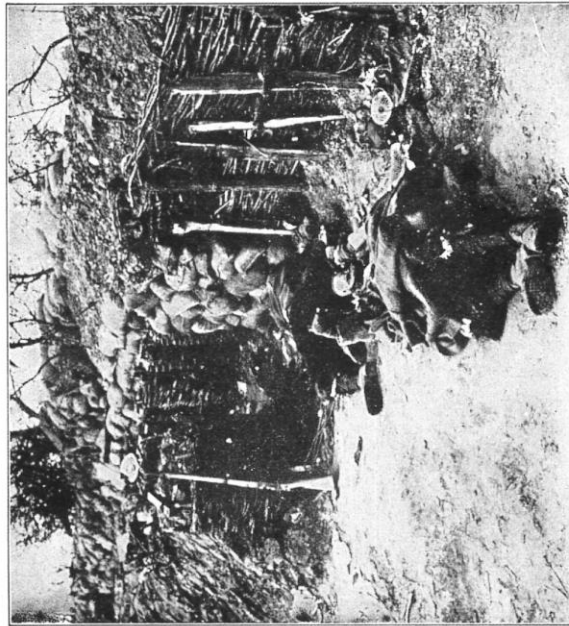
Ihr Eltern, die Ihr es nicht wollt,  
 daß Eure Söhne anderer Eltern liebevolle Söhne morden,

... voor den roem der Monarchie,  
... and the glory of the Monarchy,



... und den Ruhm der Monarchie,  
... et pour la gloire de la monarchie.

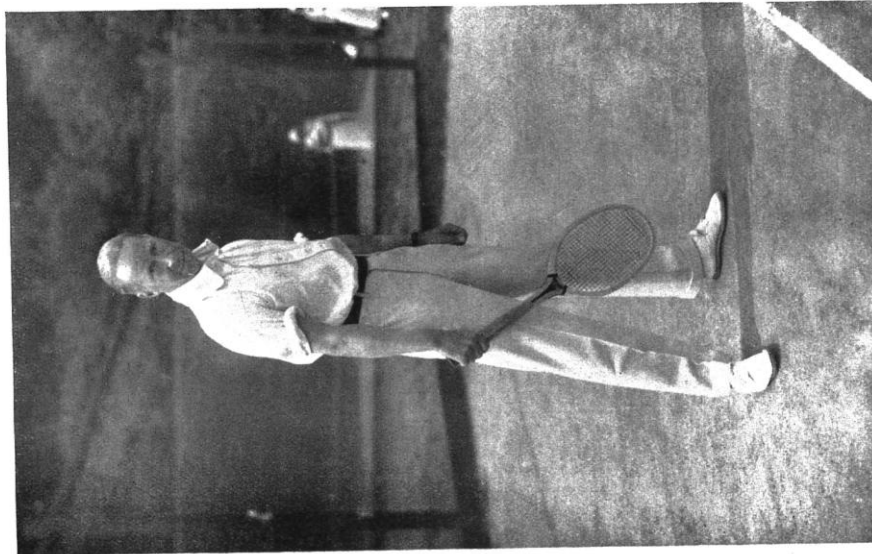
Voor de belangen van de kapitalisten ...  
For the interests of Capital ...



Für die Interessen des Kapitals ...  
Pour les intérêts du capital ...

Figure 3.4 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 88–89.

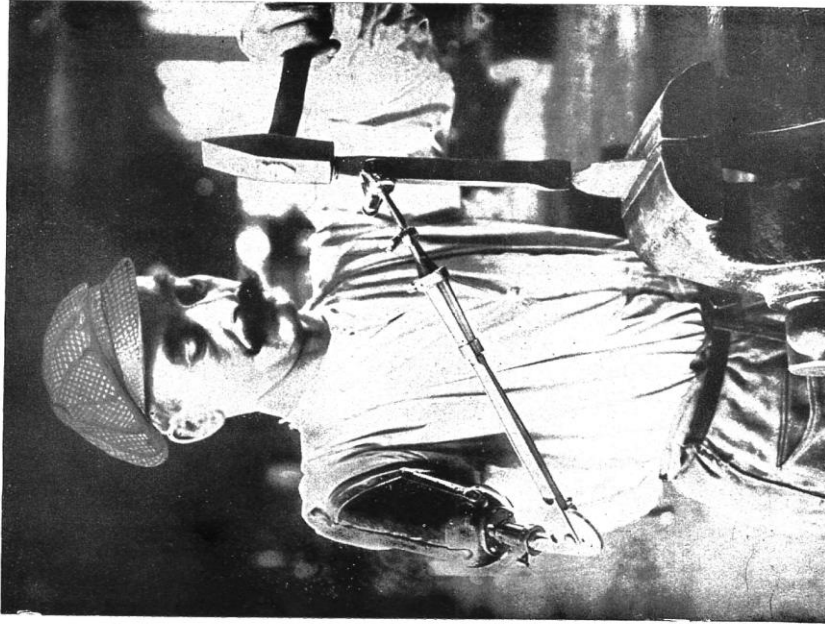
Na den oorlog: de Duitse kroonprins als hardwerker . . .  
After the war: the German Crown Prince as the hardest worker . . .



Nach dem Kriege: Der deutsche Kronprinz als Schwerstarbeiter . . .  
Après la guerre: Le Kronprinz d'Allemagne, 'homme de peine' . . .

186

. . . en de invaliede proletariër by zyn dagelyksche „sport“.  
. . . and the war-wounded proletarian at his daily „sport“.



. . . und der kriegsverletzte Proletarier bei seinem täglichen „Sport“.  
. . . et le prolétaire mutilé dans la guerre, exécutant son „sport“ cotidien.

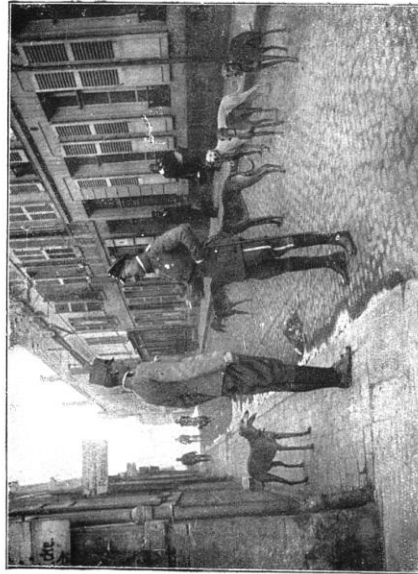
187

Figure 3.5 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 186–187.



In de etappe: de Duitse kroonprins (met zijn hazewind), die het gezegde  
utvond: „Immer feste druff“.

Behind the front: the German Crown Prince (with his greyhounds), who  
cultivated the expression “Keep hammering at it”.

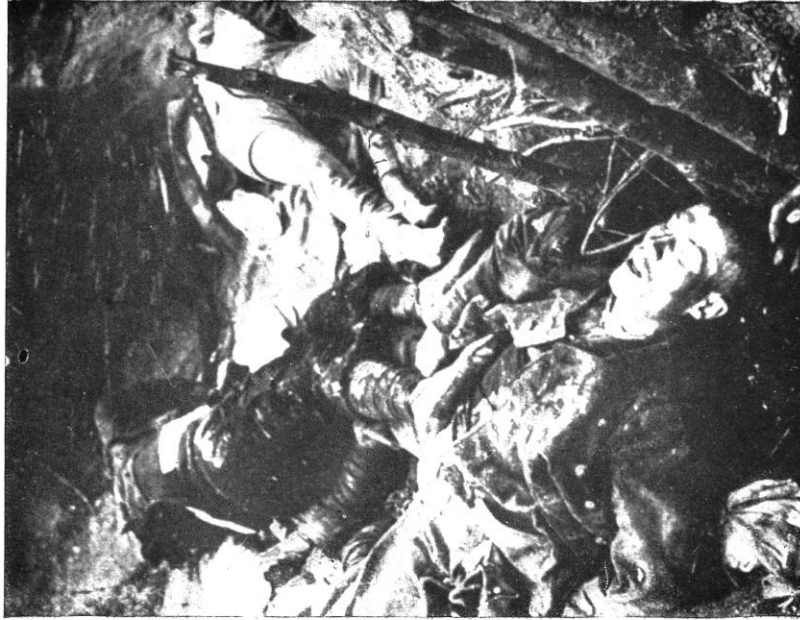


In der Etappe: der deutsche Kronprinz (mit seinen Windhunden), der den  
Satz prägte: „Immer feste druff“.

A l'étape: le prince héritier de l'empire d'Allemagne (entouré de ses  
chitens de chasse), lequel a formé la phrase: 'En avant, sans façons!'

60

Aan het front: De Kroonprins is er niet bij.  
At the front: the Crown Prince is not present.



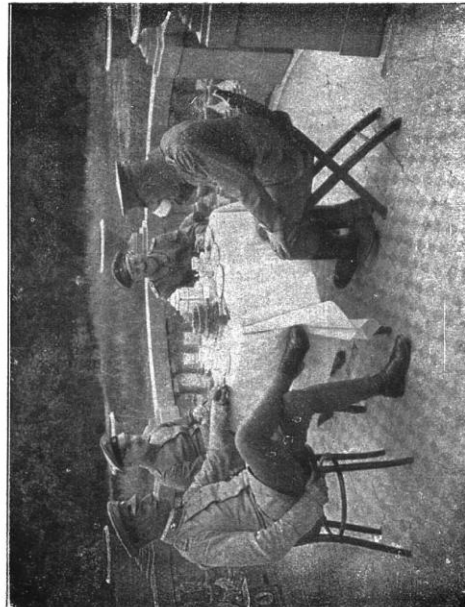
An der Front: Der Kronprinz ist nicht dabei.

Au front: le prince héritier de l'empire d'Allemagne n'y est pas.

61

Figure 3.6 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 60–61.

Deze plaats wordt vastgehouden . . .  
The position will be held . . .



Die Stellung wird gehalten . . .  
La position sera tenue . . .

. . . tot aan den laatsten man toe.  
. . . to the last man.



. . . bis zum letzten Mann.  
. . . jusqu'au dernier homme.

Figure 3.7 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 78–79.

Hoe een generaal, die in de etappe gestorven is, begraven wordt . . .  
 How a general who passed away softly in slepp behind the front was buried . . .



Wie ein in der Etappe sanft entschlafener General beerdigt wurde . . .  
 De quelle manière on enterre un général, doucement expiré à l'étape . . .

. . . en hoe de aan het front geslachte proletariërs verstuwd werden.  
 . . . and how the proletarians massacred at the front were dispatched.



. . . und wie die an der Front abgeschlachteten Proletarier verladen wurden.  
 . . . et de quelle manière on expédiait les prolétaires, égorgés au front.

... voor het „veld van eer“.  
... for the "field of honour".



... für das „Feld der Ehre“.  
... pour le "champ d'honneur".

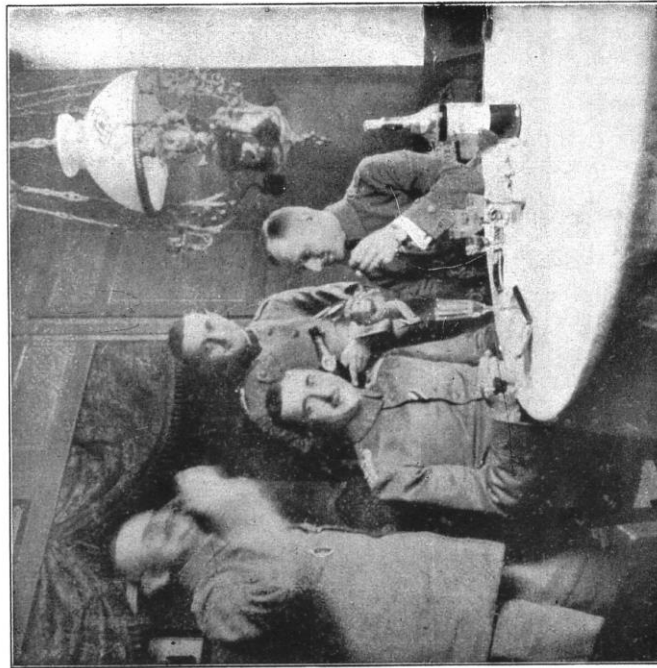
Uit de Augustusdagen 1914 — Geestdriftig ... waarvoor? ...  
From the August days of 1914 — Enthusiastic ... for what? ...



Aus den Augusttagen 1914. — Begeistert ... wofür? ...  
Des jours d'aout en 1914 — Enthousiasmés ... pour quoi? ...

Figure 3.9 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 50–51.

Duitsch soldatenlied: Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen . . .  
German soldier's song: In victory shall we vanquish France . . .



Deutsches Soldatenlied: Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen . . .  
Chanson militaire allemande: Allons vaincre la France . . .

. . . sterven als een held.  
. . . to die like a hero.

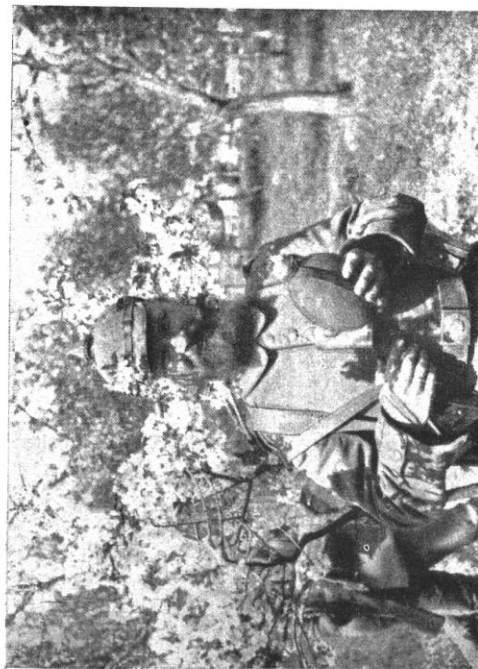


. . . sterben wie ein Held.  
. . . mourir en héros.

Figure 3.10 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 98–99.

Vadertje als „held“ in vijandelijk land  
(Afbeelding voor het geïllustreerde familieblad).

Papa as "hero" in the enemy's country  
(Picture for the illustrated Family Journal).



Vatting als „Held“ in Feindesland  
(Bild für das illustrierte Familienblatt).

Petit père comme 'héros' au pays ennemi  
(Photographie pour le journal de famille).

Hoe men vadertje drie dagen latervond.  
(Afbeelding, die niet in het „Familienblatt“ werd gepubliceerd.)

How Papa was found two days later.  
(Picture not published in the Family Journal.)



Wie man Vatting zwei Tage später fand.  
(Bild, das im Familienblatt nicht veröffentlicht wurde.)

Petit père — deux jours après.  
(Aspect non publié dans le journal de famille).

Figure 3.11 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 54–55.

De trots van de familie: (Een „interessante“ kiek).  
The pride of the family: (An "interesting" arranged photograph).



Der Stolz der Familie: (Eine „interessante“, gestellte Photographie).  
L'orgueil de la famille: (Une photographie "intéressante" posée).

De trots van de familie: (De keerzijde van de kiek, enkele weken later).  
The pride of the family: (The other side of the picture, a few weeks later).

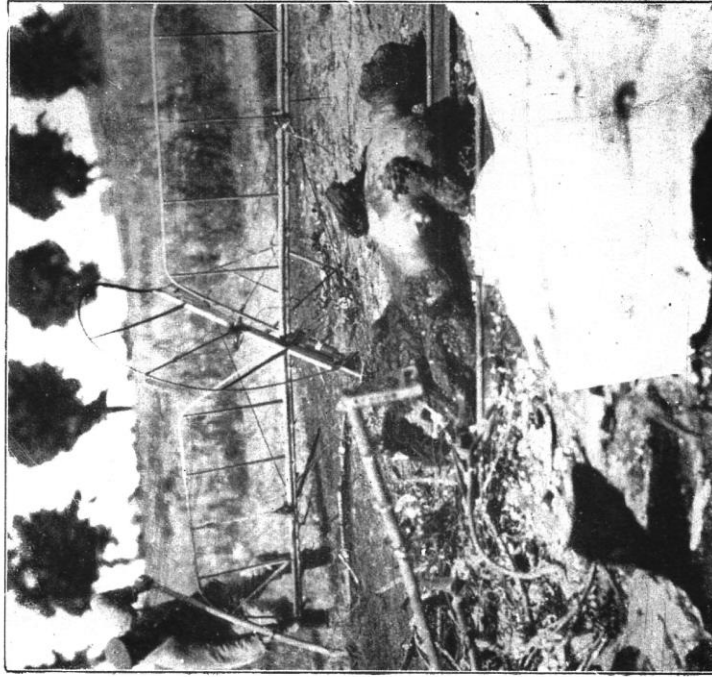


Der Stolz der Familie: (Die Kehrseite des Bildes, einige Wochen später).  
L'orgueil de la famille: (Le revers de la médaille quelques semaines plus tard).

Figure 3.12 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 94–95.

Een „buitengewone” verdienstelijkheid.

A “meritorious” achievement.



Ein „hervorragendes” Verdienst.

Un mérite ‘extraordinaire’.

Courantenbericht: Het heeft Zijne Majesteit den Keizer behaagd om den heroenden vliegener . . . naar aanleiding van zijn 7de overwinning in de lucht de ridderorde „Pour le mérite” (voor uitstekende buitengewone diensten) te verleen.

Newspaper announcement: His Majesty the Kaiser has been graciously pleased to confer the order of “Pour le mérite” (for meritorious services) on our distinguished air hero . . . on the occasion of his seventh air victory.



Zeitungsnotiz: Seine Majestät der Kaiser geruhten, unserem berühmten Fliegerhelden . . . aus Anlaß seines 7. Luftsieges den Orden „Pour le mérite” (für hervorragende Verdienste) zu verleihen.

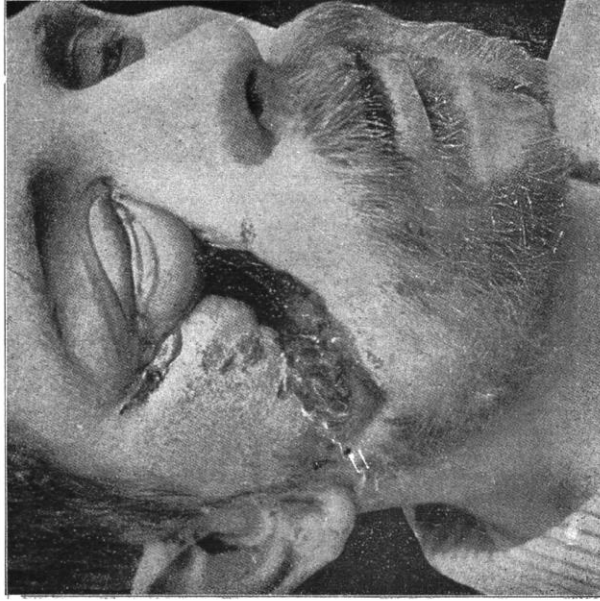
Note de gazette: Sa majesté, l'empereur, daigna donner à notre héros de l'air, à l'occasion de sa septième victoire dans l'air, la décoration „Pour le mérite” (à cause de ses mérites extraordinaires).

Figure 3.13 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 74–75.



Er zijn alleen in Duitschland nog altijd 48 000 verpleegden in hospitalen, die afgescheiden van de wereld, ver van hun familie, ver van vrienden en bekenden, voortleven in de hoop dat zy wellicht na jaren een eenigszins menschelyk uiterlyk zullen terugkrygen.

In Germany alone there are still 48 000 hospital inmates who are totally cut off from the world and drag on their existences far from their families and friends and relatives, in the hope that they may perhaps after years again acquire the appearance of human beings.



Es gibt allein in Deutschland immer noch 48 000 Lazarettinsassen, die welt-abgeschieden, fern von ihrer Familie, fern von Freunden und Bekannten dahindeben in der Hoffnung, daß sie vielleicht nach Jahren ein menschen-ähnliches Aussehen wieder erhalten.

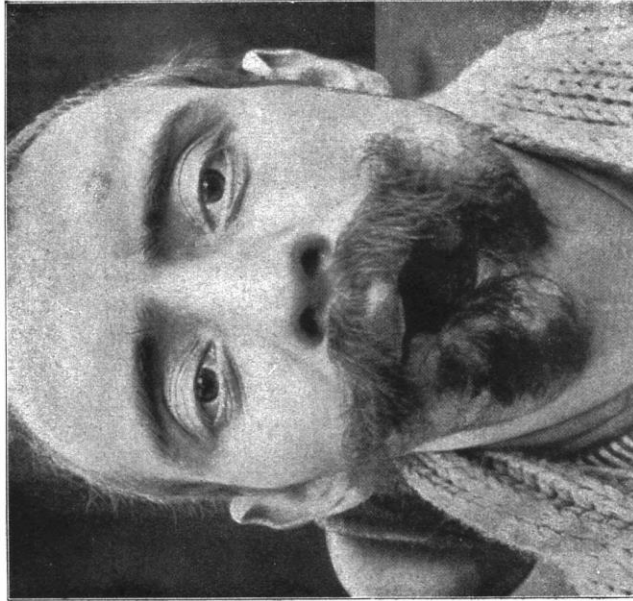
Rien qu'en Allemagne, il y a toujours 48 000 habitants d'hôpitaux militaires, végétant loin du monde, loin de leurs familles, de leurs amis et connaissances, dans l'espoir vague que peut-être, après de longues années, ils réussissent à regagner des dehors humainement possibles.

14

209

Soldaat F. Onderkaak en tanden uitgeslagen. Verwond 26. Sept. 1914.  
Behandeling nog steeds niet ten einde.

Corporal F. Lower jaw and teeth blown away. Wounded 26. 9. 1914.  
Treatment not yet ended.

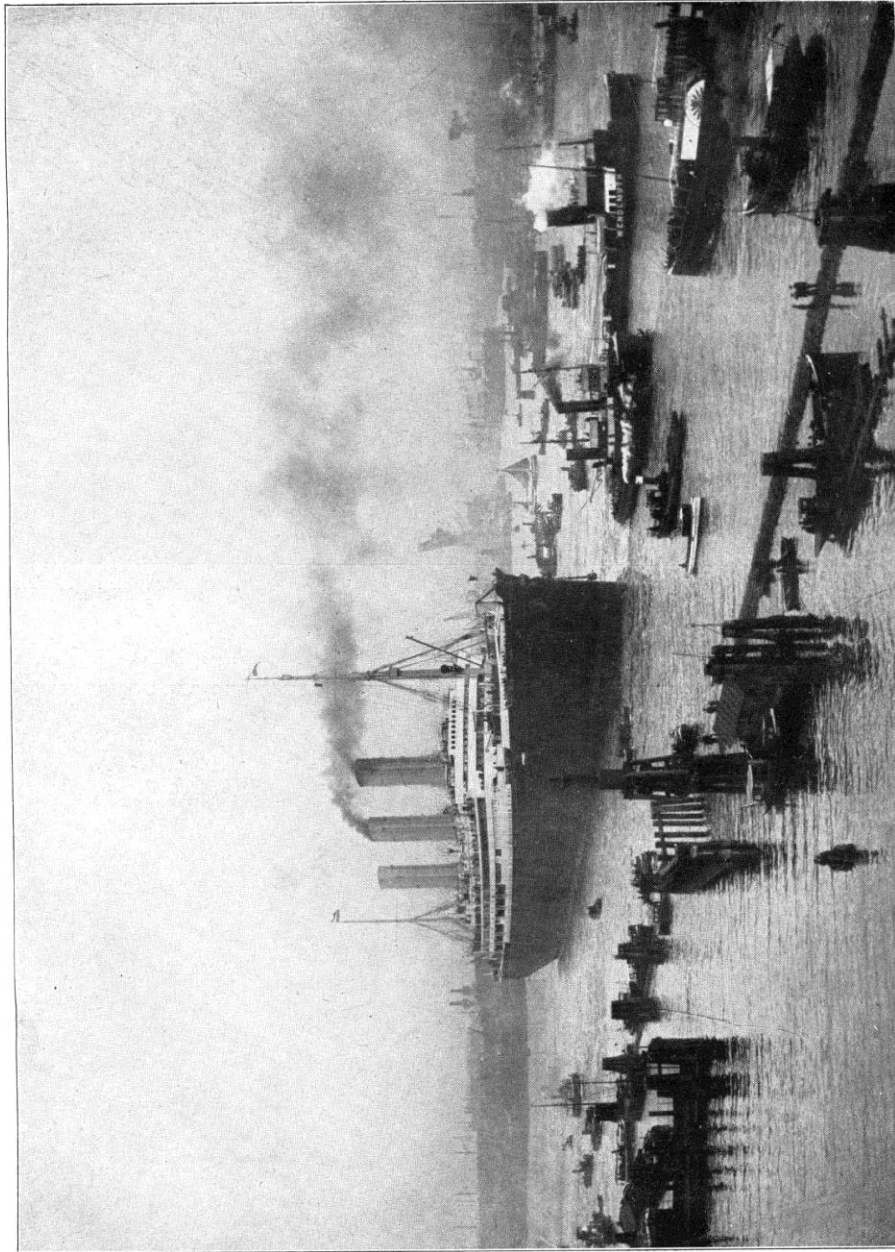


Gefreiter F. Unterkiefer und Zähne ausgeschlagen.  
Verwundet 26. 9. 1914. Behandlung noch nicht abgeschlossen.

Soldat de première classe F. La mâchoire inférieure et les dents démolées  
Blessé le 26. septembre 1914. Traitement pas encore fini.

208

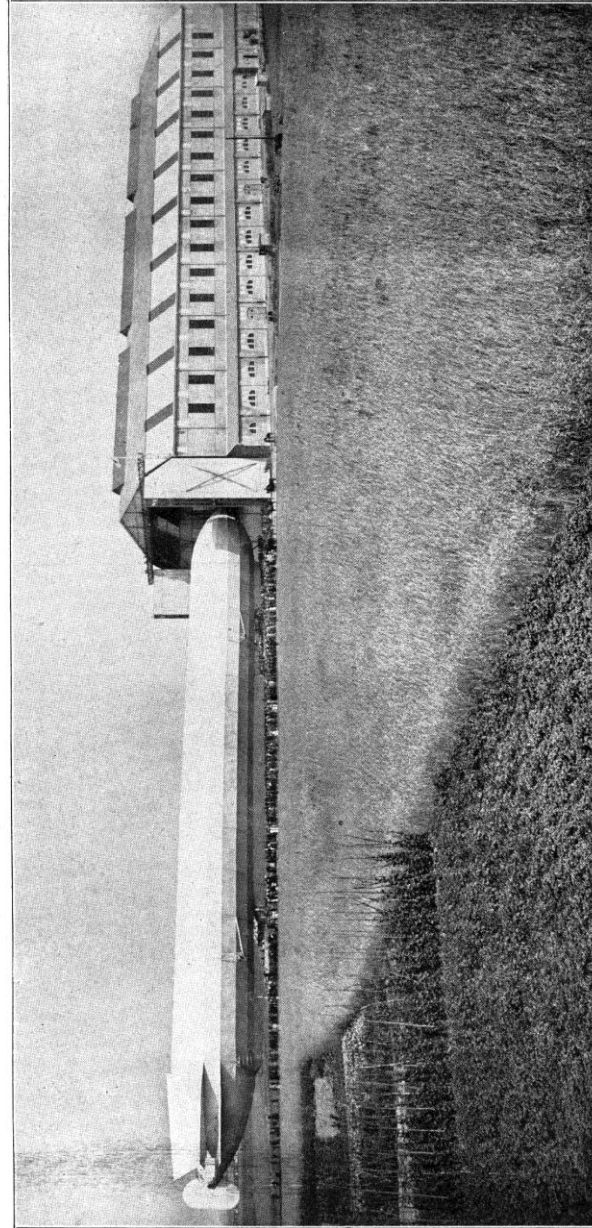
Figure 3.14 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2015, pages 208–209.



Hamburg-Amerika-Linie 1913

„Imperator“ auf der ersten Fahrt

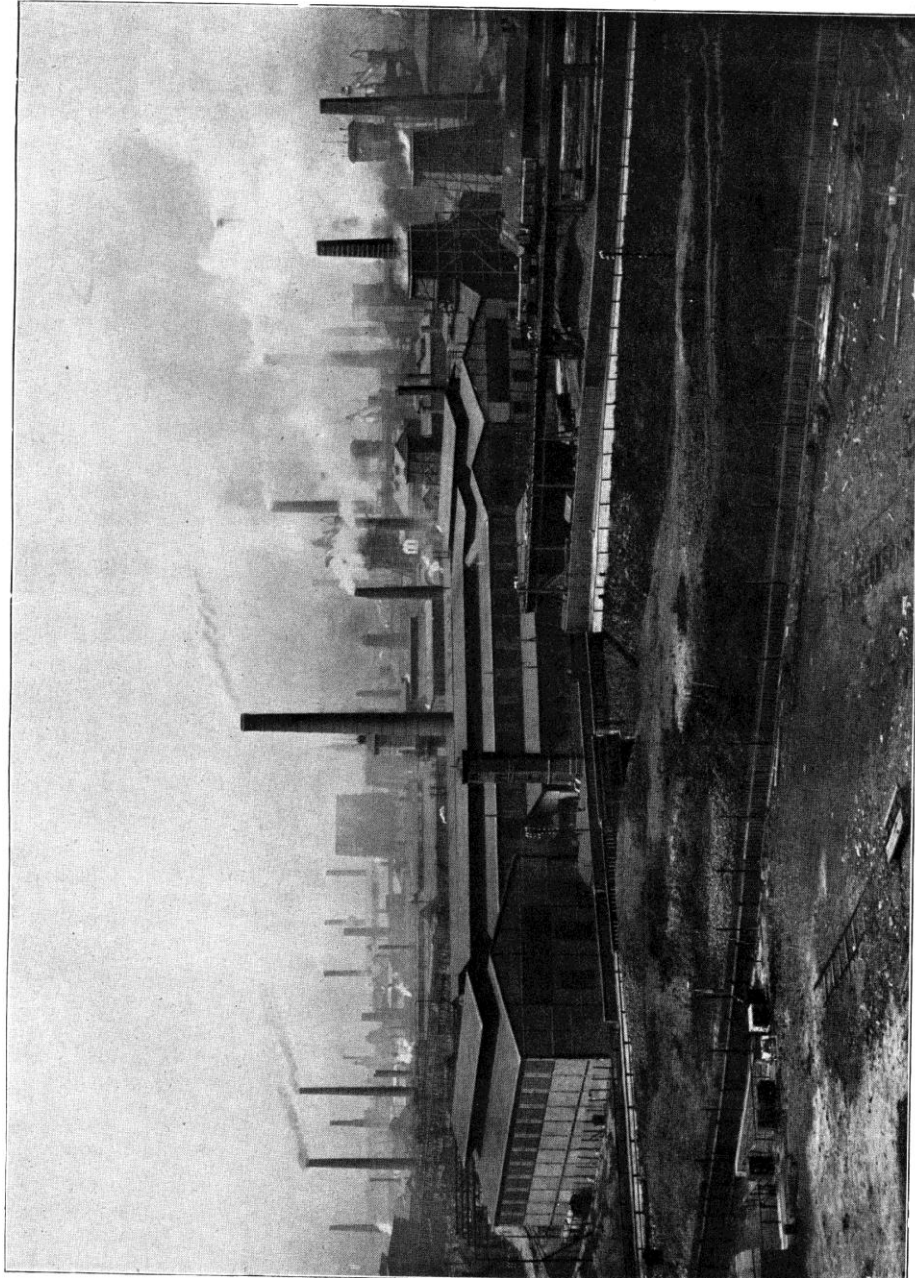
**Figure 4.1** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 15.



Zeppelin 1909

Deutschlands Führung in der Luftschiffahrt

**Figure 4.2** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 18.



Deuschlands Industrie

Königs- und Laurahütte, Oberschlesien 1910

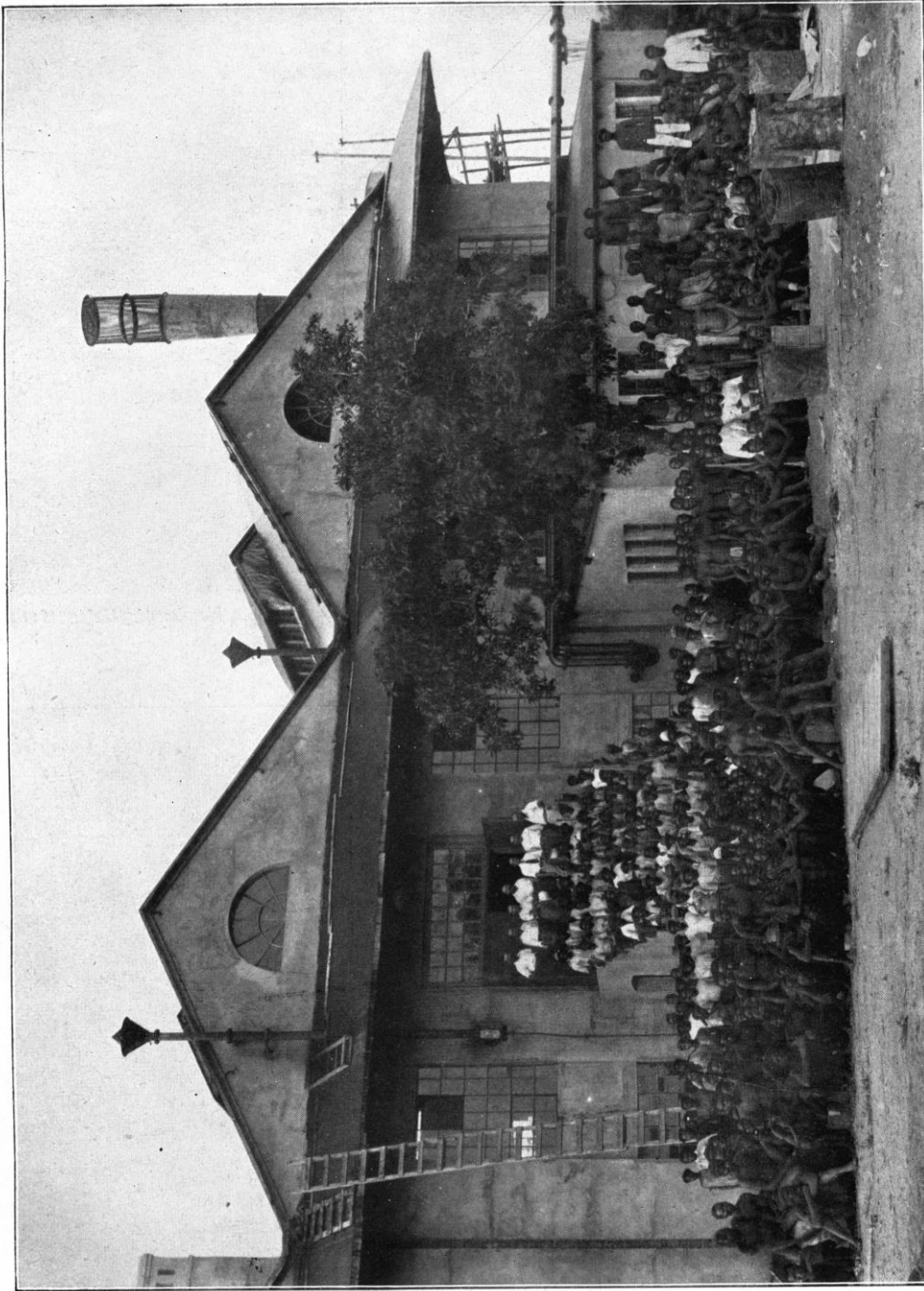
**Figure 4.3** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 24.



Die Waffenschmiede

Krupp-Essen 1910

**Figure 4.4** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 14.



Telefunkenstation in Kamina (Togo)

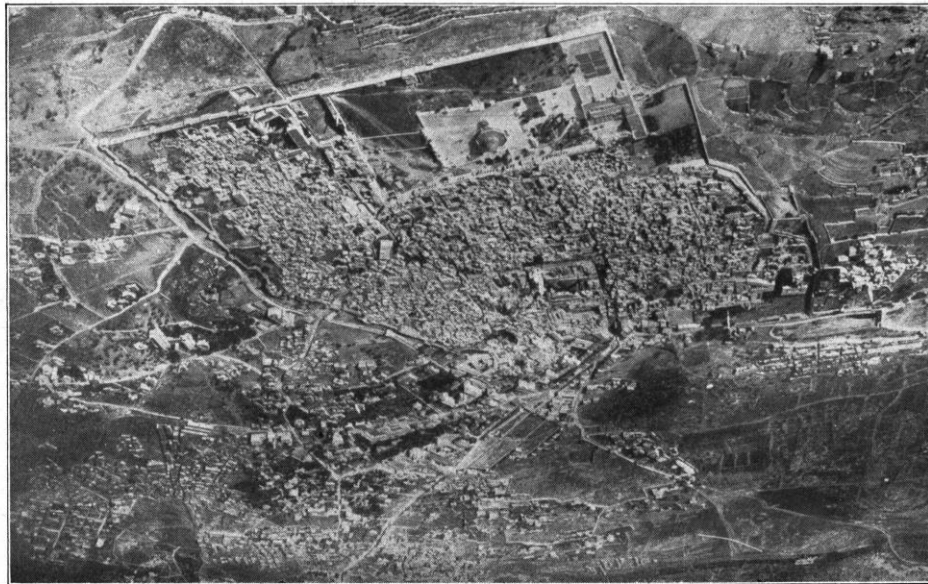
Das Funkwesen in Deutschland

**Figure 4.5** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 19.



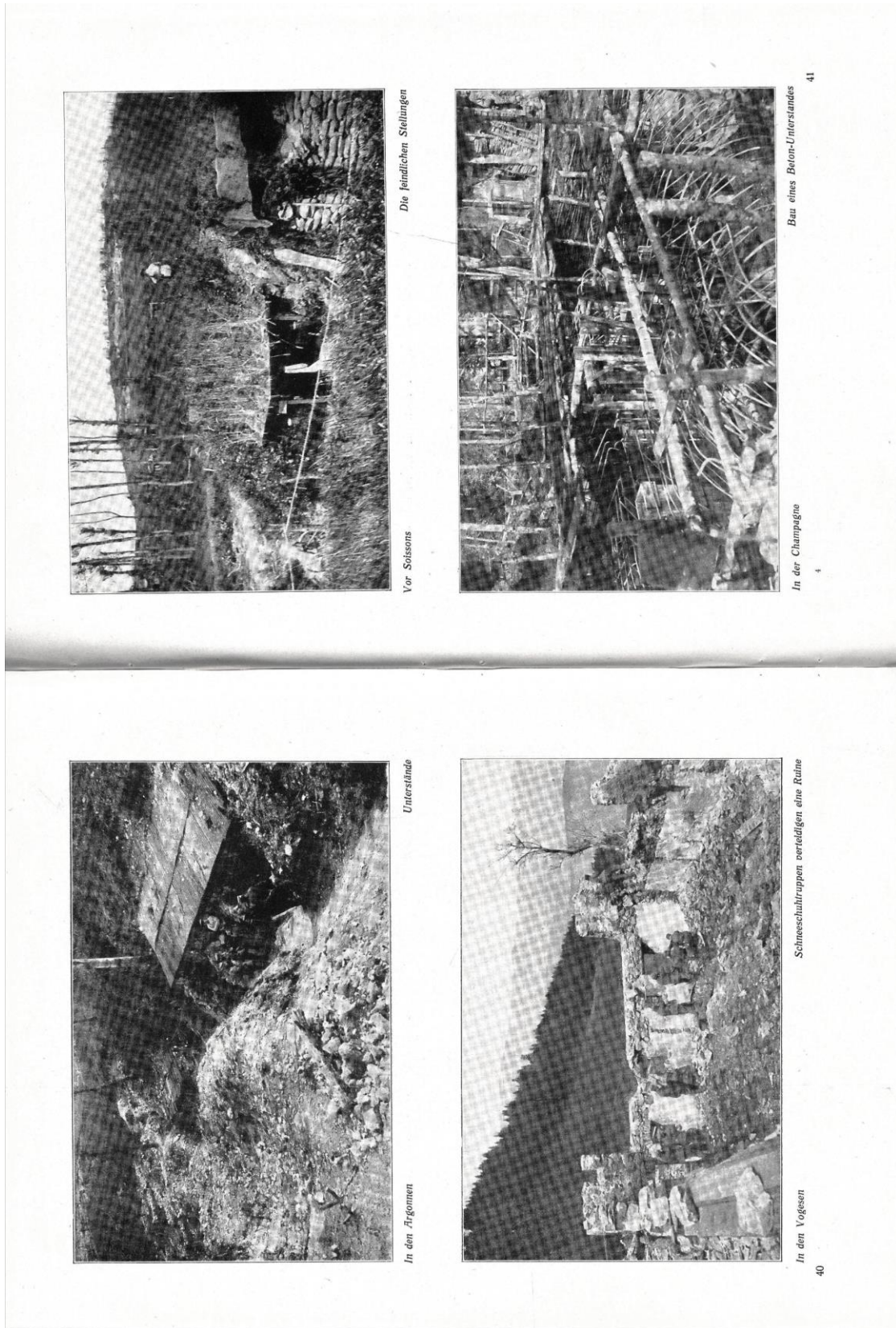
*Stellungskrieg im Westen*

*Ausbesserungen am Drahtverhau*



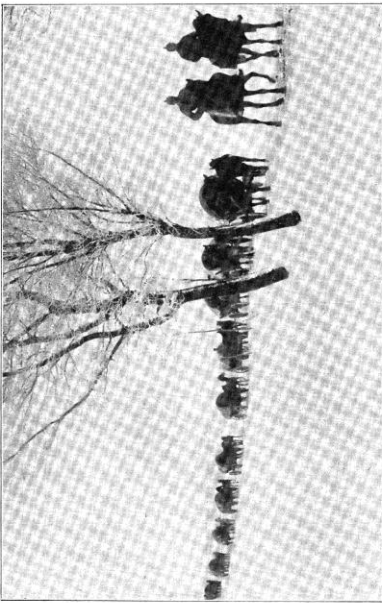
*Ueber Jerusalem*

*Deutsche Fliegeraufnahme*



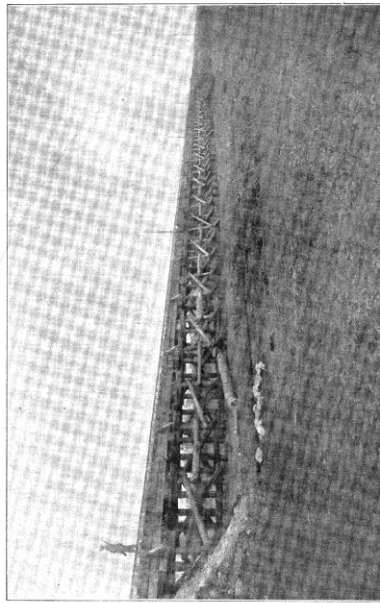
**Figure 4.7** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 40–41.





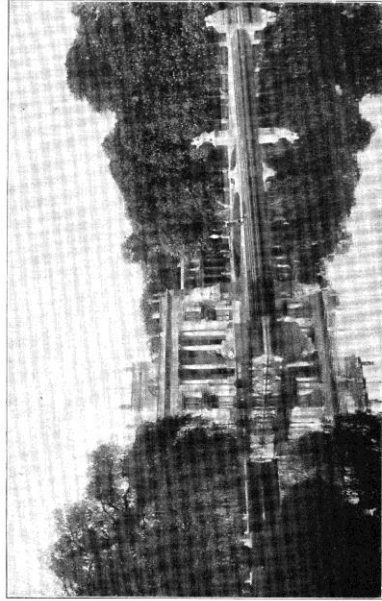
Winterschlacht in Masuren

Munitionskolonne auf dem Marsch



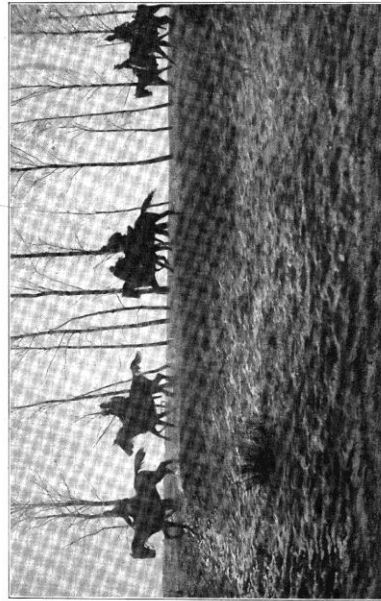
Meisterwerk unserer Pioniere

840 m lange Eisenbahnbrücke in Polen



Der Vormarsch in Polen

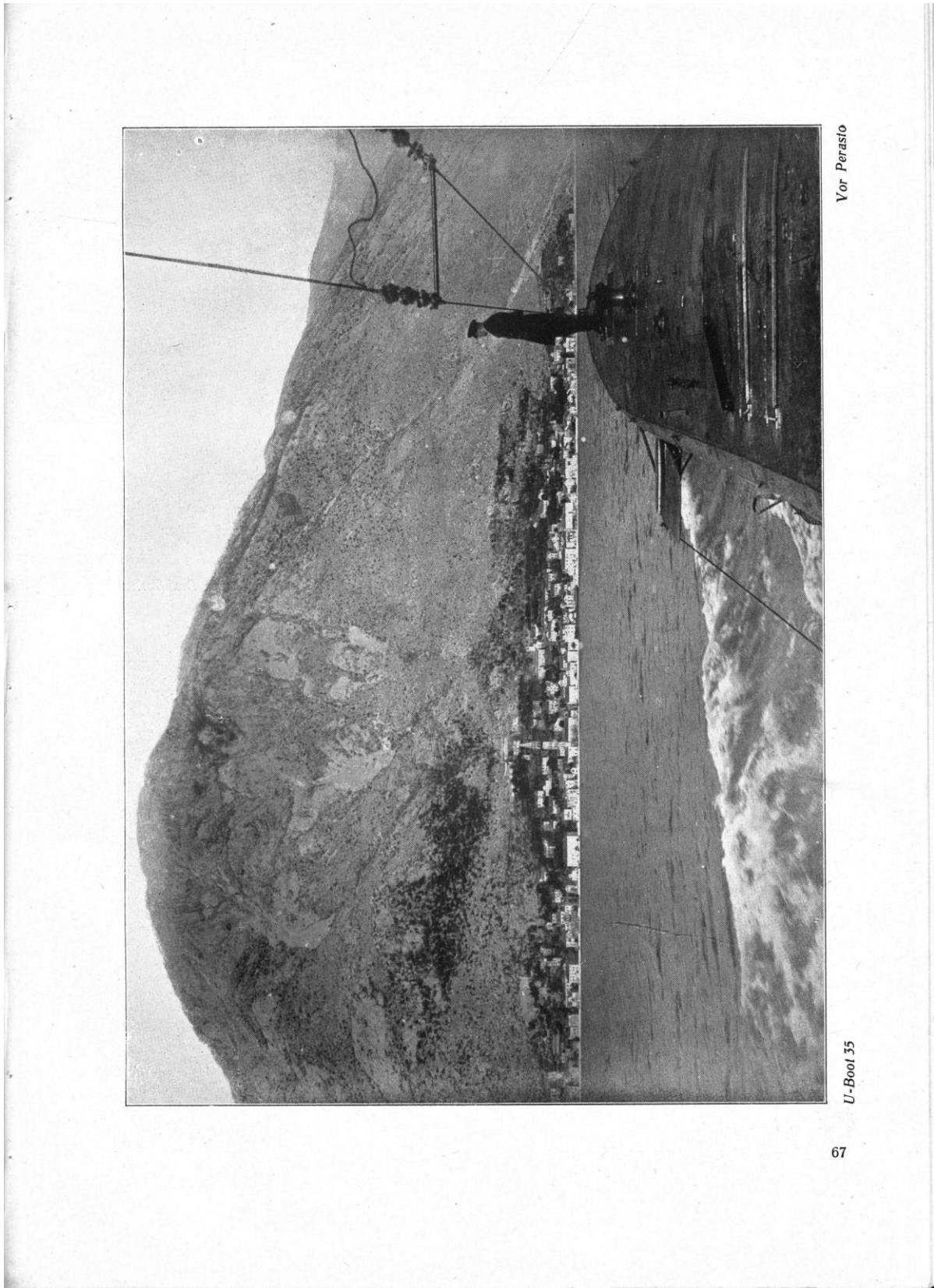
Warschau in deutschem Besitz



Der Vormarsch in Polen

Kavalleriepatrouille

Figure 4.8 Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 42–43.



**Figure 4.9** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 67.

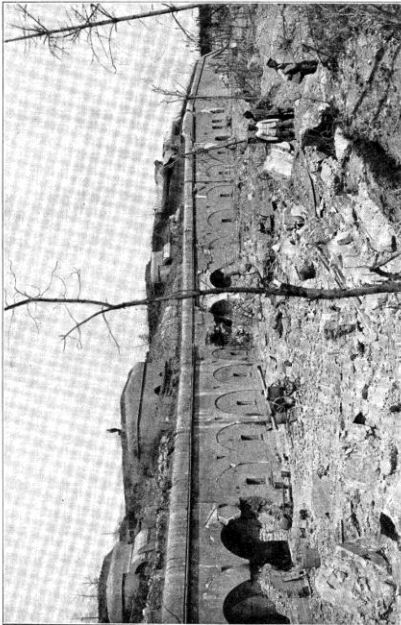


In den Waldkarpathen



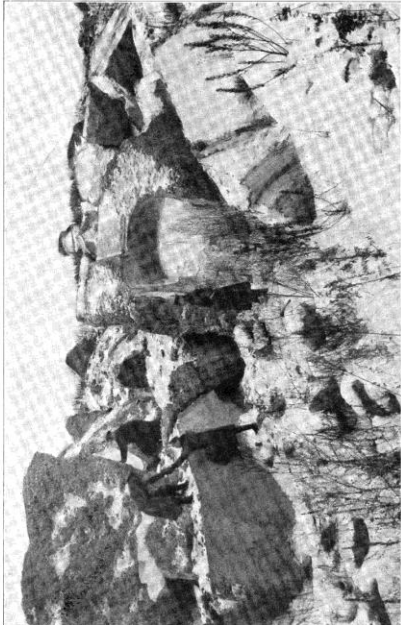
In den Waldkarpathen

45



Befestigungswerk nach der Beschädigung

Przemysl



Zerstörtes Fort

Brest Litovsk

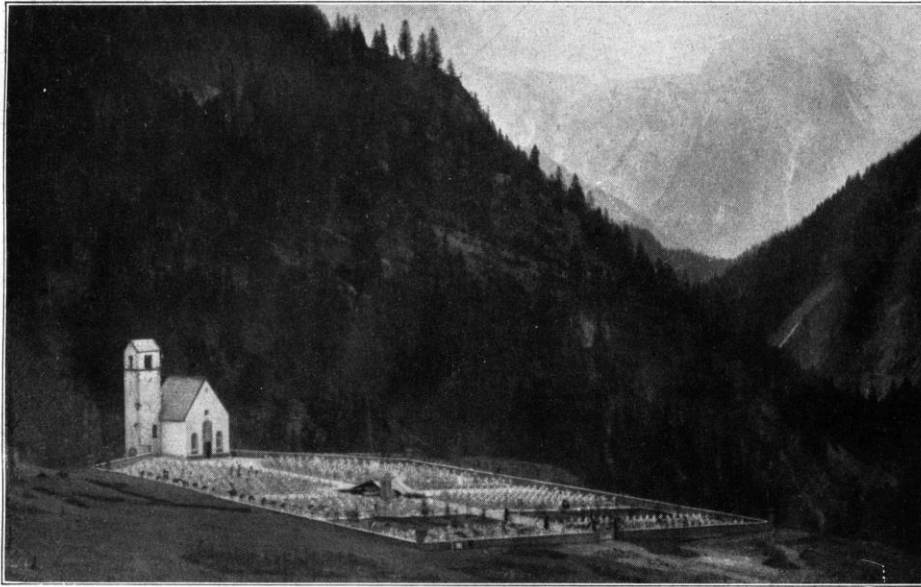
44

Figure 4.10 Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 44–45. (Inset on next page)

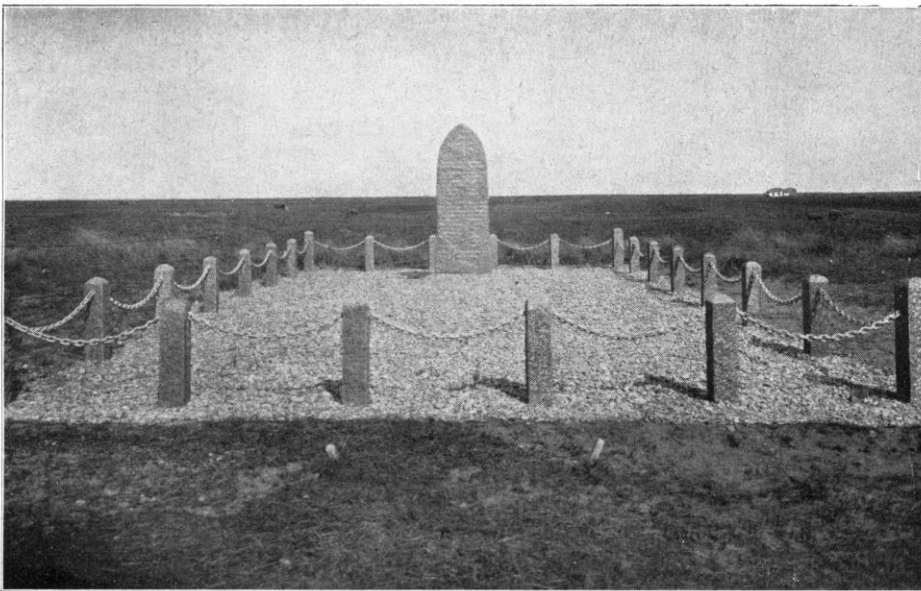


*In den Waldkarpathen*

**Figure 4.10** Inset



*Militärkirchhof von Pian di Salasei (Provinz Trento) mit 900 Gräbern*

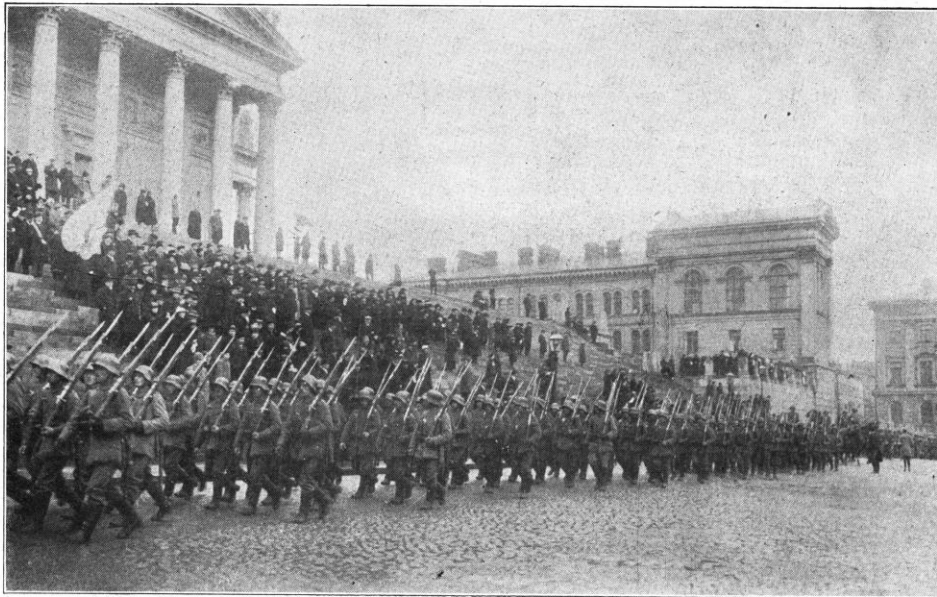


*Ruhstätte der Helden aus der Skagerrak-Schlacht bei Skagen*

5

57

**Figure 4.11** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 57.



*Zum Schutz von Helsingfors*

*Einzug deutscher Truppen*



*Deutsche Fliegergräber in Nazareth*



*Im Rückzugsgelände*

*Das Ueberschwemmungsgebiet der Aisne*



*Zum Gedenken*

*Kriegergräber an der Westfront*

**Figure 4.13** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 77.



*Das Ringen im Westen*

*Sturmabteilung geht durch den Drahterbau*



*Vor Ham*

*Deutsche Kolonnen im Anmarsch*

5\*

73

**Figure 4.14** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 73.





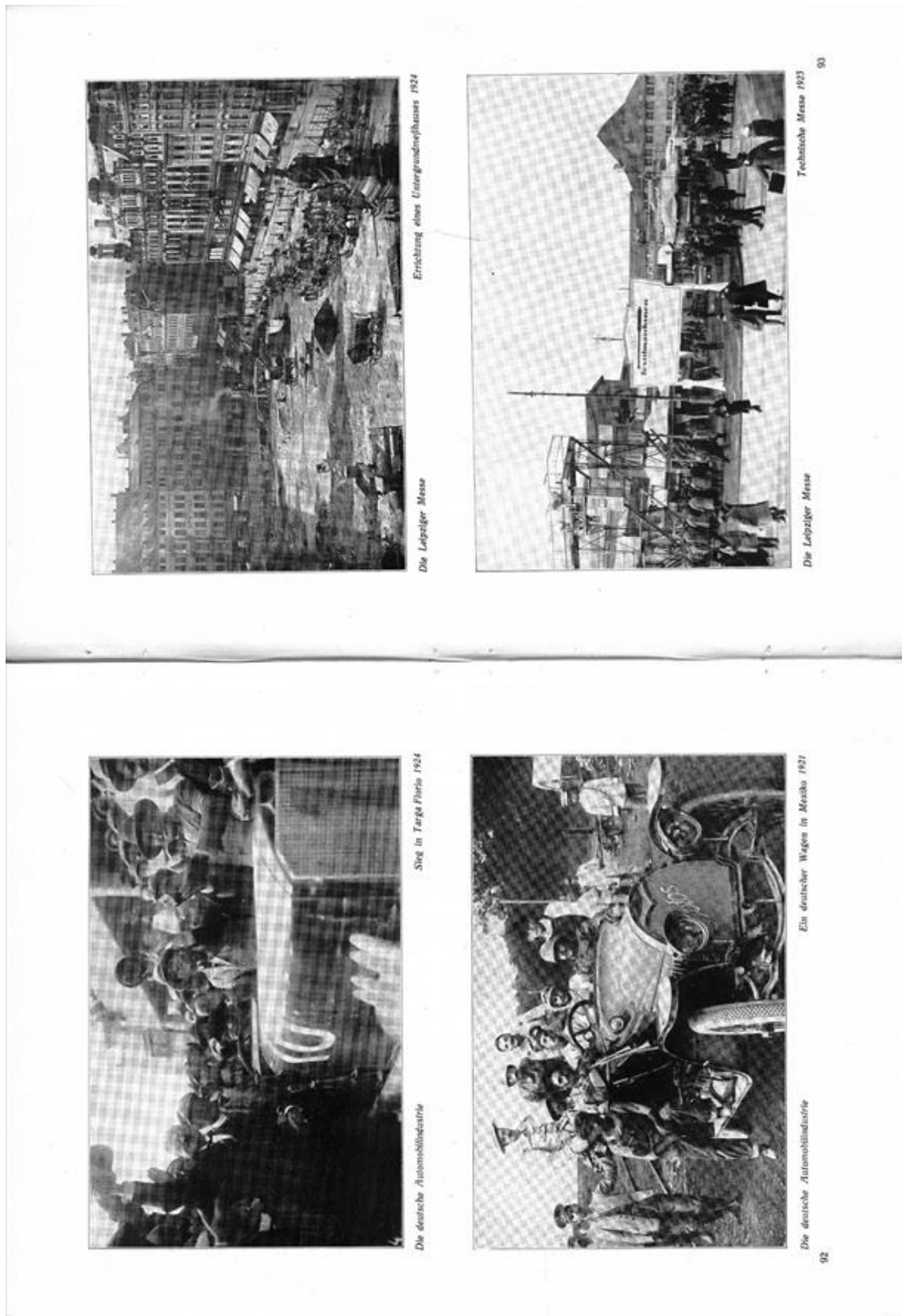
*Zwischen Reims und Laon*

*Im Sturm vorgehende Abteilung*



*Zwischen Reims und Laon*

*Im Kampfgelände*



**Figure 4.16** *Deutschland. Ein Buch der Größe und der Hoffnung in Bildern, 1914–1924*, Berlin: Otto Stollberg, 1924, page 92–93.

## Tafel 1



Oberst von Roeder, 1914



Oberstleutnant Frhr. von Lyncker, 1915



Oberstleutnant von Kroßigt, 1915/17



Major Otto, 1918

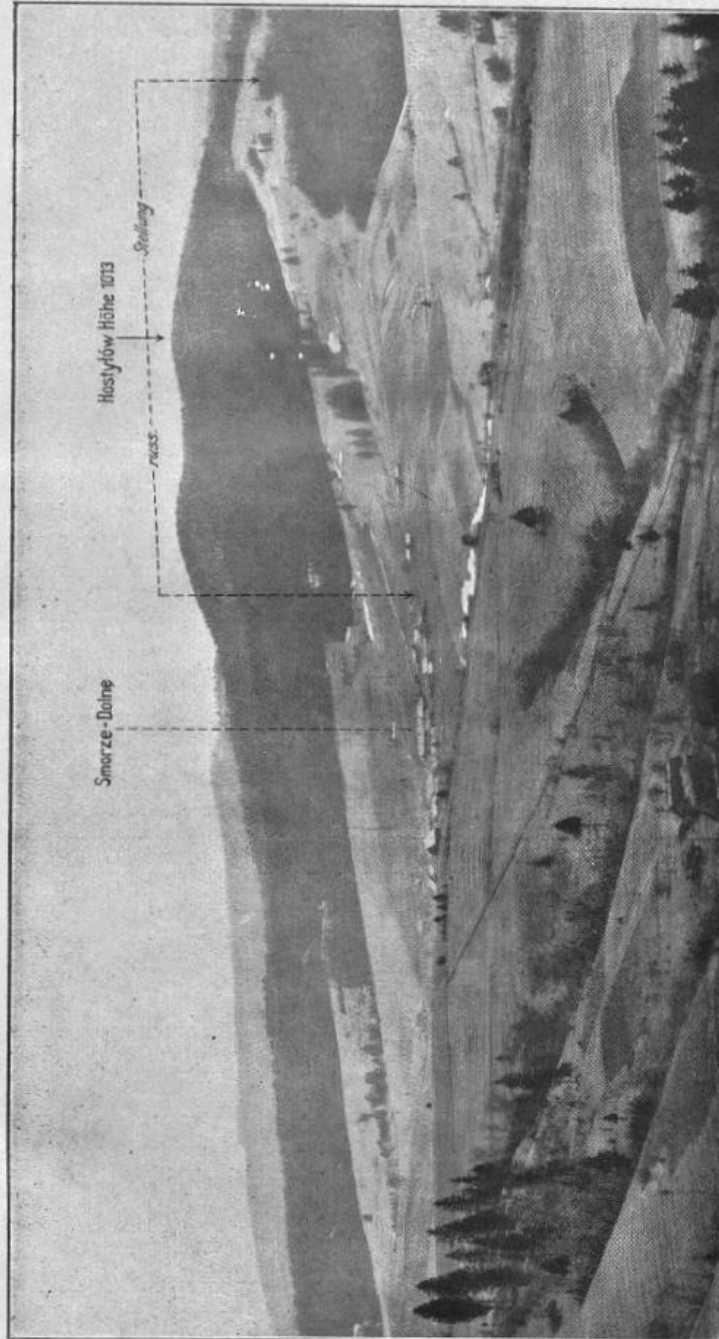
**Figure 5.1** Heinrich von Rieben, *Kaiser-Franz-Garde-Grenadier-Regiment Nr. 2* (=Bd. 279, *Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1929, plate 1.



Das Denkmal des Franz-Regts. bei der Kaserne  
Invictis — Victi — Victuri!

**Figure 5.2** Heinrich von Rieben, *Kaiser-Franz-Garde-Grenadier-Regiment Nr. 2* (=Bd. 279, *Erinnerungsblätter deutscher Regimenter*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1929, plate 25

Tafel 3.



Angriffsgelände der Garde-Division südlich Smorze am 31. 1. 1915 (von der Miffowka-Höhe südwestlich Strašne gesehen).

**Figure 5.3** Friedrich von Friedeburg, *Karpathen- und Dnester-Schlacht 1915* (= Bd. 2, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925, plate 3.



Wasserverkäufer in Aleppo

**Figure 5.4** Werner Steuber, *Jildirim: Deutsche Streiter auf heiligem Boden* (= Bd. 4, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925, insert before page 49.

Tafel 4.

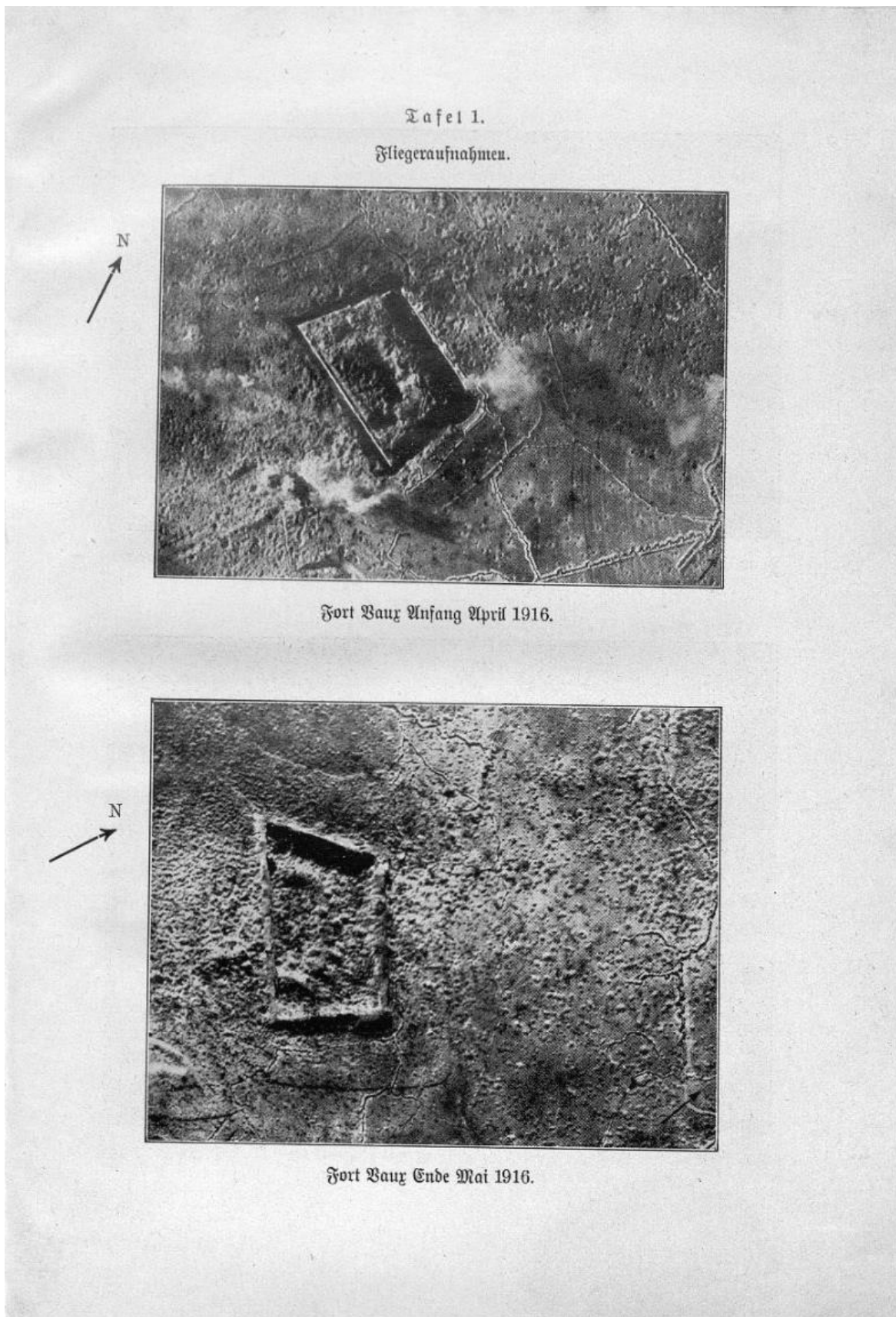


Büffel-Kolonne.



Kamel-Kolonne.

**Figure 5.5** Carl Mühlmann, *Der Kampf um die Dardanellen 1915* (= Bd. 16, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1927, plate 4.

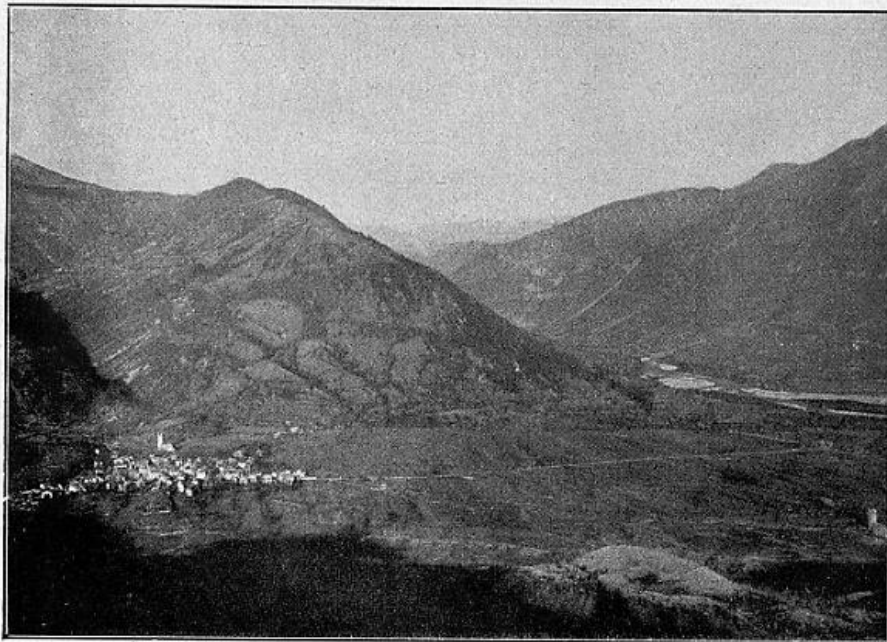


**Figure 5.6** Alexander Schwenke, *Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916, Teil II, Das Ringen um Fort Vaux* (= Bd. 14, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1928, plate 1.



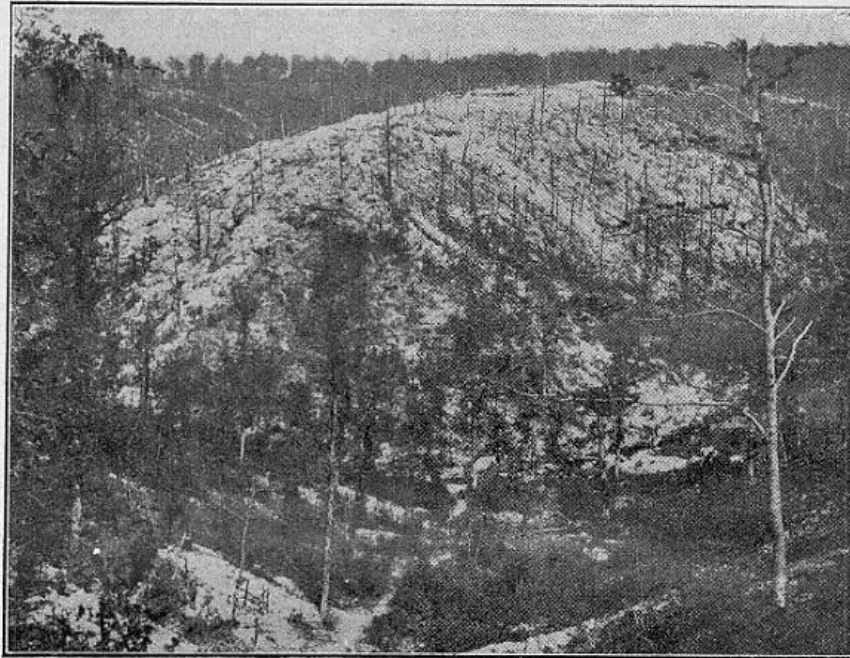


Wolfshach.

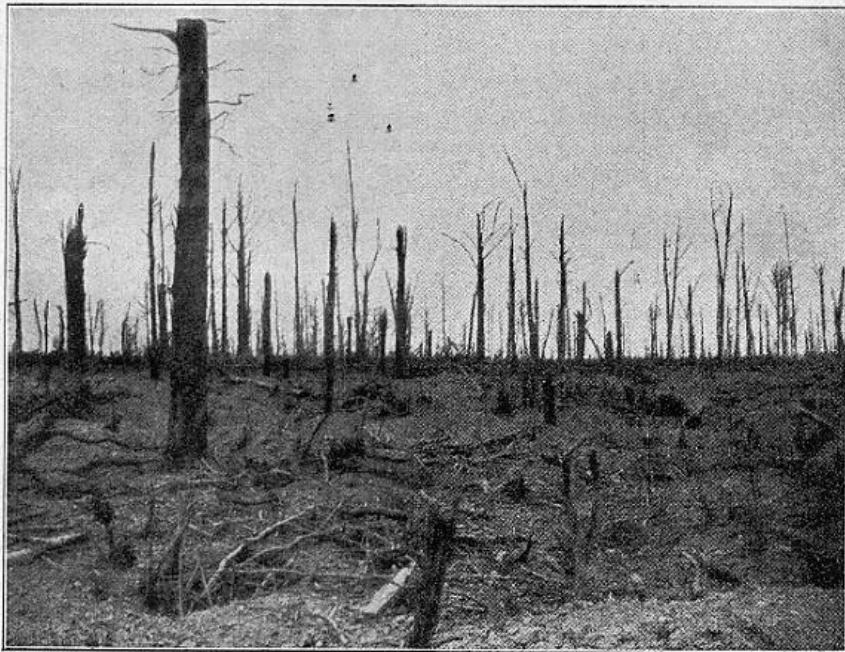


Wolfshach (von Sv. Maria aus).

**Figure 5.7** Konrad Krafft von Dellmensingen, *Der Durchbruch am Isonzo, Teil I: Die Schlacht von Tolmein und Flitsch* (= Bd. 12a, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1926, plate 6.

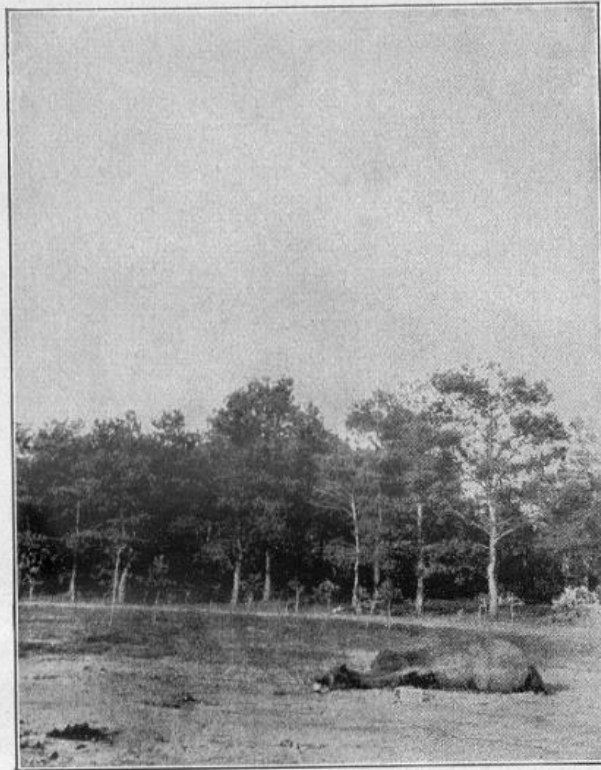


Das Storchennest.

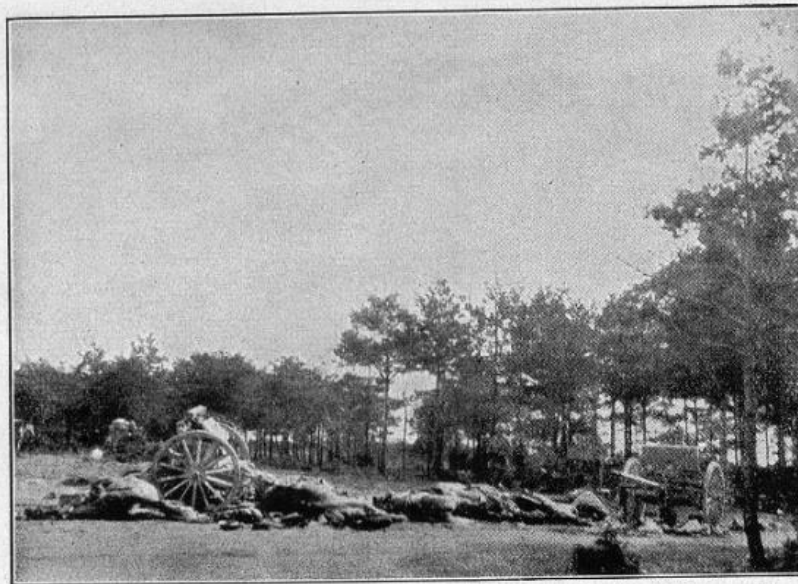


Argonnenhochwald nach einem Kampjahn.

II.



Waldrand südlich Lenharrée.  
(Aufgenommen am 8.9.1914 vormittags.)



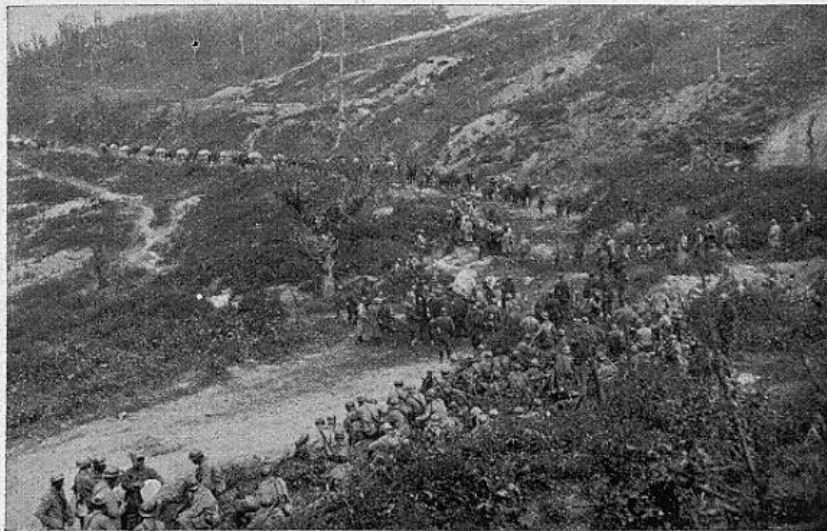
Vom Feldb. Regt. 28 zusammengeschoffene französische Batterie südlich Lenharrée.  
(Aufgenommen am 8.9.1914 vormittags.)

**Figure 5.9** Thilo von Bose, *Das Marnedrama 1914, Teil III: Die Kämpfe des Gardekorps und des rechten Flügels der 3. Armee vom 5. bis 8.* (=Bd. 24, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1928, plate 2.

## Tafel 2



Aus dem Er.Bl. des 4. G.H. z. Z.  
 Beim Sturm auf den Damentweg im M.G. Feuer gebliebene Franzosen.



Aus dem Er.Bl. des 4. G.H. z. Z.  
 Kolonnen auf dem Marsche auf den Damentweg.

Tafel 1

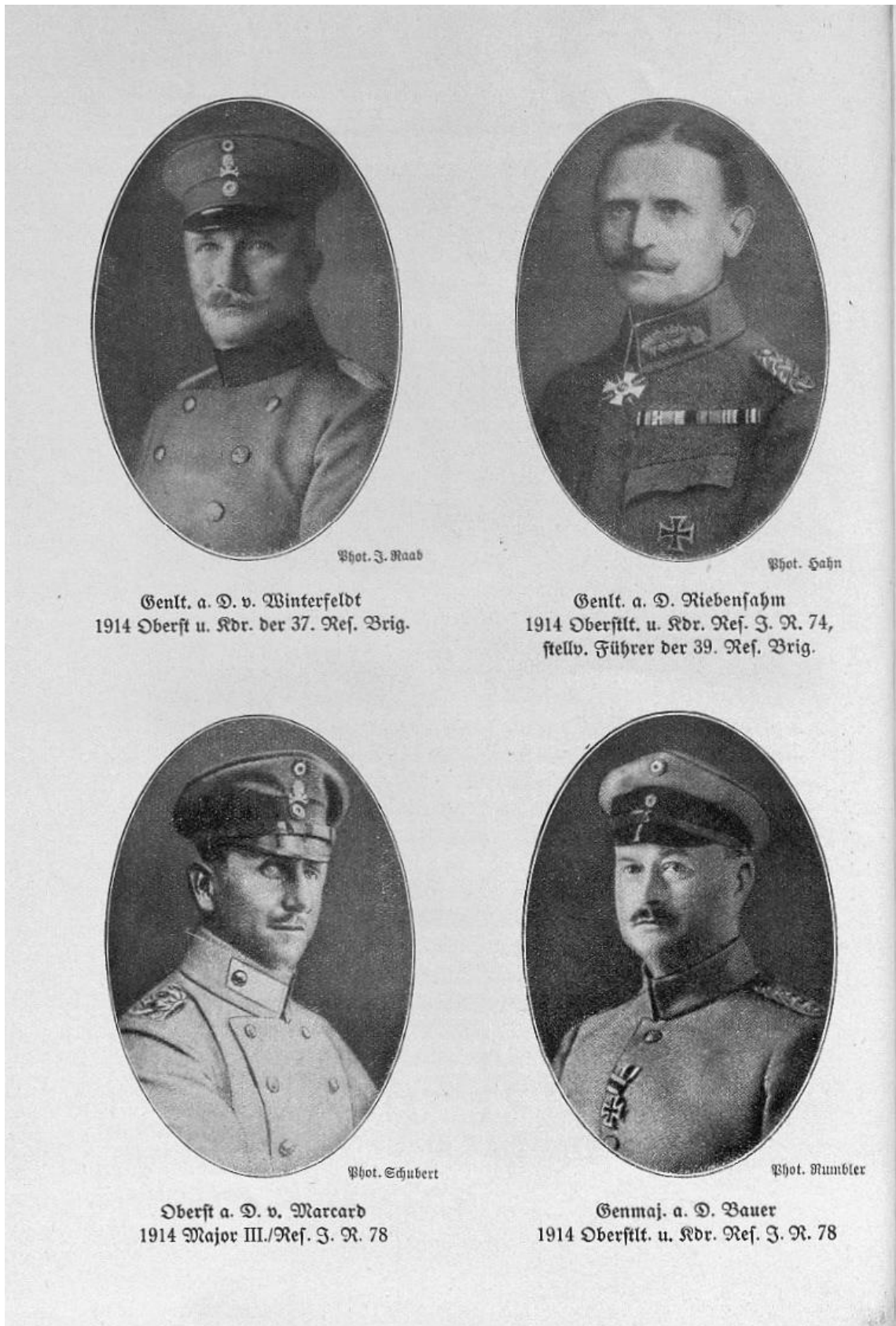


Erstürmte Stellung.

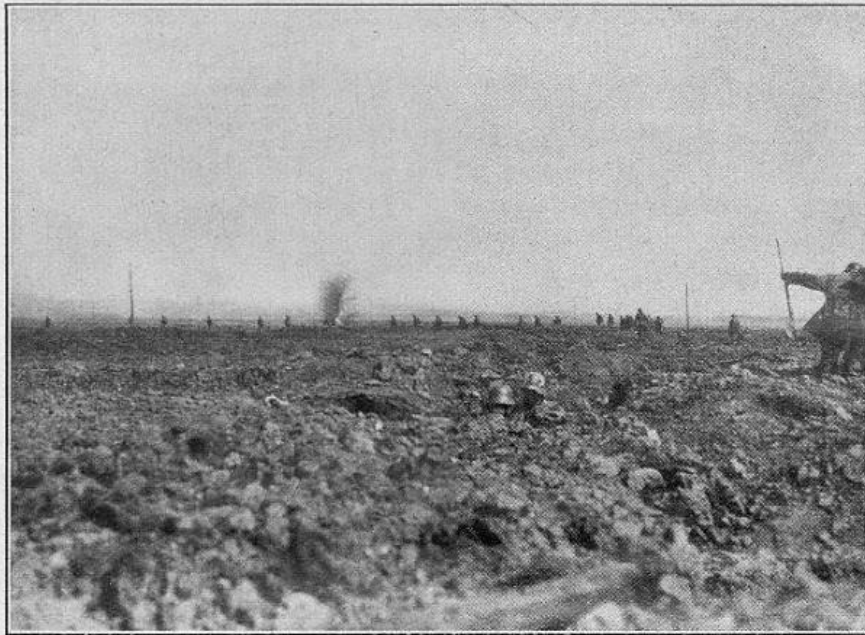


Stilles Heldentum.

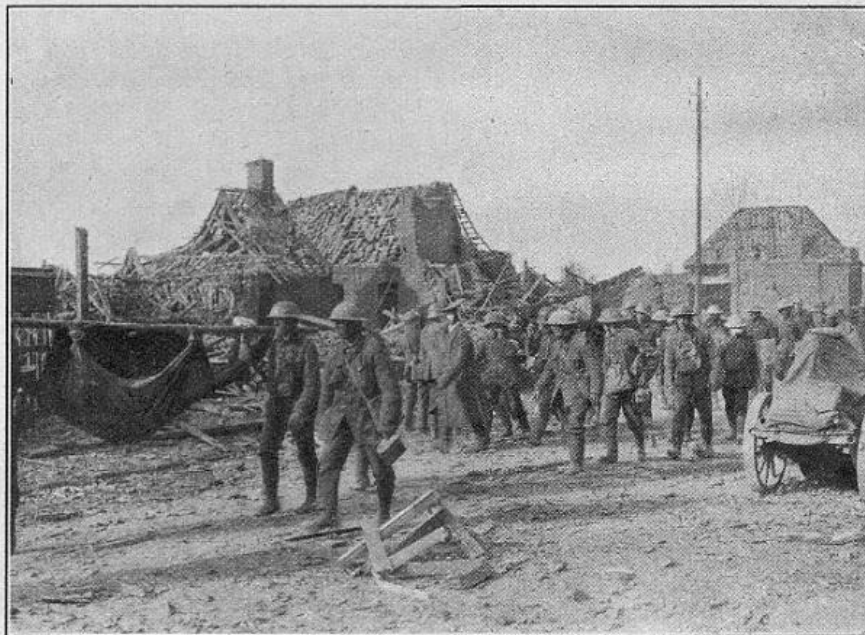
**Figure 5.11** Thilo von Bose, *Wachsende Schwierigkeiten 1918* (=Bd. 33, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1930, plate 1.



**Figure 5.12** Kurt Heydemann, *Die Schlacht bei St. Quentin 1914, I. Teil: Der rechte Flügel der 2. deutschen Armee am 29. und 30. August* (=Bd. 7a, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925, plate 2.

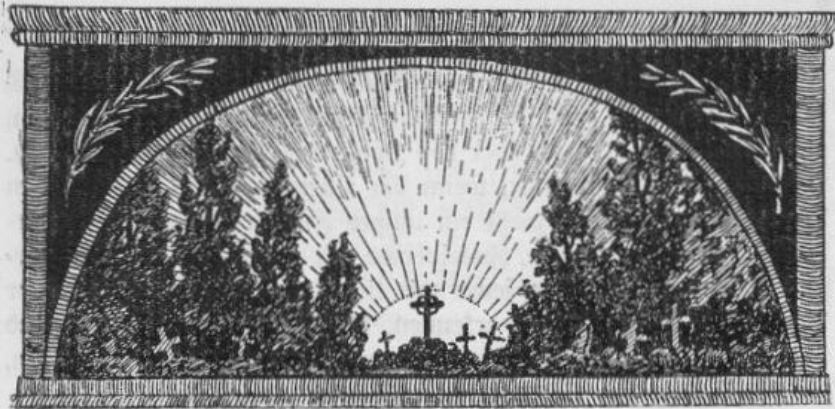


Deutsche Infanterie greift an.



Abtransport englischer Gefangener.

**Figure 5.13** Franz Berhmann, *Die Osterschlacht bei Arras 1917, I. Teil: Zwischen Lens und Scarpe* (=Bd. 28, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1929, plate 3.



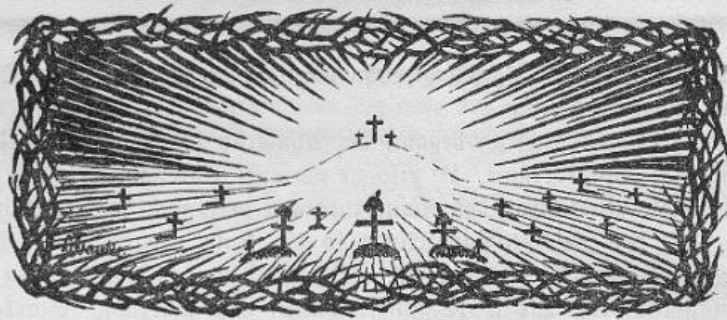
### Grabmäler.



Es wird in diesen Blättern von viel Leiden und Sterben die Rede sein, aber von keinem Klagen. Die Jahre kommen und gehen, und beinahe scheint man sich heute nicht mehr zu erinnern, wie nah uns die Zeit noch ist, wo in Wochen und Monden die ungeheure Erlebniswucht ganzer Generationen mit einemmal auf uns lag. Wo uns das Sterben und Bluten so vertraut war wie den Kindern das tägliche Morgengebet. Wo Höhlen und Löcher und schmutzstarrende Erdfurchen unsere Heimat waren. Wo wir wehmütig an stillen Abenden das Stück Himmel und die Handvoll Sterne über uns anschauten, wenn wir an Frieden dachten. . . .

**Figure 5.14** Werner Beumelburg, *Douaumont* (=Bd. 1, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1925, page 7. The same illustration is repeated on page 241 of Volume 18, *Argonnen*, and a close variation can be found on page 11 in Volume 10, *Ypern*.





## VII.

**Allerseeelen.**

2. November 1916.

Einigen ganzen Tag lang war das Fort leer\*). Zwischen dem Abgang der Deutschen und dem Einzug der Franzosen gehörte Fort Vaux den Toten. Dieser Tag, das Schicksal hatte es so gefügt, war der Tag „Allerseeelen“.

„Ein Tag im Jahre ist den Toten frei!“ (H. v. Gilm.)

In den Gängen und Kasematten, in den Gräben vereinen sich die Geister der Gefallenen. Sie ordnen sich nach Regimentern: Die vom R.I.R. 6, R.I.R. 19 und R.I.R. 37, die in Frost und Schnee beim Sturm dahinsanken; die von R.I.R. 98, I.R. 155, Füß.R. 37, Ref.Bäg. 5, die am Hange des Berges zu Winters Ausgang die Wacht hielten; die von R.I.R. 7 und I.R. 60, die an seinem Fuße im kalten April endeten; die lange Reihe der Toten der 50. I.D., die die Nr. 39, 53 und 158 trugen, die von I.R. 126, 143, 132, 172, die von bayr. R.I.R. 15, die im nassen Frühjahr, in des Sommers Hitze und in kühlen Herbstnächten hier litten und starben; die von I.R. 105 und 192, von 245 und Ers. 23, noch umbraust von den letzten Stürmen auf dem Vaux-Berg; und alle diese mit ihren treuen Kameraden, den Pionieren. Die da um die Trümmer schwebten und wogten, waren unsere Brüder, waren Söhne aller deutschen Gauen: Ostpreußen, Schlesier, Posener, Brandenburger, von der Wasser-

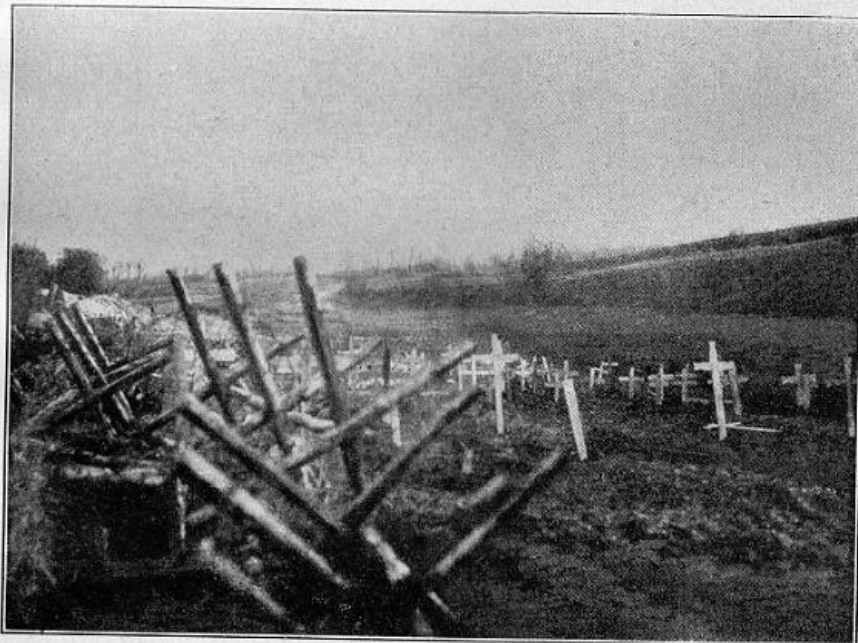
\*) Nach H. B o r d e a u g betrat die erste französische Patrouille das Fort am 3.11. in der ersten Morgenstunde.

**Figure 5.15** Alexander Schwenke, *Die Tragödie von Verdun 1916, Teil II, Das Ringen um Fort Vaux* (= Bd. 14, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*), Oldenburg/Berlin: Stalling, 1928, page 222.

Tafel I



Zum März 1915 auf der Lorettoböhe zerstörte M.G. Schutzhilde



Soldatenfriedhof in der Schlamm-Rinne

## Tafel 2.

Dem Gedenken der bei Gorlice Gefallenen



Kreuz auf der Höhe des Ehrenfriedhofs vor Gorlice.



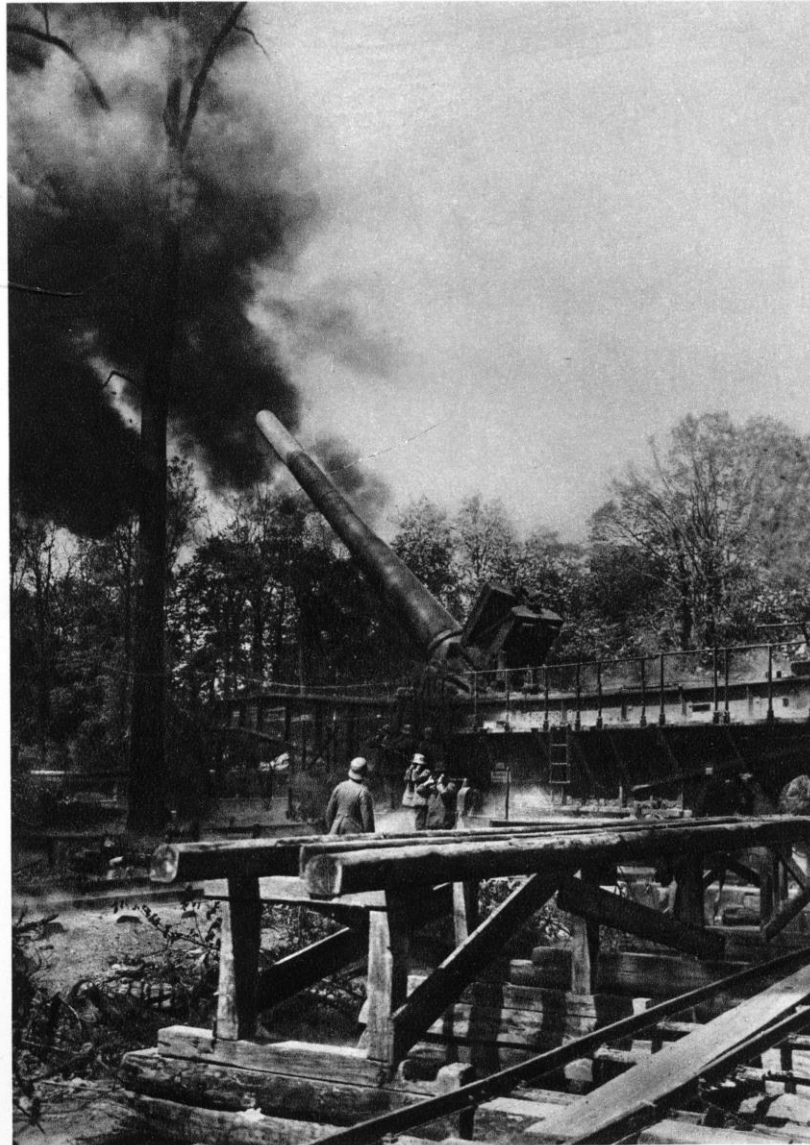
Oben: Ein von dem Landesjägerkorps Maercker auf dem Hofe der Universität Berlin errichtetes Zeltlager. Phot. Sch. Unten: Untersuchung eines Zivilisten auf Waffen. Phot. Gr.



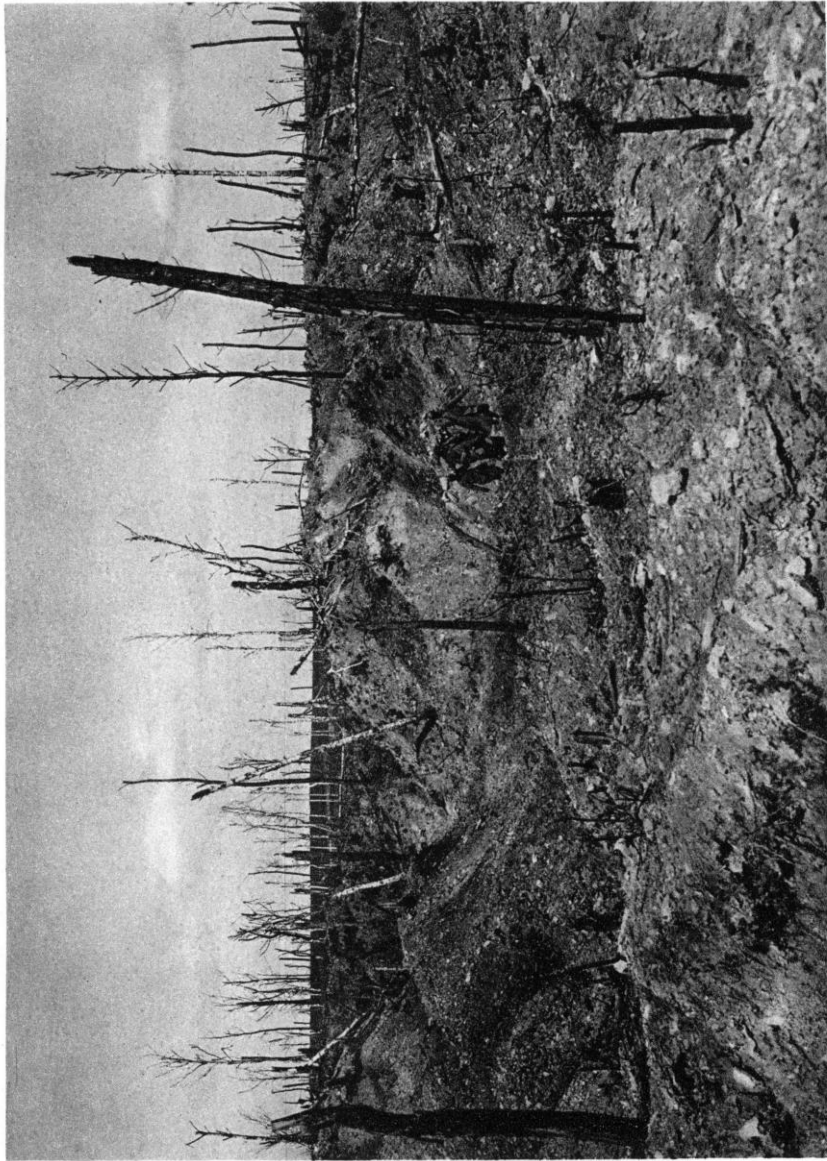
Aus den Unruhen in Braunschweig, so in Helmstedt gefangene Spartakisten werden abgeführt.  
Phot. Sch.



Die Beerdigung der während der Unruhen in Dresden gefallenen Spartakisten.



38 cm Schnelladekanone, Eisenbahnbettungsgechütz. Der Abschuß.



Charakteristisches Kampfgelände am Chemin des Dames.



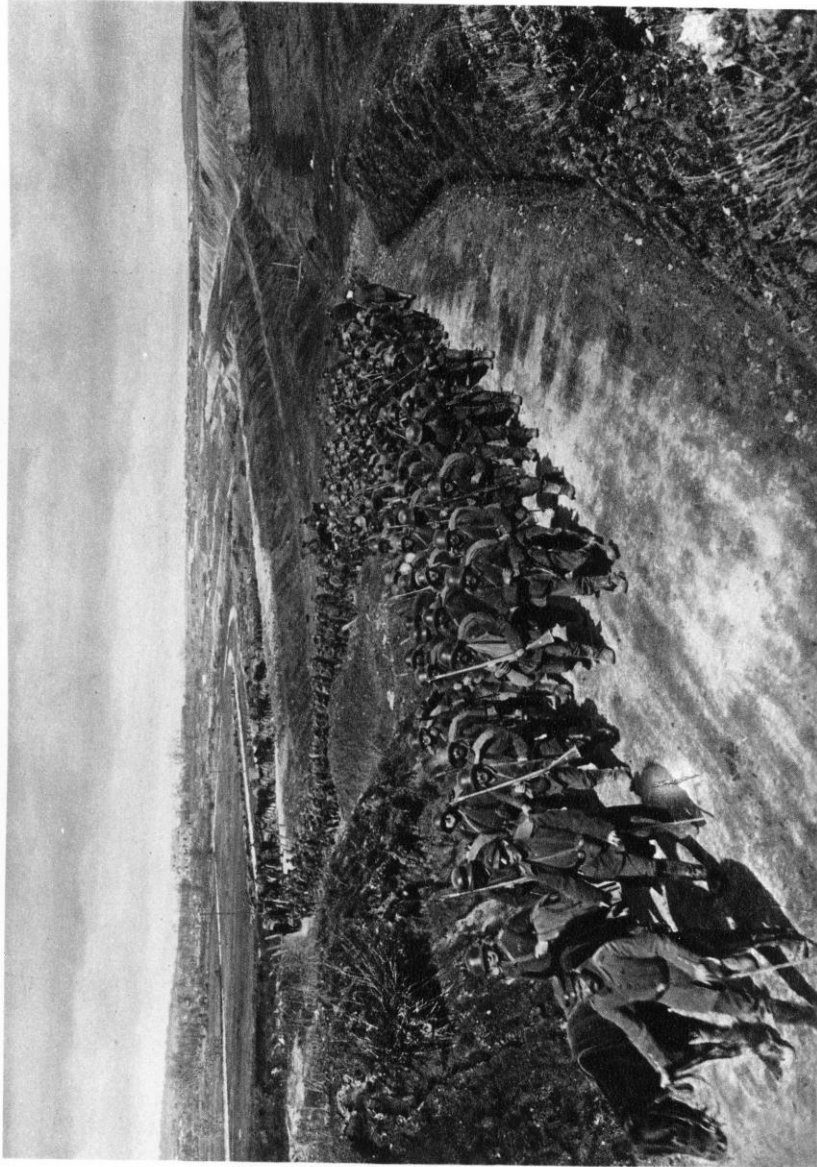
Nach dem Straßenkampf in Estaires.



Artilleriewirkung in Estaires.

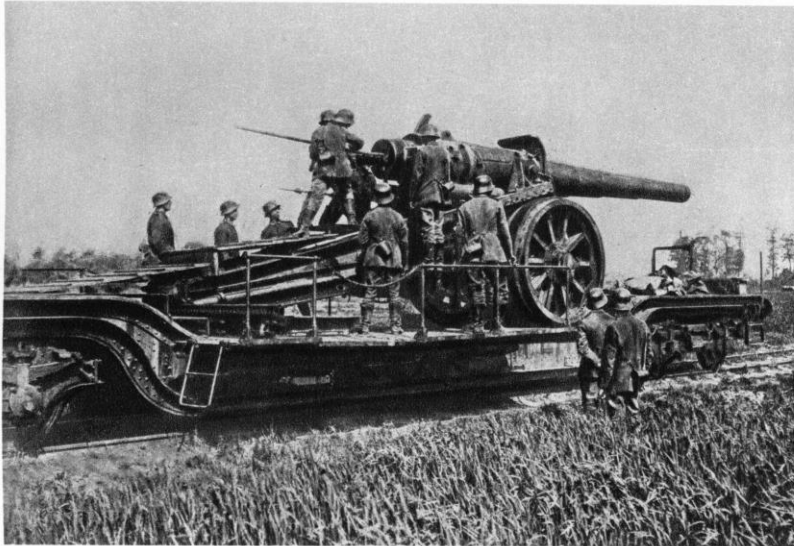
**Figure 5.22** *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 1: Originalaufnahmen des Kriegs-Bild-und-Filmamtes aus der modernen Materialschlacht, Berlin/Munich: National-Archiv, 1926, page 109.*



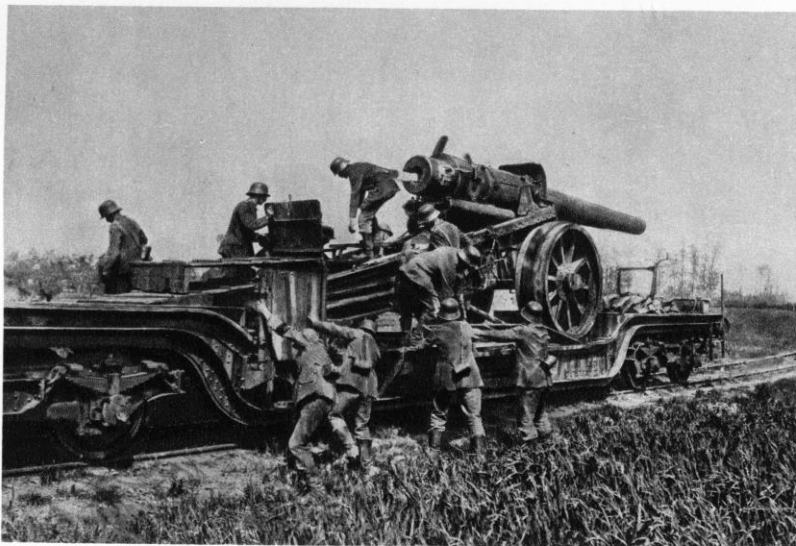


Deutsche Kolonnen auf dem Vormarsch zur Kampffront.

**Figure 5.23** *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 1: Originalaufnahmen des Kriegs-Bild-und-Filmamtes aus der modernen Materialschlacht*, Berlin/Munich: National-Archiv, 1926, page 85.



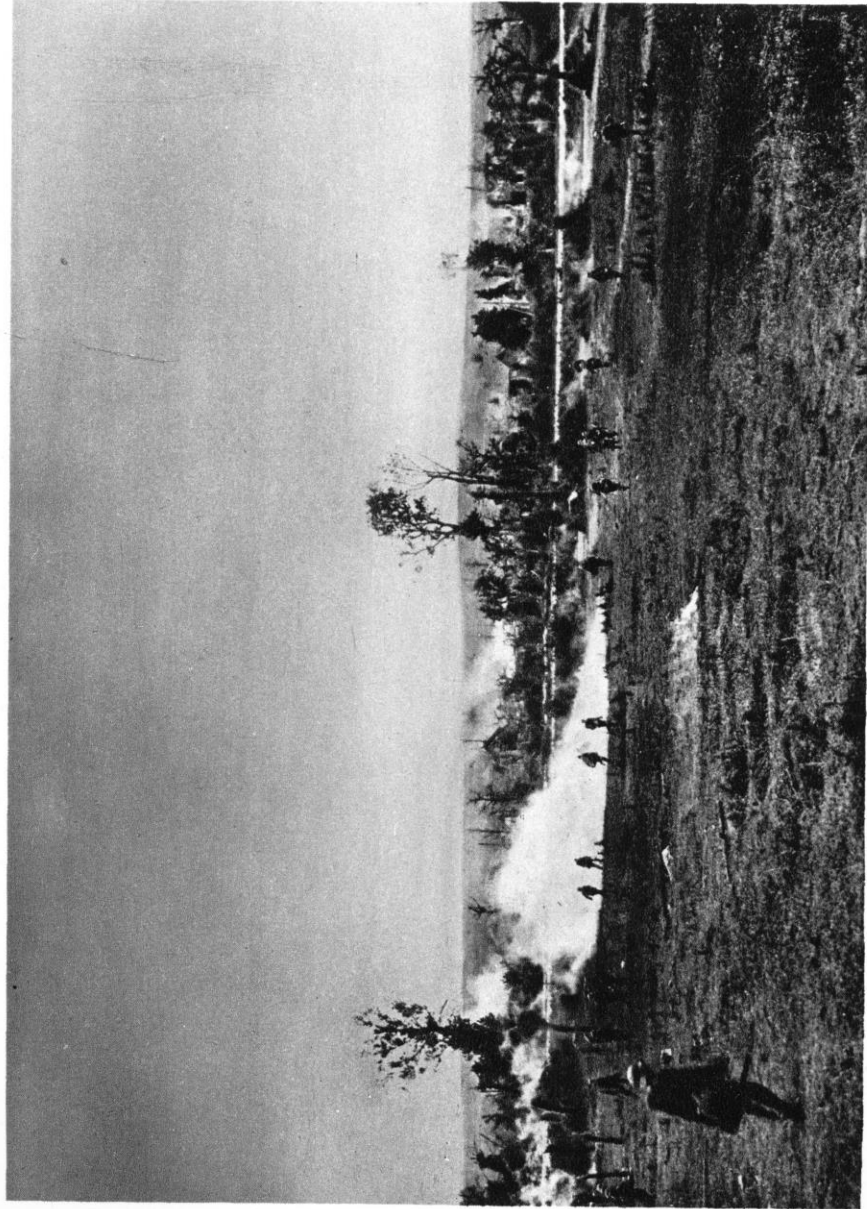
17 cm Schnelladekanone in Radstafette auf Eisenbahnwagen. Einsetzen der Granate.



17 cm Schnelladekanone in Radstafette auf Eisenbahnwagen. fertigmachen zur Abfahrt.



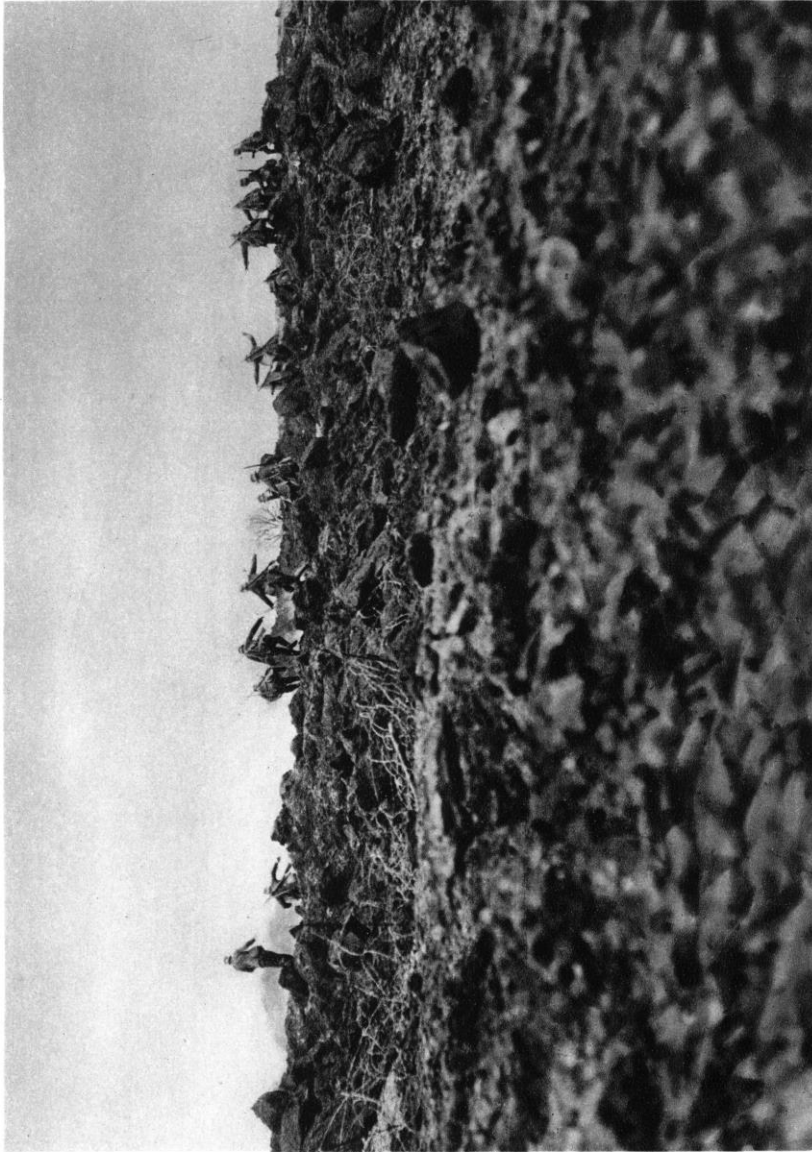
Deutsche Kolonnen passieren die eroberte feindliche Stellung bei Lore am Brimont.



Sturmtrupp im Angriff auf eine sturmreif geöffnete Ortschaft unter dem Schutze von künstlichem Nebel.

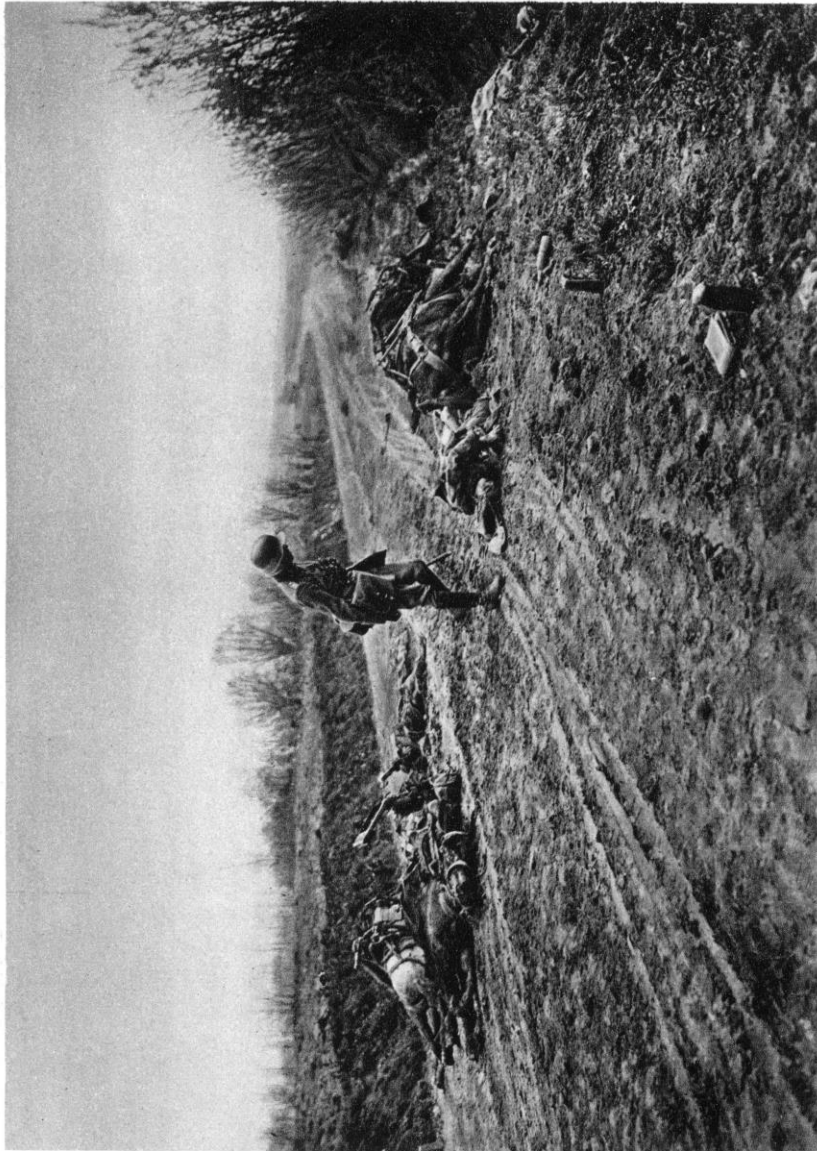
236

**Figure 5.26** *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 1: Originalaufnahmen des Kriegs-Bild-und-Filmamtes aus der modernen Materialschlacht*, Berlin/Munich: National-Archiv, 1926, page 236.

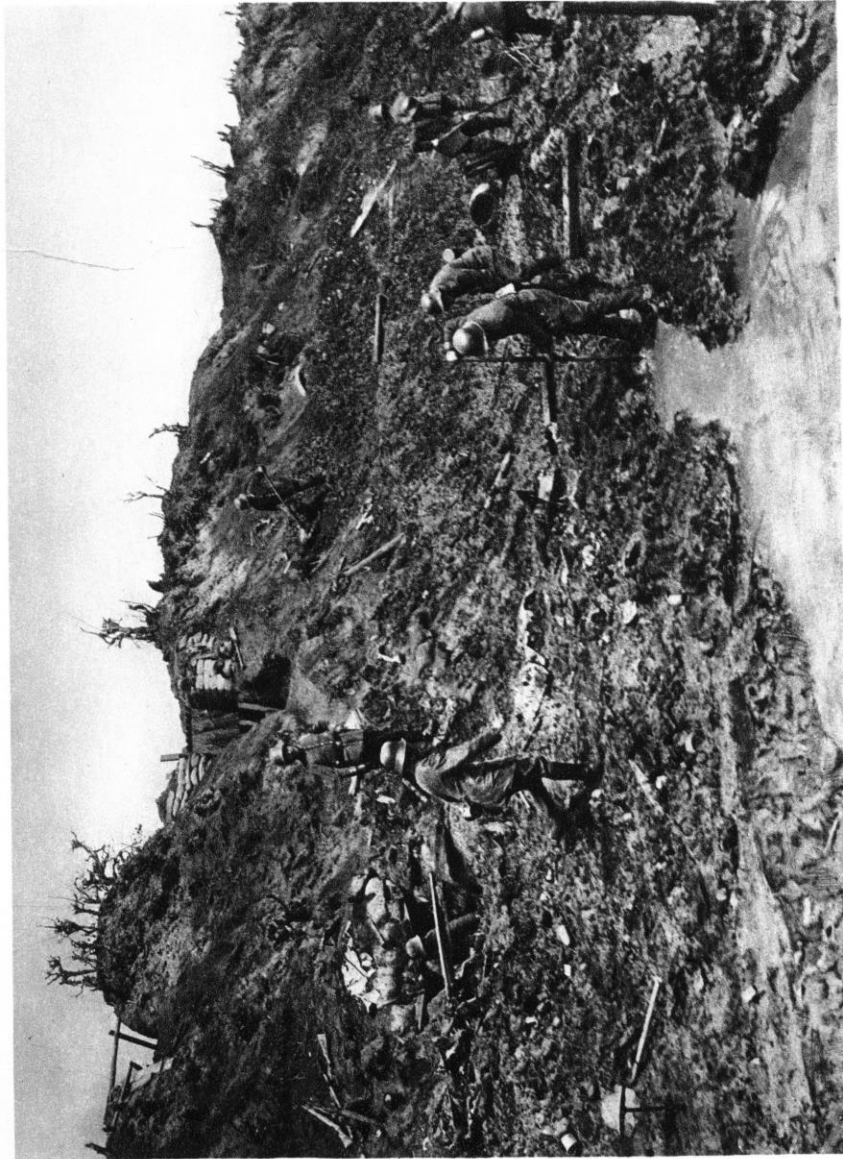


Im Trichterfelde vorführende Infanterie.

**Figure 5.27** *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 1: Originalaufnahmen des Kriegs-Bild-und-Filmamtes aus der modernen Materialschlacht*, Berlin/Munich: National-Archiv, 1926, page 35.

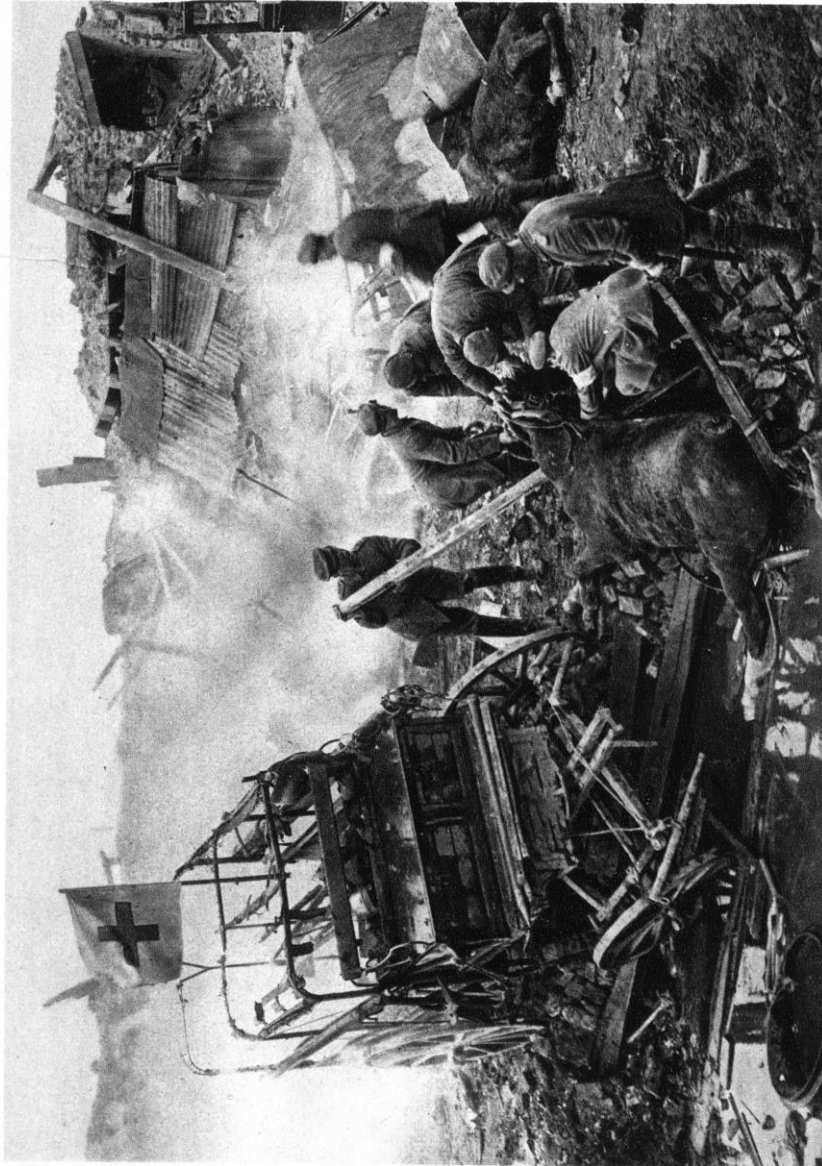


Ein typisches Straßensbild aus dem Bewegungskampfe.



Eisenbahnaufompagne beim Verlegen neuer Strecken im Gelände gefürmter Unterfände.

**Figure 5.29** *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 1: Originalaufnahmen des Kriegs-Bild-und-Filmamtes aus der modernen Materialschlacht, Berlin/Munich: National-Archiv, 1926, page 124.*



Ein vom Artilleriefener zerstörter Verbandspfad.

**Figure 5.30** *Der Weltkrieg im Bild, Bd. 1: Originalaufnahmen des Kriegs-Bild-und-Filmamtes aus der modernen Materialschlacht, Berlin/Munich: National-Archiv, 1926, page 154.*





Éines der riesigen und unerlöpflichen Munitionslager, das die französische und englische Artillerie während der Großkämpfe an der Somme im Herbst 1916 mit Geschossen versorgte.



So marschierte die Infanterie 1918 zur Front.



Fliegerangriff auf Etay. (Ende Oktober 1918.)

Erster Schuß auf neue Stellung. (Vogesen, Mudra-Riegel.)

Munitionsdepot explodiert.  
Oben: Augenblick der Explosion.  
Unten: Nach der Explosion.

Minensprengung.

Figure 6.2 Franz Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1927, pages 30–31.



Englische Infanterie rennt gegen die Siegfriedstellung.



Stoßtrupp geht im Schrapnellfeuer vor.



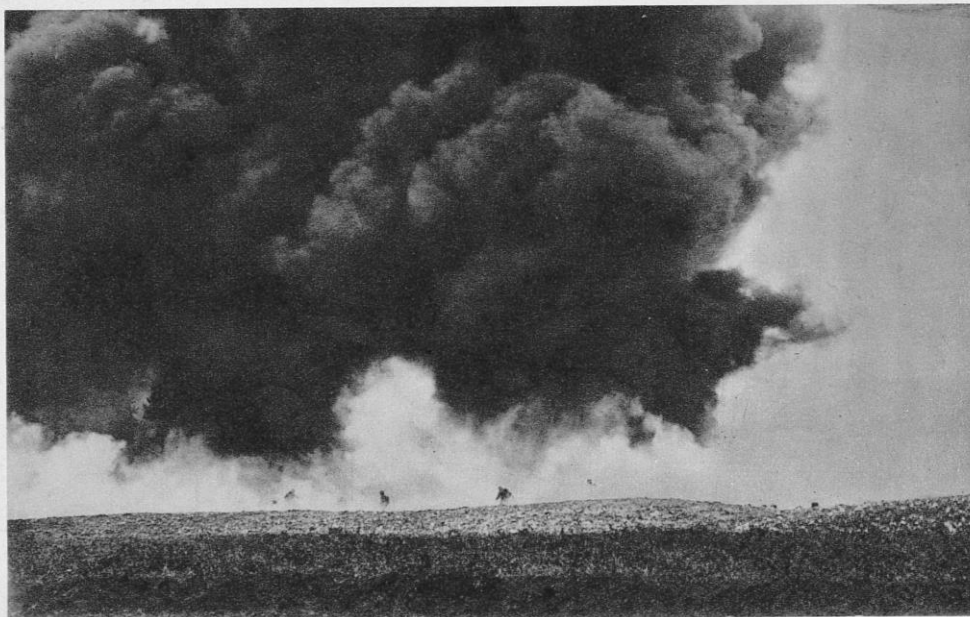
Sturmangriff im Priesterwald.



**Figure 6.4** Franz Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1927, page 105.

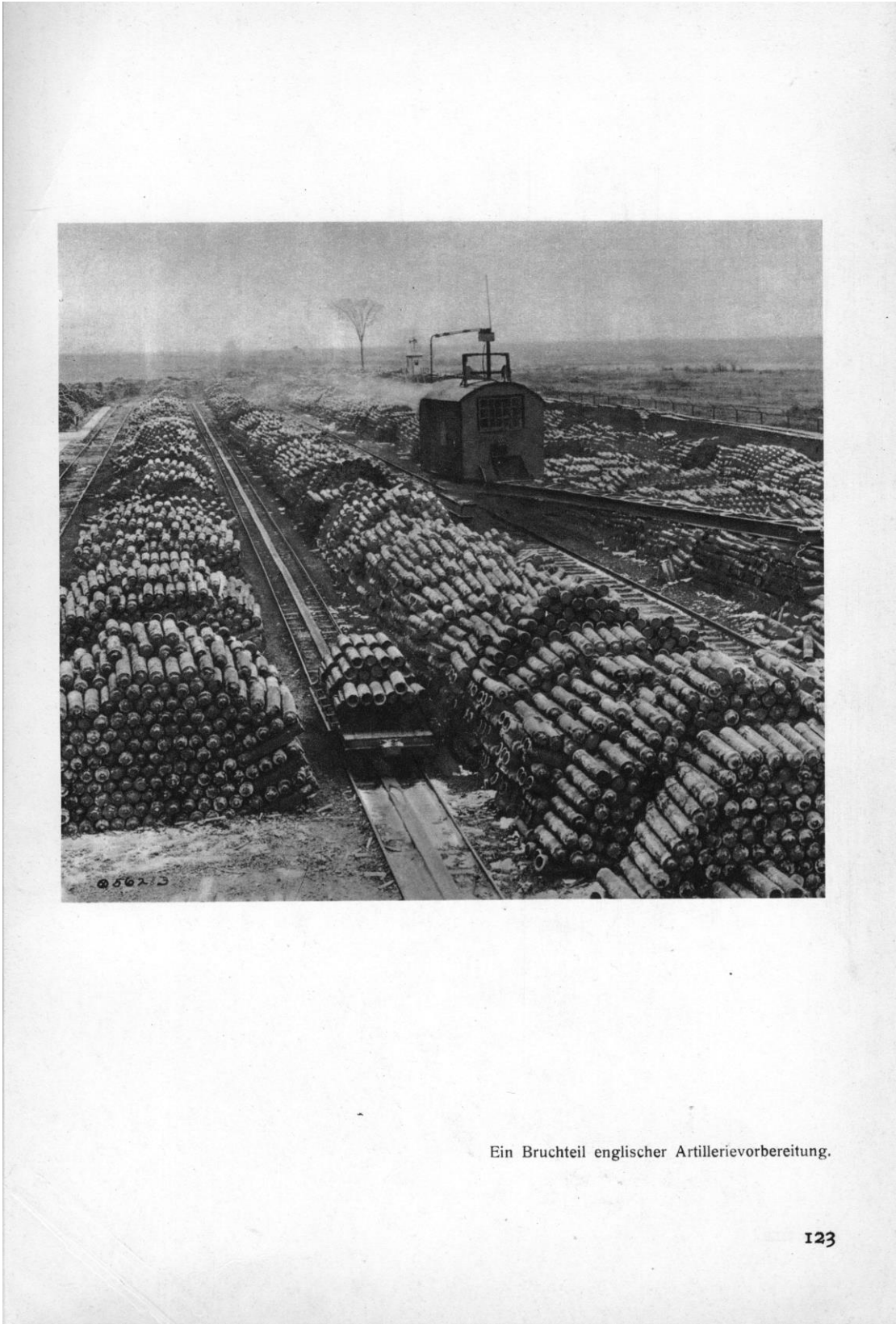


Der Franzose greift an.



Deutscher Stoßtrupp geht unter dem Rauchschutz von Flammenwerfern vor.

Figure 6.5 Franz Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1927, page 46.



**Figure 6.6** Franz Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7th ed., Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 123.



Amerikanisches Motorradlager.

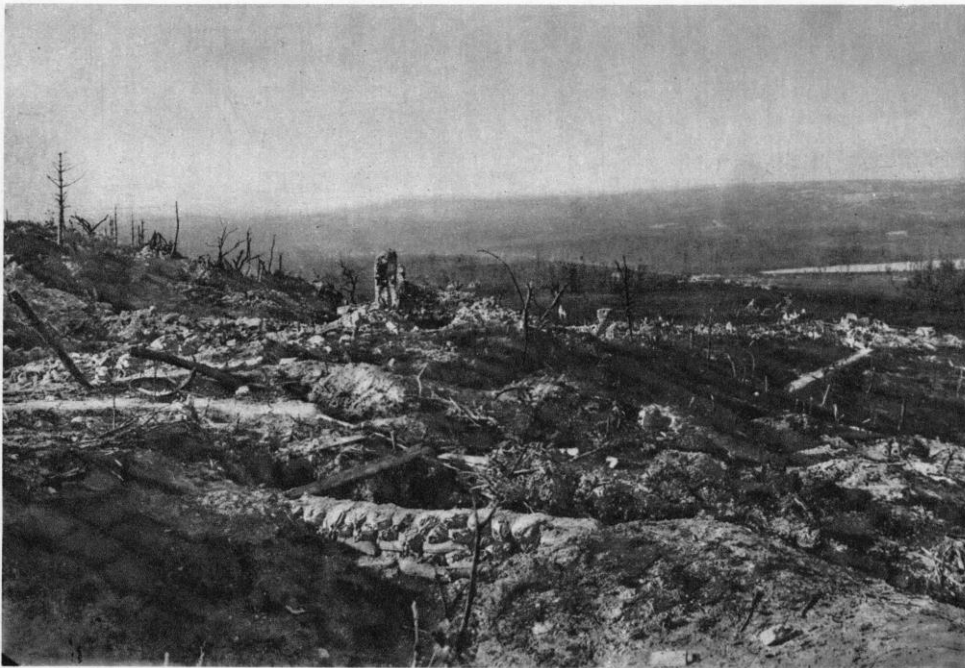


Englische Personenkraftwagen.





Caillette-Wald vor Verdun.



Französische Höhe bei Pargny.



Der Gang in das Schicksal.

**Figure 6.9** Franz Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg!*, 7th ed., Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 57.

+443  
-532

1379993



## Diese Zeit

Franz Schauwecker

Über fernen Gräbern steht kein Zeichen.	Keine Fahne flattert über'm Volke,
Hügel schweigen kreuzlos. Erde fällt.	Weiten Scharen geht kein Schritt voran.
Trümmerfeld und Schädelstätte bleichen,	Massen murren, eine schwere Wolke,
Über denen niemand Wache hält.	Die nicht Blitz noch Regen werfen kann.

Schuld in lang und leicht vertanen Jahren,  
Schuld an Erbe und an neuem Gut.  
Wie Gesetze steh'n die Kriegerbahnen.  
Dunkel um die Wurzeln kreist das Blut.

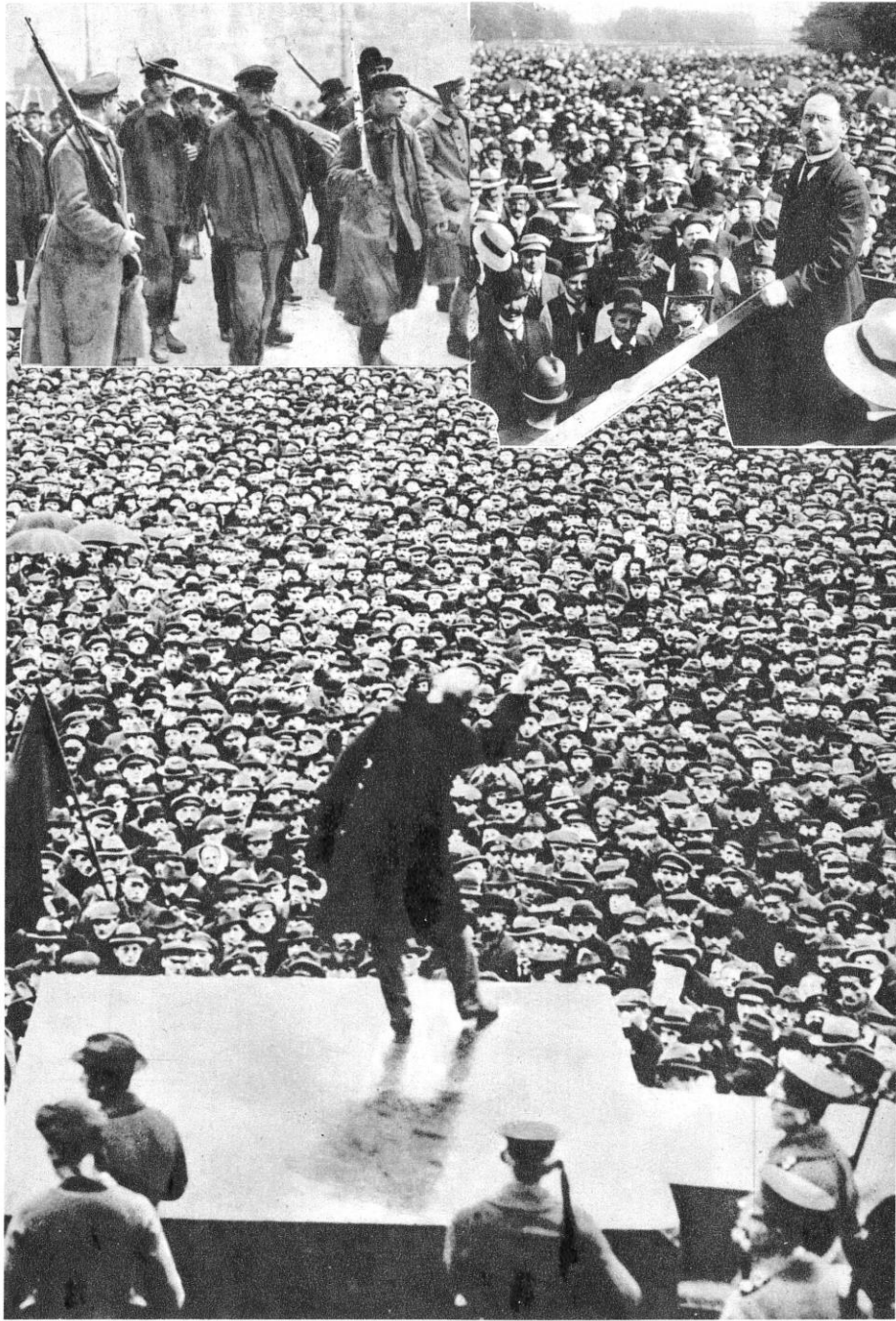
Figure 7.1 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 3.



Panik am Pariser Platz U.



Figure 7.2 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 13.



Oben links: Ansprache eines sozialistischen Redners U.  
Spartakustruppen Unter den Linden U.

Oben rechts: Karl Liebknecht H.



Auf Befehl von Hölz niedergebrannte Villen in Falkenstein U.

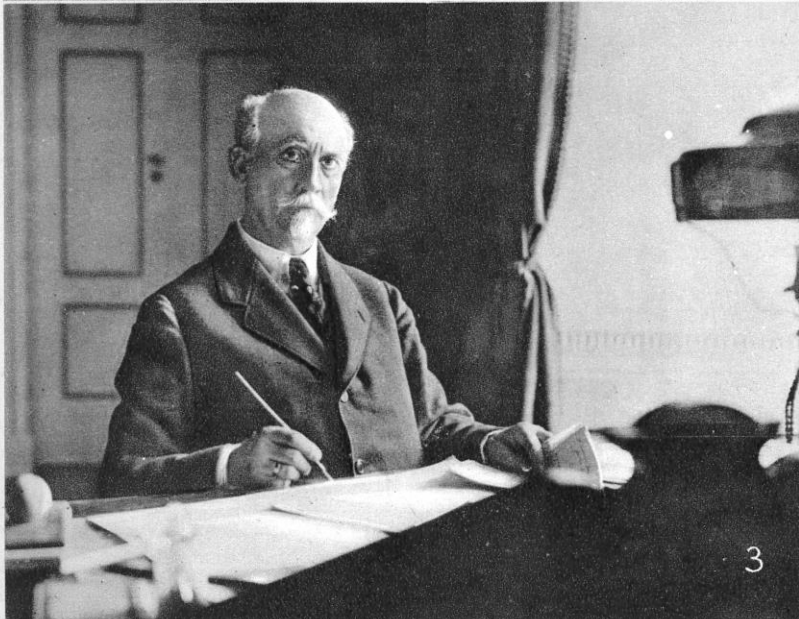
Oben rechts: Rathausplatz in Bottrop (Ruhrgebiet) nach der Besetzung durch die Regierungstruppen U.



Unten: Lettow-Vorbeck's Empfang S.



1 Matthias Erzberger Tra.  
2 Dr. Stresemann .



3  
Scheidemann Ph.

Figure 7.5 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 41.



1 Dr. Bell, Vizepräsident des Reichstages Ph.  
 5 Abgeordneter Müller, Reichskanzler a. D., Sozialdemokrat Ph. (die beiden Unterzeichner des Versailler Friedensvertrages)

2 Reichspräsident Ebert S. 3 Präsident Ebert am 18. Juni 1919: „Wir werden diesen Frieden nie und nimmer annehmen, mag kommen was da will; wir lehnen ihn ab“. D.V. 4 Reichskanzler Dr. Marx At.



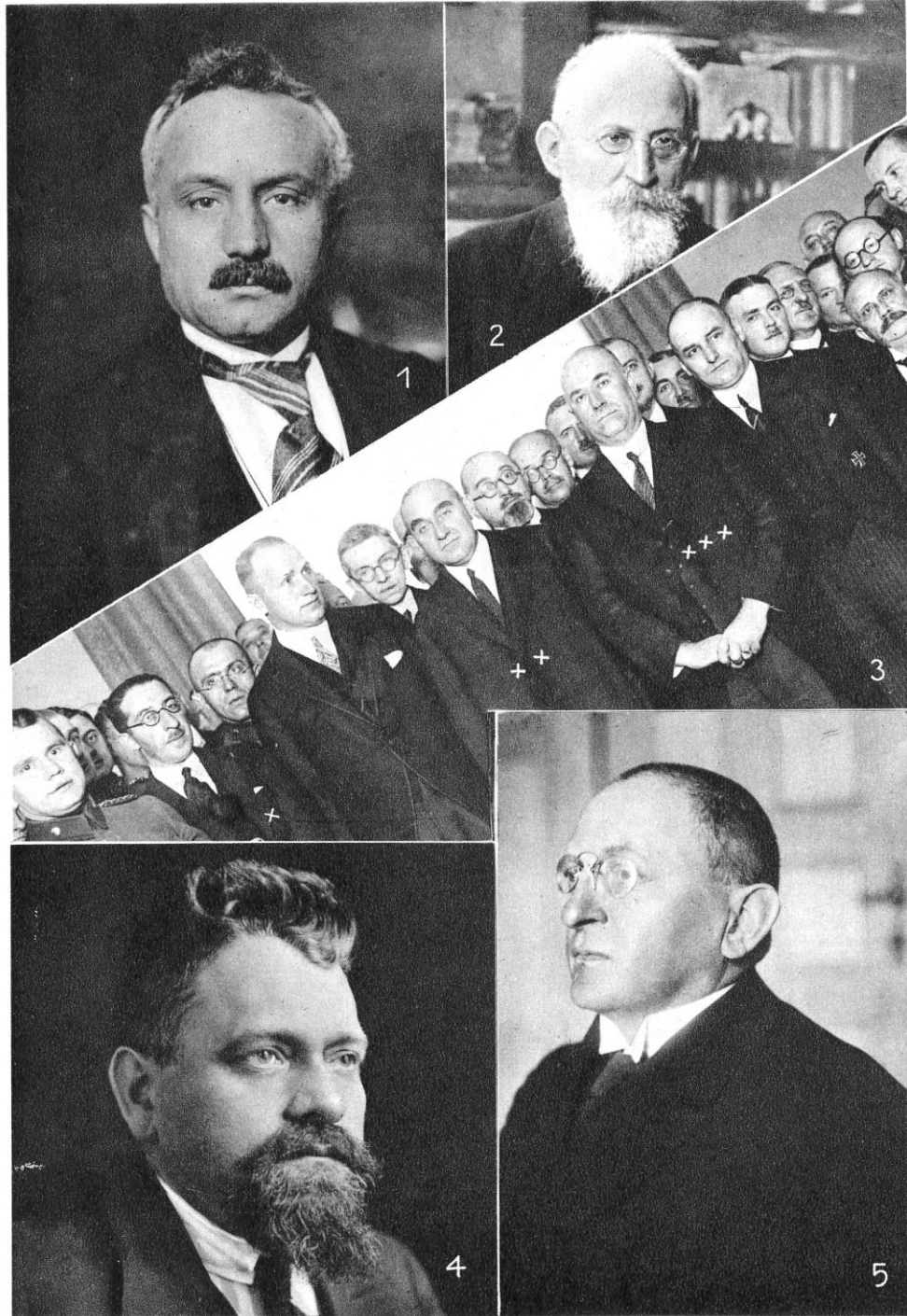


Sozialdemokratischer Redner auf dem Wilhelmplatz U.

Oben links:  
Scheidemann, am Rockschoß gehalten, spricht aus dem  
Fenster des Reichskanzlerhauses in der Wilhelmstraße U.

Unten:  
Regierungstruppen auf dem Brandenburger Tor U.





1 Der preuß. Innenminister a. D. Severing, Sozialdemokrat Ph. 2 Eduard Bernstein, Sozialdemokrat Ph.  
 3 (X Weiß, XX Grzesinski, XXX Zörgiebel) P. Ph. 4 Anton Erkelenz, Demokrat Ph.  
 5 Dr. Koch, Demokratenführer Ph.

Figure 7.8 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 46.

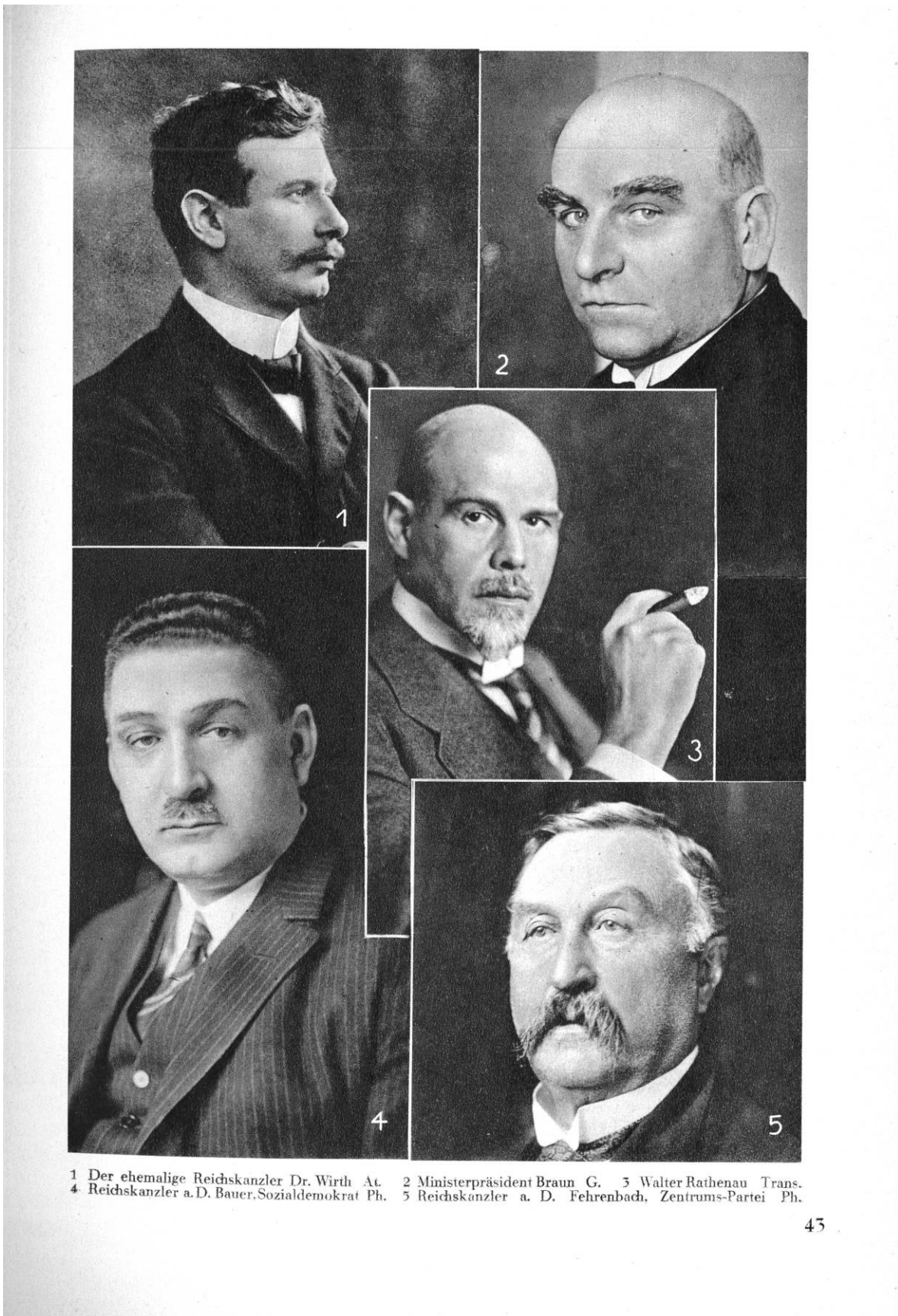


Figure 7.9 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 43.



Der amerikanische Kriegsstaatssekretär Davis lächelt aus dem Innern eines neuen amerikanischen Riesentanks heraus Sch.



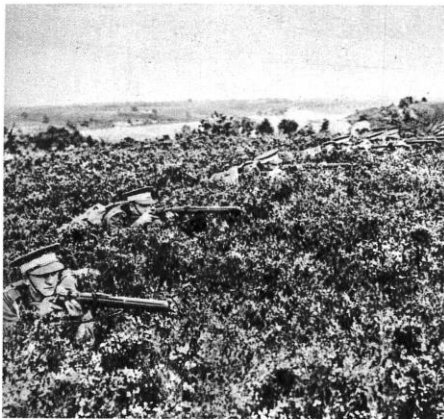
Englische Tanks im Manöver J.F.L.



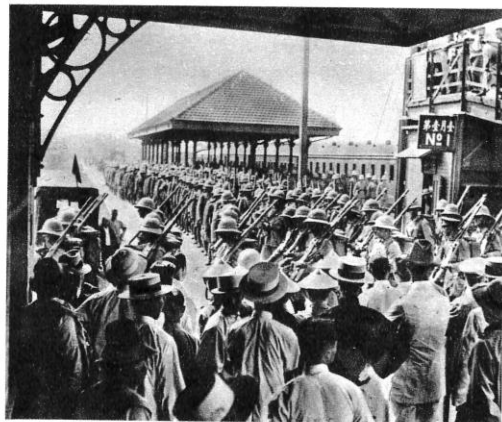
Englische Tanks hinter Nebelschutz E.



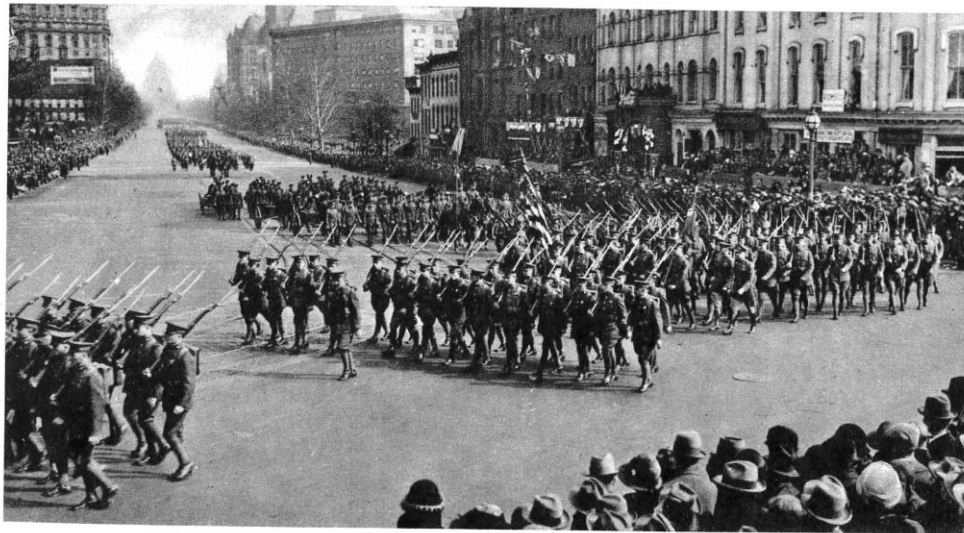
Truppenschau vor dem König von England in Aldershot Sch.



Englische Maschinengewehre im Manöver



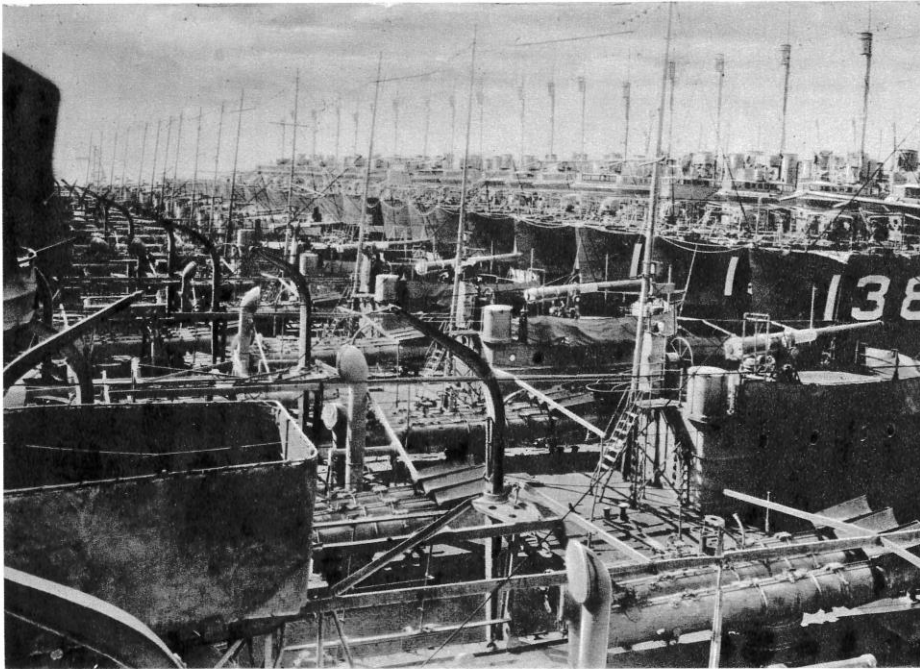
Englische Truppen gegen China in Tientsin K.



Die Amtseinsetzung des Präsidenten Coolidge



Das neue englische Riesenschlachtschiff „Rodney“, das größte Kriegsschiff der Welt At.



Zum Abbau bestimmte amerikanische Kriegsschiffe. Das einzige wirkliche Abrüstungsbild.  
Der Kampfwert dieser Alteisenschiffe dürfte dem der deutschen republikanischen Kriegsflotte beinahe gleich sein. Sch.

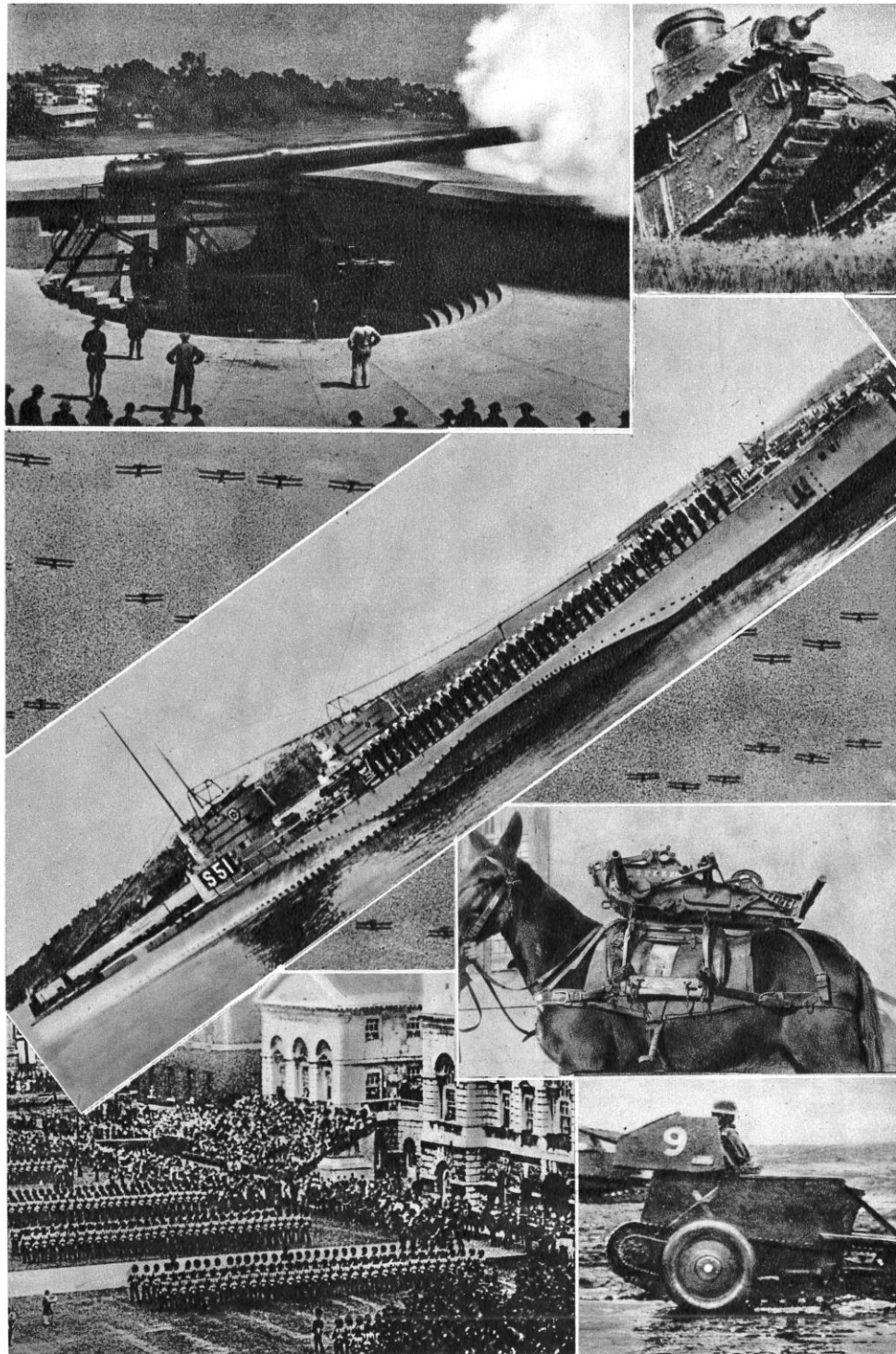


Figure 7.13 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 98.



Deutschland allein rüstet wirklich ab:  
Deutsche Munition, zum Einschmelzen bestimmt U.



Zertrümmern eines großen Geschützes  
in den Spandauer Heeres-Werkstätten U



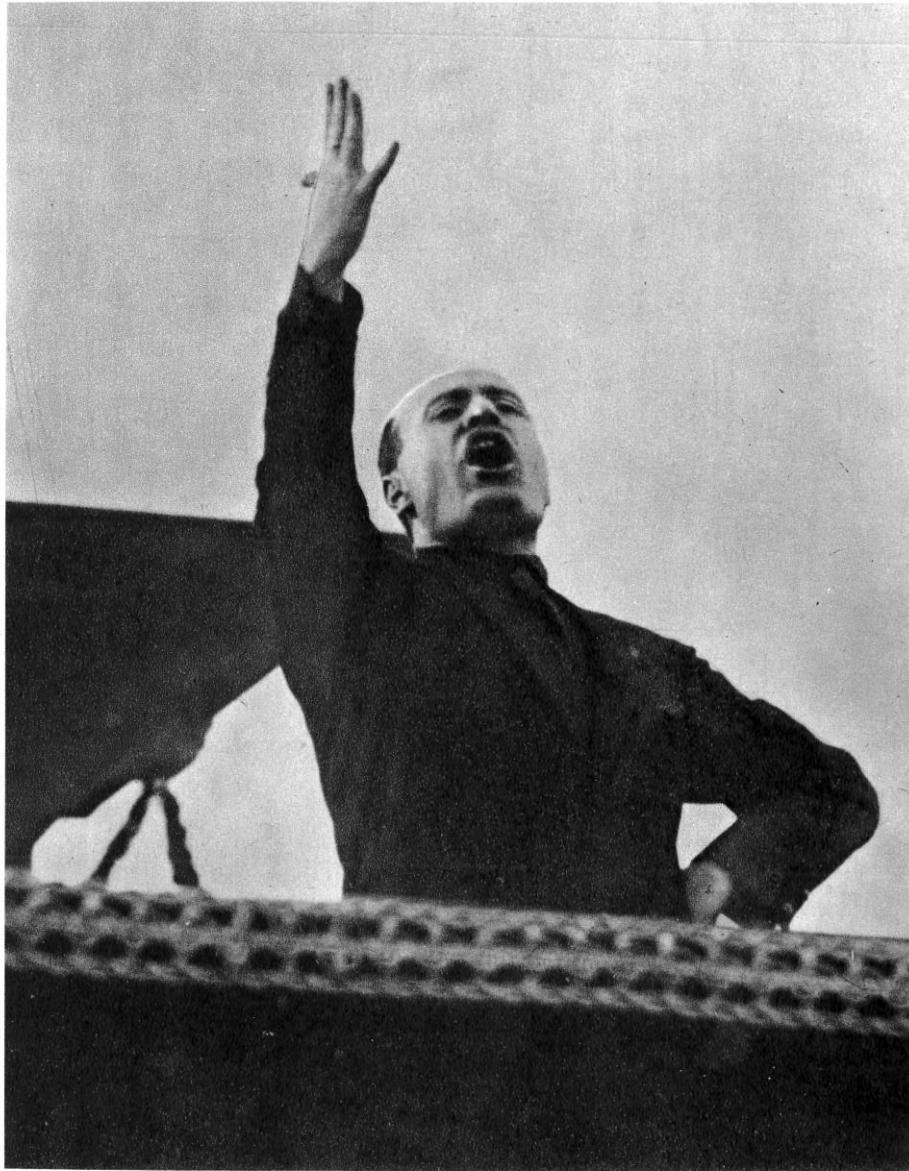


Deutsche „Tanks“ im Gefecht auf dem Vormarsch Ph.-U.



Übungskampf bewaffneter Tanks im Fort  
Wadworth, Vereinigte Staaten Sch.

ITALIEN

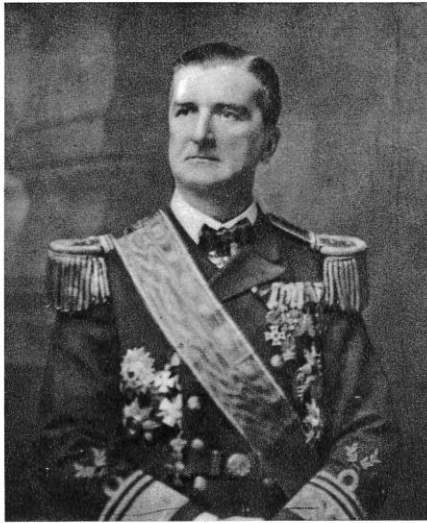


Mussolini spricht L. U. C. E.

115

Figure 7.17 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 113.

## UNGARN



Der ungarische Reichsverweser Nicolaus v. Horthy

Mitte:  
Der Einzug Horthys nach der Räte-  
regierung in Budapest

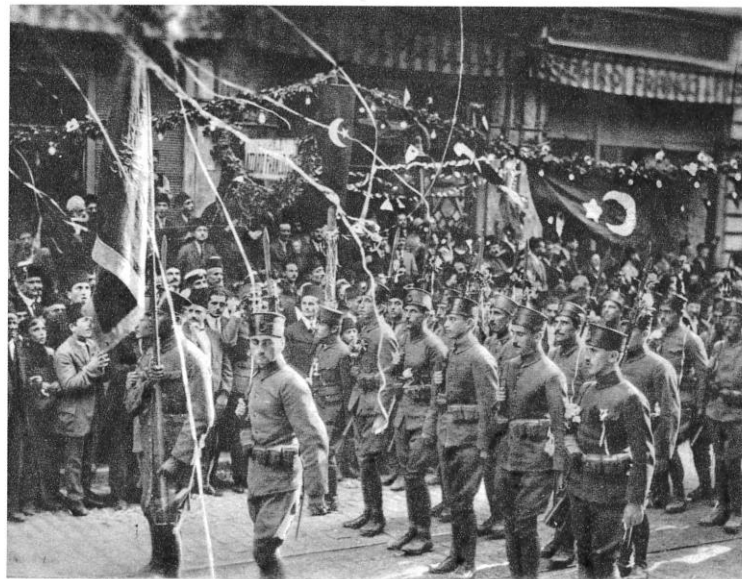
Unten:  
Der Einzug Horthys nach der Räte-  
regierung in Budapest am 16. Nov. 1919



TÜRKEI



Der türkische Diktator  
und Staatserneuerer Kemal Pascha P. Ph.



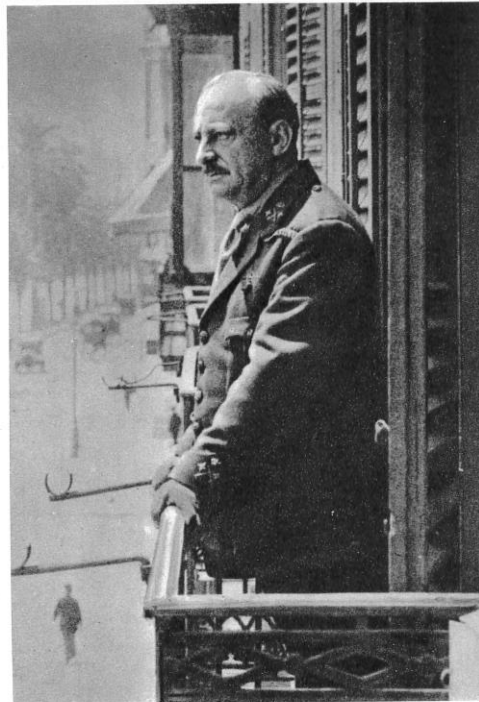
Empfang der kemalistischen Truppen in Konstantinopel nach der Besetzung U.

125



Der polnische Marschall Pilsudski U.

Mitte:  
General Primo de Rivera U.

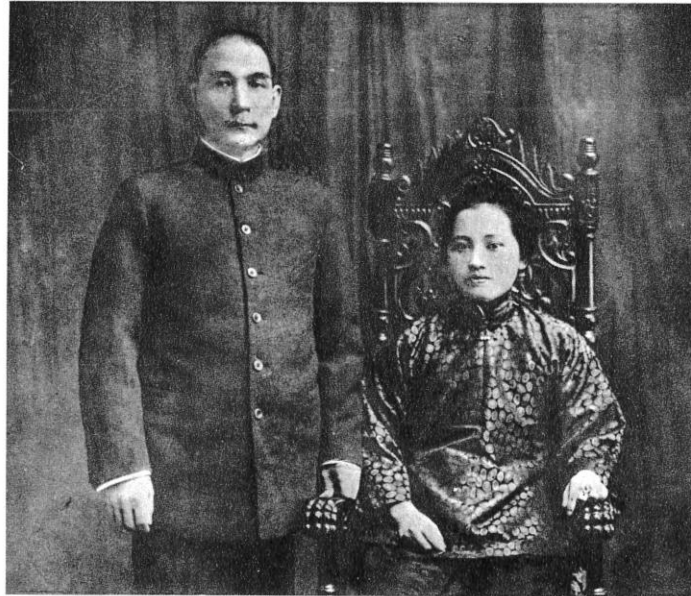


Unten:  
Primo de Rivera dekoriert den Leichnam  
des in Marokko gefallenen Coronel Francis  
mit der Militär-Medaille

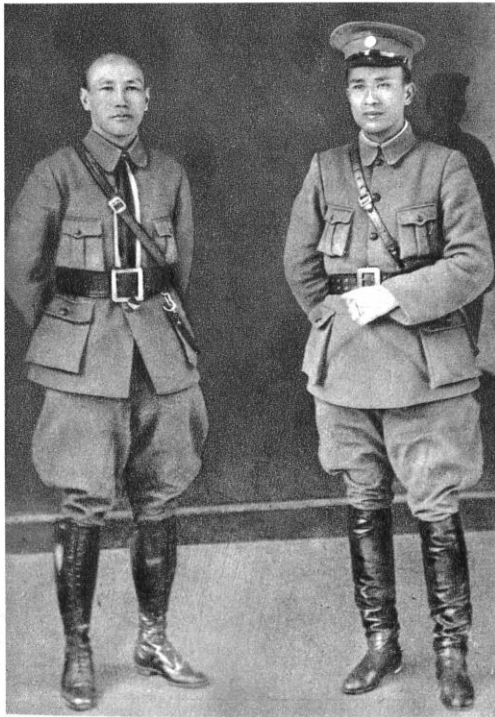


SPANIEN

CHINA



Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, der Begründer der nationalistischen passiv eingestellten Kuo-Min-Tang-Bewegung und erster Präsident Chinas Se.

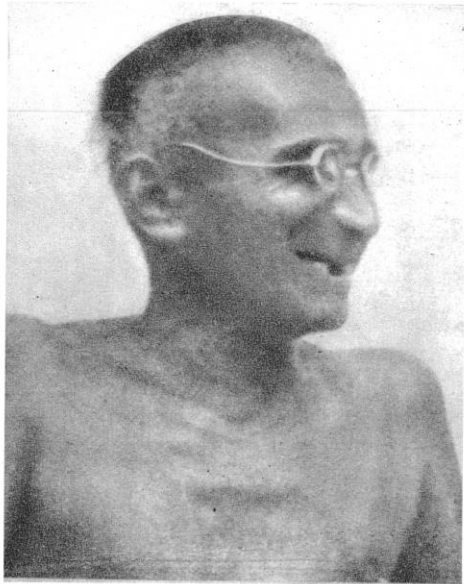


General Tschang-Kai-Tschek u. General Pai-Chung-Hai, Führer der Kuo-Min-Tang-Bewegung P. Ph.

Tschang-Kai-Tschek, militärischer Führer der Kuo-Min-Tang-Bewegung U.



147



INDIEN

Der indische Nationalist der Gewaltlosigkeit Mahatma Gandhi

Oben rechts:  
Der indische Nationalistenführer Dhas, der gegenüber Gandhi die Anwendung der Gewalt vertrat. A.

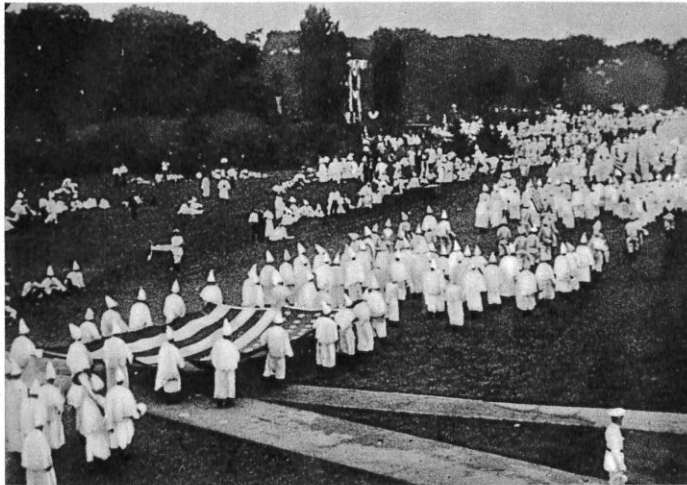


Mitte:  
Der Sarg mit dem toten Dhas Tr.

Unten:  
Beerdigung Dhas in Delhi Tr.

Figure 7.22 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 173.



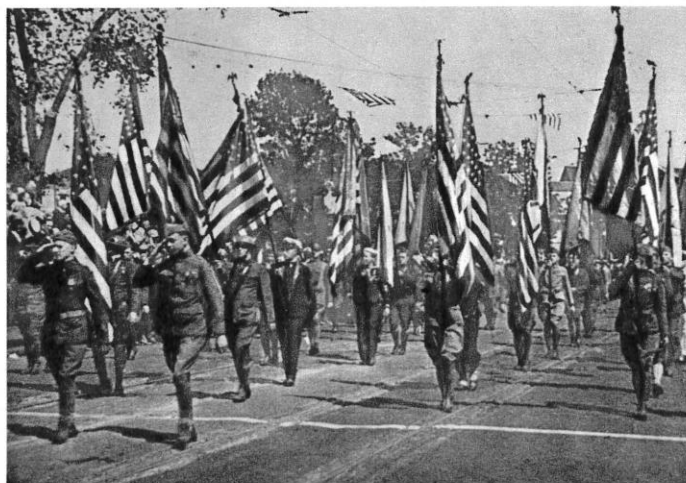


AMERIKA

Festzug der amerikanisch-nationalistischen Bewegung Ku-Klux-Klan Tr.



Festzug der amerikanisch-nationalistischen Bewegung Ku-Klux-Klan Tr.



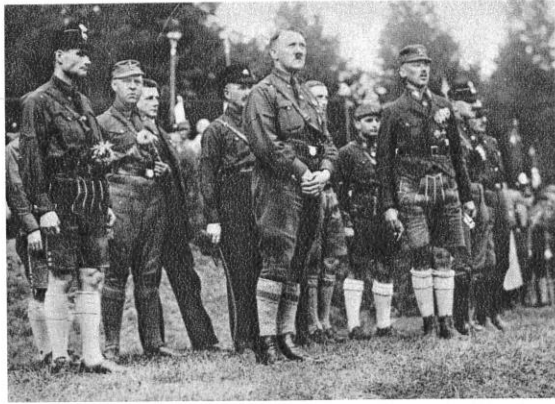
Festfeier  
in Amerika Tr.

Figure 7.23 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 178.

## DEUTSCHLAND

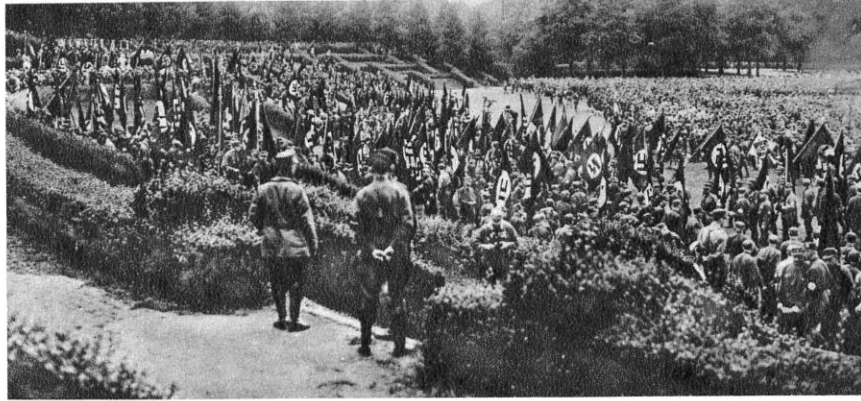


Albert Leo Schlageter wird erschossen.  
(Einzige Aufnahme.) U.



Der Führer der Nationalsozialisten  
Adolf Hitler Ro.

Mitte:  
Nationalsozialisten an der Ruhr  
Ro.



Frontkämpfer des Stahlhelm-Bundes im Lustgarten, Berlin (Mai 1927) Tra.



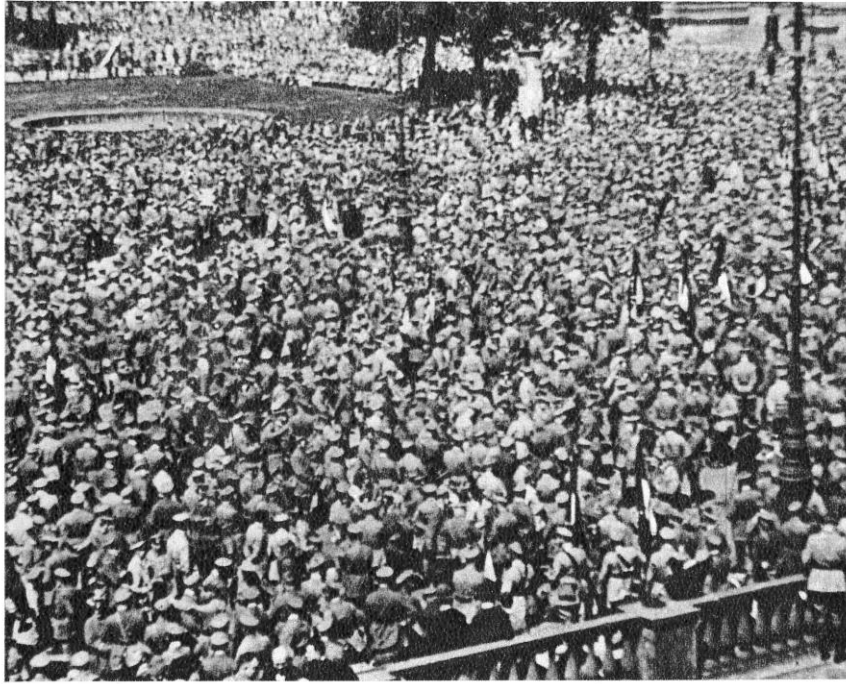
Figure 7.25 Franz Schauwecker, *So ist der Friede*, Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1928, page 183.



Der Führer des Stahlhelm-Bundes Seldte am Frontsoldatentag in Berlin (Mai 1927)



Frontkämpfer des Stahlhelm-Bundes Unter den Linden in Berlin (Mai 1927) Gr.



NICHT MASSE,  
SONDERN VOLK;  
NICHT KLASSE,  
SONDERN NATION.

Die graue Armee ehemaliger deutscher Frontkämpfer in  
der deutschen Republik des deutschen Parlamentarismus Tri.